ROMAN INSCRIPTIONS 1995–2000*

By RICHARD GORDON
in collaboration with Joyce Reynolds

The intention of this survey, as of its predecessors, is to assess the contribution to Roman studies of recent progress in epigraphy. Its aim is to draw attention to the more important newly-published inscriptions, to known or familiar texts whose significance has been reinterpreted, to the progress of publishing projects, and to a selection of recent work based upon epigraphic sources. It is mainly, but not exclusively, concerned with the implications of new work for Roman history and for that reason does not consider a number of otherwise interesting Hellenistic texts. It hardly needs to be said that there has been no publication remotely as significant as the *SC de Cn. Pisone patre*, which was reported in the previous survey, and to which we devote some further space here. But there are plenty of new or revised texts of sufficient interest: an honorific decree from Pergamon for a member of the city élite who clearly played a key part in the negotiations with the Romans at the time of the war with Aristonicus; the uncle of Cicero initiated into the Samothracian mysteries in 100 B.C.; Octavian honoured at Klaros on account of his 'quasi-divine exploits'; the *Tessera Paemeiobrigensis* or *aes Bergidense*, which appears to be an edict by Augustus of 15 B.C. alluding to a hitherto unknown Spanish province of this period — 'Transduria(na)'; a startling re-interpretation of the significance of the 'Tiberiéum' inscription set up by Pontius Pilate at Caesarea Maritima; the splendid replacement for Henzen's *Acta Arvalium*; the foundation inscription of Sarmizegetusa; one of the very earliest references to waterwheels, called *hydromēchanai* (a word unknown to LSJ), in a long-known second-century A.D. text from Macedonia, where they were evidently employed on a large scale to produce income for the city; the transport by 'barbarians' of a Roman votive inscription, besides more obviously valuable booty, more than 200 km from the Roman frontier into what is now the Ukraine; and a re-reading suggesting that the well-known 'milestone' from Phoenicia honouring Julian as *templorum restaurator* was indeed, as Bowersock argued, erected immediately before the Persian expedition.

This first section of the survey is as usual devoted to listing newly-published corpora, recently-initiated projects and other publications that give an impression of the direction of current research, and to drawing attention to a variety of current issues in the field.

In the two last surveys, we have remarked on the growing importance of the application of computers to epigraphy. It would now hardly be an exaggeration to claim that the creation of electronic data-banks has come to appear one of the most important current tasks in the sub-discipline. All four of the established major undertakings have produced new, or further extended, data-bases during the quinquennium. Although in some ways these cannot substitute for the presentation of texts in book form, they have the enormous advantage of being rapidly searchable without the need to be physically present in an excellent research library. Of the Latin epigraphy projects, the *Epigraphische Datenbank Heidelberg*, which is now supported financially by the Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, went on-line with 30,000 texts in September 1997. While originally centred on the Latin texts published in *AE* since 1888, it has continually

* This survey is once again produced by a team: Richard Gordon is primarily responsible for Sections I–VIII and X, Charlotte Roueché provided the material for IX. Joyce Reynolds has taken an editorial role over the whole; but disagreements over interpretation inevitably remain. Additional and indispensable help has also been provided by Mary Beard, Aude Doody, and Bernard Reynolds. We thank in particular all those who have sent us off-prints. In view of the late appearance of the survey, which is entirely the fault of the main author, the notion of quinquennium has been rather loosely applied at the latter end.

Abbreviations of corpora etc. follow those of *Guide de l'épigraphiste*[3] (see n. 31 below), 17f. Only the most familiar journals, such as *JRS, JRA, CR, MDAI(R)*, are given as bare acronyms. Others have been so rendered as to be intelligible without constant recourse to the lists in recent volumes of *L'Année épigraphique*, or set out in full. In the case of a few journals with long names not listed in *AE*, the abbreviation of *L'Année philologique* has been used.

extended its coverage to include other materials outside the major corpora, and now, most admirably, the three fascicules of *CIL* II^2 and the two of *CIL* VI.8 so far published.[1] The Heidelberg project has two great merits: first, the scope of the schedules on which the original data are entered makes it possible not merely to discover the usual information about provenance, present location, and bibliography but also to conduct extremely detailed searches on almost every imaginable aspect of inscriptions, including letter-heights, apices, and interpuncts; secondly, it has begun where possible to supply an image with the printed text: the Epigraphische Fotothek disposes of 10,000 images of Italian and Spanish texts, and since 2001 has been able to offer a further 11,000 from all over the Empire, including Algerian, Libyan, Dalmatian, and Dacian texts.[2] Not only does the provision of a visual image make it possible relatively easily to verify given readings but it promises to help reduce the gulf between 'dirt' and 'armchair' epigraphers. The data-bank is also interactive, inasmuch as users are encouraged to send in their own readings, corrections, and photographs.

Whereas Heidelberg has preferred the high road, M. Clauss' team in Frankfurt has taken the low, producing an internet factotum for rapid searches of words and phrases, a data-bank containing the whole of *CIL*, *AE*, and virtually all other standard Latin corpora, including very recent ones such as the latest volumes of the *Supplementa Italica* and the *Corpus Inscriptionum Naronitanarum* 1.[3] The main disadvantages are the omission not merely of all the Greek inscriptions but also of many Latin ones, without apparent reason (from the *SC de Bacchanalibus* through *CIL* VIII.17842–3, the foundation inscriptions of Thamugadi, to the fragmentary *AE* 1978: 635, 1988: 938, referring to the same text); the often inexplicable decisions concerning texts which appear in several locations; and the fact that neither apparatus criticus nor indication of provenance is provided, indeed nothing but the bare minuscule text with expansions. One needs to get used to these and other quirks. The texts that are included are however reliably reproduced, and have generally, so far as possible, been systematically up-dated according to the latest relevant publication. The CD-Rom version especially is an extremely useful product which recommends itself not merely, but especially, to computer duffers.

These disparate efforts are now to be systematized. At a meeting of its commission in May 1999, the AIEGL decided to work over the next fifteen years towards the creation of a data-base in virtual form, with the title of EAGLE (originally TAC), containing all Greek and Latin inscriptions up to the end of antiquity. The proposals have been influenced by the experience of the Heidelberg group. In the first instance the data-bank is to be confined to the minimal desiderata, but it is hoped that the electronic fiches can later be expanded to contain further information and even some commentary. The precise requirements for the fiches will be specified in a handbook, since careful attention must be paid to fonts and sigla (Betacode for Greek and LaTeX-compatible

[1] Address: http://www.uni-heidelberg.de/institute/sonst/adw/edh/recherchen.html. Since September 2002 the databank has been ported on IBM DB2 (version 7.2) so that it can be made available on the internet in its entirety. Each text can be presented either with resolutions and supplements or as a majuscule text, much as it appears on the original surface. All the words in each inscription can also be listed alphabetically. At present the data-base contains around 33,000 texts.

[2] A. Dafferner *et al.* in M. Hainzmann and C. Schäfer (eds), *Alte Geschichte u. neue Medien. Zum EDV-Einsatz in der Altertumsforschung = Computer u. Antike* 5 (2000), 45–65. The link to the Spanish office of *CIL* at the University of Alcalá is no longer available. U. Agnati, *Epigraphica* 60 (1998), 207–22, provides useful tips for the creation of a personal data-bank; cf. A. Bresson in Y. Le Bohec and Y. Roman (eds), *Actes du Congrès de la Société des Professeurs d'Histoire Ancienne, 1993*, Collection d'études romaines et gallo-romaines n.s. 18 (1998), 13–31, on the creation of indices by means of the PETRAE programme; criticism of this programme by J. F. Drinkwater, *Britannia* 27 (1996), 479f.

[3] E. Marin *et al.* (eds) (1999). Address: http://www.rz.uni-frankfurt.de/~clauss, which now links directly to Eichstätt: www-db.ku-eichstaett.de:8080/pls/epigr/epigraphik. A CD-Rom is available from Prof. Dr M. Clauss. Jürgen Malitz' searchable data-base also at Eichstätt — www.ilateyst.de or www.gnomon.ku-eichstätt.de/gnomon — which contains *ILS*, most of *AE* and much of *CIL* as well as useful collections such as Ehrenberg & Jones (now *c.* 135,000 texts) is aiming soon to be able to present the Greek and bi-lingual texts of *AE*. The Packard Humanities Institute CD-Rom Documentary #7, containing 160,000 Greek inscriptions from the Cornell Greek Epigraphy Project, together with numerous papyrus texts, was finally issued in 1996 and updated in 2000. Despite the lack of apparatus and commentary, for rapid word-searches it is quite invaluable, cf. *Guide de l'épigraphiste*[3] (see n. 31 below), 84. The prices for a five-year personal lease have been reduced.

for Latin). It is hoped to create in addition a digital image-bank in TIFF-format, which can be accessed via hyperlinks from the text, as well as bibliographies, references to photographs, and squeezes. In principle the data-base is to be freely accessible on the internet, though the eventual production of a series of CD-Roms is not excluded.[4]

Computers can however be used for purposes other than creating searchable versions of existing, though scattered, publications.[5] In some specialisms, such as the study of waxed wooden tablets, cursive texts on lead, graffiti,[6] rock-cut texts and so on, the enhancement of digitalized texts can produce quite new levels of readability. At the Oxford Centre for the Study of Ancient Documents, for example, Alan Bowman has presented new techniques to enhance the remains of script (often palimpsestic) impressed with a stylus upon wooden (waxed) tablets. The aim of the procedure is to remove wood-grain from the image and then to detect the areas that correspond to the shadows cast by the scratches left, unintentionally, by the stylus.[7] Moreover the costs of book production may one day make it attractive to publish individual texts and even corpora solely on the internet, as is already being done in Munich with the nearly 20,000 non-literary ostraca in hieratic Egyptian from Deir el Medina (Western Thebes).[8]

Tom Elliott, of Chapel Hill, North Carolina, is working with an international network of scholars to develop standard guidelines for publishing inscriptions using XML (Extensible Markup Language); the aim is to use conventions consistent with other sorts of text, within the framework of the international Text Encoding Initiative (TEI). Elliott's system – EpiDoc – is being used by Charlotte Roueché, of King's College London, to produce a second edition of *Aphrodisias in Late Antiquity* (1989) on the www; this will allow for far fuller and more detailed illustration of the material, and is intended to serve as a pilot project for further work. Where colour images are necessary, internet publication enjoys still greater advantages.

To turn to conventional corpora, two volumes (of three) of the projected supplement to *CIL* VI have appeared, devoted to inscriptions relating to the imperial house and to magistrates.[9] They contain few new texts, and those mostly very fragmentary, both being largely devoted to cataloguing revisions of and additions to

[4] Further information available under www.uni-koeln.de/phil-fak/ifa/altg/eck. The report of the sub-committee 'Epigraphy and Computers' at the XII Epigraphic Congress in 2002 was rather subdued: lack of funding is a major problem. A CD-Rom of *IRT* with digitized images is being produced jointly by M. Greenhalgh of the ANU and J. Reynolds for the British School at Rome: see http://rubens.anu.edu.au/new/IRT/. The issues of *ZPE* since 1995 are available on-line under: www.uni-koeln.de/phil-fak/ifa/zpe/downloads/index.html.

[5] J. Linderski, *JRA* 11 (1998), 480, raises the 'modest proposal', which we endorse, that the office of *Supplementa Italica* or the AIEGL should develop software specifically for epigraphical publication, above all to make the Krummrey-Panciera diacritics available to the ordinary user of a p.c.

[6] cf. the plans in relation to the Pompeian wall graffiti outlined by A. Varone in the context of the supplement to *CIL* IV now under way, in *Atti del XI Congresso Internazionale di Epigrafia Greca e Latina (Roma 1997)* (1999), 1, 609–16, at 616.

[7] A non-technical account by A. K. Bowman in *Atti del XI Congresso*, op. cit. (n. 6), 1, 545–51, at 548–51; cf. idem *et al.*, *Literary and Linguistic Computing* 12 (1997), 169–76.

[8] Address: http://www.fak12.uni-muenchen.de/aegyp; cf. the work being done at Leeds by D. Agius on the Arabic texts from Quseir in Egypt: www.reporter.leeds.ac.uk/486/s2.htm. CSAD in Oxford has created a website to present a searchable version of the texts of *Tab. Vindolandenses* II together with digital images, www.vindolanda.csad.ox.ac.uk. J. Edmondson, *JRA* 12 (1999), 666 airs internet publication for local corpora which need constantly to be brought up to date; cf. J. F. Drinkwater, *CR* 50 (2000), 638f.

[9] G. Alföldy (ed.), *CIL* VI.8.2 (1996): *Tituli imperatorum domusque eorum* (nos 40301–40889), including addenda and corrigenda to *CIL* VI nos 773–37038, and the *terminus*-inscriptions (nos 40852–40889); thirty-one of these texts also appear in S. Panciera, *Iscrizioni greche e latine del Foro Romano e del Palatino* (1996) noted in our previous survey (listed at *AE* 1996: 75). G. Alföldy (ed.) *CIL* VI.8.3.1 (2000): *Tituli magistratuum p.R. ordinum senatorii equestrisque* (2000) nos 40890–41264; and VI.8.3.2 (2000): nos 41265–41434, with the indices to the two volumes, preceded by addenda and corrigenda to nos 1270–37136. Here can be found the restored version of VI.1574, Alföldy's already celebrated re-invention of a text in honour of the historian Cornelius Tacitus on the basis of a mere six and a half words.

known inscriptions together with extensive, mostly very up-to-date, bibliographies.[10] The main innovation with respect to the traditional format is the inclusion of photographs, and of facsimiles set into the context of the proposed supplements.[11] Vol. 8.2 carries four excellent fold-out maps of modern Rome, whose grids enable one easily to locate provenances. The expenditure of care and ingenuity is heroic; but the historical value of any fragmentary inscription declines in proportion to the certainty of the proposed supplements, and absolute certainty is unlikely to be achieved here. A provisional index of the 3,859 texts so far included in *Inscriptiones Christianae Urbis Romae* n.s. make that work newly accessible.[12] Five further volumes of *Supplementa Italica* continue Panciera's ambitious goal of re-examining the entire epigraphic patrimony of Italy, constantly growing through new discovery while constantly declining thanks to loss and theft.[13] This series already now constitutes the most broadly-based source for Italian municipal and local history. Of non-Italian corpora, the third of the projected fourteen parts of *CIL* II^2, the important volume devoted to the epigraphy of some fifty-five towns and settlements of the *conventus* of Astigi in Baetica, has appeared, containing most notably revised texts of both the *Lex Coloniae*

[10] *CIL* VI.8.2 no. 40454a is Alföldy's bold reconstruction, on the basis of the letter-holes surviving beneath the text of the restoration of A.D. 443–4, of the original version of the four identical texts above the interior portals of the Colosseum recording Vespasian's construction of the amphitheatre, *I[mp] Caes. Vespasi[anus Aug.] amphitheatru[m novum?] ex manubis [fieri iussit?]*, which would thus allude to the use of the spoils from the sack of Jerusalem (cf. *ZPE* 109 (1995), 195–226 = *AE* 1995: 111b). *CIL* VI.8.3.1 is perhaps the most important to look through: note esp. nos 40890, re-edition of *ILLRP* no. 513 = *IGRRP* I.118 = *IGUR* 1 (*SC de Asclepiade Clazomenio*, 78 B.C.); 41062: Laudatio Turiae, based upon D. Flach, *Die sogenn. Laudatio Turiae* (1991) and N. Horsfall, *BICS* 30 (1983), 85–98; 41142= *CIL* VI.1377 = *ILS* 1098 (M. Claudius Fronto, cos. A.D. 165); also 41443 = *CIL* VI.1937* = *ILS* 9002 (T. Furius Victorinus, *praef. praet.* A.D. 160: this is an inscription that, because of Ligorio's fanciful supplements, was believed until 1907 to be a falsa).

[11] Excellent photographs of some 2,300 inscriptions in the Capitoline Museums and published in *CIL* VI are now available in G. L. Gregori and M. Mattei (eds), *Roma, 1: Musei Capitolini* (1999), the first volume of a new series, Supplementa Italica – Imagines, that aims to provide in due course images of all Italian texts in *CIL*. On the progress of the supplement to *CIL* IX (regio IV): M. Buonocore, *Epigraphica* 60 (1998), 45–70; *CIL* X (regiones I, III, Sicily): H. Solin in *Epigrafi e studi epigrafi in Finlandia* (1998), 81–117.

[12] A. E. Felle, *ICUR n.s. Concordantiae verborum, nominum et imaginum*, ICI Subsidia 4 (1997), including a concordance to other editions; cf. N. Duval, *AntTard* 6 (1998), 400–3 and Felle's reply, 403–6. A. Bertolino *et al.* in N. Cambi and E. Marin (eds), *Acta XIII congressus internationalis archeologiae christianae* (1998) (= *Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku*, Suppl. 87–89), 3, 115–24, outline a project to create an electronic index of the complete *ICUR* n.s. Note also, I. di Stefano Manzella (ed.), *Le iscrizioni dei Cristiani in Vaticano. Materiali . . . per una mostra epigrafica*, Inscriptiones Sanctae Sedis 2 (1997), with excellent photos; the second volume of the prosopography of Christian Italy: C.† and L. Pietri (eds), *Prosopographie chrétienne du Bas-Empire, 2: Prosopographie de l'Italie chrétienne (313–604) 2: L–Z* (2000); and the brief general survey of Christian epigraphy by D. Mazzoleni and D. Feissel in J.-C. Fredouille and R.-M. Roberge (eds), *La documentation patristique* (1995), 107–25. See also our Section IX below.

[13] *Suppl. Italica* n.s. 13 (1996): Nursia, S. Severino (Marche), Casale Monferrato/Terruggia; 15 (1997): Ateste; 16 (1998): Aletrium, Rusellae, Forum Iulii, Bergomum; 17 (1999): Forum Fulvii-Valentia, Alba Pompeia, Ferrara. Vol. 14 (1997) contains the Indices to vols 8–13 by C. Lega, unfortunately without an accompanying CD-Rom though it was compiled by means of electronic processing; on vols 4–8 and 9–12, see the reviews by J. Linderski, *JRA* 11 (1998), 458–84 and J. Bodel, ibid., 485–98; the latter contains a map (p. 486) and an interim index (p. 498) of the towns and regions covered up to 1995; on vols 13–14, 16–17: Linderski, *JRA* 13 (2000), 562–7; 14 (2001), 513–35; Bodel on vol. 15 was supposed to appear in *JRA* 15 (2002) but did not. In the new series devoted to local history: Genti e province d'Italia, which combines epigraphy with literary sources, note A. Trevisiol, *Fonti letterarie ed epigrafiche per la storia romana della provincia di Pesaro e Urbino* (1998). Also the (re-)publication of the inscriptions from Italy now in Austrian collections: F. Kränzl and E. Weber (eds), *Die römerzeitlichen Inschriften aus Rom u. Italien*, Althistorisch-epigraphische Studien 4 (1997); of the Canonry of S. Maria in Novara: D. Biancolini *et al.*, *Epigrafia Novara. Il Lapidario della Canonica di S. Maria*, Quaderni della Soprintendenza archaeologica di Piemonte 7 (1999); and the first volume of the projected catalogue of the inscriptions of the Palazzo Borbonico in Naples: G. Camodeca *et al.*, *Catalogo delle iscrizioni latine del Museo Nazionale di Napoli, 1: Roma e Latium* (2000). A handy re-edition of the *Fasti Ostienses*, based on Vidman, with one new fragment belonging to the years A.D. 74–81: B. Bargaglia and C. Grosso, *I Fasti Ostienses*, Itinerari Ostiensi 8 (1997).

Ursonensis and the *SC de Cn. Pisone patre*.[14] Progress has also been made on national (and multi-national) corpora in France,[15] Gallia Belgica,[16] Austria,[17] Hungary,[18] Slovenia,[19] ancient Macedonia and Illyria,[20] Romania,[21] and Bulgaria;[22] and revisions are in progress for Tunisia and Britain.[23] In relation to the eastern provinces, the Kleinasiatische Kommission of the Austrian Academy of Sciences has begun a major

[14] *CIL* II^2, 5, *Conventus Astigitanus*, A.U. Stylow *et al.* (1998); a fine review of the parts already published (nos 7, 14.1) by Edmondson, op. cit. (n. 8), 649–66, emphasizing the stimulus given to Spanish epigraphy as a whole by the decision to revise Hübner's edition *de novo*. Other Spanish texts: J. M. Iglesias and A. Ruiz, *Epigrafía romana de Cantabria* (*ERCan*), PETRAE Hispaniarum 2 (1998); G. Fabre *et al.*, *IRCatalogne* 4 (1997) and 5: *Suppléments aux vols. I–IV et instrumentum inscriptum* (2002) (not always very satisfactory), and two further volumes of *Hispania Epigraphica* (whose financial basis now seems secure under the editorship of I. Velázquez) with much improved indices modelled on those of *AE*: 6 (1996) [2000] (covering 1994–96); 7 (1997) [2001] (covering 1996–97). The Spanish epigraphy archive at the University of Madrid (Universidad Complutense, Archivo Epigráfico de Hispania), which publishes *HE*, contains information on more than 24,000 texts and is freely open to all foreign scholars and visitors. It is planned to make this material available in due course on the internet; some of it can indeed already be viewed on www.ucm.es/info/archiepi.

[15] B. Rémy, *ILAquitaine – Arvernes* (1996), with a good introduction to the area; J. Gascou *et al.*, *ILNarbonnaise 4: Apt*, Gallia Suppl. 44.4 (1997). The most noteworthy recent series in France however is the excellent Carte archéologique de Gaule, directed with great energy by M. Provost since 1993, and now amounting to over sixty volumes, each with an epigraphic component.

[16] To date the international project (ILGB), to include *c.* 3,000 texts, has only been announced: Y. Burnand, *Prolegomena ad editionem novam inscriptionum Latinarum Galliae Belgicae pertinentia*, Gallia Romana 2 (1998). The core is, of course, provided by A. Deman and M.-Th. Raepsaet-Charlier, *Les inscriptions latines de Belgique* (1985), now revised as *Nouveau recueil des inscriptions latines de Belgique* (2002).

[17] R. Wedenig *et al.*, *Testimonia Epigraphica Norica (TENOR)*, series A, part 1.1–3 (Oberösterreich) (1997–2000) on the *instrumentum domesticum* of Noricum; texts from the Prähistorisches Museum Hallstadt and other collections, from the Oberösterreichisches Landesmuseum, and the Museum Lauriacum. Further volumes, including the *instrumenta* in the Wels and Salzburg museums, are planned.

[18] J. Fitz *et al.*, *Die römischen Inschriften Ungarns, VI: Aquincum, civitas Eraviscorum etc.* (2001), with some comments by G. Alföldy, *ZPE* 140 (2002), 263–77. A useful index to the official inscriptions of Pannonia: B. Fehér, *Lexikon Epigraphicum Pannonicum* (1997).

[19] M. Šašel Kos (ed.), *The Roman Inscriptions of the National Museum of Slovenia/Lapidarij Narodnega muzeja Slovenije*, Situla 35 (1997) (mainly from Emona); also the first volume of *IL Sloveniae*, *1: Neviodunum* (ed. M. Lovenjak), Situla 37 (1998). Other volumes, on the documents from Poetovio (*c.* 700 texts), Celeia (*c.* 400), and Emona (*c.* 300) are foreseen. Supplements to *ILIug*: for Croatia, by M. Šegvić (1996); for Bosnien-Herzegowina, by A. Škegro (1997); a supplement to *CIL* III for Croatia is planned: M. Šegvić, *Opuscula archaeologica* 20 (1996), 131–9. Note also the survey of recent finds by J. J. Wilkes in *Atti del XI Congresso* (n. 6 above), 2, 451–60 (unfortunately without footnotes).

[20] Lower Macedonia: territory of Veria (Beroia), including the texts from the temple of Leucopetra: L. Gounaropoulou and M. B. Hatzopoulos, *Inscriptiones Macedoniae Inferioris, 1: Inscriptiones Beroeae* (1998, 2000); Northern Macedonia (mainly now in the modern state of Macedonia): F. Papazoglu *et al.*, *IG* X.2.2.1 (1999), Lyncestidis and Pelagonia (almost all of imperial date). The only important new text is a civic resolution by Herakleia in honour of Aurelian, presumably during the Gothic campaign of A.D. 272: *AE* 1999: 1415; Illyria: P. Cabanes (ed.), *Inscriptions d'Epidamne-Dyrrhachion et d'Apollonie, 2: Inscriptions d'Apollonie d'Illyrie*, CIIllyrie mérid. et d'Epire 1.2 (1997) (Greek texts only).

[21] C. L. Băluţă, *I.Daciae Romanae 3.6, Apulum: instrumentum domesticum* (1999); A. Avram, *I.Scythie Mineure, 3: Callatis et son territoire* (IScM III) (1999). Note also the epigraphic surveys for Romania by C. C. Petolescu in *SCIVA* 47 (1996) ff. and the same author's *Inscriptions de la Dacie romaine: Inscriptions concernant l'histoire de la Dacie (I^{er}–III^{e} siècles), I: Italie et les provinces occidentales* (1996).

[22] K. Banev *et al.*, *IGBulgaria V: Inscriptiones novae, addenda et corrigenda* (1999), excluding the *instrumenta domestica*; the volume unfortunately lacks the promised index to the series.

[23] A complete epigraphic dossier for the modern state of Tunisia, based on the Archaeological Atlas, and deliberately designed to include the smaller sites, has been inaugurated: G. Sotgiu and A. M. Corda in *Atti del XI Congresso* (n. 6 above), 1, 843–6. The volumes for Oudna and Tebourba appeared in 2000, with an index of words and an innovative index of external data: typology, location, provenance, dimensions etc. An excellent survey of epigraphic-archaeological work in 1995 and 1996 on North Africa by J.-M. Lasserre and Y. Le Bohec, *Bibliographie analytique de l'Afrique antique* 29 (1995) [2000]; 30 (1996) [2001]. For Britain, the preparation of *RIB III* by R. S. O. Tomlin, assisted by R. Häußler, based on the texts published in *JRS* and *Britannia* since *RIB*, and the records kept by R. Tomlin and M. Hassall; the tradition of line drawings is to be continued, complemented by photographs where available. See already for the Hunterian Museum collection: L. Keppie, *Roman Inscribed and Sculptured Stones in the Hunterian Museum, University of Glasgow*, Britannia Monograph 13 (1998). Note also an electronic index of *RIB I–II*: M. Hainzmann and P. Schubert, *Auxilia epigraphica, 1: Inscriptiones Britanniae*, CD-Rom (1999).

project to publish their epigraphic archive, beginning with Western Cilicia;[24] and work on an *IG* volume for Egypt and Nubia is under way.[25] As for serendipitous corpora, volumes devoted to the Greek and Latin inscriptions presently in US and Swedish collections — the former amounting to some 2,300 texts, of which 375 are unpublished — appeared in the same year.[26] There have, finally, appeared two good editions of texts in non-classical languages, the trilingual Behištun inscription of Šapur (Šabhur) I and the corpus of Aramaic texts from Palmyra and the Palmyrene.[27]

If the main outlines of the history of Latin epigraphy as a discipline, from the *Codex Einsidlensis* and the *Corpus Laureshamense* to the publication of the first volume of *CIL* in 1867 are familiar enough,[28] many details remain to be filled in. While M. Buonocore has continued his studies of the numerous Vatican manuscripts devoted to inscriptions, the most interesting work has been on the role of individual collectors and scholars, for example Ciriaco of Ancona (*c.* 1391–1455), Julius Pomponius Laetus (who succeeded to the chair of rhetoric after Lorenzo Valla's death in 1457, and refused to learn Greek in order to retain his Latin style unimpaired), Count de Guimerá in Spain (1584–1638), and Cardinal Massimo (1620–77) in Rome.[29] The decision to create a panel on the history of epigraphy for the first time at the XII International Epigraphic Congress held in Barcelona in 2002 suggests that the time may have come for a synthetic treatment, setting the history of epigraphy within the major and minor currents of Humanist and Enlightenment thought, and tracing its definitive subordination in the nineteenth century to the 'historical turn': up to now, most work in this area has been modestly antiquarian.[30] Of modern introductions to current views and practice, the collective volume edited by J. Bodel, mainly on Roman epigraphy, is highly recommended, for it elegantly renders superfluous much of the usual content of undergraduate lectures on

[24] S. Hagel and K. Tomaschitz, *Repertorium der westkilikischen Inschriften nach den Scheden der kleinasiatischen Kommission der österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Ergänzungsbände zu den TAM 22 (1998), a collection of published texts from *MAMA* III and many other sources without commentary, but including a glossary and index of personal names. Cilicia was chosen because of T. Mitford's work on the relevant TAM fascicle and the number of gaps in the coverage of *SEG*; K. Tomaschitz, *Unpublizierten Inschriften Westkilikiens aus dem Nachlass Terence B. Mitford*, Ergänzungsbände zu den TAM 21 (1998). Note also H. Malay, *Researches in Lydia, Mysia and Aiolis*, Denkschr. der Österr. Akad. der Wiss., phil.-hist. Kl. 279 = Ergänzungsb. TAM 23 (1999) (219 texts, mainly funeraries of imperial date). Note too H. M. Cotton *et al.*, *ZPE* 127 (1999), 307f. on the plan to publish a *Corpus Inscriptionum Iudaeae/Palestinae*.

[25] E. Bernard, *ZPE* 139 (2002), 119–26, worth comparing with the same author's survey of the corpus, *ZPE* 26 (1977), 95–117.

[26] J. Bodel and S. V. Tracy, *Greek and Latin Inscriptions in the USA* (1997); B. E. Thomassen, *A Survey of Greek and Latin Inscriptions on Stone in Swedish Collections*, Acta Inst. Rom. Regn. Sueciae, ser. in 8^0, 22 (1997). Re-edition of the incriptions of the DAI in the Via Sardegna, Rome: M. G. Granino Cecere in R. Neudecker *et al.* (eds), *Antike Skulpturen und Inschriften im Institutum Archaeologicum Germanicum* (1997), 139–96.

[27] P. Huyse, *Royal Inscriptions with their Parthian and Greek Versions, 1: Die dreisprachige Inschrift Šabuhrs I. an der Ka'ba-i Zardušt*, Persepolis. Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum 3: Pahlavi inscriptions, vol. 1 (1999); D. R. Hillers and E. Cussini, *Palmyrene Aramaic Texts* (1996). Huyse's commentary is heavily philological and the historical information must be dug out; because it is part of the Aramaic Lexicon project, Hillers and Cussini's volume contains no translations but an excellent glossary, so that a reader who knows some Hebrew can find his or her way about. Note also the survey of Aramaic texts on the periphery of the Achaemenid empire by D. F. Graf, *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran und Turan* 32 (2000), 75–92, concluding that Aramaic only achieved the status of a lingua franca in the Hellenistic period.

[28] A good orientation by M. G. Schmidt, s.v. Lateinische Inschriften, in *Der Neue Pauly* 15/1 (2001), 53–64; cf. T. Corsten, s.v. Inschriftenkunde, Griechische, II, ibid. 14 (2000), 599–602. Most recently on the Codex, with a list of inscriptions: L. Sensi in G. Paci (ed.), *Epigrafia romana in area adriatica: Actes de la IX rencontre franco-italienne, 1995* (1998), 453–69; on the *Corpus Laureshamense* (*Vat. pal. lat. 833*, fols. 26–84), of the ninth century, see now C. Vircillo Franklin in J. Hamesse (ed.), *Mélanges L.E. Boyle* (1998), 2, 975–90. Note too M. Handley in A. Cooley (ed.), *The Afterlife of Inscriptions* (2000), 47–56 on the intended function of one such sylloge, contained in the ninth-century codex known as BN 2832 Lat., fols. 111–124, as a source of model texts.

[29] M. Buonocore, *Epigraphica* 57 (1995), 187–93; 58 (1996), 115–30; 59 (1997), 301–10; 60 (1998), 223–33; 61 (1999), 137–60 (for the full list to 1998, see *Guide de l'épigraphiste* (n. 31 below), no. 1159); G. Paci and S. Sconocchia (eds), *Ciriaco di Ancona e la cultura antiquaria dell'Umanesimo. Atti del convegno, Ancona 1992* (1998); Pomponio Leto: S. Magister, *Xenia* 7 (1998), 167–96; Conde de Guimerá: H. Gimeno Pascual, *Historia de la investigación epigráfica en Espana en los siglos XVI y XVII* (1997); M. Buonocore (ed.), *Camillo Massimo, collezionista di antichità* (1996). On seventeenth-century epigraphy in Spain, see also H. Gimeno Pascual and A. U. Stylow, *Polis* 10 (1998), 89–156; for the Slovenian local-patriot and public notary, Janez Dolničar/Ioannes Thalnitscher of Ljubljana (1655–1719), see M. Šašel Kos, *Arheološki vestnik* 49 (1998), 329–53, at 345.

[30] We noted in our previous survey the excellent account of the emergence of printed books devoted to epigraphy by I. Calabi Limentani, *Epigraphica* 58 (1996), 9–34.

epigraphy. Likewise excellent is the third edition of *Guide de l'épigraphiste*, which represents as much of an improvement upon the second, as the latter did upon the first; supplements to the third edition are now available on line, http://www.ens.fr/antiquite/guide-epigraphiste.html.[31]

There can be hardly any doubt that the editorial matter contained in Alföldy's *CIL* VI.8.2–3 is the most extensive Neo-Latin text or group of texts composed since the Second World War.[32] An astonishing achievement. The accelerated decline of Latin in schools and universities has however renewed doubts about the continued use of that language in such corpora. The obvious case for the prosecution has been re-stated recently by R. Merkelbach: the language is burdensome both for writers and readers, which leads to the double, and avoidable, disadvantage that commentaries are skimped, and readers cannot follow them anyway. If an editor's task is to invite the reader into the scenario envisaged by the text and provide the information required to comprehend it, this can only be done effectively in a modern language.[33] The official defence rests partly on inertia: Latin is traditional in the series now issued by the Akademie zu Berlin und Brandenburg; partly on a sense of tradition: classicists, if no others, have a duty to maintain the standards set by the nineteenth century; and is partly pragmatic: Latin is, in the case of large-scale works produced by many hands, the one generally-intelligible language common to all but native to none, so that no linguistic group should feel either privileged or disadvantaged. The fact that the work is organized in Berlin and largely performed by German scholars would *prima facie* legitimate a decision to publish in German: but what sense would that make in the case, say, of the re-edition of *CIL* II, produced at least partly by Spanish scholars, or of *IG* III, which many modern Greeks would prefer to see written in their language? And is German (or modern Greek) more generally understood among classicists and ancient historians, particularly in the monoglot Anglo-Saxon countries, than Latin? We might add that there can hardly be a more suitable vehicle than Latin for expressing the ideal of a shared European enterprise devoted to the epigraphic evidence for the history of the Roman people in the widest sense; and that one function of *IG* and *CIL* is to set the highest standard against which all other achievements can be measured. All the same, the question, as competent readerships sink and budgets come yet further under pressure, will not merely not go away but is likely with the years to become more insistent still.

The issue of forged texts has also become topical.[34] During the summer of 1993 the fax-machine in the Institut für Altertumskunde of the University of Cologne spilled out a message containing drawings of five inscribed plaques, four of them around 40 by 44 cm, one 74 by 58, which together reportedly weighed 42 kg and were found in Spain. Werner Eck, who subsequently published them, inferred from the weight that they

[31] J. Bodel (ed.), *Epigraphic Evidence: Ancient History from Inscriptions* (2001). Note also the brief accounts by S. Panciera, *ArchClass* 50 (1998), 313–30; W. Eck in F. Graf (ed.), *Einführung in die lateinische Philologie* (1997), 87–114. New and re-edited manuals: J. d'Encarnação, *Introdução ao estudo da epigrafia latina*[3] (1997) (basic); P. Corbier, *L'épigraphie latine* (1998). R. Cagnat, *Cours de l'épigraphie latine*[4] (1914), in many ways, notably in its list of abbreviations, still the most thorough and complete handbook, has been reissued (July 2002: librairie@calepinus.com or http://www.calepinus.com). Also: M. J. C. Miller, *Abbreviations in Latin* (1998) (needs care in use. For a review, see *BMCR* 01.03.98). F. Bérard *et al.*, *Guide de l'épigraphiste* (2000). Just five fascicules of the revived *Dizionario epigrafico* (V 13–17 (Magnentius–Mamma) have appeared during the quinquennium.

[32] cf. F. Millar, *JRA* 11 (1998), 431.

[33] R. Merkelbach and J. Stauber (eds), *Steinepigramme aus dem griechischen Osten* (1998–2002), 4 vols, from west coast (vol. 1) to Lycia-Pamphylia, Cilicia, Syria-Palestine-Arabia (vol. 4). Indices to follow in vol. 5. The texts, which have not been checked against the stone or ms, but assembled from published editions, are translated, annotated with 'rather haphazard commentary', and mostly illustrated. There are numerous blemishes (cf. C. P. Jones, *CR* 50 (2000), 171–2; C. Habicht, *Tyche* 14 (1999), 93–9) but Merkelbach observes that haste was imperative: he is eighty-four and Stauber has no permanent position. The attack (1, vii) is mainly levelled at the editorial Committee of *IG*, but note also G. Alföldy's position, expressed in Latin, as regards *CIL*, in *Epigraphica* 57 (1995), 292–5. On the plans to re-edit Bücheler's *Carmina Latina epigraphica* for *CIL* XVIII, see M. G. Schmidt, *Chiron* 28 (1998), 163–77.

[34] Note especially the fascinating account of forgers' methods and motives by M. Mayer, *L'art de la falsifició. Falsae inscriptiones a l'epigrafia romana de Catalunya* (1998); also the absolution (wrongly) accorded to *CIL* II.1086 by J. Zelazowski, *Epigraphica* 59 (1997), 173–202, mainly because he can think of no reasonable answer to the question *cui bono?* Inversely, H. Solin some years ago defended Pirro Ligorio against the hypercriticism of Henzen and Mommsen: R. Günther and S. Rebenich (eds), *E fontibus haurire: Beiträge zur römische Geschichte und zu ihren Hilfswissenschaften* (1994), 335–51.

must have been on bronze; they belong to a class of text which is preternaturally rare, plaques from privately-owned statue-bases.[35] One is a simple dedication to Augustus: *Imp. Caesa/ri Augusto/ p ♥ p*; the others seem to be commemorative. The longest reads: *Ti. Claudio Ae/milli f. Qur. Presso/ quaestor(i) gentium/Araugustanor(um)/ sacerdoti Romae/ et Aug(usti) dilectatori/Imp(eratoris) Galbae Aug./ Aemilla Alla et Aemi/lla Auga patri.* Claudius Pressus must have been a first generation citizen as his father and his daughters are not given a Roman nomen and he seems to add to the small number of Spaniards known to have been enrolled in the tribe Quirina before A.D. 75, when Vespasian bestowed the *ius Latii* upon all communities there (for a parallel see *CIL* II.159); the Araugustani are clearly the same group or people referred to by the *Tabula Lougeiorum* (*AE* 1984: 553) as the *conventus Arae Augustae*; the altar is dedicated not just to Augustus but also to Rome; the official who organized the festival for Rome and Augustus in this area is described as a quaestor (in Lugdunum we know that it was a *iudex arcae Galliarum*, in Lycia a *tamias*, so both were financial officers, as implied here); moreover the honorand acted as recruiter for Galba — perhaps he was even killed during the year of the four emperors. The editors of *AE* regarded the texts as forgeries and declined to reprint them — and it would surely have been right to indicate in the original publication the possibility that they are not genuine. Antony Grafton has stressed the frequent obscurity of forgers' motives, but in this case it seems possible that one intention would be to 'illuminate' an area of north-west Spain by drawing, in the spirit of late-Renaissance local patriots, on the *Tabula Lougeiorum*.[36] These texts, however, are of limited importance; we shall discuss later a more difficult and contentious case, the Augustan edict *de Paemeiobrigensibus*.

I. REPUBLIC

It is of course fanciful to suppose that a sharp distinction can be made between Republican inscriptions and those dating from the early Principate — there are many texts in *CIL* I^2 that probably date from after 44 B.C., and some in other *CIL* volumes that should be in *CIL* I^2. And it is plausible to suppose that Republican inscriptions should, rather like Hellenistic papyri in Egypt, have suffered a disproportionately high rate of destruction. Nevertheless, one can obtain a rough idea of the pace of the numerical and geographical expansion of Republican epigraphic culture in Latin using simple paper-and-pencil methods, as shown in the following table:[37]

	7th–6th cent. B.C.	5th–4th cent. B.C.	3rd cent. B.C.	2nd–1st cent. B.C.	Total
Rome	16	11	146	744	917
Latium vetus	10	17	335	309	671
Latium adiectum	4	6	21	194	225
Campania	–	–	21	209	230
Other Italy (+ Gallia Cisalpina)	–	4	62	1525	1591
Non Italy (+ incerta)	–	–	15	242	257
Total	30	38	600	3223	3891

[35] W. Eck, *Chiron* 27 (1997), 195–207. See the comment of P. Le Roux at *AE* 1997: 766.

[36] A. Grafton, *Forgeries and Critics* (1990). A. Rodríguez Colmenero, *ZPE* 117 (1997), 213–26 has developed the arguments of Alicia Canto against those who believe that the *Tabula* is itself a forgery. The question remains open however.

[37] Adapted from H. Solin in *Atti del XI Congresso* (n. 6 above), 1, 379–404, at 391–4, who employs more discriminating categories. The 443 texts on *instrumenta domestica* from the second to first century B.C. are not included in our table. Solin counts 4,327 Republican texts in total, of which just 667 can be dated prior to 200 B.C., no less than 3,660 to the final 160 years. Of the 667 pre-200 B.C. texts, only 376 are on stone, the others mainly on ceramic or bronze objects. Solin notes some 67 new Republican inscriptions since the appearance of Krummrey's *CIL* I^2.4 (1986) and the 153 texts published in *Epigrafia . . . en mémoire de A. Degrassi* (1991), 241–491.

These figures suggest that Alföldy's conception of the Augustan age as the key period for the establishment of an epigraphic culture in Latin requires some amendment.[38] There are 104 post-200 B.C. Republican inscriptions from Rome and Latium that can be firmly dated, mainly by means of consular names; there are 932 texts of all kinds apart from *instrumenta* of this period just from the Italian peninsula north of Rome, excluding the capital. Even if some of these are to be dated to the last third of the first century B.C., there is we believe evidence enough to make the point that an epigraphic culture, evidently spread in part by the process of colonization, was firmly established in Italy well before the Principate.[39] The Augustan age however did produce two significant innovations: an entire new genre, that of imperial inscriptions, and the establishment of marble in Italy as the preferred, even normative, textual support. In the Greek world, where marble abounded, it had always been the preferred medium; in Italy and the West it probably now became the preferred medium, but it would be easy to exaggerate the extent of its use — hard limestone, for example, and stuccoed soft stones are quite common.

Of texts from Italy prior to the end of the Second Punic War, there is, as usual, little to note. It now seems assured that the initial preserved letter of the sixth-century Lapis Satricanus (*CIL* I^2.2832a) is neither an N nor an R but an I (. . .]IEI), thus rendering recent proposals such as [Iuno]N[i]EI and [Mat]REI untenable.[40] The Latin character of Satricum prior to its destruction by Volscian Antium has once again been stressed.[41] A new study of the breast-plate captured at Falerii in 241 B.C., which carries what has been considered the earliest precisely datable epigraphic text in Latin, argues on the basis of the multiple irregularities of the inscription — for example, why is one consul's filiation incorrect, why name both consuls when only one celebrated a triumph, why *cosulibus* not *cos*? — first that they speak for the authenticity of the piece, secondly that this must be a private dedication: the cuirass may have been captured by a Latin-speaking ally of the Romans in the Faliscan campaign, and later buried with him.[42] This argument combines elements of several existing theories to provide an attractive new synthesis; but the final judgement must be *non liquet*. Finally, a group of small third-century bronze laminette, some of them still with the nails for attaching to a wooden or plaster surface, has been found beside the Via Appia near Terracina, each inscribed with a god's name in archaic letters: *Apolenei*, *Cererei*, *Dianai*, *Diovei*, *Herclei*, *Neptuno*.[43] This last is by far the oldest epigraphic mention of Neptune anywhere, and is

[38] G. Alföldy, *Gymnasium* 98 (1991), 289–324, the starting-point of G. Woolf's account of 'monumental writing' in *JRS* 86 (1996), 74–96, both noted in our last survey.

[39] There are 58 Republican texts in Latin from Spain, 17 from Illyricum and the Danube area, 94 from Delos and other Greek islands, 21 from Asia. For a preliminary but important exploration of the almost totally neglected question of the epigraphic workshops of the Republic, see S. Panciera in H. Solin *et al.* (eds), *Acta colloquii epigraphici Latini Helsingiae 3.–6. sept. 1991 habiti*, Comm. Hum. Lit. 104 (1995), 319–42; on the development of interpuncts in Republican inscriptions: R. Zucca, *MGR* 18 (1994), 123–50. A useful detailed survey of new finds in Italy over the decade to 1997, with a bibliography of 228 items, in L. Gasperini in *Atti del XI Congresso* (n. 6 above), 1, 406–34.

[40] D. J. Waarsenburg, *MNIR* 56 (1997), 198–200; other views: A. L. Prosdocimi, *StEtr* 59 (1993), 323–7; C. de Simone, *StEtr* 61 (1996), 247–53; C. Santi, *SMSR* 21 (1997), 256–61. H. S. Versnel, *MNIR* 56 (1997), 177–97, has deployed new arguments in favour of his conjecture [Iun]IEI, with the sense *iuvenes*, identified as the *sodales* of Publius Valerius. In our view, Versnel's position is the most plausible interpretation yet presented.

[41] H. Solin in idem (ed.), *Studi storico-epigrafici sul Lazio antico*, Acta Inst. Rom. Finland. 15 (1996), 1–22, at 9, notwithstanding the possible equivalence of the city with the Greek Pometia. On the Marrucine-Oscan sacral law from Rapino (Vetter no. 208: third/second century B.C.), see J. Martínez-Pinna, *ZPE* 120 (1998), 203–14; in our view, the most satisfactory linguistic interpretation remains that of A. Morandi, *Epigrafia italica* (1982), 148 no. 40. There are now two greatly divergent editions of the longish Etruscan text found near Arezzo in a clandestine dig in 1992: C. de Simone, *AnnScNormPisa*^{4} 3 (1998) [1999], 1–122 and L. Agostiniani and F. Nicosia, *Tabula Cortonensis*, Studia Archaeologica 105 (2000).

[42] H. Flower, *JRA* 11 (1998), 224–32 on *AE* 1991: 313. A new computer-enhanced drawing of the dotted text will be found on p. 226 fig. 5; good colour photos facing p. 160. The cuirass is no longer in the Paul Getty Museum in Malibu but has been returned to its anonymous private owner.

[43] Solin, op. cit. (n. 37), 397–400, photos: 403–4 = *AE* 1999: 424–30. The finds derive from a clandestine dig, and nothing is known of the context. There is a seventh text, dedicated by L. Albius L.f. to Hercules (*'Hercole'*). On the (partly contemporary) laminette associated with the cult of Juno Lucina (e.g. *ILS* 3100f., 9230, 9230^a), see S. Quilici Gigli, *RendPontAccadArch* 66 (1993–94), 290–6 = *AE* 1997: 284.

presumably to be connected with the nearby *fons Neptunius*, which caused the death of anyone who drank its waters (Vitruv. 8.3.15).[44]

A number of discoveries have added details to our knowledge of magistrates and their activities in Italy and the West between the end of the Second Punic War and the outbreak of the Social War.[45] The most important relates to the work of the three-man commission charged with the settlement of additional settlers at the large Latin colony of Aquileia, some twelve years after the original foundation by Scipio Nasica in 181 B.C. (cf. Livy 40.34.2f.).[46] The inscription is inscribed on the pedestal of a statue that originally stood in the *aedes*, the foundational temple of the colony, in honour of T. Annius Luscus (cos. 153 B.C.), who is known from Livy 43.17.1 to have led the commission. Its novelty is that it lists for the first time certain of the duties of such *IIIviri colonis deducendis*: the building and dedication of the *templum ordinis*, the formulation of a legal code to supplement the rules contained in the original *lex rogata*, and the co-option of a senate.[47] All of these actions signalled the autonomy of such colonies. It is noteworthy that the text is confined to acts related to the *templum*; it does not allude to the reassignment of land, although this must have been the most important function even of a secondary *deductor*. A milestone erected by a M. Aemilius Lepidus cos. and found near Ariano Irpino (20 km due west of Benevento) has been associated with a similar find nearby (*CIL* IX.6073), and used to argue that this otherwise unknown Via Aemilia, which may have linked Flúmeri with Aequum Tuticum (?Montecalvo) on the Via Minucia, is to be connected with the Gracchan land-grants in this area, with the inference that the consul is indeed that of 126 B.C.[48] It is in fact hard to find an alternative context for such a road in this part of the Hirpinum.[49] More certainly connected with the Gracchan land-assignments, in this case in the Daunia (between Campobasso and Lucera in the Tavoliere), is a cippus marking the junction of the *cardo* and *decumanus maximus* of the centuriated area, and bearing the names of two of the *IIIviri a(gris) i(udicandis) a(dsignandis)* from late 130 to early 129 B.C., M. Fulvius Flaccus (cos. 125) and C. Gracchus.[50] Some time in the first half of the first century B.C., Tusculum erected a probably equestrian statue in honour of a Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus *imperator*, which most probably refers to the consul of 122 B.C., awarded a triumph after defeating

[44] A. Arnaldi, *Ricerche storico-epigrafiche sul culto di 'Neptunus' nell'Italia romana* (1997), 70f. = *AE* 1999: 568. A brief text from the Lucus Angitiae near the Fucine Lake attests freedmen of the *familia Aebutia* fulfilling vows they made before acquiring, or in order to acquire, this status: C. Letta, *Epigraphica* 61 (1999), 9–15, no. 1 (at latest mid-second century B.C., but from the archaisms doubtless earlier).

[45] M. Martina, *Athenaeum* 86 (1998), 85–108, suggests that we should read the *SC de Bacchanalibus* (186 B.C.) (most recent text: J.-M. Paillier, *Bacchanalia* (1988), 57–60) as an aural text intended to intimidate those who heard it recited. L. Calderazzo, *Rivista di studi liguri* 62 (1996), 25–46, has used the epigraphic evidence for Roman magistrates adjudicating boundary-disputes between Cisalpine cities (e.g. *ILS* 5944–55) as part of a reconsideration of Roman interventionism in this area.

[46] C. Zaccaria, *Aquileia nostra* 67 (1996), 173–94, at 179–84 (*AE* 1996: 685). The original foundation is remarkable in that for the first time centurions, like *equites*, received a larger assignment of land than ordinary *pedites*.

[47] This last is said to have been done three times (*senatum ter coptavit*), either annually between 169 and 167 B.C., or in accordance with the three censuses at Rome (169/168, 164/163, 159/158 B.C.).

[48] G. Camodeca, *ZPE* 115 (1997), 263–70 (= *AE* 1999: 401); the map in G. Radke, s.v. 'Viae publicae Romanae', *RE Suppl.* 13 (1973), 1507, fig. 11, is of some help in locating its course; Flúmeri is *c.* 12 km north-east of Monte Trevico. A second cippus recording the road-building activities of the plebeian aedile, P. Menates P.f., during the second half of the second century B.C., has turned up at Lucus Feroniae (southern Ager Capenas), permitting an improvement of the reading of *ILS* 5802: E. A. Stanco, *Epigraphica* 61 (1999), 191–6 no. 2; cf. Broughton, *MRR* 2, 467.

[49] A new fragment, probably of the Fasti Amiternini but with deviations, listing the consuls between 139 and 127 B.C., has now been found in an Austrian museum: Kränkl and Weber, op. cit. (n. 13), 13 no. 1 = *AE* 1997: 177. It is one among several finds (e.g. N. Alfieri, *Athenaeum* 26 (1948), 110–34 = *Scritti di topografia antica sulle Marche* (= *Picus* Suppl. 7) (2000), 59–82, Potentia; B. Ruck, *ZPE* 111 (1996), 271–80: Taormina) which suggest that it was usual for cities to possess their own independent version of the fasti, cf. S. M. Marengo, *Picus* 18 (1998), 63–88, on the fasti of Septempeda in the Marche — here, as at Ostia, the *damnatio* of Domitian evidently raised the pragmatic issue of how to deal with the topic in the civic list. On the use of consular and other datings: J. M. de Francisco Olmos, *La datación por magistrados en la epigrafía y numismática de la república romana* (2001).

[50] F. Grelle, *Ostraka* 3 (1994), 245–58 (=*AE* 1994: 533). As in the case of *CIL* I^2.2933, the name of the third commissioner is missing, so that they are to be dated between the death of Crassus and the appointment of C. Papirius Carbo.

the Arverni in 120 B.C.[51] Since the Domitii Ahenobarbi had no direct connection with Tusculum, the gesture must allude to the tale that a L. Domitius was informed by the Dioscuri of the outcome of the battle of Lake Regillus (which was fought near the city) and reported the news to the Senate (Suet., *Nero* 1.1); it may have been part of a larger effort of mythologico-historical self-adornment: the inscription was found, re-used in a medieval wall, near the façade of the theatre. The [. *Post*]*ụmiụ*[*s Alb*]*inus consol* named in a lacunate dedication from a rural sanctuary managing therapeutic sulphurous waters close to the road leading from the Via Appia to Setia (Sezze in Lazio), and originally ascribed to the late third to early second century B.C., has now been conjecturally identified with the consul of 110 B.C., Sp. Postumius Albinus: the text, inscribed on stucco covering small blocks of pudding-stone, was simply covered over — not martellated — presumably as a result of his condemnation after the disaster at Suthul in 109 B.C. (Sallust, *Iug.* 38.1–8).[52] The question thus arises: was Albinus ill when he left for Africa? In the context of an earlier, more successful, passage of arms, a small group of lead sling-shots from Numantia, one of which is inscribed Αἰτωλῶν, helps confirm Appian's claim that Scipio Africanus was given military assistance in 134 B.C. 'as a gesture of private friendship' by cities and kings (*Iber.* 84, 356).[53] As for local affairs, the senior magistrates of Ostia prior to the Social War seem, as Meiggs already thought likely, to have been termed praetors not *IIviri*.[54] An important discussion of the lacunate lines 43–52 of the *lex agraria* of 111 B.C. concludes that there is a parallelism between the hierarchy of claims to formerly public land in the Italian section and this part of the provincial section, and offers a (rather persuasive) alternative to the text offered here in *Roman Statutes*.[55] The last one and a half lines of the passage, it is urged, introduce the section referring to the tasks of the *IIvir* in protecting the rights of those who had in the past received land in Africa as colonists, or who had validly bought such land, against those who are now acquiring such land from the state, which certainly is the burden of the fragments of ll.53–64.

Arguments drawing upon the Trojan War and its aftermath were part of the rhetorical armoury of Greek states in negotiation with Rome: the Acarnanians for example claimed that they deserved Roman assistance against the Aetolians partly because they had not fought against the Trojans (Justin 28.1.6). A fragmentary Delian

[51] J. Arce *et al.*, *Chiron* 27 (1997), 287–96 (= *AE* 1997: 260). Although this Domitius did not assume the name Arvernicus, he famously toured his *provincia* on an elephant, and gave his name to the main route through Narbonensis to Spain; he was also honoured by a namesake on his coins of 41 B.C. (*RRC* nos 519/1,2).

[52] L. Gasperini, *MGR* 21 (1997), 269–74 with pl. III and the pull-out A, on *AE* 1990: 132, published by R. Volpe, *Suppl. It.* 6 (1990), 20 no. 3 = eadem, *Epigrafía: Actes . . . A. Degrassi* (1990), 20f. L. The sanctuary, comparable perhaps in its functions to the famous *fons Aponi* near Patavium (J. Linderski, *Ktema* 17 (1992)[1996], 55–76, at 67) was dedicated to Iuno Regina, perhaps also to (rural) Mars and Minerva. L. Ferrea, *BullCom* 99 (1998), 51–72, has argued that the tomb of Ser. Sulpicius Galba near Monte Testaccio (*ILS* 863 = *ILLRP* 339) is that of cos. 144 B.C. and not his son, cos. 108 B.C., on the grounds that its alignment is different from that of the *Horrea Sulpicia* (= *Horrea Galbae*) behind, and must be earlier. But this fact had already been recognized by those who have taken the tomb to be the son's; the truth is that we do not know who first built the *horrea* — the surviving brickwork is no guide to the dating.

[53] J. Gonzalez, *Athenaeum* 84 (1996), 143–57.

[54] M. Cébeillac-Gervasoni in A. Gallina Zevi *et al.* (eds), *Roman Ostia Revisited . . .in Memory of R. Meiggs* (1996), 91–101, revising the reading *PRA(-efect)* in *AE* 1983: 174 in favour of *PR(aetorum)*; cf. R. Meiggs, *Roman Ostia*[2] (1973), 173.

[55] L. de Ligt, *Mnemosyne* 54 (2001), 182–217, at 214–16, compare M. Crawford, *Roman Statutes* (1996), 118f.; also *CIL* I.2.4[2] p. 910f. G. Camodeca, *REA* 100 (1998), 533–54, at 542, has argued that *ager compascuus* in l.14 is a technical term for *ager publicus* used for grazing, subject to a levy by the *publicani*, and opposed to other types of grazing land; this seems to accord better with the law than Crawford's account, *RS* 161 on ll.14–15; 165 on ll.24–5. A. Lintott, *Labeo* 44 (1998), 68–76 is a useful résumé of *Judicial Reform and Land Reform* (1992). We deliberately refrained in our last survey from reporting the disagreements between M. Crawford and some contributors to *Roman Statutes* (cf. *Athenaeum* 84 (1996), 604–6); in the meantime there has been sharp discussion between him and U. Laffi over the fragment from Ateste (no. 16); cf. Laffi, *Athenaeum* 85 (1997), 119–38; *StudClassOr* 46 (1996) [1998], 153–61; Crawford in M. M. Austin *et al.* (eds), *Modus Operandi: Essays for G. Rickman* (1998), 31–46, at 43–5. In our view, four points can be made: the fragment is so small that very little can be deduced with certainty about its scope or contents; it does not seem to belong to the *lex de Gallia Cisalpina*; there is no reason to believe that Ateste received citizenship earlier than 49 B.C.; and no conclusion about dating can be drawn from the absence of the *actio de dolo* from the list of actions normally excluded from local jurisdiction. Again: *non liquet*.

inscription shows Delian ambassadors to Rome some time in the late 190s B.C. stressing the need to reactivate the *oikeiotês* between Rome and Delos. This claimed link probably refers to a number of local traditions, including Aeneas' halt at Delos, whose king, Anios, turns out to be a friend of Anchises (Dion. Hal. 1.50.1; Ovid, *Met.* 13.632–704 with Bömer's comm.), and Aeneas' proposed marriage to Lavinia, Anios' daughter, who gave her name to Lavinium (Dion. Hal. 1.59.3).[56] Another way of looking at Delian understanding of Rome prior to *c.* 140 B.C. is to examine the changing ways in which Romans are named in the temple inventories: at first they are referred to, in the manner of Greeks, simply by their praenomen + ῥωμαῖος, after the Second Punic War the role of the *gentilicium* is slowly recognized, and finally, as in the cases of 'Publius Aemilius' and 'Marcus Lollius' in the Serapeum Treasure lists D of 155 and 146 B.C., the ethnic itself begins to be dropped.[57] The fragmentary honorific decree from the Asklepieion on Kos in favour of Athenagoras of Larisa, the personal physician of Cn. Octavius (the commander of the Roman fleet during the Pydna campaign, and cos. 165 B.C.), which has been alluded to repeatedly since first cited by F. Münzer in 1931, but never actually published until now, suggests the skill with which the pro-Roman elements on the island managed in 168 B.C. to outmanoeuvre the leaders of the pro-Perseus party by using their contacts to the Hellenophile Octavius (Polyb. 30.7.10).[58] Athenagoras was himself no mere sawbones, but is recorded as one of the *tagoi* of the Thessalian Federation around the year 170 B.C., suggesting both wealth and high social status, and thus recalls, among other contemporary doctors in political mission, Stratios, the personal physician of King Eumenes, whom the king used as an intermediary to his brother Attalos II in Rome (Polyb. 30.2), or Apollophanes of Seleukeia, Antiochus III's medical adviser.[59]

There is more to report on the much-studied beginnings of the Roman province of Asia. The temple of Asklepios at Pergamon has produced an incomplete decree in honour of a leading citizen, Menodoros son of Metrodoros, who evidently played a key part in the process of 'democratization' of the city that followed the end of the monarchy in 133 B.C., and in the city's negotiations with the Roman regulatory commission during the (pro)consulship of M'. Aquillius (129–126 B.C.).[60] The weakness of the Roman position in 133 made the help of the Attalid cities, especially Pergamum, indispensable in the bid to undermine the claims of Aristonicus/Eumenes III to be the legitimate heir to the kingdom; and there can be hardly any doubt that Menodoros' negotiations with the *consilium* are connected with the *SC de agro Pergameno*: even if he is unlikely himself to have represented the city on the initial embassy to Rome in 129 B.C., the new text

[56] A. Erskine, *ZPE* 117 (1997) 133–6 on *IG* XI.4.756. Though Erskine believes that subtle distinctions existed in Hellenistic diplomatic language between, say, *oikeiotês* and *syngeneia*, others believe that they are virtual synonyms, *oikeiotês* stressing simply the consciousness of a connection that leads, or ought to lead, to sincerity and mutual warmth in political intercourse between two states: W. Günther, *Chiron* 28 (1998), 21–34, at 30f.

[57] M.-F. Baslez in A. D. Rizakis (ed.), *Roman Onomastics in the Greek East*, Meletemata 21 (1996), 215–24; R. Hamilton, *Treasure Map: a Guide to the Delian Inventories* (2000) is a well-organized translation of these texts, mainly intended as a contribution to Listenwissenschaft, the immanent logic of listing. Erskine has also suggested that it is its unfamiliarity within Greek constitutional terms which explains the absence of a Greek cult of the Senate in the Republican period: *Phoenix* 51 (1997), 25–37.

[58] L. and K. Hallof, *Chiron* 28 (1998), 105–9 no. 6 (= *AE* 1998: 1299; *SEG* 48.1101); cf. F. Münzer, s.v. Octavius, no. 17, *RE* 17 (1931), 1810–14, at 1812.30–4. The decree invokes, predictably enough, a hitherto unknown mythico-historical 'kinship' between Thessaly and Kos. The names of two tribes at Kaunos in the Rhodian Peraia (second to first century B.C.), Rhadamanthis and Kranais, suggest an appeal in that city both to Crete and to Athens, via Carian Kranaos, in pursuit of mythic ancestry: N. Ehrhardt, *ArchAnz* (1997), 45–50.

[59] The dossier (*SEG* 47.604) regarding the Romans' delimitation of the territory of the Ambraciots, their most important ally in the war, and in particular the *SC* obtained for them by P. Cornelius Blasio (praet. ?165 B.C.: Broughton, *MRR* 1, 438 n. 1: *SEG* 3.451 and *IG* IX.1.690), has been recapitulated by C. D. Hatzis in *Ἀφιέρωμα στον N.G.L. Hammond* (1997), 169–97 (cf. *AE* 1997: 1232a,b). Inter-city arbitrations in the Hellenistic period: S. L. Ager, *Interstate Arbitrations in the Greek World (337–98 BC)* (1997).

[60] M. Wörrle, *Chiron* 30 (2000), 543–76. D. W. Baronowski in E. Hermon (ed.), *Pouvoir et imperium (III^e av. J.-C.–I^e ap. J.-C.). Actes du colloque de la FIEC, 1994* (1996), 241–8, has shown that the part of Caria that lies between the Maeander and the Lykos (Caria Hydrela) was already incorporated into Asia around 129 B.C., presumably during the course of M'. Aquillius' road-building programme. The remainder however was only annexed after the first Mithradatic War; Samos too lost its freedom by command of Sulla, and by 82 B.C. was part of Asia (Cicero, *Verr.* 2.1.23; 50): M. Dreher, *EpigAnat* 26 (1996), 111–27, at 126.

makes it clear that, as one of the five *strategoi*, he fearlessly (μετὰ παρρησίας) represented the city's claims which are not wholly defined — perhaps to fiscal immunity.[61] The socio-political and financial problems of the cities of Asia after the war with Aristonicus, as well as the difficulty even for free cities of negotiating with the new Roman power, whose true colours were revealed only too quickly after 129 B.C., have been explored by a new commentary on the decrees from Klaros in honour of Menippos and Polemaios of Kolophon, which sadly pours cold water on L. Robert's claim that ἐπὶ δούλων πόλεως (II l.37) should be read as a toponym, ἐπὶ Δούλων πόλεως referring to Heliopolis, the famous 'city of slaves' supposedly founded by Aristonicus — it was anyway perhaps too good to be true.[62] It has also been suggested that the Decree of Elaia recording the celebrations for the city's new status of friend and ally of the Roman people, which must date from this time, is in reality a means of making good for a rather belated declaration for the Romans, and that the residence of the city's *technitai Dionysou* in Pergamum — they have hitherto been taken wrongly to be an itinerant group — was a kind of surety required by the new masters. This reading alerts one to a number of odd turns of phrase in the decree.[63] The capital of the new province has sometimes been thought to have been, from the beginning, as it certainly was later, Ephesus: but the presence of the Elaian *technitai* in Pergamum in the 120s B.C. is one of several minor confirmations of the traditional view that that city was initially the *caput Asiae*, just as it had been the former royal capital, and only lost this rank after serving as Mithradates' headquarters until well into 85 B.C. It must have been Sulla who promoted Ephesus when he summoned the Greeks of Asia there later in the same year (Appian, *Mithr.* 61).[64]

Menodoros was in his day the perpetual public priest of the 'gods on Samothrace' in Pergamon (ll. 2–3). From Samothrace itself there has now turned up a fragmentary list of the names of Romans, and at least one Sicilian, from Katana, who were initiated on 4 September 100 B.C.[65] This is the earliest such list in Latin which is securely dated, and confirms a by now familiar pattern, whereby élite Romans, in the last three-quarters of the century before the collapse of the Republican system, discovered initiation into Greek mysteries, and embarked on 'religious tourism' to this end. But it is the first two surviving names, M. Fannius and L. Tullius, that are important: both are qualified as *praefectus*, the first apparently to be identified with the praetor of 80 B.C., the second as

[61] The surviving text of this *SC*, based partly on G. Petzl's in *ISmyrna* no. 589, has been re-edited by G. di Stefano, *RendAccadLinc* ser 9, 9 (1998), 707–48 and reprinted in *AE* 1998: 1304. Di Stefano favours a date in 101 B.C. For the claim that Diodoros Pasparos is once again to be dated to the period of Aristonikos, which depends on an impossible account of the chronology of the Pergamene Nikephoria, see D. Musti, *RFIC* 126 (1998), 5–40; 127 (1999), 325–33. The arguments are extremely technical and their force hard to judge: some of the weaknesses are pointed out by C. P. Jones, *Chiron* 30 (2000), 1–14, at 1–12. The entire Pasparos dossier is discussed at length by A. S. Chankowski, *BCH* 122 (1998), 159–99 (*IGR* IV.294 is however to be excluded: F. Canali di Rossi, *EpigAnat* 31 (1999), 83–6), but the criteria employed to establish 'early'and 'late' features are not always easy to grasp.

[62] G. A. Lehmann, *'Römischer Tod' in Kolophon/ Klaros. Neue Quellen zum Status der 'freien' Polisstaaten an der Westküste Kleinasiens im späten 2. Jahrhundert v. Chr.*, Nachr. Akad. Wiss. Göttingen, phil.-hist. Kl. 1998, 3 (1998), on the texts (last quarter of the second century B.C.) originally published by J. and L. Robert, *Claros I* (1989) (= *SEG* 39.1243–4), noted in our last survey; the correction regarding 'Heliopolis' had already been made by F. Canali de Rossi, *Athenaeum* 79 (1991), 646–8. The title refers to Lehmann's interpretation of the phrase ἐπὶ ῥωμαικῷ θανάτωι (I, 45), which he plausibly takes to refer to Menippos having saved a citizen of Kolophon from execution by the atrocious method of Roman capital punishment, beating followed by decapitation with the axe, which had been ordered by the consuls.

[63] B. Le Guen, *Pallas* 47 (1997), 73–96, on *IGR* IV.1692; note also her thèse d'habilitation, *Les associations de technites dionysiaques à l'époque hellénistique* (2001), 2 vols, which likewise adopts an interestingly 'political' reading of these performers. In the Hellenistic world, the only surviving arena by means of which prestige and status could be won by the cities was education, in the double form of the theatre (the location of performances by actors and musicians) and the gymnasium. On the one hand, this stimulated the civic creation or reinvention of new festivals, isopythic, isolympic, or isonemean; on the other, culture seemed to the kings, whether of Pergamon, Cappadocia, or Bithynia, too important to be left to the cities. The *technitai* were the beneficiaries of this double competition, ready to disseminate civic and royal claims and ideology, but at the same time able at least potentially to encode resistance.

[64] Jones, op. cit. (n. 61), at 12–14, against K. J. Rigsby, *TAPhA* 118 (1988), 123–53, at 147–51.

[65] K. Clinton, *Chiron* 31 (2001), 27–35. In view of the proximity between Katana and Aitne/Aetna, one is tempted to speculate whether this 'Artemidoros of Katana' is not to be identified with the Artemidorus who led the Aetnaean delegation that gave evidence against Verres in 70 B.C. (Cicero, *2Verr.* 3.105) — Aitne, 12 miles from Katana, was founded by that city. One wonders at any rate what he was doing in such high company in Samothrace.

the uncle of Cicero, whom we know to have participated in the campaign of M. Antonius against the Cilician pirates at this time (Cicero, *de orat.* 2.2).[66] These officers — they are accompanied by two *equites*, who can be added to the tiny number of Republican documentary attestations of this term used for members of the Order — are evidently on their way back to Italy from the Cilician campaign (which presumably therefore only ended that summer, and not in 101 B.C., as has recently been argued), and decided to stop off at Samothrace to be initiated.[67] And, from the order of the names in the list, it must be considered likely that the missing first name is that of Antonius himself, who certainly left Cilicia with Tullius, and presumably accompanied him at least so far.[68]

It has been plausibly suggested that this M. Antonius was among the Romans honoured in a series of small monuments, some of them equestrian statues, distributed along the street linking the Propylaia to the temple of Apollo at Klaros: the inscription was probably martellated at the time of the *damnatio memoriae* of his grandson, Mark Antony.[69] Prominent among the honorands are naturally the ancestral patrons of Kolophon: C. Valerius Flaccus, cos. 93, who must have been pro-praetorian proconsul of Asia at latest in 95 B.C., his brother L. (cos. suff. 86), and his nephew L. (praet. 62), who is, in all likelihood, the Flaccus defended by Cicero in 59 B.C. on a charge of extortion (*RE* VIII.A_1 no. 179); the older pair represent the first known cases — from the 60s it is common practice — of a governor in office being addressed as patron of a city — and that a free one.[70] Other well-known names include Lucullus as *imperator* (probably as late as 71/70 B.C.), honoured as *soter* perhaps for his interventions on behalf of the cities of Asia ruined by the debts incurred in order to pay off the reparations imposed by Sulla; and, for the first time in Asia, Cicero's brother Quintus, who served as governor 61–59 B.C. and is honoured not as patron but as 'euergete of the Hellenes'. Pompey is, of course, also among the honorands, not by the city but by the *koinon* of the Ionians, and described, as at Miletopolis, as 'watcher over land and sea'.[71] A fragmentary bilingual text from Sardis records the gratitude of the Italian *negotiatores* in the city to a *L. Mun[atio C.f. Planco*, probably shortly before the outbreak of the first Mithradatic War.[72] The editor prefers to see here a private individual, but it seems much more likely

[66] This expedition seems to have marked the effective creation of a second province in Asia Minor – Cilicia: J. L. Ferrary, *Chiron* 30 (2000), 161–93, at 167–70. The early governors of both provinces were all of praetorian, not consular, rank, though they may have enjoyed proconsular *imperium*. This necessitates a laborious, but probably correct, argument to show that Q. Mucius Scaevola governed Asia in 99, 98 or 97 B.C., but not in 95 as consul.

[67] On the way to Cilicia, on account of the weather, they had stopped off at Athens and listened to orators: Cicero, *De orat.* 1.82.

[68] Clinton seems unduly cautious about this inference, in deference to E. Badian's view that he is more likely to have hurried on to Rome to prepare for the consular elections.

[69] J.-L. Ferrary and S. Verger, *CRAI* (1999), 811–50 (archaeology of the street); J.-L. Ferrary, *BCH* 124 (2000), 331–76 (texts). They were excavated by J. and L. Robert and other scholars; some have been noted in *Bullép.* Those noted here, beginning with C. Flaccus, are respectively Ferrary's nos 1, 2, 5, 3, 6, 4.

[70] C.'s governorship is not entered in Broughton, *MRR* 3 (1986), 211. Note the useful overview of the recorded titles of Roman governors of Asia between Sulla and Q. Minucius Thermus (?52–50 B.C.) in Ferrary, op. cit. (n. 69), 348f.; and of hereditary patrons in idem, *Chiron* 30 (2000), 189f. This latter article contains a careful evaluation of the epigraphic and other evidence for the fasti of Asia (and Cilicia) from 126–88 B.C. (pp. 170–93).

[71] *ILS* 9459 = E. Schwertheim, *IKyzikos* 2 (1983), no. 24, cf. A. Momigliano, *JRS* 32 (1942), 53–64. This formula was later used for Augustus and other Julio-Claudians at Pergamon: *IGR* IV.309, 315. E. Winter in *Die Troas: Neue Forschungen zu Neandria und Alexandria Troas II*, Asia Minor Studien 22 (1996), 175–94, has written a detailed commentary on the interesting text dedicated by the Demos and Neoi of Ilion in honour of Pompey's having saved humanity 'from wars with the barbarians and the danger of the pirates' (*AE* 1990: 940). The dossier from Mytilene relating to Theophanes and Pompey is discussed by G. Labarre, *Les cités de Lesbos aux époques hellénistique et impériale*, Coll. Inst. arch. et hist. de l'Ant., Université Lumière, 1 (1996), 92–9 nos 15–19. The new reading of *PHerc* 1018 col. 72 by T. Dorandi, *Filodemo* (1994), implies that Panaetius played a role similar to Theophanes' at Mytilene in saving his native city of Rhodes, and for that reason was granted the title δεύτερος κτίστης (p. 171); cf. J.-L. Ferrary in P. Cartledge *et al.* (eds), *Hellenistic Constructs*, Hellenistic Culture and Society 26 (1997), 105–19, at 119 n. 57.

[72] P. Herrmann, *Arkeoloji Dergisi* 4 (1996), 175–87, at 184–6 (= *AE* 1996: 1453).

that the dedication, which seems to be a statue base, refers to the Sullan officer recorded in Appian, *Mithr.* 34.133.[73]

These texts raise the wider question of the role of patronage in the interpretation of Roman policy in the East.[74] Instead of, or in addition to, viewing patronage through Roman eyes as a Roman instrument, we might prefer to consider the issue in terms of changing Greek representations of the senatorial system as it impinged upon them. Analogously to the Delian perceptions of Roman nomenclature, Romans abroad — pro-magistrates, their staffs, and other Romans pursuing private ploys — were for a short time initially fitted into a traditional Greek language, in this case of euergetism and proxeny, which imply indeed an asymmetrical relation, but one founded on a trade-off between acknowledgement of suzerainty on the one hand and the bestowal of benefits on the other. After the imposition of direct rule in the last third of the second century B.C., however, when the Greek cities began to appreciate the need for expert help in negotiations with the Senate in Rome, they adapted the word πάτρων from Latin, to denote a form of mediation hitherto unnecessary between themselves and a foreign political system, a mediation which they saw, as the Menippos/Polemaios texts from Kolophon clearly show, not as a form of dependence but as a political resource.[75] This language in turn disappeared a century later with extraordinary rapidity, together with the Republican system of government that spawned it.[76] Less plausibly, perhaps, Ferrary suggests that from the Sullan period the title πάτρων became little more than a form of nabob-flattery, an attempt to minimize the financial and socio-political damage that an individual governor might do; one might rather suppose that, as political life at Rome became more fraught, patrons were multiplied on the insurance principle. At the same time, individual Greeks came again to understand in the very late Republic, as Kallikrates and Polybius had done in the previous century, the value, both for themselves and their cities, of entering into a personal relation of clientship with a powerful Roman.

Further progress has been made in relation to the Ephesian customs law (the 'Monumentum Ephesenum': *SEG* 39.1180), though many passages remain obscure.[77] It seems certain that it is a translation of an original document in Latin: the phrase δημόσια πράγματα δήμου Ῥωμαίων in l.59, for example, translates the expression *respublica p.R.* in a touchingly literal manner.[78] The organization of the text has also been largely clarified: the basic text (§§1–36) was formulated in *c.* 75 B.C. on the basis of existing regulations that presumably go back to the initial organization of the province of Asia, if not earlier (there is for example an unresolved tension between private τελώναι and the associations of *publicani*).[79] This section is followed by a series of addenda or special case-rules adopted at the time of contract, the first two (§§ 37, 38) in *c.* 72 B.C.,

[73] The epigraphic evidence for the pro-Roman views of the city élites at this time is collected by M. D. Campanile in B. Virgilio (ed.), *Studi ellenistici* 8 (1996), 145–73. F. Canali de Rossi, *Epigraphica* 61 (1999), 37–46, argues that the king *phil]opator kai philadelphos* responsible for the dedication *CIL* VI.30922 = *ILLRP* 180 (S. Omobono) is Mithradates the Great, at a time, around 101 B.C., when he conjecturally still called himself Philopator (cf. Diod. Sic. 36.15.1–3). It seems at any rate impossible that the text should be as early as the mid-second century B.C.

[74] J.-L. Ferrary in M. Christol *et al.* (eds), *Actes du X^e Congrès d'épigraphie grecque et latine, Nîmes 1992* (1997), 199–225, which overlaps with, but is more substantial than, his essay in Cartledge, op. cit. (n. 71). In particular, pp. 213–24 list the Romans known to have been *proxenoi* or patrons of cities in the Greek East, and the cult-honours offered to nineteen of them.

[75] R. Bernhardt, *Mediterraneo Antico: economie, società, culture* 2 (1999), 49–68, at 49, points out that these texts, together with the *lex agraria* of 111 B.C., are the first references to *civitates liberae*; he insists once again on the absence of a legal blue-print for this status and the sheer variety of privileges, and obligations or duties, it might encompass; cf. his research report, *Rom u. die Städte des hellenistischen Ostens (3.–1. Jhdt. v. Chr.): Literaturebericht 1965–95* (1998).

[76] To be officially acknowledged as a city's patron perhaps enabled the Roman to act with less embarrassment on its behalf even against the interests of other members of the élite. Ferrary also suggests that the Roman notions of *fides*, *beneficium*, and *officium* were easily translatable into the Greek understanding of the permanently asymmetrical relation between *euergetes* and recipient, cf. Strabo 9.2.40, 415C.

[77] This document was the subject of a two-day conference in Oxford in October 1999, as a preliminary to the publication of a full text, translation, and commentary.

[78] N. Lewis, *ZPE* 107 (1995), 248; idem, *ScrClassIsrael* 15 (1996), 208–11.

[79] On the text's ghostly Attalid structures, see S. Carelli in Virgilio, op. cit. (n.73), 175–89, who provides a clear analysis of the law's different sections.

the remainder Augustan or Julio-Claudian, up to the date of final redaction in A.D. 62. The basic text has been partly, but inefficiently, emended to make it compatible with some of the special-case rules.[80] The old question of the coherence of the geographical information in the main section of the text however remains intractable: arguments have been adduced in favour of the view that the law covered the province of Asia plus some customs-posts in Bithynia, Pamphylia, and even in some free cities;[81] but it has also been claimed that, given the certainty that the scope of the province of Asia altered many times between 75 B.C. and A.D. 62, all the places named were probably at some time within the province, and through administrative inertia remained subject to the *portorium Asiae* even after the creation of Bithynia-Pontus and Cilicia.[82] If it is indeed the case that elements of the main text were fitfully brought up to date, there is no plausible means of resolving this question. It has been suggested that the mini-dossier relating to the bid by P. Charagonius Philopalaestrus for control over the customs revenue from Histria in A.D. 100 offers a parallel to the law, insofar at any rate as they both provide evidence for Rome's zealous control of the profits arising from the Black Sea trade via the Bosporos.[83]

There has been considerable interest in getting onomastic evidence to yield answers to interesting questions.[84] What, for example, can be said about the origins of the Roman/Italian settlers in the Peloponnese? The answer differs depending on whether we are talking about farmers or *negotiatores*.[85] In Arkadia, Elis, and Messenia it seems probable that the Roman farming population was mainly derived from the settlements, later colonies, at Dyme and Patrai, perhaps Corinth too. On the other hand, the careers of Cicero's friend M. Curius at Patrai (*RE* no. 6), or of the Cloatii in Gytheion (*Syll.*[3] 743), to say nothing of wider networks such as those of the Cluvii at Puteoli,[86] or the Caecilii and Ofillii in Crete,[87] suggest the intensity of late Republican trading relations across the Adriatic/Ionian seas and the Aegean. As for the old question of the relation between the abandonment of Delos in 89/88 B.C. and the Roman population of Greece, the connection seems reasonably well established at least for Thespiae and the Cretan cities of Eleutherna, Knossos, and Gortyn; but the uncertainties involved in comparing lists of *gentilicia* between Delos and other cities are obvious, and in most instances, for example in Argos or Sparta, the number of relevant cases is tiny and the issue undecidable.[88]

Returning to Italy, it seems likely that the great rise of documented euergetism in the cities, which covers a very wide range of activity, was stimulated by legislation, probably after the Social War, authorizing or requiring magistrates of colonies and

[80] T. Spagnuolo Vigorita in AAVV., *I rapporti contrattuali con la pubblica amministrazione nell'esperienza storico-giuridica. Congresso intern., Torino 1994* (1997), 115–90, an almost book-length study which ably resumes the *status quaestionis*.

[81] M. Dreher, *EpigAnat* 26 (1996), 111–27.

[82] G. Merola, *MEFRA* 108 (1) (1996), 263–97. The regulations concerning exemptions from customs levies in §§72–4 have been understood to imply that the *publicani* were able to use their advantages to concentrate the bulk movement of grain and other naturalia in their own hands: C. Nicolet, *MEFRA* 111 (1) (1999), 191–215.

[83] *IScM* 2,1 nos 67–8 = *AE* 1919: 10f., cf. O. Bounegru in P. Scherrer *et al.* (eds), *Steine und Wege: Festschrift D. Knibbe*, Österr. Arch. Inst, Sonderschr. 32 (1999), 87–91.

[84] See particularly the essays assembled by Rizakis, op. cit. (n. 57).

[85] S. Zoumbaki, *Tekmeria* 4 (1998/9), 112–73, with a prosopographical appendix comparing the *gentilicia* with those known from Delos; cf. eadem in Rizakis, op. cit. (n. 57), 191–206.

[86] E. Bispham in A. Cooley (ed.), *The Epigraphic Landscape of Roman Italy* (2000), 39–75, with a rather curious revised reading of *CIL* X.1572 = *ILS* 6345 (p. 43–7).

[87] M. W. Baldwin Bowsky, *Electrum* 5 (2001), 31–72, with a prosopography of seventy-seven names. Her nominal aim is to test for predisposing contexts for Pompey's recruitment of around 4,000 men before the battle of Pharsalus, but the search is inconclusive.

[88] cf. C. Müller in Rizakis, op. cit. (n. 57), 157–66; W. V. Harris in A. Chaniotis (ed.), *From Minoan Farmers to Roman Traders: Sidelights on the Economy of Ancient Crete* (1999), 353–8. C. P. Jones, *ZPE* 124 (1999), 89–94, has suggested that the Q. Caecilius Atticus of the inscription, reported in our last survey, set up by the users of the gymnasium in Ephesos (*SEG* 41.964 = *AE* 1991: 1503), is to be identified with Cicero's friend Atticus, or possibly an adoptive son. His arguments however seem to us to confirm the intuition of the first editor that, if anything, we have to do with the homonymous man from Tuder (*ILS* 2230). Jones, however, rightly calls attention to the interest of Atticus' rank, as *praefectus* both of Caesar and Octavian.

municipia to expend public monies on public shows and buildings.[89] This obligation directly stimulated the growth in epigraphic commemoration, since those responsible could thereby both confirm that they had fulfilled their legal obligations and lay claim to the integrity of the dutiful magistrate. Moreover it seems probable that, when Italian magistrates commemorate such euergetic activities, they are often doing so not, as they seem to imply, of their own generosity (though they may often have contributed additional funds), but mainly under the stimulus of such colonial or municipal regulations. As with religious votives and funeraries, Republican epigraphic culture can be said to have been driven at least partly by the desire publicly to record one's sense of *officium*.[90]

It has been known since 1928 that the faced concrete walls of Ostia were built for the colony by the Senate and People of Rome.[91] But by whom exactly, and when? The traditional assumption has been that they date from the Sullan settlement.[92] But the very fragmentary Domitianic/Trajanic double re-inscription over the Porta Romana seemed to name a *P. Cl[odiu]s P[u]lche[r co]nsu[l* as the person responsible, a man otherwise unknown, who has always been assigned vaguely to the mid-Augustan period, or identified with the Claudius Pulcher who was a quadrans moneyer shortly before 4 B.C. and possibly consul in the early A.D. 20s.[93] After years of patient detective-work on the gigantic crumbs of marble which are all that survives of the two identical texts, F. Zevi has proposed a brilliant new reading, based on a fragment — *]lcher tr [* — which Wickert ignored or did not see, and a hint in Cicero's speech *De haruspicum responso* 58, where he claims before the Senate that Clodius 'vestris monumentis suum nomen inscripsit'.[94] On the new interpretation, it would be Cicero as consul in 63 B.C. who arranged for the work to be carried out, but his enemy Clodius, as tribune in 58 B.C., who claimed to have completed the walls and thus insinuated his name into the text. The later re-inscription seems to have reproduced the substance of Clodius' text, but added a sentence, which cannot be recovered, recording a restoration *c.* A.D. 100.[95]

A handful of late Republican texts suggest that the small Roman settlements at Nauportus (Vrhnika) and Emona (Ljubljana) are to be seen as attempts in the 50s B.C. to extend the province of Cisalpina far into the Emona basin, a transit-land settled by the Celtic Taurisci, in order to control and tax the river-traffic, and later as a bridgehead for Caesar's envisaged campaign against the Dacian Burebista (who threatened in the 40s B.C. to destabilize the kingdom of Noricum).[96] Once the threat from Dacia receded with Burebista's death, the settlements became instead a bridgehead for Octavian's campaign

[89] M. Crawford in Austin, op. cit. (n. 55), 38f.; S. Panciera in Christol, op. cit. (n. 74), 249–90, lists 410 Republican euergetic inscriptions from Italy including Cisalpina, showing that Greek-style private gestures by the wealthy were relatively unimportant compared with public or semi-public expenditure originated by the Roman or local senate.

[90] M. Pobjoy in Cooley, op. cit. (n. 86), 77–92. One must however protest at his coinage of the word 'euergetistic' in place of 'euergetic'.

[91] L. Wickert, *SB Akad. Berlin, phil.-hist. Kl.* 1928 (1928), 46, on *AE* 1910: 186 (a Domitianic or Trajanic re-inscription of an earlier text), resumed in the commentary to *CIL* XIV.4707.

[92] Meiggs, op. cit. (n. 54), 34–7, 128f.

[93] T. P. Wiseman, *New Men in the Roman Senate, 139 BC–14 AD* (1971), 150 n. 4 = *RE* Claudius no. 291 (E. Groag); Meiggs, op. cit. (n. 54), 594 ad p. 208. Meiggs does however here mention the crucial fragment shown him by F. Zevi.

[94] F. Zevi, *RivIstNazArch* ser. 3, 19–20 (1996–7), 61–112 = *AE* 1997: 253. The new hypothesis involves extending the width of the text by 7–10 letters, thus making it possible to eradicate the objectionable abbreviation in l. 1, *populu[sque R.]*. There seems to be another reference to this affair in *ad fam.* 1.9.15 (54 B.C.).

[95] The building work will have occupied the period 63–59/58 B.C.; the *de harusp. resp.* was delivered in 57 B.C. F. Canali di Rossi, *MGR* 19 (1995), 147–59, has re-edited the Thessalian famine-text *SEG* 34.558, which records the despatch of some 3,000 tonnes of grain to Rome at the request of the aedile Q. Caecilius Metellus, and suggested that it should be dated to the acute grain-shortage of 57 B.C. (when Q. Caecilius Metellus Scipio Nasica cos. 52 B.C. may have been aedile) and seen as part of Clodius' programme to distribute free grain. However, Gruen's date of 129 B.C. has probably — on balance — the better circumstantial arguments in its favour (cf. P. Garnsey, *Famine and Food-supply* (1988), 187), despite the fact that we hear of a famine in that year from no other source. J. Linderski, in idem (ed.), *Imperium sine fine: T.R.S. Broughton and the Roman Republic*, Historia Einzelschrift 105 (1996), 145–85, comments with his customary wit and learning on a hitherto unpublished gem inscribed with Scipio's name (cos. 52 B.C.) as *imperator*; note especially his account of the rules of adoption, pp. 148–54, a minefield for the unwary.

[96] On Pompey and Burebista (in relation to *IGBulg.* I^2.13, ll.22f.), see A. Suceveanu, *Tyche* 13 (1998), 229–47.

against the Illyrian Segestani.[97] Finally, four small boundary stones in the Marche have provided another hint of the difficulties and disruptions caused by the triumviral settlement of veterans.[98] They show that land in the Cesano valley was taken away from the community of Suasa after Philippi to be given, as an exclave, to the colony of Pisaurum, probably on account of the repeated flooding of the lower Pisaurus (cf. Siculus Flaccus, *de condic. agr.* p. 157.21ff.L.).[99] Such exclaves might be tilled directly or by tenants; in this case the former seems more likely, in that the presence of such colonists in the neighbourhood might explain why non-citizens (*incolae*) were allowed free entry into the baths of Suasa (*ILS* 5673) and why such a small town could afford its own amphitheatre.[100]

II. EMPERORS AND THE IMPERIAL FAMILY

Among the monuments from Klaros — discovered, however, not on the street but in the oracular crypt of the temple of Apollo, having fallen from the *cella* above — is a base, datable between 31 and 28 B.C., which was dedicated by the people of Kolophon in honour of Octavian, *inter alia* because of τὰς [ἰσο]θέους πράξεις καὶ τὰς εὐερ[γε]σίας towards themselves and to the 'Panhellenes' collectively.[101] The expression 'quasi-divine exploits' is unknown elsewhere, but is the lineal descendant in reverence of the 'quasi-divine honour' accorded to Diodoros Pasparos at Pergamon, Pompey at Side, and Artemidoros at Knidos;[102] and clearly implies that the persona of Octavian enjoyed a special status — even if we do not need to suppose that his statue was in receipt of cult honours. As for the term Panhellenes — 'all the Greeks' — with its Homeric and Hesiodic sonority, it implies not merely the universality of Octavian's benefits but also the keenness of the desire to efface the memory of the hesitations of the Greek world confronted with the choice between Antony and Octavian.[103]

It is precisely the scale of the benefits of the new regime that for G. Alföldy differentiates Augustan euergetism from its Republican precedents.[104] The outpouring of expenditure upon public buildings, city-walls, roads, aqueducts,[105] *congiaria*, spectacles, lifts the Princeps out of the category of magisterial euergete into his own special category of universal benefactor. The asymmetry thus established, and continually re-affirmed, serves as a model for the dependent asymmetries lower down the socio-political hierarchy, and transforms the 'Hellenistic euergetism' of the élites of individual cities into imitative benefaction.[106] This view of the ideological centrality of redistribution in the Principate has been interestingly extended by B. Bosworth in a new reading

[97] M. Šašel Kos in Paci, op. cit. (n. 28), 101–12 on *ILLRP* 33–4, with eadem in J. Horvat (ed.), *Nauportus* (1990), 22–8; *ZPE* 109 (1995), 227–44; G. Dobesch in R. Göbl, *Die Hexadrachmenprägung der Groß-Boier: Ablauf, Chronologie und historische Relevanz für Noricum u. Nachbargebiete* (1994), 51–68. On the 'pre-municipal' status of Narbonensis in the late Republic prior to Caesar's settlements, M. Christol in M. Dondin-Payre and M.-Th. Raepsaet-Charlier (eds), *Cités, municipes, colonies: les processus de municipalisation en Gaule et en Germanie sous le Haute-Empire romain* (1999), 1–27, at 2–16.

[98] G. Paci, *Picus* 16–17 (1996–7), 115–48 = *AE* 1997: 497a–b, 498a–b. The cippi themselves seem to date from the mid-first entury A.D., and were presumably either replacements for the original ones or put into position after a dispute.

[99] cf. L. Keppie, *Colonisation and Veteran Settlement in Italy, 47–14 BC* (1983), 13 and 63.

[100] If *incolae* could be used to refer to such colonists in an exclave: on the category in general, see A. Rizakis, *REA* 100 (1998), 599–617, preferable to G. Poma, *RivStorAnt* 28 (1998), 135–47.

[101] Ferrary, op. cit. (n. 69), 357 no. 8.

[102] Diodoros: *MDAI(A)* 32 (1907), 243 no. 4 = Chankowski, op. cit. (n. 61), no. 5 with S. R. F. Price, *Rituals and Power* (1984), 48; Pompey: *ISide* 1, no. 55; Artemidoros: *IKnidos* 1 no. 46; cf. Ferrary in Christol, op. cit. (n. 74), 204. 'Quasi-divine' was to have a future: Price, p. 51, aptly cites the case of Labeo of Kyme late in the reign of Augustus, who declined a temple on the grounds that τὰν ἑαύτω τύχαν ... ὑπερβάρεα καὶ θέοισι καὶ τοῖς ἰσσοθέοισι ἁρμόζοισαν, 'his good fortune was excessive and (only) fitting for gods and the god-like': *IGR* IV.1302 = *IKyme* no. 27.

[103] The discussion by C. J. Simpson, *Athenaeum* 86 (1998), 419–37 of Octavian's name *Imp. Caesar Divi filius*, though a convenient collection of evidence, adds nothing to the conclusions long since established.

[104] G. Alföldy in Christol, op. cit. (n. 74), 293–304.

[105] Another complete example of the standard inscription, '*Iussu imp. Caesaris Augusti* . . .', marking the course of the aqueduct of Venafrum has been published, corresponding to the well-known Augustan edict (*ILS* 5743 = *FIRA*^{2} 1 no. 67): S. Capini, *Molise, Repertorio VII: Venafrum* (1999), 31 no. 2 = *AE* 1999: 460.

[106] cf. W. Kuhoff in W. Weber (ed.), *Der Fürst: Ideen und Wirklichkeiten in der europäischen Geschichte* (1998), 27–66, at 50, citing Suet., *Aug.* 31.5.

of the *Res Gestae*: complex and many-layered as that document is, one of its tacit claims is that the combination of (world-) conquest and massive benefaction qualifies a human being for apotheosis.[107] Augustus' double insistence upon conquest and liberality, which can be traced throughout the *RG*, is to be seen in the context of Ennius' translation of Euhemerus' ἱερὰ ἀναγραφή — not the 'euhemerist' Euhemerus of apologetic misrepresentation but the creator of a powerful image of Zeus as the author of a beneficent divine providence founded upon skill at arms. In relation to *RG*, one of Euhemerus' thoughts comes in most opportunely: Zeus caused an account of his own πράξεις, and those of his predecessors Ouranos and Kronos, to be inscribed in 'Panchaian letters' on a golden stela (Lactant., *div. inst.* 1.11.33). But perhaps too opportunely: for, as Jacoby pointed out almost a century ago, Euhemerus' model was widely appropriated in the Hellenistic world for 'mythological novels', such as Deinarchos' or Dionysios Skytobrachion's *Dionysiaka* (whatever their precise titles).[108] And we have only to think of Horace's 'Herculis ritu modo dictus, o plebs' (*Od.* 3.14.1) to wonder whether the proximate horizon of expectation drawn upon by *RG* was not Euhemerus, even in Ennius' translation, but the current 'mythological novel' attached to Hercules — to which indeed Tiberius, according to Dio, explicitly referred in his funeral oration before the pyre in A.D. 14: πρὸς μόνον δὲ δὴ τὸν Ἡρακλέα . . . (Dio 56.36.4–5).[109]

The Augustan regime of course deployed many other kinds of historical allusion. One strictly Roman form was the invocation of the Iulii and the *summi viri* along the lower range of the great hemicycles behind the colonnades of the Forum Augustum. These *elogia* are collected by Degrassi in *InscrIt* XIII.3, but have recently been reconsidered both by Alföldy for *CIL* VI.8.2 and by M. Spannagel, in a wider discussion of the entire Forum.[110] The two editions display wide differences in their suggested texts, which is scarcely surprising given their condition; but Spannagel, in pursuit of the view that the choice of persons was directly influenced by dynastic considerations, offers M. Atius Balbus, Augustus' maternal grandfather, in *InscrIt* XIII.3.38, as *XXv[ir agr. dand. adtr. iud.]* for Alföldy's *. . .[regnavit] Albae ann(os) XXV[III octavus rex]*, and C. Claudius Nero (cos. 207 B.C.), the progenitor of Tiberius and Germanicus, in *InscrIt* XIII.3.19, for Alföldy's *[C.] Claud[ius Ap. f. Pulcher] cos c[ensor XVvir leg.] trib. m[il. ---]* (cos. 177 B.C.).[111] Manipulation of history takes on another meaning in the context of a most surprising discovery, not an inscription, but a hitherto unknown aureus-type of Octavian, dated 28 B.C., from an eastern mint.[112] The reverse legend, *leges et iura p.R. restituit*, suggests that Dio, for the sake of his view of Augustus' insincerity ('an elaborately staged charade'), telescoped a rather extended process of restoration of the Republic, of which the surrender of the armies and provinces on 13 January 27 B.C. was simply the final act. The new coin tends in fact to confirm Augustus' claim in *RG* 34 that he transferred power to the Senate and People

[107] B. Bosworth, *JRS* 89 (1999), 1–18, stressing the importance of Vergil, *Aen.* 6.756–853. E. Gabba in A. Storchi Marino (ed.), *L'incidenza dell'Antico: Studi E. Lepore* 1 (1995), 223–9, had already argued that the intended audience of *RG* was the Roman élite, but on quite different grounds.

[108] F. Jacoby, *RE* 6 (1907), 952–72, at 971 (written 1904). Jacoby also points out (967f.) that Euhemerus' historical-political conception of divinity was itself founded upon knowledge of the divine monarchies of the Fertile Crescent — to say nothing of Alexander.

[109] See J. Béranger, *Recherches sur l'aspect idéologique du Principat* (1953), 181f., aptly citing, for the horizon of expectation in the late Republic, Cicero, *de fin.* 3.66; *de off.* 3.25. The point goes back to R. Schilling's fine article, *RPh* 68 (1942), 31–57.

[110] M. Spannagel, *Exemplaria Principis: Untersuchungen zu Entstehung und Ausstattung des Augustusforums*, Archäologie u. Geschichte 9 (1999). Two other discussions are worth mentioning: (a) the choice of 12 May for the *Ludi Martiales*, which was also the date of the dedication of the temple of Mars Ultor, is unrelated to the restoration of the Carrhae standards (Dio 54.8.3; *Feriale Cumanum*), but its significance for the dynasty cannot be established (pp. 41–59); (b) the *Fasti Capitolini* were cut before 31 B.C., and the names of the Antonii thereafter martellated; the *Fasti triumphales* were cut for Octavian's triple triumph, 13–15 August 29, but added to until 19 B.C. (pp. 245–52). L. Chioffi, *Gli Elogia augustei del Foro romano: aspetti epigrafici e topografici*, Opuscula Epigraphica 7 (1966) laboriously locates these wretched fragments to the south end of the *porticus Gaii et Lucii* (though this can surely have nothing to do with the *fornix Fabiorum* as she suggests); cf. also S. Panciera (ed.), *Iscrizioni greche e latine del Foro Romano e del Palatino*, Tituli 7 (1996), 99–139.

[111] Respectively *CIL* VI.8.3.40936 = Spannagel, op. cit. (n. 110), 294f.; 31605 = 8.3.40945 = Spannagel p. 321f.

[112] J. W. Rich and J. H. C. Williams, *NumChron* 159 (1999), 169–213; its appearance is generally familiar, since reverse and obverse adorn the dust-jacket of M. Crawford, *RRS* (1996) — thanks to Crawford, it is now in the British Museum.

during his sixth and seventh consulships. The reverse image, of Octavian, togate, sitting on a curule chair and extending a rolled scroll with his right hand, may be derived from a statue, just as the legend may derive from a senatorial decree of 28 B.C. in his favour.

Frustula: a broken text from near Thyateira in Asia using the era of Actium records the dedication of a porticus to Apollo Sôtêr, Artemis, and Herakles Kallinikos by the inhabitants of four villages 'for the health of the emperor Caesar Augustus' (ὑπὲρ τῆς . . . ὑγ[ιείας]) which may well refer to the general consternation of 23 B.C.[113] The remains of the Meta Sudans, Domitian's enormous fountain at the south end of the Via Sacra at Rome, were cleared in 1936; recent excavation of the site has brought to light the remains of some re-inscribed imperial dedications by the official musicians: the earliest of them, by the trumpeters (*a(e)neatores*), marks a statue dedicated here to Augustus between 6 March and 25 June 12 B.C., perhaps in connection with his election as pontifex maximus; the next is from a statue to Tiberius, offered between 8 B.C. and A.D. 4 by the *aeneatores*, *tubicines*, *liticines*, and *cornicines Romani*, not yet divided into colleges, who evidently had their official *schola* in this area, handy for their performances at public sacrifices, games and celebrations.[114]

It has been suggested that the similarities, in textual organization and itemization, between the decrees of the senate of Pisa passed relating to the deaths of L., then C. Caesar (20 August 2 B.C., 21/22 February A.D. 4) (*ILS* 139f.) and the *Tabula Siarensis* are best explained on the assumption that both are based upon the same senatorial decree, on the occasion of L.'s death, which foresaw, for the first time, annual public offerings (*inferiae*) at an altar to a member of the ruling house in the Mausoleum of Augustus.[115] An elaborate revised edition of the *Tabula Siarensis* itself, with a line by line commentary, many new suggestions for the lacunae, and a complete index of words (pp. 361–434), has been published by A. Sanchez-Ostiz Gutiérrez.[116] The careers of all the earlier Julio-Claudian princes (including Agrippa) have been minutely studied to exemplify the thesis that they, as 'colleagues' of the Princeps, played an important role in legitimating the position of the ruling house within the gradually shifting horizons of expectation between 30 B.C. and A.D. 20.[117] In a rather uncommon gesture of munificence, Claudius arranged for a building, possibly a temple, that had been destroyed by a fire in Rome, to be restored *de sua pe[cunia* — from his private purse.[118]

The finely-carved Farnese bases and the Quirinal altar, which were all found together in the Forum Romanum in 1547, and provide important information about the organization of the city tribes in the Empire, may have formed part of a single monument, erected in A.D. 70 — perhaps near the site of his later temple — in honour of Vespasian's advent into the city: the divinities invoked, Fortuna Redux, Victoria, Pax Aeterna, and Augusta all fit neatly into Flavian religious language.[119] The nymphaeum

[113] H. Malay, *Researches in Lydia, Mysia and Aiolis*, Denkschriften der Österr. Akad. der Wiss., phil.-hist. Kl. 279 = Ergänzungsb. zu TAM 23 (1999), 40f. no. 24 = *AE* 1999: 1530.

[114] C. Panella (ed.), *Meta Sudans, I: Un'area sacra in Palatio e la valle del Colosseo prima e dopo Nerone* (1996), 201f. = *CIL* VI.8.2.40307; p. 115–31 = 40334 (= *AE* 1996: 246–7).

[115] W. D. Lebek in *XI Congresso internaz. di epigrafia greca e romana: Preatti* (1997), 385–95; somewhat differently, *Atti del XI Congresso* (n. 6 above), 239–48. According to Lebek, parts I–II of the L. Caesar text (*ILS* 139) are based on a special senatorial decree in answer to questions about the original *SC* raised by the Pisans. He reconstructs the hypothetical original *SC* on pp. 243–5. A new resolution in honour of the dead C. Caesar, from Aeclanum, through which the cortège may have passed on its way from Limyra in Lycia: M. Silvestrini, *MEFRA* 109 (1997), 14–20 = *AE* 1997: 400.

[116] A. Sanchez-Ostiz Gutiérrez, *Tabula Siarensis: edición, traducción y comentario* (1999); the original edition is *AE* 1984: 508. Note also: A. Fraschetti (ed.), *La commemorazione di Germanico nella documentazione epigrafica: Convegno Cassino 1991* (2000).

[117] F. Hurlet, *De la légitimité républicaine à la légitimité dynastique*, CEFR 227 (1997), with a good, but not exhaustive, assemblage of honorific texts in their favour, pp. 573–600. A puzzling monument from the forum of *vicus Augustanus Laurentium* (Castèl Porziano, between Rome and Castèl Fusano) has been published, with at least three columns bearing the names, and total tribunicial years, of Agrippa, Tiberius, and his son Drusus. These were almost certainly part of an imperial cycle including at least Augustus and Claudius, and bearing some analogy to the imperial fasti known from Brixia: E. V. Thomas in M. G. Lauro (ed.), *Castelporziano* [sic], 3 (1999), 137–49 = *AE* 1999: 278a–e.

[118] S. Panciera in Panella, op. cit. (n. 114), 133–7 = *CIL* VI.8.2.40417 = *AE* 1999: 248; idem in Y. Burnand *et al.* (eds), *Claude de Lyon, empereur romain: Actes du colloque Paris-Nancy-Lyon, 1992* (1998), 137–60 (list of parallels). Horster (n. 202 below), 67–72, argues that it was usual in such cases to distinguish between *patrimonium* and *fiscus*.

[119] *ILS* 6049–52: S. de Angeli, *NumAntClass* 28 (1999), 235–73; cf. F. Rausa, *NumAntClass* 26 (1997), 287–310.

inscription from Miletus (*ILS* 8970), one of many documents attesting the building activity of Trajan's father while proconsul of Asia in A.D. 79–80, has been completely overhauled in the light of the latest information about his career.[120] An unusually important diploma of 20 February A.D. 98, presumed to be of a cavalryman of an *[ala I Bat]avorum*, from Elst-Lijnden (Betuwe) on the Oude Rijn, confirms that Trajan, who had become emperor on 28 January, was personally in command of the army of Lower Germany at this time:'et sunt in Germ[ani]a inferiore sub Imp. Traiano Aug', and must therefore have replaced the governor, his close friend L. Licinius Sura.[121] This command cannot at the moment be connected with any particular threat, and we may speculate that, although Lower Germany, and especially the river installations, did need to be secured in readiness for his move to Pannonia later in the year, the command also provided a plausible excuse for not going to Rome on hearing of Nerva's death. Some blocks re-used for Byzantine graves near Tel Shalem in the Jordan valley, some 8 miles south of Scythopolis (Beth Shean), at a site where some years ago a cuirassed statue of Hadrian was found and a part-legionary fort — evidently for a large vexillation of VI Ferrata — turn out to bear fragments of a monumental Latin inscription in honour of Hadrian.[122] The inscription was on a far grander scale than anything hitherto found in Syria/Judaea — and almost, indeed, anywhere else outside Rome (probably at least 10 m in length; the letters of the first line are 41 cm high). The editors suggest that it belonged to a triumphal arch commemorating the defeat of the Bar-Kochba revolt in A.D. 135, analogous to the monument voted by the Senate in Rome (*CIL* VI.974 = 40524) — it may even have stood on or near the site of a battle, or near the headquarters of one of the armies, say of Sex. Iulius Severus or T. Haterius Nepos. If so, it would be reasonable to think that the latter earned his *ornamenta triumphalia* (*ILS* 1058) not, as has hitherto been believed, during the supposed Pannonian war of Aelius Caesar (which never took place),[123] but through his part in suppressing the Jewish revolt. But given the state of the remains, the suggested supplements are necessarily conjectural, and it would be as well not to rush to conclusions about the nature of the monument: the strongest argument for Eck's hypothesis is actually the mere fact of a monumental, and therefore very expensive, official text in Latin in this part of the world.[124]

It is now clear that, on his way to attack Pescennius Niger in the first part of A.D. 194, Septimius Severus had to deal, at least at a distance, with a minor Sarmatian threat or incursion in the region of *Florentia* (Dunaszeksö) on the Danube in Pannonia Inferior (due west of Pécs, near the triple border), and gave orders for the rebuilding of a ?fortlet or guard-tower on the other side of the river at this point, at Nagybaracska, which had been burned down — no doubt one of the *burgi* and *praesidia* built along the river here under Commodus; indeed this border trouble may have prompted his decision to march north through Thrace instead of crossing to Dyrrachium and following the Via Egnatia,

[120] G. Alföldy, *REA* 100 (1998), 367–99 = *AE* 1999: 1576 (cf. *IMilet* 6.1. no. 1). For Trajan's own stress upon the primacy of Italy, note W. Eck in E. Schallmayer (ed.), *Traian in Germanien/Traian im Reich*, Saalburg-Schriften 5 (1999), 13–16.

[121] J. K. Haalebos and W. J. H. Willems, *JRA* 12 (1999), 247–62; J. K. Haalebos, *Saalbjb* 50 (2000), 31–72.

[122] W. Eck and G. Foerster, *JRA* 12 (1999), 294–313 (with an appendix listing all the evidence for Hadrian's titulature A.D. 135–8, p. 312f.); cf. W. Eck, *JRS* 89 (1999), 76–89.

[123] W. Eck, 'Der angebliche Krieg des Aelius Caesar in Pannonien und die ornamenta triumphalia des Haterius Nepos', in L. Borhy (ed.), *Von der Entstehung Roms bis zur Auflösung des Römerreiches: Konferenz zum Gedenken . . . von A. Alföldi (1895–1981)*, Diss. Pann. Ser. III, 5 (1999), 28–31.

[124] Even if we allow his *imp I]I* in l.3, the monument could have been erected at any time between A.D. 136 and July 138, for example on the occasion of the *vicennalia* in December 137. J. M. Højte, *ZPE* 127 (1999), 217–38, has assembled all the known inscriptions associated with statues of the ill-fated L. Aelius Caesar (L. Ceionius Commodus), and shown that they continued to be erected well after his death in A.D. 138. P. Le Roux in Schallmayer op. cit. (n. 120), 55–65 (list of texts at the end), has expressed doubts about the date of renewal of the tribunician power in the first half of the second century A.D.: since Mommsen, it has been believed that this date was conventionalized to 10 December from Trajan, *trib. pot. II*; he argues that this does not in fact hold good either for Trajan or Hadrian, and that the renewal date of 10 December is only firmly established with the adoption of M. Aurelius in A.D. 147.

so that he could secure his rear during the war with Niger.[125] A fragmentary text from Urso known only in manuscript has been convincingly restored into a municipal text in honour of the guard-prefect Plautian between A.D. 202 and his fall in 205.[126] Another effective restoration has made better sense of the fragmentary birthday wishes for Caracalla by the united fishermen and divers of Rome (*CIL* VI.1080, cf. 31236), where we read the famous phrase *Nox Dea fit lux!*, which is probably to be dated, not to 4 April 204, Caracalla's sixteenth birthday, as had been suggested, but 4 April 211, which is the only occasion when Caracalla as Augustus was in Rome, and when the skulduggery that led to the murder of Geta in December had already begun.[127] Alföldy suggests moreover that the object of Caracalla's claim to have been born in 186 (his real birthyear was 188) was partly of course to appear more senior to Geta than he was, but also partly to allocate his birthdate to the protection of the Moon — 14 April 188 was a Thursday, 14 April 186 a Monday.[128]

New arguments have been adduced in favour of the view that Decius' last cognomen was Valerinus not Valerianus.[129] The Augsburg altar commemorating the defeat of the Semnones *sive* Iuthungi in A.D. 260, reported in our previous survey, has produced further lively discussion.[130] The most finished new scenario is that of M. Jehne, who integrates the Alaman attack on Germania Superior (A.D. 259/60) into his account: the Alamanni carried on to invade northern Italy via the Doubs-Saône route, and were only caught by Gallienus in the neighbourhood of Milan in summer 260, because he had been held up in Pannonia by Ingenuus; the Iuthungi/Semnones invaded Italy via the Brenner and may have penetrated almost to Rome before turning back late in 259 and, slowed by their Italian captives, being defeated the following April near Augsburg by Genialis.[131] Virtually everyone is agreed that the new text confirms that Valerian's capture by Šabuhr I and Postumus' usurpation took place alike in summer 260, and that Rhaetia must have declared for him: only König continues to argue that Postumus' coup may have taken place later, in 261 or 262.[132] About the end of the same decade, the town of Kasai (Asar Tepe) in Western Cilicia honoured Claudius Gothicus with the informal description *sôtêr tês oikoumenês*, saviour of the civilized world, otherwise unattested for

[125] P. Kovács in *Atti del XI Congresso* (n. 6 above), 2, 521–31. The titulature (*trib.pot. II, imp. III*) firmly dates the text to January–April A.D. 194. Kovács argues that *praesidium* in this area must mean a fortlet, or still more likely, a watch-tower (p. 526f.). On the Via Egnatia at this time, see É. Deniaux, *MEFRA* 111 (1999), 167–89. F. Lovotti, *AttiAccadLigur*[5] 54 (1997), 497–526, carefully lists the titulature of the Severans in the contexts of their triumphal arches.

[126] H. Gimeno and A. U. Stylow in *Sylloge Epigraphica Barcinonensis, 3*, Cornucopia 6 (1999), 100–3 no. 7, on *CIL* II[2].5, 1027 (= *AE* 1999: 895), though none of the parallel texts so far known, such as *ILAfr* 564f. or *CIL* XIV.4392, legitimate as lengthy a gap as here between 'necessarius' and 'socer et [consocer]'. This seems to be the first text for Plautian in Spain. The two final lines given by Accursius remain enigmatic.

[127] G. Alföldy in G. Bonamente and M. Mayer (eds), *Historiae Augustae Colloquium Barcinonense* 1993 (1996), 9–36, against R. E. A. Palmer in *ANRW* II.16.2 (1978), 1085–1115.

[128] A lead-pipe from Ostia marked for the unfortunate *Cornificia Aug. n. fil.*, the sister of Commodus who was forced by Caracalla to commit suicide some time after A.D. 211, seems to indicate that her household was a member of a syndicate for running a public baths: R. Geremia Nucci, *ArchClass* 51 (1999/2000), 383–409, at 391. On Caecilia Paulina, whom Maximinus Thrax married *c.* A.D. 215, see I. Liggi in R. Frei-Stolba and A. Bielman (eds), *Femmes et vie publique dans l'antiquité gréco-romaine = Études de Lettres* (1998), 1, 131–58.

[129] A. R. Birley in E. Frézouls and Hélène Jouffroy (eds), *Les empereurs illyriens: Actes du Colloque, Strasbourg, 1990* (1998), 57–80, at 69, continuing his remarks in W. Eck (ed.), *Prosopographie u. Sozialgeschichte* (1993), 50; cf. D. Kienast, *Römische Kaisertabelle*[2] (1996), 204. This is a generally useful collection of essays.

[130] *AE* 1993: 1231a–b; E. Schallmayer (ed.), *Der Augsburger Siegesaltar: Zeugnis einer unruhigen Zeit*, Saalburg Schriften 2 (1995), a special exhibition catalogue, provides an excellent contextualization. I. König, *Historia* 46 (1997), 341–54, thinks Semnones and Iuthungi were not alternative names for the same people but denoted distinct fractions of a still larger group, the Alamanni; T. Stickler, *BayVorgBl* 60 (1995), 231–49, more plausibly sees all three as 'Suebic' peoples (originally) from southern Mecklenburg; P. Le Roux, *ZPE* 115 (1997), 281–90 seems to think that the Iuthungi had come gradually to infiltrate the Semnones, who were traditionally settled between the Elbe and the Oder-Neiße.

[131] M. Jehne, *BayVorgBl* 61 (1996), 185–205; J. Hiernard in M. Christol and X. Loriot (eds), ap. *CCGlotz* 8 (1997), 255–60, adduces, amid much other destruction further north and east into Rhaetia, the hoards at Hagenbach and Neupotz, respectively south and east of Rheinzabern, which seem to point to extensive devastation in the Rhine valley at this very time. We still incline to H. Lavagne's scenario, *CRAI* (1994), 431–46 with minor adjustments.

[132] Christol and Loriot, op. cit. (n. 131), 223–7; König, op. cit. (n. 130). This was the conclusion argued in the editio princeps by L. Bakker, *Germania* 71 (1993), 369–86. A new milestone of *Postumus p.f. Aug.*, without acclamations, from the mouth of the Vilaire (north of St Nazaire): J. Le Cornec, *BullSocPolymMorbihan* 124 (1998), 54 = *AE* 1999: 1074.

this emperor.[133] We may perhaps see here an allusion to his defeat of the Goths at Naissos in A.D. 269, but more probably (if we are to give the text any value beyond the formulaic) to a settlement of some dispute with the Isaurians in the mountains further inland, who, a generation later, besieged the nearby city of Pisidian Cremna (Zosimos 1.69f.).[134]

From the period after Diocletian, we may just note a recent commentary on the eulogy of Constantine from Beroia (Augusta Traiana) in Thrace (*AE* 1907: 47), which emphasizes its originality by comparison with contemporary panegyrics;[135] and a new text from a partly gilded dish from among the eighteen new pieces of the Kaiseraugst treasure that were handed in to the authorities in 1999, which refers to Constans' victory over the Franks in A.D. 342: *Augustus Constans dat laeta decennia victor| spondens om(i)nibus ter trecennalia faustis*, 'Victorious Constans celebrates his happy *decennalia*, thrice pledging (that he will also celebrate) his *trecennalia* auspiciously'.[136]

III. SENATORS AND EQUITES

Perhaps the most important single development in relation to the Roman élite has been the revitalization of the *Prosopographia Imperii Romani*, under the vigorous leadership of W. Eck, at their *ergastulum* in the Berlin-Brandenburg Academy of Sciences, directed by M. Heil. Two volumes (P–R) have appeared in quick succession and a third (S) is well under way.[137] Hardly less valuable is the decision, made possible by the Heckmann-Wenzel Foundation, to make available addenda to the existing volumes 1–6 on the internet under the address: http://www.bbaw.de/forschung/pir. These addenda, which include unlisted persons, are mainly confined to new epigraphic material rather than secondary literature (and do not refer even to the standard prosopographies of Pflaum, Devijver etc.). The data bank contains a list of 14,720 names; if one calls up, say, *L. Annius Bassus*, one finds a reference to his PIR^2 no. and then to *AE* 1955: 123 (Carthage), with short citations of discussions of the reading of that text. For anyone working with prosopographic material such a resource will be of considerable benefit; even better would be a link to a listing of the materials used in the creation of all entries.[138]

On the issue of the social presence of the senatorial élite, in life as in death, W. Eck has briefly explored the topography of senatorial mansions and their funerary monuments, at Rome and elsewhere. Since we hardly have any direct access to the first, indirect evidence must be used: the *tabulae patronatus* (the bronze memorials of a senator's patronage relation with a municipality which were displayed in his atrium), the inscriptions which accompanied images presented by clients and dependents, and naturally the *fistulae* stamps.[139] These last suggest that most senatorial mansions in

[133] Tomaschitz, op. cit. (n. 24), 33–8 no. 16 (from Kasai [Asar Tepe]) = *SEG* 48.1774.

[134] cf. S. Mitchell, *Anatolia* (1993), 1, 234f. In his commentary, Tomaschitz discusses the alternative hypotheses concerning the politico-social situation in Isauria, mafia-type *sottogoverno* in the service of the city élites (K. Hopwood) versus more traditional conceptions of brigandage as a reaction to socio-economic marginality (J. Matthews), and concludes that neither is wholly satisfactory.

[135] I. Tantillo, *RFIC* 127 (1999), 73–95.

[136] *AE* 1999: 1123. A. Kaufmann-Heinimann, *JRA* 12 (1999), 333–41, at 339 no. 114; R. Fellmann, *AntWelt* 31 (2000), 41–56; R. Wachter, *Tyche* 16 (2001), 211–15, all taking the *ter* with *ominibus faustis* in the second hexameter, and translating: 'promising solemnly, after having enjoyed auspicious omens three times, to celebrate his *decennalia*'. H. Heinen, *ZPE* 132 (2000), 291–4, takes *ter* with *trecennalia* to mean 'a very long time'. We take the *ter*, on the analogy of Ovid's *ego ter felix* (*Met.* 8.51 with Bömer's commentary), with *spondens* — it comes just after the caesura — to mean 'emphatically'.

[137] PIR^2 vol. 6: *P*, L. Peterson *et al.* (eds) (1998); vol. 7/1: *Q–R*, K. Wachtel *et al.* (eds) (1999); 7/2: *S* is expected shortly.

[138] On the value of the prosopographical method, note W. Eck in A. K. Bowman *et al.* (eds), *Representations of Empire: Rome and the Mediterranean World* (2002), 131–52; idem in K. Vössing (ed.), *Biographie u. Prosopographie: Festschrift A. R. Birley* (2003); critically, M. Beard in W. W. Ehters, *La biographie antique* (1998), 83–114. Note too A. R. Birley, *Onomasticon to the Younger Pliny: Letters and Panegyric* (2000).

[139] W. Eck, *SCIsrael* 16 (1997), 162–90 (= *Studies in Memory of A. Wasserstein*, 2); on the élite's representative function (in the German sense) in the High Empire: idem in J. Dummer and M. Vielberg (eds), *Leitbilder der Spätantike — Eliten- und Leitbilder* (1999), 31–55.

Rome were located in the contiguous areas of the Alta Semita (Region VI: Quirinal-Viminal) and the Esquiline (Region IV), a pattern that is confirmed by sources of other kinds. As for death, very few élite funerary texts employ the usual generic signals such as *hic situs est*, and almost no important tombs remain intact. But it seems clear that many Italian and provincial senators decided to be buried not in Rome but in their home towns: that was where their memory had the best chance of flourishing.[140]

We know that Trajan required senators to hold one third of their wealth in Italian property (Pliny, *ep.* 6.19); and that Marcus Aurelius reduced this requirement to one quarter (HA, *M. Anton.* 11.8).[141] Did they in fact do so? Where were their properties? How did they use them? Sadly, given that for the Principate we have no source comparable to Cicero's letters, it is impossible to write a complement to I. Shatzman's account of late Republican senatorial land-holding and use. A recent effort to tackle the issue turns out to be an effort in prosopography, and can be thought of as the Imperial equivalent of *Athenian Propertied Families*.[142] And even in those terms epigraphy is not very helpful: of the *ordo*, 8,000 men are estimated to have reached maturity in the period 30 B.C.–*c.* A.D. 250, but we have evidence for only about 600 landowners, some 15 per cent of them women, and many in the same families. The conclusions that can be drawn are correspondingly predictable: for example, that senators owned property in many different parts of Italy, but especially near Rome; one or two new facts however do seem to emerge, for example, that those originating from northern Italy rarely held estates much south of Rome.[143] Work has also been done on senators (and equestrians) originating from Campania — stressing the disproportionate number evidenced for the beginning of the Principate; and from Sicily.[144] In the face of a widespread impression to the contrary, S. Dardaigne has noted the apparent reluctance of Spanish municipal magnates to enter the Roman senatorial élite: only a very limited number of Spanish families did so, and this number actually declines from the period of the Flavian municipal law.[145]

It has been argued that the consular fasti from 509 B.C. to his own day were written up without appeal to inscriptions by a Roman bookseller in *c.* A.D. 161: they would thus constitute an hermetic literary tradition.[146] This view however does not seem to take adequate account of the existence of lists stemming from divergent traditions, such as a new fragment of the 'restricted' fasti for A.D. 78–82 which has turned up at S. Severino Marche (Septempeda).[147] Exceptional years, such as A.D. 148, might need to squash in five pairs of consuls: the important inscription of the college of the Augustales at

[140] W. Eck in B. Rawson and P. Weaver (eds), *The Roman Family in Italy: Status, Sentiment, Space* (1997), 73–99. On the virtues of patrons of municipalities: M. D. Saavedra Guerrero, *AntCl* 68 (1999), 191–209, unfortunately without distinguishing between senators, equestrians, and others.

[141] cf. A. Krieckhaus in L. de Blois (ed.), *Administration, Prosopography and Appointment Policies in the Roman Empire. Proceedings of 1st Workshop of International Network 'Impact of Empire', Leiden 2000* (2001), 230–45.

[142] A.-M. Andermahr, *'Totus in praediis'. Senatorischer Grundbesitz in Italien in der frühen und hohen Kaiserzeit*, Antiquitas Reihe 3, 37 (1998). Numerous tables present the results in digestible form.

[143] Prosopographical catalogue: pp. 126–496. There are however some problems with the use of *fistulae*-marks: C. Bruun, *JRA* 13 (2000), 498–506. Note too his remark,'there really is no way of knowing how many senatorial women there were' (p. 499 n. 6).

[144] Campania: some 30/40 senators in the Julio-Claudian period, 53/60 equestrians; 2 senators and 7 equestrians in the Flavian period: G. Camodeca in M. Cébeillac-Gervasoni (ed.), *Les élites municipales de l'Italie péninsulaire de la mort de César à la mort de Domitien: classes sociales dirigeantes et pouvoir sociales*, CEFR 271 (2000), 99–119. Sicily: W. Eck, *ZPE* 113 (1996), 109–28. Prosopography of the 12 senators and 30 equites known to have careers in public administration under Augustus: N. Schäfer, *Die Einbeziehung der Provinzen in den Reichsdienst in augusteischer Zeit*, HABES 33 (2000), 84–150.

[145] S. Dardaigne in M. Navarro Caballero and S. Demougin (eds), *Élites hispaniques*, Ausonius Études 6 (2001), 23–44. Compare A. Caballos Rufino in S. Keay (ed.), *The Archaeology of Early Roman Baetica*, JRA Suppl. 29 (1998), 123–46, on the 39 equestrians known to have originated from Baetica, concluding that the numbers reached a peak under Trajan. F. des Boscs-Plateaux, in *Élites hispaniques*, 203–15, takes senators with upper equites together in tracing the 'Spanish connection' in the Empire as a whole between Augustus and Trajan.

[146] R. W. Burgess, *ZPE* 132 (2000), 259–90.

[147] It contains the names of three new suffects, and the rare expression *Caesar Domit(ianus)* under A.D. 80; but of course is only a fragment, and we have no means of knowing how far it went back. Two new suffects for A.D. 159, M. Pisibanius Lepidus and L. Matuccius Fuscinus (who was known to have been *leg.leg.Aug. III* in Numidia in 158; the Pisibanii came from South Etruria), occur in the fragment *CIL* VI.32321, which involves considerable changes to current hypotheses about the coss. for that year: P. Weiß, *Chiron* 29 (1999), 147–82, at 157–67.

Misenum has produced the names of a hitherto unknown pair of suffects, even though the year already seemed complete.[148]

Largely thanks to the number of new diplomata, there have been far too many adjustments to provincial fasti to note here.[149] Of significant individuals, we may just note that the name of Sex. Lucillius Bassus, the governor of Judaea A.D. 71–3, who stamped out the last resistance at Herodion and the just not impregnable Machairous (Joseph., *BJ* 7.190–207), has been plausibly restored on a fragmentary building text from Abu Gosh (*RBibl* 4 (1907), 414–21), situated on the important road from Jerusalem to Caesarea — perhaps recording the building of an auxiliary post to guard this stretch.[150] In a similar context, Eck has argued that, at least in the High Empire, imperatorial acclamations were a device to permit the award of *ornamenta triumphalia* to the generals involved.[151] It has also been suggested that the extreme rarity of decrees at Rome in honour of governors supports the belief that the ban (a *senatusconsultum*?) against introducing votes of thanks into the Senate from provincial cities to which Tacitus devotes some space (*Ann* 15.20–2, A.D. 62) remained in force, and may indeed be alluded to in a fragment of Paul, *Sent.* 5.28.2 (*CPLat* no. 74, cf. Crawford, *RS* 2, 771).[152]

It is impossible here to provide more than a brief overview of the reception of the *SC de Cn. Pisone patre* (*AE* 1996: 885 = *CIL* II^2.5.900) since its pre-publication in 1994 and the appearance of the full text with commentaries in German and Spanish two years later.[153] It is also scarcely necessary, not merely because of the admirable translation with comments by M. Griffin in this Journal, and the fascicule of *AJPh* devoted to the new text,[154] but also because the importance of the document is such that many readers will themselves have used it for teaching purposes and, in that connection or otherwise, have formed their own grounded opinions about it. Until the appearance of the revised text and translation by P. Le Roux in *AE* 2000, which is due to appear at about the same time as this issue of the Journal, the best versions — given the numerous problems in aligning the text of copies A and B — are considered to be those of Alicia Canto, who complains, with some justification, of the extent of the editorial interference in the

[148] M. Calpurnius Longus and D. Velius Fidus, who can be fitted into the final bimester of A.D. 148: G. Camodeca, *ZPE* 112 (1996), 235–40. Iunius Qua[dratus?, unknown suffect *c.* A.D. 120: I. Piso, *ZPE* 126 (1999), 245f. M. Calpurnius Longus = in fact L. Marcius Celer M. Calpurnius Longus (*PIR*^{2} M 221), recently allocated to the reign of Hadrian (W. Eck, *ZPE* 86 (1991), 97f.), who came from a Roman family long settled in Attaleia in Pamphylia (*AE* 1972: 620f.) and became procos. of Achaea (*AE* 1986: 635), according to Eck between A.D. 124/7 and 135; Camodeca argues for between *c.* A.D. 143 and 145/6. See now J. H. d'Arms, *JRS* 90 (2000), 128 and 140 (his text B l.50). M. Valerius Iunianus, known as an Arval, is now attested as suffect in A.D. 143, with Q. Iunius Calamus: M. M. Roxan, *ZPE* 127 (1999), 255–67 no. 2 (=*AE* 1999: 1353). Cn. Papirius Aelianus, cos. between A.D. 155 and 159, son and father of consuls: M. M. Roxan and P. Weiß, *Chiron* 28 (1998), 409–20 no. 7 (= *AE* 1998: 1627).

[149] e.g.: L. Trebius Germanus, governor of Britain in A.D. 127 (known from *ILS* 7912 and *Dig.* 29.5.14, which reports that he executed a slave who was *impubes*): J. Nollé, *ZPE* 117 (1997), 269–74 with A. R. Birley, *ZPE* 124 (1998), 243–9; Iulius Crassipes, unattested governor of Thrace, A.D. 138: P. Pferdehirt, *ArchKorrBl*, 445–50. Tusidiu]s Campester redated: W. Eck and P. Weiß, *ZPE* 134 (2001), 251–60; Iulius Modestus (perhaps = the *cos prior* of *CIL* X.1574 l.8), unattested governor of Lycia/Pamphylia in A.D. 165/6: P. Weiß, *EpigAnat* 31 (1999), 77–82; M. Gavius Crispus Numisius Iunior, likewise: W. Eck, *ZPE* 131 (2000), 251–7; M. Nonius Macrinus now attested in Pannonia Superior in A.D. 159: Weiß, op. cit. (n. 147), 167f. (=*AE* 1999: 1351). A. R. Birley and A.Krieckhaus have been preparing a new edition of the *Fasti of Roman Britain*, extended to the end of the Roman occupation, and with an emphasis on origins and entire careers.

[150] W. Eck, *SCIsrael* 18 (1999), 109–20; he suggests too (p. 119f.) that Lucilius Bassus' name is to be read instead of Syme's *L.[Antonio Saturnino* on the Jerusalem milestone *AE* 1978: 825, though this would involve the omission of his praenomen. Note also D. Adan-Bayewitz and M. Aviam, *JRA* 10 (1997), 131–65, on the general reliability of Josephus' account of the siege of Jotapata in A.D. 67.

[151] W. Eck, *ZPE* 124 (1999), 223–7, noting several early exceptions, even as late as Nero.

[152] C. P. Jones, *Chiron* 29 (1999), 16–21.

[153] The better of the two editions is that by W. Eck, A. Caballos and F. Fernández, *Das SC de Cn. Pisone patre*, Vestigia 48 (1996), the basis of the report in our previous survey. The differences are well set out by Harriet Flower, *BMCR* 8.8 (1997), 705–12; E. J. Champlin has established that chs IV–VIII of the German version = VII, V, VI, IV of the Spanish, were written single-handedly by W. Eck. A fragment, G, of a seventh version has been found: A. U. Stylow and S. Corzo Pérez, *Chiron* 29 (1999), 23–8 (*AE* 1999: 899).

[154] Miriam Griffin, *JRS* 87 (1997), 249–63; *AJPh* 120 (1999), i–vii and 1–162, with a revised text by D. S. Potter and transl. by Cynthia Damon (pp. 13–41), and several good papers deriving from an APA seminar in Chicago in December 1997. A further English translation by Potter appeared in *JRA* 11 (1998), 437–57, at 454–7; E. Meyer, *CJ* 93 (1998), 315–24 has provided another; a provisional French translation by P. Le Roux in *AE* 1996: 885.

'reconstructed' text: 'No Roman juridical inscription on bronze discovered hitherto has been subjected to so many emendations, supplements and excisions at the hands of its editors'.[155] Nevertheless, the merits of the original German publication have been universally acclaimed, and it will remain the basis for all subsequent interpretation.

Perhaps the most contentious issue relates to the absolute chronology.[156] Four main alternatives have been offered: (1) the entire trial took place before 28 May A.D. 20, but was only published in December (Griffin); (2) the trial took place over several months with gaps (Flower; Talbert); (3) it was held in its entirety between the end of November and 10 December A.D. 20 (the editors); (4) the view we favour is Canto's: the *SC* contains all the dating evidence required. The indication that Tiberius was *cos design. IIII* implies that the trial proper cannot have begun before the middle of July A.D. 20, since consular designations in the Julio-Claudian period took place then. That fits with the fact that Piso, on his leisurely way back to Italy, encountered Drusus' army in Illyricum (Tac., *Ann.* 3.8.1). The initial *cognitio* took place in June about the time of Drusus' first return (Tac., *Ann.*3.11.1), and the trial itself lasted, with interruptions, including that obtained by Piso during which he committed suicide, until 10 December; but Tacitus chooses to focus only upon the crucial ten days described in *Ann.* 3.12–13.

The implications of the *SC* for our understanding of Tacitus' methods of work have naturally been another focus of attention. Against Woodman and Martin in their edition of *Annales Book 3*, W. Lebek stresses the extent to which Tacitus' treatment differs from ll.123–51 of the new inscription: such material was of little significance to him in the search for a Tiberius *foras vulpes*.[157] To others, the *SC* rather proves Tacitus' careful use of the *acta senatus* even while exercising his own literary judgement.[158] Stress has been laid on the manner in which the behaviour of the imperial family, contrasted with the *feritas* of Piso, models the exemplary role of the former in the drive to minimize public unrest and forestall a return to the political conflicts that shattered the Republic.[159] The manner in which the Senate deals with Piso's *comites*, Visellius Karus and Sempronius Bassus, by directing the praetor in charge of the *quaestio maiestatis* to condemn them to interdiction, has been seen as an important step in the direction of the Senate's *de facto* assumption of juridical authority, which it did not possess in the Republic.[160] Finally, there have been interesting commentaries on two symbolic aspects: the gestures of revulsion and extirpation that eliminate the memory of Piso (while being merciful to his family), and a vivid presentation of the text's self-conscious determination to work less on the understanding than on the imagination and feelings of the reader.[161]

Thanks largely to the work of S. Demougin, no one now sees equestrians, as H.-G. Pflaum and H. Devijver† tended to do, exclusively in terms of their administrative and military functions in the service of the Princeps. Much more attention is now being paid to the roles of equestrians as local magnates and in municipal life all over the Empire —

[155] See *HEp* 6 (1996) [2000], 291–325 no. 881, cit. from p. 305. She sets out (p. 294) the five stages of transmission, between the autograph of Aulus Plautius and the local copies that we possess, at each of which copyists' errors may have occurred — certainly did: one is at a loss to know quite which version the editors wished to present, cf. Potter, *JRA* 11 (1998), 439f. But the editors did provide diplomatic transcripts of each of the six copies available to them (pp. 10–35).

[156] Well set out by Potter, op. cit. (n. 154), 452–4 and R. J. A. Talbert, *AJPh* 120 (1999), 89–97.

[157] W. D. Lebek, *ZPE* 128 (1999), 183–211.

[158] T. D. Barnes, *Phoenix* 52 (1998), 125–48; C. Damon, *AJPh* 120 (1999), 143–62, both with extensive and useful comparisons. Barnes notes that J. Béranger's view of the meaning of *maius imperium* = 'imperium superior to that of . . .' is confirmed by the *SC* ll. 34–6, setting out the threefold hierarchy: Tiberius – Germanicus – proconsul, cf. Hurlet, op. cit. (n. 117), 298f.; M. Corbier in F. R. Frei-Stolba and K. Gex (eds), *Recherches récentes sur le monde hellénistique: Mélanges P. Ducrey*, Echo (Lausanne) 1 (2001), 309–20. This hierarchy corresponds to the traditional relation between consuls and proconsuls, e.g. Cic., *Phil.* 4.9, cf. Griffin, op. cit. (n. 154), 255.

[159] Potter, op. cit. (n. 154), 451; Alison Cooley, *G&R* 45 (1998), 199–212.

[160] J. S. Richardson, *CR* 47 (1997), 510–18.

[161] H. Flower, *ClAnt* 17 (1998), 155–86; W. Suerbaum, *ZPE* 128 (1999), 213–34.

Spain, North Africa, and Asia Minor — and to their upward marriage strategies.[162] This sort of approach naturally blurs the legal distinctions between the different groups within the élite (anyway a word whose value lies partly in its open-endedness, so that its intended range needs to be specified).

Of course public life remains an important issue, since it is essentially through inscriptions relating to this aspect of their lives that we have any knowledge of them. In the same collection, for example, Devijver seeks to relativize Saller's emphasis on the role of patronage in furthering equestrian careers, seeing them rather as an outcome of, on the one hand, a wide variety of familial and social strategies, and, on the other, the largely autonomous evolution of imperial administrative requirements.[163] As for the 'crisis' of the third century, there seems to be a general inclination to escape from the term, without there being any general agreement about what to put in its place. At any rate for Baetica, P. Le Roux for example prefers to stress the collapse of our evidence, especially epigraphic evidence, arguing that even this is not necessarily a sign of general crisis — simply a shift in attitude towards honorific inscriptions during the first half of the third century A.D. In effect, the virtuous circle of direct and indirect honour broke down during this period.[164] In Baetica itself, which has been seen as a typical example of the crisis, he maintains that the continued existence of large rural villas shows that the élite was able to maintain its dominant position, at least from the later third century A.D.[165]

Turning to individuals, there are two unusual 'hybrid' careers worth special note.[166] The earlier, evidently crammed into the hectic period A.D. 217–222, is that of the *ignotus* of *CIL* VI.31776a,b (= Pflaum, *Carrières* II, no. 293), who moved immediately from the equestrian post of *a studiis* to a legionary command and the consulship, and yet ended up back as an equestrian, as *praefectus annonae* and then praetorian prefect. It has been plausibly suggested that he was a collaborator of Opellius Macrinus who changed sides in good time to be rewarded with a legionary command and the promise of a consulship by Elagabalus, still in need of élite support, indeed became consul, but was forced to accept demotion back to equestrian status in 219/20 in order to take responsibility for the *annona*. We may assume he was murdered — perhaps even thrown into the Tiber — at the same time as Elagabalus.[167]

A new text in honour of the legal expert M. Cn. Licinius Rufinus from Thyateira shows that he too had a most unusual career, having first held a series of administrative-legal procuratorships in the *officina palatina* and then, instead of proceeding to an

[162] Spain: A. Caballos Rufino in S. Demougin *et al.* (eds), *L'Ordre équestre. Histoire d'une aristocratie (II^e siècle av. J.-C.–III^e siècle ap. J.-C.)*, CEFR 257 (1999), 463–512, cf. idem in J. F. Rodríguez Neila and F. J. Navarro Santana (eds), *Élites y promoción social en la Hispania romana*, Mundo antiguo 5 (1999), 103–44; Africa: S. Levebvre in Demougin, op. cit., 513–78; Asia: S. Demougin, op. cit., 579–612 (with a prosopography of 280 names); early Principate: D. B. Saddington, *Athenaeum* 84 (1996), 157–81. Marriage strategies: M.-Th. Raepsaet-Charlier in Demougin, op. cit., 215–36, showing that the primary mode was the marriage of the daughters of already high-status equites into senatorial families; at a lower level, municipal élites used the order in a similar fashion to rise socially.

[163] H. Devijver in Demougin, op. cit. (n. 162), 237–69. On the equestrian career in the High Empire, I. Piso, ibid., 321–50. The rationality of the system can only be discerned incrementally, by way of comparing lists of the order in which different functions were held: cf. W. Eck, *ZPE* 124 (1999), 228–41 (on a variety of individual careers). For this purpose, electronic searching is indispensable. On the *procuratores monetae*, note S. Demougin, *Revnumism* 152 (1997), 41–6.

[164] P. Le Roux in Navarro Caballero and Demougin, op. cit. (n. 145), 45–61. Another modernizing account of the 'crisis' period: J.-M. Carrie and A. Rousselle, *L'Empire romain et ses mutations, des Sévères à Constantin, 192–337* (1999), 89–144. M. Christol in Demougin, op. cit. (n. 162), 613–28, argues that the decisive step in the mid-third century A.D. profited mainly the limited group of the former *primipilares*, who were of course professional military men. There was no general military promotion of equestrians at the expense of senators.

[165] C. Lepelley in Demougin, op. cit. (n. 162), 629–46, shows that in Africa it is only from the mid-fourth century A.D. that municipal élites show no further interest in an equestrian career.

[166] A case which had been supposed to be 'hybrid', the *ignotus* from Segermes in Byzacena (*AE* 1992: 1794) can be resolved without appeal to such an anomaly: W. Eck, *ZPE* 124 (1999), 232f. Revision and important discussion of Cornelius Gallus' trilingual at Philae: F. Costabile, *Minima Epigraphica* 4 (2001), 297–330. Another infant *equo publico ornatus*: L. Gasperini in A. Mastino and P. Ruggeri (eds), *Da Olbia ad Olbia: 2.500 anni di storia* (1996), 305–16, at 308–10, with other examples, p. 310 n. 6. An apparently early *militiae] petit(or)*, a candidate for the *militia equestris*, at Rome: G. L. Gregori, *ZPE* 116 (1997), 174f. no. 11 (very fragmentary).

[167] R. W. B. Salway, *Chiron* 27 (1997), 127–53. He is to be distinguished from T. Messius Extricatus (*PIR*^{2} M 518).

administrative prefecture, being adlected into the Senate (in this case apparently, and rather oddly, *inter aedilicios* rather than *praetorios*).[168] He served once as governor (ἡγεμών = *praeses*, instead of *leg. Aug.*) of Noricum, which normally required military competence, before being appointed consul. Until now it had been assumed that he must have held this office in the A.D. 220s, but the next step in the *cursus* shows that it must have been in the mid-230s, since he then became the seventh known member of the Council of Twenty appointed by Pupienus and Balbinus to protect the state against Maximinus in A.D. 238 (HA, *Gord.* 10.1–2). F. Millar has suggested that Rufinus' last equestrian post was *a libellis* (the office of private petitions) and hesitantly associated him with Honoré's 'secretary no. 7' among the jurisprudents whose opinions are cited in the *Digest*; but it seems to us more probable that Herrmann was correct to identify the post (given in the *cursus* as ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποκριμάτων) as the equivalent of the intermittently-attested *a responsis*, a post apparently connected with rescripts to official or public requests for decisions from the emperor, which would fit admirably with the evidently substantial privileges Rufinus was able to obtain for his home city — benefiting no doubt even the *synodos* of the city gardeners, which erected the statue.[169]

The family tomb of T. Flavius Athenagoras Agathos, the first equestrian procurator from Aphrodisias who married into the senatorial Sallustii, has now been identified, so that a family stemma over eight or nine generations can be constructed. The pattern diverges from that of the typical *domi nobilis* who entered the imperial service on the merits of exemplary local expenditure.[170] The local magnates L. Valerius Valerianus and Valerius Calpurnianus seem likely to have been the first entrants into the equestrian *cursus* from Caesarea Maritima, during the Severan period; this development is all the more noteworthy in that members of families from Judaea/Palestina seem otherwise to have been excluded from the higher imperial service.[171]

IV. ADMINISTRATION

It is familiar that senators as a class had neither time nor inclination to become 'specialists' in administration, or even warfare; and yet the careers of hundreds of senators in the imperial service are known, to which some at least implicit rules seem to have applied. What inferences can be made from them about the character of the administration of the Empire? Most prosopographers of the élite tend to want to apply — usually tacitly — models taken from modern administrative systems and appeal to letters of recommendation in support of the idea that fairly specific criteria of judgement might be applied.[172] Here comparative studies of patrimonial administrative systems would be useful, for landed aristocracies always pose special problems for this type of state, in that, though indispensable, they are rarely content merely to serve. Equestrians posed a different but analogous problem: it is being argued that equestrian employments in the imperial service fairly early in the first century A.D. generated a set of expectations concerning roles, powers, and opportunities, which contributed over

[168] P. Herrmann, *Tyche* 12 (1997), 111–23, who also discusses briefly the other texts in honour of Rufinus at Thyateira.

[169] F. Millar, *JRS* 89 (1999), 90–108. *Apokrima* in the High Empire was one word, along with *antigraphĕ* and *epistolĕ*, for such rescripts (*subscriptiones*): H. J. Mason, *Greek Terms for Roman Institutions* (1974), 131 (on the rescript system, B. Sirks in de Blois, op. cit. (n. 141), 121–35).

[170] J. Reynolds in P. Scherrer *et al.* (eds), *Steine und Wege: Festschrift D. Knibbe*, Österr. Archäol. Inst., Sonderschr. 32 (1999), 327–34: improved readings of *MAMA* VIII 517, 474–6, and one new text that links the tomb to the procurator. Descendants of freedmen who achieved entry into the equestrian order: W. Eck in Demougin, op. cit. (n. 162), 5–29.

[171] W. Eck, *ZPE* 113 (1996), 129–32 no. 1 (on *AE* 1985: 829 and 830). On the other hand, Caesarea had been a Roman colony since Vespasian, and was largely resettled with veterans.

[172] W. Eck in de Blois (ed.), op. cit. (n. 141), 1–23; cf. the essays collected in W. Eck, *Die Verwaltung des römischen Reiches in der hohen Kaiserzeit. Ausgewählte u. erweiterte Beiträge, 2* (R. Frei-Stolba and M. A. Speidel (eds)) (1998). P. M. M. Leunissen, *Chiron* 23 (1993), 101–20, noted in our previous survey, is an exception. Additions to the fasti of provincial governors: B. E. Thomasson, *OpuscRom* 24 (1999), 163–74.

time to determining the character of this part of the patrimonial bureaucracy — it gradually became ever more formalized, shaped not so much by the designs of emperors as by the socio-political interests and the cultural horizon of expectations of its main beneficiaries.[173] It has also been suggested that the dominant conception of Roman government as minimalist and reactive needs revision: the administration of Empire, analogous to the rise of the Early-Modern state, prompted the development of extensive bodies of specialized knowledge-practices, concerned mainly with the branches of the law, and financial administration, one function of which was to elide the claim of the senatorial élite to indispensability: senators remained amateurs whereas emperors were equipped with specialist knowledge.[174]

In the short term, however, it is individual inscriptions that attract most attention. In this quinquennium, the honour falls to the *aes Bergidense* or *tessera Paemeiobrigensis*. In the course of clandestine exploration in 1999 in the village of Castropodame, south-west of Bembibre in the region El Bierzo (in the Province of León), a complete bronze plaque was unearthed, measuring 24.4 by 15.3 by. 0.3 cm, with an eyelet at the top for affixing the plaque to a wall. The plaque turned out to contain the text of two edicts dating to 14 and 15 February 15 B.C., given by Augustus while at Narbo.[175] In the space of twenty-seven short lines, the document contains several novelties which have excited attention.

The edicts concern two, evidently neighbouring, Asturian communities in the aftermath of the Asturian War of 22–19 B.C. — 'pacification' indeed continued under the governorship of P. Silius Nerva (19–16 B.C.). The first grants the *castellani* (townsfolk) of the *Paemeiobrigenses*, who are part of the *gens* of the *Susurri*, perpetual immunity and uncontested possession of their former lands as a reward for their loyalty to Rome during the war; the second, dated the following day, imposes their *munera* upon the *castellani Aiiobrigiaecini*, who previously counted for that purpose as *Gigurri* but now as *Susurri*. These lands had evidently been a cause of dispute early in the war, since the decision by L. Sestius Quirinalis, governor *c.* 22–19 B.C., concerning them is expressly affirmed. The purpose of the second edict seems to be to compensate the *Susurri* for the immunity granted to the *Paemeiobrigenses*: the *Gigurri* must have been a large tribal grouping which would not have been so affected by the loss of the *munera* provided by one township. The two main topics that have provoked surprise and controversy are the titles of Augustus in ll.1f.: *Imp. Caesar Divi fil. Aug. trib. pot. VIII{I} et pro cos*, and the mention of a province named *Transduriana* (l.7).[176]

[173] Christol in Demougin, op. cit. (n. 162), 613–28; note also his important article on the definition of imperial authority, in *XI Congresso* (n. 6 above), 2, 333–57. On the administrative functions of provincial procurators: W. Eck in M. Mangas and J. Alvar (eds), *Homenaje a J.M. Blasquez* 5, ARYS 2 (1998), 105–31; epigraphy and administration: idem in W. Eck (ed.), *Lokale Autonomie u. römische Ordnungsmacht in den kaiserzeitlichen Provinzen vom 1. bis 3. Jhdt.*, Kolloquien des Historischen Kollegs 42 (1999), 1–15.

[174] C. Ando, *JRA* 15 (2002), 516–24 (an excellent review of de Blois, op. cit. (n. 141)). An example is offered by J.-P. Coriat, *Le prince législateur. la technique législative des Sévères et les méthodes de création du droit impérial à la fin du Principat*, BEFAR 294 (1997), analysing rescripts, mainly relating to trials, from the point of view of the intentions and decision-making processes (not much epigraphy). On the character and institutionalization of the *commentarii Augustorum* by the *a memoriis* (in charge of the imperial archives), note J.-L. Mourgues in C. Moatti (ed.), *La mémoire perdu: recherches sur l'administration romaine*, CEFR 243 (1998), 123–97.

[175] G. Alföldy, *ZPE* 131 (2000), 177–205 (German); slightly revised version in Italian in idem, *Minima Epigraphica* 4 (2001), 365–418. Alföldy's text and a brief discussion, together with a good photo and full bibliography to May 2002, can be found on www.uni-heidelberg.de/institute/sonst/adw/edh, under no. HD 033614. Other important collective works: F. Costabile and O. Licandro, *Tessera Paemeiobrigensis: un nuovo editto di Augusto dalla Transduriana provincia e l'imperium proconsulare del Princeps*, Minima Epigraphica, Suppl. 1 (2000), with Costabile, *Minima Epigraphica* 4 (2001), 419–31; F.-J. Sánchez-Palencia and J. Mangas (eds), *El edicto del Bierzo: Augusto y el Noroeste de Hispania* (2000).

[176] This would, for example, be the first time that a peregrine community has appeared to be dependent (*contributum/adtributum*) upon another after being removed from its *gens*. Other questions: can a *castellum* receive immunity without citizenship; can a *castellum* that had revolted receive its freedom? Can Augustus have confused a *castellum* with a *civitas*? Why is *omni munere fungi* (l. 21f.) in the singular? Can we really believe that Augustus bothered himself to regulate such a matter of entirely local importance? See further: P. Le Roux, *Minima Epigraphica* 4 (2001), 331–63.

Allusion to the *tribunicia potestas* is usual in Augustan edicts and letters after *c.* 12 B.C. but there is no certain case prior to that date.[177] There is no other case of Augustus naming himself *pro cos* after 27 B.C. even though, as Alföldy emphasizes, there is no question that he had the right to do so. To these points one may add: the *et* in l.2: *trib.pot VIII{I} et pro cos* is otherwise found only in the letter to the Cnidians (*FIRA*^{2} III.185); *Aug.* is rare and *fil.* virtually unknown as abbreviations in the early Principate. Moreover, there are four different types of interpunct within twenty-seven lines, and the text is probably written in three different hands.[178] Against that, the bronze has been tested and confirmed to be antique.[179]

As for *Transduriana provincia*, most commentators take it to have been a short-lived province which was later — perhaps shortly after the date of these edicts — subsumed into Hispania Citerior. Alföldy now argues that it was not a province in the ordinary sense but a special command inside a larger province, Hispania Ulterior, which included the whole of western Spain: P. Carisius, who was its legate during the 20s B.C. was mainly engaged in fighting the Asturiges, but also participated in the foundation of Emerita, far south of the Douro. After the pacification, in order to reduce the number of troops concentrated under one command, North-West Spain, while remaining a special area (Strabo 3.4.20), was attributed to Hispania Citerior, and, perhaps at the same time (say 13 B.C.), Hispania Ulterior was divided into Baetica and Lusitania.[180] But why *Transduriana provincia* rather than *provincia Transduriana*, as one would expect, especially given the rather formal manner in which it is referred to as beneath the command of L. Sestius Quirinalis?[181] As P. Le Roux stresses, there is no other document of quite this kind among all known imperial edicts; but it is conceivable that Augustus may have had a special interest in the area because of the gold mines (Florus 2.33.60) — a point which raises the issue of Roman war-aims, as well as those of the Paemeiobrigan collaboration with Rome. And it may be that Augustus was reacting to a recent report about their fidelity and the difficulties it had caused them, and was taking the opportunity at the same time to make an example of disloyalty, recognizing that the whole issue of pacification was more troublesome and problematic than he had imagined it would be.[182]

This case is clearly difficult to resolve. The rule of thumb is that, in doubtful cases, oddities increase the likelihood of authenticity. On balance, the likeliest conclusion is perhaps Le Roux' (above n. 176): 'Si le texte n'est pas entièrement inventé, il reste l'éventualité d'une rénovation d'un document mal conservé'. Others reject the very idea that an edict could be tampered with later. How decisive are the considerations raised by those who doubt the authenticity? How much weight are we to assign to the fact that the bronze is ancient? — for that assurance works both ways: what is being certified is that the composition of the bronze is the same as that of other ancient Spanish bronzes; if that information is available to legitimate laboratories, it is certainly also available to forgers. How many surprises may a new text spring? On the other hand, is there really anything here so unexpected that it could not have been fabricated on the basis of Strabo and the relevant Spanish epigraphy?

[177] F. Martín and J. Gómez-Pantoja in L. Grau Lobo and J. Luis Hoyas (eds), *El bronze de Bembibre: un edicto del emperador del año 15 a.C.* (2001), 57–66, at 58–60, though their intention is to show how 'normal' the text is. (This volume contains excellent close-up photos.)

[178] These and other points are made by A. Canto in Grau Lobo and Hoyas, op. cit. (n. 177), 153–65. Costabile in Costabile and Licandro, op. cit. (n. 175), 25–35 suggests that the texts were written on a waxed tablet in Narbonne and transferred to the bronze by an inexperienced cutter.

[179] T. Antelo *et al.* in Grau Lobo and Hoyas, op. cit. (n. 177), 189–213.

[180] Alföldy, op. cit. (n. 175, 2001).

[181] J. S. Richardson, *JRA* 15 (2002), 411–15.

[182] In favour of authenticity is the point that the dative in l. 18 *eorum loco restituto* can be understood as an 'inverse attraction' from the preceding relative clause introduced by *quibus*: A. Rodger, *ZPE* 133 (2000), 266–70.

It is time now to pass to some other administrative acts emanating from Rome.[183] On the issue of the nature of Augustus' powers between 27 and 23 B.C., in a discussion of *IKyme* 5, no. 17 = Sherk, *RomDocs*, no. 6 (interdiction of the alienation of public shrines), which seems to show Augustus giving orders to the governor of a 'senatorial' province, it has been argued that we need to register that this is an act of both consuls (Augustus and Agrippa), not of Augustus alone, by right of the civil powers of higher magistrates, which were not territorially restricted.[184] Of the two types of consular edicts, routine and particular, the Kyme edict is of the latter type, which executed prior decisions by the Senate. In other words, Augustus may have procured the *SC*, but formally he was carrying out its policy.[185]

A small fragment of a *SC* in Latin from Ephesos seems to concern the resolution of a dispute between some Ephesians and the Thracian client-king, Rhaskouporis II (*RE* Rhaskouporis no. 3), who was later exiled for murdering his nephew Kotys III, who had, by the settlement arranged by Augustus in A.D. 12, as the son of Rhoimetalkes, become his co-ruler (Tacitus, *Ann.* 2.64–7; Suet., *Tib.* 37).[186] Rhaskouporis seems from this inscription to have become involved in a dispute at Ephesos, possibly with merchants who traded with Thrace, and the Senate evidently decided in their favour. The Senate, as well as Tiberius, had thus already had to deal with Rhaskouporis at least twice before the famous accusation of murder laid by Antonia Tryphaena; in any case senatorial settlement of disputes between the Thracian kingdom and Greek states goes back at least to that between Abdera and the Odrysian king Kotys in the late second century B.C. (*Syll.*[3] 656).

After the intense discussions of the 1950s, it had come to be widely believed that the 'Edict of Nazareth', which calls itself a *diatagma* (*edictum*), is a compositum, created after the event as a paraphrase of an imperial rescript, perhaps prompted by the Samaritans' profanation of the Temple after A.D. 6.[187] This consensus has recently been broken with the argument that it is indeed an edict, and that its style recalls that of Nero's proclamation at the Isthmia of A.D. 67 — so that it could indeed refer to the Jews' accusation that the Christians had stolen Christ's body to make it seem as if he were risen from the dead.[188] It has however now been argued that it most likely dates from shortly after Actium and is a 'pierre errante': its provenance not Nazareth but Lycia-Pisidia, where inscriptions forbidding violation of tombs are common, whereas in Judaea/Palestine they are not.[189]

In relation to Hadrian's constitution to the people of Cyrene, it has been suggested that the reference in the third letter must be to buildings destroyed in Cyrene during the Jewish revolt of A.D. 115–17, including the gymnasium mentioned in l.31.[190] The Jews had probably been excluded from the gymnasium long before the revolt, perhaps since the time of Vespasian, and they may well have chosen it as a special target. Hadrian's measures in support of Cyrene are framed by an appeal to the ethical tone of ancient Doric lawgivers, as represented no doubt by Plutarch's *Life of Lycurgus*.

The most interesting contribution in connection with imperial subscriptions has been a close commentary on sixteen petitions relating to abuses by officials and soldiery,

[183] V. I. Anastasiadis and G. A. Souris (eds), *An Index to Roman Imperial Constitutions from Greek Inscriptions and Papyri, 27 BC–284 AD* (2000), is in fact a glossary of the texts in J. H. Oliver, *Greek Constitutions* (1989), with supplements. Note however that all non-imperial utterances are excluded (the Introduction is important), since the book is intended as a preliminary to the analysis of the linguistic register of the imperial chancellery. There is a handy bibliography of recent publications on pp. 17–19, and lists of personal names (pp. 194–205), emperors in Oliver (pp. 217–19), and a supplement to Oliver's index of imperial titulature (pp. 220–5).

[184] A. Giovannini, *ZPE* 124 (1999), 95–106.

[185] On the Hadrianic law regulating the sale of oil (*IG* II/III^2.1100 = Smallwood, *Documents* no. 443), F. Martín in J. M. Blásquez Martínez and J. Remesal Rodriguez (eds), *Estudios sobre el Monte Testaccio, II*, CITA 8: Instrumenta 10 (2001), 475–86 re-edits and analyses the text but does not add any substantial commentary.

[186] M. Büyükkolancı and H. Engelmann, *ZPE* 120 (1998), 70 no. 7 (=*AE* 1998: 1333). Since the temple of Mars Ultor in Rome is mentioned, where the decree was to be published, the fragment must come from towards the end.

[187] Good summary by L. Boffo, *Iscrizione greche e latine per lo studio della Bibbia*^{2} (1994), 319–33 no. 39.

[188] E. Grzybek and M. Sordi, *ZPE* 120 (1998), 279–91.

[189] A. Giovannini and M. Hirt Raj, *ZPE* 124 (1999), 107–32, arguing that it is impossible that a rescript should be paraphrased by a governor: they are always cited verbatim.

[190] C. P. Jones, *Chiron* 28 (1998), 255–66: on *SEG* 28.1566 l. 26f. = J. Reynolds, *JRS* 68 (1978), 111–21.

which emphasizes their rhetorical structure, the manner in which they seek to convince the reader — the ideal emperor — of the justice of their representations.[191] The same rhetorical forms were shared between complainants and recipients (the officials in *a libellis*), and provided a stereotyped medium for the communication throughout the Empire of the emperors' *cura et tutela reipublicae*.[192]

There have been several important interventions relating to the administration of the provinces. R. Haensch has shown that, while the notion of 'provincial capital' is inappropriate for the Roman system of peripatetic provincial administration, there were cities in each province where governors mainly resided.[193] This conclusion is based on a massive collection of evidence, including lists of all cities where the presence of a governor is certainly or probably attested, of assize-cities, and of centres of the fiscal administration, which were sometimes different from these. Of the four main areas of administration with which the central authority concerned itself, taxation, jurisdiction, local administration and resolution of territorial disputes, the last may seem unimportant. But emperors and governors took such disputes seriously, since boundaries articulated the exercise of public authority by the state and the local community, and served to define the public duties, such as tax-paying and the provision of *munera*, of each individual.[194]

On more detailed issues, it is argued that the citizens granted the *ius Latii* under the Spanish municipal laws must have retained their local citizenships as well, because the negative effects of disenfranchisement, such as the loss of their rights of inheritance by magistrates' sons, would have been totally unacceptable. Moreover, these laws, in particular the Lex Irnitana, contain passages which are only intelligible on the assumption that they envisage cases involving on the one hand, those with *ius Latii*, and on the other, those who are *peregrini*.[195] Septimius Severus may indeed have divided Britain into two provinces as Herodian says he did, namely a southern one (Britannia Superior), whose capital was London, with a single legion (II Augusta), and a northern one (Britannia Inferior) whose capital was York.[196] But Caracalla, fearful of the support shown for Geta, moved the boundary north of Chester (*c.* A.D. 215), thus turning Inferior into a praetorian province and Superior into a consular one.

On Asia Minor: the enduring importance of the road- and *conventus*-system developed by M'. Aquillius 129–126 B.C.; and of Sulla's division of each of the eleven *conventus* into four tax areas, as the framework of all subsequent Roman rule have been

[191] T. Hauken, *Petition and Response: an Epigraphic Study of Petitions to Roman Emperors 181–249*, Monogr. Norwegian Inst. Athens 2 (1998). The main texts are: *ILS* 6870 (Burunitanus); *CIL* VIII Suppl. 14428 (Gasr Mezuar); Keil and Premerstein, 1914 no. 55 (Aga Bey Köyü and Kemaliya); *IGR* I.674 = *FIRA*^{2} I no. 106 (Skaptopara); *CIL* III.14191 = *MAMA* X.114 (Aragua). On the cultural horizon of minor imperial officials in Egypt, whose reading of Greek literature is known to us, see A. E. Hanson, *JRA* 15 (2002), 551–8, at 554f.

[192] D. Feissel, *AnTard* 4 (1996), 273–89: re-edition of the edict of Constantius Chlorus and Galerius against the *Caesariani* (A.D. 305/6), with new fragments from Ephesus (Latin) and revisions of the texts from Athens (Greek) and Tlos (Latin); reconstruction of the Latin text, pp. 285–7, inclining to the view that we possess most of the law, though not of the preamble. See also Section IX.

[193] R. Haensch, *Capita Provinciarum. Statthaltersitze und Provinzialverwaltung in der röm. Kaiserzeit*, Kölner Forschungen 7 (1997).

[194] G. P. Burton, *Chiron* 30 (2000), 195–215, with 88 examples of provincial governors' handling of territorial disputes (pp. 206–12), without close discussion of any case. Idem, *RPhil* 72 (1998), 7–24 examines the relation between provincial cities and the centre, concluding that there is no marked transition towards greater centralization of administration in the Severan period. G. Lucas, *Les cités antiques de la haute vallée du Titarèse (Thessalie)*, Coll. Maison Orient. médit. 27 (1997), 101–8 no. 48, re-edits the resolution of the dispute between Doliche and the Elimiotai (A.D. 101).

[195] J. F. Gardner in de Blois, op. cit. (n. 141), 215–29. Recent work on Spanish juridical texts: C. Castillo in *Vestigia Antiquitatis. Escritos de epigrafía y literatura romanas* (1997), 245–61; new edition, with glossary, of *lex Ursonensis*: J. Mangas and M. García Garrido, *La lex Ursoniensis = Studia historica, historia antiqua* 15 (1997) (entire volume). Note also: G. Alföldy, 'Provincia Hispania superior', *Heidelberg. Akad. der Wiss., phil.-hist. Kl.* 19 (2000). From Carnuntum there is reported a fragmentary civilian diploma, issued for the son of an auxiliary, who wanted to have his citizenship confirmed: it is evidently based on the analogy of an ordinary diploma, and seems to furnish an example of the *diplomata civitatis* of Suet., *Nero* 12.1: H. Stiglitz in Scherrer, op. cit. (n. 83), 383–6 = *AE* 1999: 1250.

[196] J. C. Mann†, *ZPE* 119 (1997), 251–4, dating *CIL* XIV.2508 to before A.D. 197 and denying its relevance to the issue of the division of Britain in the early third century A.D.

re-emphasized.[197] A new text from Syedra honours an *ignotus* who had been on several embassies to governors of Pamphylia, and also on a mission 'to Rome and to Armenia Magna, to Corbulo (πρὸς Κορβουλῶνα l.12)', most probably in A.D. 63, when Corbulo met Tiridates at Rhandeia.[198] This embassy lends support to Groag's thesis that Pamphylia (without Lycia) at that time belonged to the province Cappadocia-Galatia (Statius, *Silv.* 1.4.76–9). G. Alföldy, has re-opened the issue of Pliny's status in Pontus-Bithynia, rejecting Mommsen's reading *|consulari potesta[te* in *ILS* 2927 (Comum) in favour of Bormann's *[pro]|consulari potesta[te*: for the sake of rank, Pliny would have been awarded proconsular power even though he acted in fact as a *leg. Aug. pro praetore*, as his letters to Trajan show, so that Bithynia remained a senatorial province.[199] As holder of proconsular power, he would have been eligible for twelve *fasces* (not six, as Alföldy proposed).[200] A new *hypomnema* to Arrius Antoninus, governor of Asia, from the neokoros of the temple of Men Askenos at Sardeis, requests him to intervene with the chief magistrate of the city, who has failed to pay the usual 600 drachmae for sacrifices 'for the victory and preservation of the emperor, and good harvests' (A.D. 188/89).[201]

Another major area of research has been imperial building activity. Although perhaps not quite as important as we might think — allusions to such activity are not prominent in provincial gestures of respect, and it is argued that imperial projects never amounted to anything remotely approaching a programme — imperial buildings and their inscriptions were a notable form of imperial self-representation in the provinces, and one to which provincial governors eagerly attached themselves. They provided the emperor with concrete opportunities to manifest his claim to be the wealthiest imaginable *euergete* and most responsible first citizen.[202] The epigraphic language reflects however a considerable variation in the extent of actual involvement (what is the difference, for example, between *dare* and *faciendum curare*? or between *reficere* and *restituere*?); even with close attention to context the precise facts cannot always be made out. On the other hand, one may find Horster's denial that this activity amounted to a claim to power a trifle surprising: if power is, among other things, expressed in the multiplicity of options available, the sheer variety of imperial building activity, and its variety of textual expression, is properly to be understood as indeed a claim to power.[203]

[197] S. Mitchell in Eck, op. cit. (n. 173, 1999), 17–46. A contribution towards the completion of *CIL* XVII: P. Salama, *Les bornes milliaires du territoire de Tipasa (Maurétanie Césarienne)*, Pubbl. Centro di Studi Interdisc., Univ. Sassari 8 (2002); restudy of Thessalian milestones (Hadrianic; Tetrarchic): F. Mottas and J.-C. Decourt, *BCH* 121 (1997), 311–54; a rare milestone of Trebonianus Gallus in Baetica: E. Melchior Gil *et al.*, *AnArqCord* 8 (1997), 164f. = *AE* 1997: 839.

[198] Tomaschitz, op. cit. (n. 24), 51–4, no. 27 (= *AE* 1998: 1420; *SEG* 48.1797). The embassy may have reached him in winter quarters, possibly not far away, A.D. 57/8. On the issue of the transfer of the province, cf. S. Mitchell, *Anatolia* (1993), 2, 153.

[199] G. Alföldy in *Städte, Eliten u. Gesellschaft in Gallia Cisalpina* (1999), 221–44 = *AAAScHung* 39 (1999), 21–44. The date at which Lycia-Pamphylia became a proconsular province has been re-opened by the discovery that it was already governed by a proconsul in A.D. 165/6: P. Weiß, *EpigAnat* 31 (1999), 77–82. On *correctores* in the Greek-speaking part of the Empire: E. Guerber, *AnatAnt* 5 (1997), 211–48.

[200] It has been shown that *quinquefascalis* was a title for praetorian officials sent to replace a governor, or to perform a special task while the governor was still present; in that case, they occupied a lower rank: H. M. Cotton, *Chiron* 30 (2000), 217–34.

[201] Malay, op. cit. (n. 24), 119–22 no. 131 (= *AE* 1999: 1534); a letter from Venuleius Valens, procurator under Vespasian, is appended, which states the rule. This letter calls the festival 'the mysteries of Men'. On the integration of Judaea into the Empire: I. Shatzman, *SCIsrael* 18 (1999), 49–84; on the Roman presence in Judaea and Syria/Palaestina as mediated by the epigraphic record: W. Eck in A. Oppenheimer (ed.), *Jüdische Geschichte in hellenistisch-römischer Zeit* (1999), 237–63; prior to Hadrian: idem in M. Labahn and J. Zangenberg (eds), *Zwischen den Reichen: Neues Testament u. röm. Herrschaft* (2002), 29–50.

[202] M. Horster, *Bauinschriften römischer Kaiser. Untersuchungen zu Inschriftenpraxis und Bautätigkeit in Städten des westlichen Imperium Romanum in der Zeit des Prinzipats*, Historia Einzelschriften 157 (2001), with G. Alföldy, *JRA* 15 (2002), 489–98. The empirical material from the western Empire, not including that from Rome, is collected on pp. 251–439. Note also her earlier *Literarische Zeugnisse kaiserlicher Bautätigkeit*, Beiträge zur Altertumskunde 91 (1997).

[203] Asia Minor is covered by E. Winter, *Staatliche Baupolitik und Baufürsorge in den römischen Provinzen des kaiserzeitl. Kleinasien*, Asia Minor Studien 20 (1996) (though Horster cites many of the relevant texts too); A. Daguet-Gagey, *Les opera publica à Rome (180–305 ap. J.-C.)*, Coll. Études Augustin., série Ant. 156 (1997), offers a history of Roman fires and the damage they caused; also sources for the administration of buildings, with a prosopography of the thirty-three known *curatores aedium sacrarum*, and other personnel. Further thoughts on the administration of the water-supply: C. Bruun, *Chiron* 29 (1999), 29–42. W. Eck, *ZPE* 124 (1999), 228–41, at 237f., on multiple names on water-pipes

Finally, on the evergreen topic of the *familia Caesaris*, one or two inscriptions of minor interest may be noted: three slaves of Tiberius at Forum Iulii (Cividale) imply the existence of an early imperial estate in the Natisone valley, east of Udine; the *collegium tabulariorum Caesaris* at Perge dedicated a shrine to the *numen Augustorum* near the Hadrianic gate of the city; a *dispensator fisci k(astrensis)*, one of the accountants who administered the emperor's private wealth (the *patrimonium*), lost a waxed tablet in the sea off Toulon, perhaps on his way to Britain with Septimius Severus in A.D. 208–11 or 209–11; at Rome, funeraries have been published for a second slave *vilicus* of the famous *thermae Neronianae*, between the Pantheon and the Piazza Navona, and a female member of an imperial dancing troupe, a *verna Caesar(is) de pyrriche*, who died aged twenty.[204]

V. CITIES

The number of publications relating to cities throughout the Empire is now so great that no survey can hope to do them justice.[205] We begin as usual however with Rome.[206] The new interest in boundaries, and the subjective experience that registers them, has evoked reflections on the complexity of the notion of the city's 'limits'— legal, administrative, territorial, *intra urbem vs extra urbem*, the notion of *suburbium*, of *ager Romanus antiquus*.[207] A related issue is the means by which the city administration kept records of the addresses of resident citizens, and how inhabitants described where they lived or worked. It is known that after the fire of Rome the office of the urban prefect, and his archive, was in the Templum Pacis; in the same complex was the Severan *Forma Urbis*, the map of Rome at scale 1:246, the need for which must have arisen out of the prefect's administrative duties. Addresses (slave collars, tombs) name only the *vicus* where people lived, since there evidently were no street names except for *Sacra*, *Nova*,

[204] Respectively: A. Giavitto, *SupplIt* 16 (1998), 265f. no. 12; *IPerge* 261 no. 211; J. France, *ZPE* 125 (1999), 272–5; M. L. Caldelli, *Epigraphica* 60 (1998), 235f. no. 2 (see also *AE* 1924: 105); Kränzl and Weber, op. cit. (n. 13), 34 no. 29. Note also the mainly archaeological account of the imperial palaces up to the *domus Flaviana* by M. Royo, *Domus imperatoriae: Topographie, formation et imaginaire des palais impériaux du Palatin (II^e s. av.–I^er s. ap. J.-C.)*, BEFAR 303 (1999).

[205] B. Rémy and J. Jospin, *RANarbonn* 31 (1998), 73–89 (Aosta); M. D. López de la Orden, *De epigraphia Gaditana* (2001); M. Martín-Bueno and M. Navarro Caballero, *Veleia* 14 (1997), 205–39 (Bilbilis); A. Gaubatz-Sattler, *Sumelocenna*, Forsch. u. Berichte Vor- u. Frühgesch. in Baden-Württemberg 71 (1999) — primarily archaeological; R. Wiegels, *Lopodunum, 2*, Berichte Vor- u. Frühgesch. in Baden-Württemberg 59 (2000); G. Piccottini, *Die Römersteinsammlung des Landesmuseums für Kärnten* (1996); J. Kolendo and V. Bozilova, *Inscriptions grecques et latines de Novae (Mésie Inférieure)* (1997); P. Pilhofer, *Katalog der Inschr. von Philippi* (2000); Gounaropoulou and Hatzopoulos, op. cit. (n. 20); G. Despinis *et al.*, Καταλόγος γλύπτων του Μουσείου Θεσσαλονίκης 1 (1997); A. Rehm and P. Hermann, *Milet 6.1* (1997); new IK volumes: J. Stauber, *Bucht v. Adramyttion, 2*, IK 51 (1996); T. Corsten, *Laodikeia am Lykos, 1*, IK 49 (1997); M. Ricl, *Alexander Troas*, IK 53 (1997); S. Şahin, *Perge, 1*, IK 54 (1999); *Perge, 2*, IK 61 (2003); D. von Berges and J. Nollé, *Tyana* (2 vols), IK 55 (2000); M. Sayar, *Anazarbos, 1*, IK 56 (2000); G. H. R. Horsley and S. Mitchell, *Central Pisidia*, IK 57 (2000); A. Łajtar, *Byzantion, 1*, IK 57 (2000); J. Nollé, *Side, 2*, IK 44 (2001); T. Corsten, *Kibyra, 1*, IK 60 (2002); L. Jonnes, *Sultan Dağı (Philomelion* etc.*)*, IK 62 (2002); W. Blümel, *Knidos, 2*, IK 42 (2003); D. French, *Sinope*, IK 64 (2003); C. L. Lehmann and K. G. Holum (eds), *The Greek and Latin Inscriptions of Caesarea Maritima*, Joint Expedition to Caesarea, Excavation Reports 5 (2000); É. Bernand, *Inscriptions grecques d'Hermoupolis Magna et de sa nécropole*, IFAO Bibl. d'étude 123 (1999); M. Khanoussi and A. Mastino, *Uchi maius, 1: Scavi e ricerche epigrafiche in Tunisia*, Pubbl. Dip. storia dell'Univ. Sassari 30 (1998) (new finds); M. Khanoussi and L. Maurin (eds), *Dougga (Thugga). Études épigraphiques* (1997). The death of H. Devijver will delay publication of the results of the Belgian excavations at Sagalassos; G. H. R. Horsley and R. Kearsley are preparing the inscriptions of the Burdur museum.

The evidence of civic coins can scarcely be separated from inscriptions in relation to Asia Minor: cf. the survey by J. Nollé in *Internazionales Kolloquium zur kaiserzeitlichen Münzprägung Kleinasiens, 27–30 April 1994*, Numismata 1 (1997), 11–26 on the role of L. Robert in creating a method of integrating numismatics with epigraphy, but also the negative effect of his criticisms upon those less gifted than himself. Coin corpora for Aspendos, Laodikeia on the Lycus, Magydos, Pergamon, Perge, Sagalassos, Sardeis, Selge, Side and Synnada are in progress.

[206] On the spatial organization of the city: F. Coarelli in *La Rome impériale: Démographie et logistique. Actes du Table ronde, Rome mars 1994*, CEFR 230 (1997), 89–109 (an interesting collection).

[207] S. Panciera in S. Quilici Gigli (ed.), *La forma della città e del territorio: Atti dell'Incontro di studio, S. Maria Capua Vetere, nov. 1998* (1999), 9–15. On the *pomerium*: M. Andreussi s.v., *LTUR* 4 (1999), 96–105.

Appia and *Lata*; shops and workshops tend to invoke well-known public buildings, e.g. *post aedem Castoris*.[208] Fires however could make serious alterations necessary to such inner maps.[209] Another hazard was filth. Were there some kind of refuse disposal services in Rome? Terms such as *libitinarii* (disposers of corpses), *stercorarii* (dung-collectors), and *foricarii* (lessees of the street-corner amphorae used as pissoirs), as well as the term *purgare* in the *lex tabulae Heracleensis* (*FIRA*^{2} I no.13 l. 50f., 45 B.C.), suggest a hesitant affirmative.[210] In the hands of a master, even unpromising texts can become interesting: what, for example could one do with a *tabella immunitatis*, allegedly from near Naples, that reads *L. Arrunti Stellae sub officio, ad calcem*? But it turns out that it can be interpreted in the light of another *tabella* in the service of the same official, found at Rome (*CIL* XV.7150). That tablet certified the tax immunity of a vessel in the public service used for carrying sand (*navis harenaria*) and based *in Aemilianis*, probably the name for part of the Emporium near the Porticus Aemiliana. Although it had been supposed that the sand was intended for the arena (since Stella may well be the *curator ludorum* of A.D. 55 mentioned by Tacitus, *Ann.* 13.22.1), this second certificate, made out for a vessel carrying limestone, suggests that he was rather a *curator aedium sacrarum operum locorumque publicorum*, or held some equestrian curatela concerned with building.[211]

There has been a great deal of work on municipal élites.[212] M. Cébeillac-Gervasoni has continued the work of her team, focusing this time not on Rome but on the questions: how did the local élites in Italy change between the late Republic and the end of the first century A.D.? And what role did Augustus play in this transformation? Particular themes are the attempts by the centre to extend its control over the cities (e.g. Augustus and the water-supply of Venafrum: see above n. 105), the acceptance by members of the imperial family of civic magistracies, and the implications of the imperial cult.[213]

Two long discussions of the Canusium album of A.D. 223, a beautifully inscribed — and unique — list of all the members of an Italian decurial *ordo*, both take its very uniqueness as the explanandum. One, focusing on the idea that the primary function of

[208] P. Castrén, *Arctos* 34 (2000), 7–21. He suggests that there may have been another painted map opposite, showing the territory of Rome for which the Prefect was responsible. As a (recently discovered) fragment of a plan showing the Forum of Augustus strongly suggests, the Severan map was not the first of its kind.

[209] R. Sablayrolles, *Libertinus miles. Les cohortes de vigiles*, CEFR 224 (1996), an exhaustive account of the Roman fire-brigade from its foundation in A.D. 6, lists in Appendix VII 88 more or less serious fires at Rome from literary sources.

[210] S. Panciera in X. Dupré Raventós and J.-A. Remola (eds), *Sordes Urbis: la eliminación de residuos en la ciudad romana: Actas reunión, Roma, nov. 1996* (2000), 95–105. He suggests that the name of the office of the *IVviri* and *IIviri viis purgandis* was altered in the Augustan period to *IVviri viarum curandarum* because the title sounded less offensive.

[211] S. Panciera in G. Paci (ed.), *Epigraphai: Miscellanea epigrafica in onore di L. Gasperini* (2000), 671–84. At least in Late Antiquity, the best limestone came from Terracina; volcanic sand for mortar came from the Campi Flegrei.

Note also the very unusual mention of an *ingenuus frumento publico*, a man in receipt of the *annona*; his social status can be judged from the fact that he was also the foster-brother of L. Plotius Sabinus, praetor under Antoninus Pius, and a *sodalis Titialis Flavialis*: S. Panciera in Moatti, op. cit. (n. 174), 267–70.

[212] G. P. Burton in de Blois, op. cit. (n. 141), 202–14, is an excellent brief account of four basic political aspects of the close relation between central administration and municipal élites. On the crucial question of city finances: *Il capitolo delle entrate nelle finanze municipale in Occidente ed in Oriente. Actes X^e Rencontre franco-ital., mai 1996*, CEFR 256 (1999), sometimes admittedly hard going.

[213] M. Cébeillac-Gervasoni (ed.), *Les élites municipales de l'Italie péninsulaire de la mort de César à la mort de Domitien entre continuité et rupture: classes sociales dirigeantes et pouvoir central*, CEFR 271 (2000). Note especially: M. Cébeillac-Gervasoni and F. Zevi, on local and central power at Ostia, pp. 5–31, emphasizing the conservatism of the Ostian ruling class with its reliance on traditional networks of clientage, and the predominance of the cult of Vulcanus well into the Flavian period (the *flamines Augusti et Romae* appear only from that point onwards). Except for the Egrilii, the old oligarchy was left behind by the success of the Trajanic port and replaced by a succession of new families. R. Biundo, ibid., 33–69, on the ruling class in Pompeii; weighing the factors which led to the rise or disappearance of a family in the local élite, given the uncertainties of the documentation: but especially political and clientage relations; marriage alliances; economic factors; military careers (military tribunate; prefecture); political choices. Future themes announced: the economic resources of the Italian élites, and their relations to financial and 'industrial' enterprises. Note also an intriguing article by P. Pensabene in Gallina Zevi *et al.*, op. cit. (n. 54), 185–222, combining the evidence of archaeology and epigraphy as clues to the social standing and financial resources of dedicators at Ostia. G. Paci, *MemAccadMarchigiana* 33 (1994/5) [1998], 209–44, argues that the Augustan settlement of veterans in the Marche produced an explosion of urbanization, some of which can still be traced.

the patrons of local senates was to represent the city's interests at the centre, sees Canusium as still in A.D. 223 a highly prosperous wool manufacturing town.[214] The size of the senate, at 100, is indeed new; the inscription commemorates a special grant by Severus Alexander's *consilium* to enlarge the *ordo*, mediated by a group of senior patrons (many of whom were actually members of the *consilium*), who are duly listed at the head of the text. The senate's larger size is thus a matter of prestige. For Mauritsen, who is interested rather in the usual size of municipal councils, the text does not so much confirm the old view that they all had 100 members as betray a relatively short-lived attempt to cope with the increasing burden of *munera* at a time when the prestige of the decurionate meant that it was still possible to attract candidates.[215] On this view, the list is a sign of stress, if not crisis. In this connection, the impressive commemorative foundation of Q. Cominius Abascantus at Misenum in A.D. 148 is instructive.[216] For it shows that the size of the college of Augustales at Misenum at this period was 100 (since each Augustalis received 12 HS from a fund of 20,000 HS on which the income @ 6 per cent interest is 1200 HS), and, although the Augustales here were closely related to the imperial cult, it is increasingly acknowledged that the institution also functioned as a kind of junior municipal *ordo*. The implication is that the figure of one hundred Augustales was based on the size of the *ordo* at Misenum itself. A study of the sevirate at Brescia, with its large, rich agricultural hinterland, has suggested that, although the institution certainly was a channel of social promotion for freedmen, it was not a step up to the decurionate, either in the first or second generation. More surprising is the number of *ingenui* who are represented, particularly men with a small property who had recently become citizens and who were able to work their way into municipal life by holding low-level positions of various kinds. It is only in the second century A.D. that freedmen are attested in larger numbers, but even then many socially-rising *ingenui* still achieved this position.[217]

A newly-published text, which for the first time attests the name *Trebula Suffenatium* (Pliny, *HN* 3.107), provides some help towards the interpretation of *FIRA*^{2} III.124, which concerns the re-scheduling of the debts of one C. Caesius Bassus. The new text consists of extracts, authorized by the *curator urbis* appointed by Trajan, from the records in the *tabularium* forty years after the event — which must have been concluded in A.D. 60 — concerning the repayment by third parties of different sums borrowed from the city (one of them by Bassus) on the surety of landed property.[218] Much about all three transactions nevertheless remains unclear, in particular what advantage there might be in assuming another's debts (unless as part of a separate agreement to buy the hypothecated land cheaply, or possibly as part of a marriage contract?).[219]

Another large collection of essays explores the institutional framework for a study of grass-roots Romanization in the North-West.[220] The book as a whole underscores, perhaps surprisingly, the homogeneity of the Empire: the institutional mould that created Roman towns, irrespective of their precise legal status, was sufficiently powerful

[214] R. W. B. Salway in Cooley, op. cit. (n. 86), 115–71.

[215] H. Mouritsen, *Chiron* 28 (1998), 229–54. There certainly seems no reason to disagree with the claim that the actual (and nominal) sizes of municipal senates varied widely.

[216] G. Camodeca, *ZPE* 112 (1996), 235–40; J. H. d'Arms, *JRS* 90 (2000), 126–44.

[217] S. Mollo in Cébeillac-Gervasoni, op. cit. (n. 213), 347–71, with date charts; also on Brescia: G. L. Gregori, *Brescia Romana, 2: Analisi dei documenti*, Vetera 13 (1999). Another good study, on the North-East, by F. Tassaux in Cébeillac-Gervasoni, op. cit. (n. 213), 373–415, with prosopographic charts for 123 cases from Aquileia, pp. 376–88. Here the factors seem to have been: local prestige of the family, commercial success, patronage (including other sevirs), imperial service; here at least *VIviri* seem to be men proud of having risen socially, though freedmen are few and far between. Cf. M. Silvestrini, ibid., stressing how few sons follow fathers into the rank of Augustalis or rise into municipal office such as the aedileship (pp. 431–55). First known Augustalis to have been a doctor: M. Kajava and H. Solin, *Epigraphica* 59 (1997), 346–8 no. 33 (Aeclanum), first century A.D.

[218] G. L. Gregori in *Il capitolo*, op. cit. (n. 212), 25–39.

[219] An assocation of libertine *Mercuriales* near Cassano Irpino (south-west of Benevento) leased a unit of three shops from the senate for an undeclared purpose (late Republican): D. Nonnis and C. Ricci in *Il capitolo*, op. cit. (n. 212), 41–59.

[220] M. Dondin-Payre and M.-Th. Raepsaet-Charlier (eds), *Cités, municipes, colonies: Les processus de municipalisation en Gaule et en Germanie sous le haut Empire romain* (1999).

to impose itself quite generally throughout this enormous area (disregarding the loss of the Agri Decumates in the 260s). 'La profondeur de la romanisation doit être estimée en termes de la municipalisation globale plutôt qu'en termes d'urbanisation stricte'.[221] At the same time, individual contributions lay stress on the degree of local institutional diversity: each city created its own religious cults and calendar of festivals, its offices and assemblies, its relations with its dependent settlements, the *vici* and *pagi*. On the other hand, one of the region's most marked — and for the historian most regrettable — features is the reluctance, however we are to explain it, to create a municipal epigraphy. Honorifics in this area hardly exist: most magistrates are known by way of their own religious acts; even funerary monuments rarely record cursuses. Lugdunum, where we know the names of just six *IIviri*, and can hardly establish even the most rudimentary list of magnate families, Nîmes, where we do not know the name of a single decurion, and Augst, where just two fragmentary inscriptions record municipal careers, but no names, are merely three striking examples of the pattern.[222] In such a situation, arguments from silence are worthless. The familiar contrast between Narbonensis, which acquired the *ius Latii* early (though the precise date, Caesarian, triumviral?, remains unknown), and the three Gauls, where we do not know whether (or when) the *ius Latii* was conferred generally nor why there is such a variety of terminology for magistracies, has again been underlined.[223]

One possible explanation for the absence of a municipal epigraphy from the north-western provinces may be provided by an argument put forward by A. U. Stylow regarding Spain. He suggests that we only find such an epigraphy in a developed form in the east and south of the peninsula, because the élites depended upon an organized civic space for their ability to link emperor, the municipal authorities and the individual magnate in a system of honour centred on the dedication of imperial statues.[224] Where economic conditions could not create the civic infrastructure, there could be no virtuous 'indirekte Selbstdarstellung'. Historically this moment was relatively short: as the cities began to lose their role as a focus for élite competition, the centre of the 'honour system' slips away into the hands of the *curatores*.[225] A similar pattern has been discerned in Italy by W. Eck, appositely citing Plin., *ep.* 1.17, where he denies the asymmetry between *statuam habere* and *statuam ponere*.[226]

A virtual unicum has come to light during the recent excavations at Sarmizegetusa, namely the text recording the act of foundation of the *colonia Ulpia Traiana Augusta Dacica Sarmizegetusa* (usually named *colonia Dacica*) by Trajan, probably in A.D. 106.

[221] Interesting effort at sketching the politico-cultural geography of Aquitania, with its more than 170 known sites from major cities to *vici*: M. Mangin and F. Tassaux in *Villes et agglomérations urbaines antiques de Sud-Ouest de la Gaule: 2e colloque Aquitania, Bordeaux, sept. 1990*, Aquitania suppl. 6 (1994), 461–96 (missed in our last survey).

[222] F. Bérard in Dondin-Payre and Raepsaet-Charlier, op. cit. (n. 220), 97–126; R. Frei-Stolba, ibid., 29–95, at 54–67; see by contrast J. Gascou in A. Chastagnol *et al.* (eds), *Splendidissima civitas: Mélanges F. Jacques* (1996), 119–31 on magistrates' careers in Narbonensis.

[223] M. Christol in Dondin-Payre and Raepsaet-Charlier, op. cit. (n. 220), 1–27, emphasizing not so much the veteran colonization as the rapid transformation of the indigenous communities in the period 50–15 B.C.; M. Dondin-Payre, ibid., 127–230 sets out all the evidence relating to magistrates and their careers, concluding that the diversity is in fact a sign of the adaptability of the Roman model of urbanization. In her survey of the *municipia* of the Germanies (pp. 271–352, with tables for every *civitas*, pp. 324–52), Raepsaet-Charlier rightly suggests that municipalization effectively began with Drusus' probable creation of *civitates* for the Sequani, Lingones, and Helvetii, then *Tungrorum* and *Batavorum*; and it may have been Trajan who extended the *ius Latii* to the whole of Germania Inferior and to those cities of Germania Superior which had not yet received it. Mainz must have been a Julio-Claudian municipality or even colony — possibly named *civitas Aresacum*, but more probably *civitas Moguntiacensis* as in the late third/fourth century A.D., with subordinate *vici*, even though there is no direct evidence (p. 311–15). On the debated issue of the *coloniae Latinae*: P. Le Roux, *Ktema* 17 (1992) [1996], 183–200. The Augustales are, once again, mainly not freedmen in this area, but of free birth, whether citizen or peregrine: note the tombstone of a *VIvir Aug(ustalis) ingen(uus)* from Augsburg: L. Bakker, *Das archäologische Jahr in Bayern, 1998* (1999), 85–7.

[224] A. U. Stylow in Navarro Caballero and Demougin, op. cit. (n. 145), 141–53. Stylow has also published what seems to be the first evidence in Spain for existing towns being allowed to carry on even after the foundation of colonies on their territories: in one case (Astigi Vetus) as a *civitas libera*, in others probably as stipendiary communities, either on the edge of the new colony or as exclaves within it: *Chiron* 30 (2000), 775–806 on the *Accitani veteres* at *col. Iulia Gemelli Acci* (Guadix).

[225] cf. A. Caballos Rufino, op. cit. (n. 145), 123–46, on the cities where the equestrian families of Baetica were local magnates, and the mutual support given to each side by the other.

[226] W. Eck in Y. Le Bohec (ed.), *L'Afrique, la Gaule, la Religion: Mélanges M. LeGlay* (1994), 650–62.

Only two analogous texts are known, both from Thamugadi (*CIL* VIII.17842–3).[227] A revision of *ILS* 7145 has been used to strengthen the argument that the earlier *municipium*, named *Aurelium Apulum* (= Partoş), continued its existence alongside the colony.[228]

In Greece, attention has been drawn to the extremely violent destruction, not so much of the buildings of pre-Roman Corinth (though some were destroyed, including the theatre) as of its public inscriptions, on the order of the Senate in 146 B.C., to the solemn accompaniment of trumpets.[229] A significant number of the early *IIviri* of the refounded city, such as Cn. Babbius Philinus, were freedmen, among others, of Caesar, Antony, and Agrippa; other groups are more difficult to make out — veterans for example seem not to have had the wealth to enter the élite; local Greek families from the neighbouring cities are hardly represented before Claudius.[230]

It is now generally agreed that the peculiarly Roman — or 'Roman' — feature of the culture of any city in the eastern Empire that was not a veteran colony mainly consisted of the institutions of the imperial cult. In the case of Roman Athens, lingering anti-Roman sentiment seems to have prompted a disinclination to introduce the cult during the early Principate, though there was a cult specifically of Octavian/Augustus, *c.* 31 B.C., and another of Rome and Augustus, between 27 and 18 B.C.[231] Even in the reign of Claudius, when Livia was posthumously granted her own temple, it turned out to be the old one of Nemesis at Rhamnous, as far from Athens as possible. All this may be connected with the curious dearth of Roman citizens within the Athenian élite before the reigns of Claudius and Nero; the probable prime mover in establishing the high priesthood of the Sebastoi, i.e. a collective cult of the imperial house typical of the later Julio-Claudians, was Ti. Claudius Novius (A.D. 61/2).[232] A revised text of the Thyateira decree regarding the Panhellenion seems to have induced two major experts on that institution largely to agree — even to accept that perhaps it was not such an important institution after all.[233] Whatever the procedural niceties, it is easier to understand it as the result of an initiative from above, which never really took off: membership is attested in just five provinces: Achaia, Macedonia, Thrace, Crete-Cyrene, Asia; and we know of no archon yet from Sparta, nor of one from Athens before the third century A.D.[234] C. P. Jones, who had earlier argued that the Greeks wished to mark Hadrian's achievement in finishing the temple of Zeus, now agrees that its purpose is unclear, though a cultic flavour is unmistakable, for example the description of Athens as *karpos tôn Mysteriôn*

[227] I. Piso in G. Arbore-Popescu (ed.), *Traiano. Ai confini dell'Impero* (1998), 276 = *AE* 1998: 1084; cf. idem in R. Étienne *et al.*, *Le* forum vetus *de Sarmizegetusa* (2000) (we can obtain no further details of this highly obscure publication). A brick stamp from Greenwich Park provides a further indication that the name of London was (at some point) *Augusta*: R. S. Tomlin, *Britannia* 31 (2000), 442 n. 64.

[228] I. Piso, *Specimina nova* II (1995), 155–62 no. 1 = *AE* 1996: 1276a,b (the new text bears virtually no resemblance to the old).

[229] M. E. H. Walbank, *JRA* 10 (1997), 95–130; cf. F. W. Walbank, *Commentary on Polybius, 3* (1979), 728f. on Polyb. 23.2.1–3. On the question of the level of continuity between hellenistic euergetic practices and those of the Augustan settlement, see the articles by J.-L. Ferrary mentioned in n. 74 above.

[230] A. J. Spawforth in Rizakis, op. cit. (n. 57), 167–82. Note the early date of Caesarean games here (perhaps 30 B.C.). On the re-foundation under Caesar: Walbank, op. cit. (n. 229). J. Bergemann, *Die römische Kolonie von Butrint und die Romanisierung Griechenlands, Studien zur antiken Stadt 2* (1998), explores mainly through archaeology the contrasts between the historical development of Buthrotum, Nikopolis, and Corinth; cf. D. Rizakis, *DHA* 22 (1996), 255–324 on the same topic. On the population and resources of the Roman colonies in Achaea: A. D. Rizakis in S. E. Alcock (ed.), *The Early Roman Empire in the East* (1997), 15–36; cf. A. D. Rizakis, *Achaïe I: sources textuelles et histoire régionale*, Meletemata 20 (1995), Part III, which reprints the inscriptions relating to Achaia from outside the province, such as *AE* 1911: 107 and 1917/18: 27 = 1920: 107, the career of Tib. Cl. Subatianus, who was *curator* of both Achaia and Athens in the early third century.

[231] A. J. Spawforth in M. C. Hoff and S. I. Rotroff (eds), *The Romanization of Athens: Proceedings of Conference, Lincoln, Nebr. 1996*, Oxbow Monogr. 94 (1997), 183–201.

[232] On the Laconian League, excluded from the favours granted Sparta, see N. M. Kennell in S. Hodkinson and A. Powell (eds), *Sparta, New Perspectives* (1999), 189–210. An apparent famine or grain-shortage in Sparta in the first third of second century A.D.: G. Steinhauer, *ABSA* 93 (1998), 443f. no. 13.

[233] S. Follet and D. Peppas-Delmousou, *BCH* 121 (1997) [1998], 291–309 on *IG* III.12–13 = *IG* II^2.1088.

[234] A. J. Spawforth, *Chiron* 29 (1999), 339–52; cf. A. R. Birley, *Hadrian* (1997), 344. Panhellenes wore crowns with imperial busts attached, just like provincial priests: M. Wörrle, *Chiron* 22 (1992), 337–76, at 357, pl. 6.6. For an account of the rivalries between the Thessalian cities and Delphi, and the misappropriation of votive crowns, which dissuaded Hadrian from his original idea of developing the Delphic Amphictiony into the political forum for the Greek cities, see J. M. Cortés Copete, *DHA* 25 (1999), 91–112.

(l.15). He also suggests that the building itself may have been neither in the lower town at Athens, nor at Eleusis, but on the Acropolis.[235]

Marcus Aurelius' probable benefactions to the temple complex at Eleusis, the reconstruction of the Telesterion and the completion of the Greater Propylaea, for example, which place him in direct succession to Hadrian, are familiar enough.[236] They should however be seen not so much in terms of Marcus' personal piety as political, both as a gesture to the eastern Empire in the aftermath of the revolt of Avidius Cassius in A.D. 175, and as an attempt to reconcile the Athenian factions — Eleusis as a religious centre was never in fact of much concern to Marcus, and the work was not finished until after his death.[237] The most striking new suggestion is that Temple L10, erected on the rock-cut terrace above and to the left of the Telesterion, was dedicated to Faustina II (who died in summer A.D. 176), in allusion to Hadrian's dedication of Temple F to Sabina. Unfortunately, this ingenious suggestion must remain hypothetical, since no direct evidence has yet been found.[238]

P. Nigdelis and G. Souris have produced an important re-reading of the edict of L. Memmius Rufus relating to the financing of the local gymnasium at Beroea in Macedonia in the absence of individuals able to assume the liturgy.[239] In order to raise a capital sum of 100,000 denarii, which would produce the 6,000 denarii annual income required, he envisages using legacies and the income generated for the city by ὑδρομηχαναί, evidently water-mills, a word which has been recognized in A ll.28, [34f.], 50, 85. If this reading is correct, it would be the earliest reference to such machines in the Graeco-Roman world, and also a *hapax*.

In Asia, an exemplary study of one well-documented city traces the rise of individual families through the local, equestrian, and senatorial élite over two centuries at Sagalassos in Pisidia.[240] Particularly interesting is the role played by patrons in this process, such as M. Iulius Sanctus Maximinus, *iuridicus Alexandreiae*, who was in a position to foster the acquisition of citzenship by the T. Flavii Neones, one of whose daughters his son Maximianus married. But first that family had to show its engagement towards Rome by financing the introduction of the imperial cult. Such brokerage was normally also essential in the process of gaining access to the equestrian order.[241] Devijver also suggests that we should consider euergetic undertakings of many kinds not merely in social terms but as part of the process of negotiation with the centre which led to the award of citizenship.[242] A complementary study argues that it is only in the third century that the regional élites of Pisidia identified themselves with the Roman order, as expressed in their readiness not merely to set up Sebasteia (as in the fine Severan example at Sia) but to contribute to imperial campaigns in Syria, to take on Roman names, such as M. Ulpius Asclepiodorus Rutilius Longus and M. Ulpius

[235] C. P. Jones, *Chiron* 29 (1999), 1–2, with his own text on p. 11f. He interprets the text as a decree by Thyateira praising Hadrian for the benefit he had bestowed on the Greeks in general, including Thyateira, by founding the Panhellenion and granting 200,000 drachmae for the purchase of grain, in particular wheat.

[236] See the arguments of D. Giraud in S. Walker and A. Cameron (eds), *The Greek Renaissance in the Roman Empire*, BICS Suppl 55 (1989), 69–75.

[237] J. M. Cortés Copete, *Gerión* 16 (1998), 255–70.

[238] Note N. M. Kennell, *CPh* 92 (1997), 346–62, on Marcus Aurelius' attempt to dissuade an Athenian faction from its determination to prosecute Herodes Atticus (Oliver, *Greek Constitutions* no. 184), with revised text of plaque 1, and translation of plaque 2, frg. E.

[239] Gounaropoulou and Hatzopoulos, op. cit. (n. 20), 101–9 no. 7 (= *AE* 1998: 1213a,b; *SEG* 48.742) (*BCH* 37 (1913), 90–3 no. 4: ?second half of second century A.D. = Abbott and Johnson, p. 444f.).

[240] H. Devijver, *Ancient Society* 27 (1996) 105–62; cf. H. Devijver and M. Waelkens in M. Waelkens and J. Poblome (eds), *Sagalassos IV*, Acta Archaeologica Lovanensia, Monograph 9 (1997); idem in M. Waelkens and J. Poblome (eds), *Sagalassos V.1–2 (Seasons 1996–7)*, Acta Archaeologica Lovanensia, Monograph 10 (2000).

[241] Compare the well-known case of the Plancii at Perge in Pamphylia; all the texts relating to Plancia Magna (*PIR*^{2} P 444), her family and foundations have been re-edited by S. Şahin, *IPerge, 1* nos 86–128 (family stemma p. 115); the inscriptions from the statue-bases in honour of the *ktistai*, mythical and other, including the hero Labos, which adorned the Hellenistic city-gate, are to be found here (nos 101–7).

[242] Christine Kokkinia, *Die Opramoas Inschrift von Rhodiapolis: Euergetismus u. soziale Elite im Lykien*, Antiquitas, Reihe 3, 40 (2000) has put the study of *IGR* III.739 = *TAM* II.905 on an entirely new footing, by adding more than 100 (small/tiny) fragments, translating the whole into German, and providing a painstaking commentary. She likewise lays stress on the interconnection between euergetic gestures and Roman power.

Italicus, both honoured by statues in the centre of Cremna,[243] and to enter the Roman Senate.[244] This process undoubtedly had much to do with imperial re-consideration of the strategic role of southern Asia Minor, but its main stimulus was the élites' own recognition, faced with the Persian and Gothic threats, that they themselves were deeply interested in the maintenance of Roman power.[245]

A fragmentary and rather weathered bilingual text found just outside Apollonia ad Salbacum in north-east Caria in 1996 raises the issue of the contribution made to the political integration of the Empire by the multiple channels of influence upon the centre that a city might make use of if it wanted a decision in its favour — as well as the possibility of ascribing failure in any given matter to the personal inadequacies of the mediator or the emperor's mood.[246] The boundaries of two villages, Cosa and Anticosa, owned by the temple of Artemis (Diana) (S)bryallis, which had been assigned to Herakleia by Pomponius Bassus, probably in A.D. 79/80, were fixed by C. Valerius Victor, *leg. proconsulis* and *praetor designatus*, with Trajan's consent, on behalf of the proconsul. Communal boundaries could not normally be altered without the consent of the Roman authorities: Trajan's doctor, T. Statilius Crito, who came from Herakleia and is honoured there as *ktistes* in a fragmentary inscription, may have intervened in favour of his city.[247]

A different question, that of the formation of local and regional identities in Asia Minor, is raised by an honorific from west Cilicia for M. Aur. Markianos Hierax, a wrestler in the class of youths. Thanks to his prowess, and despite his youth, Hierax was a citizen of four cities, his own (Elaiussa Sebaste), Tarsus, Pompeiopolis and Diocaesarea.[248] From other evidence (Oenoanda, Aphrodisias, Balboura) we know that *thematikoi*, local games below the level of the imperial festivals, were of great regional significance, and were actively encouraged by the city élites, who would obtain permission from the governor for their regular staging. It is suggested that that such games, and the economic and social contacts they encouraged, were quite as important as religious motives in the formation of regional identity.

At Hierapolis, another fragmentary inscription records the erection of a statue to Antoninus Pius for confirming the right to a . . .]τραπέζης τῶν φόρων, as a result of a civic embassy.[249] Given that Hierapolis was not a provincial or diocesan capital, it is not clear whether this refers to the temporary safe-keeping of diocesan tribute, which was then, after the city had drawn direct or indirect benefit from the presence of such a sum, to be forwarded to the procurator, or whether it implies a municipal, or even, given the special status of Hierapolis, a religious chest which might also have contained, say, the funds donated for foundations. In a sense, the recovery of such texts simply increases the sense that we understand rather little about the fiscal organization of the Empire.

Finally, an analysis of the terms for settlements on the land in Anatolia, ranging from large villages to isolated farmsteads, seeks to relate them to the complex politico-cultural landscape.[250] The rural 'hinterland' was in many ways intimately connected

[243] Horsley and Mitchell, op. cit. (n. 205), nos 26, 27, 44.

[244] S. Mitchell in *XI Congresso* (n. 6 above), 419–33.

[245] Perge was made the metropolis of Pamphylia by the emperor Tacitus in A.D. 276: S. Şahin *et al.*, *EpigAnat* 29 (1997), 69–74 (now in *IPerge*, 2). On the later liturgical system: C. Drecoll, *Die Liturgien im römischen Kaiserreich des 3. u. 4. Jhdt. n. Chr.*, Historia Einzelschriften 116 (1997).

[246] R. Haensch in Eck, op. cit. (n. 173, 1999), 115–39 (north-east Caria) = *AE* 1999: 1592.

[247] The goddess is otherwise unknown, but is perhaps to be identified either with an Artemis armed with a double-axe or with an analogue of Ephesian Artemis, both of whom appear on Herakleian coins. C. Valerius Victor is also unknown, though it is relatively unusual for a man who had not yet held the praetorship to become a legate; we can perhaps assume that he died in or soon after his praetorship in *c.* A.D. 110/11.

[248] E. Borgia in E. Jean *et al.* (eds), *La Cilicie: espaces et pouvoir locaux: Actes du table ronde, Istanbul 1999* (2001), 349–62; cf. M. Spanu, ibid., 445–77, on the archaeological evidence for theatres, amphitheatres, and circuses in West Cilicia, all of which belong to the period, after the mid-second century A.D., when the basic infrastructural investment in roads and aqueducts had been completed.

[249] T. Ritti in *Il capitolo delle entrate* (n. 212 above), 261–74 (= *AE* 1999: 1589).

[250] C. Schüler, *Ländliche Siedlungen und Gemeinden im hellenistischen u. römischen Kleinasien*, Vestigia 50 (1998); the appendices list each type of settlement.

with the cities, economically, socially and even politically, but at the same time had its own forms of organization, only loosely modelled on those of urban centres.[251]

VI. MILITARY

Epigraphy has always enjoyed a central role in writing the history of the Roman imperial army; so much so, that nothing more than small increments of new knowledge are to be expected. But, thanks to the metal-detector revolution, such quantities of *diplomata* are now being published – we count well over sixty fragments from the past few years, many of them published thanks to Peter Weiß' connections with the antiquities market and private collectors[252] — that the increments are in total fairly substantial. Still, most progress derives from experts synthesizing archaeological and epigraphic data.[253]

This point is made clearly by the most important single publication of the quinquennium, the proceedings of a conference held in Lyon in 1998 with the express purpose of bringing together new information about the legions to supplement E. Ritterling's fundamental article in *RE* 12 (1924–25).[254] The resulting volume conveniently brings together a good deal of new information, mainly organized by legion but also in some cases by armies. Almost all the new points relate to the history of the legions prior to the Flavian period, for which archaeological rather than epigraphic evidence is of primary importance; they mainly concern the armies of Illyricum, Macedonia, and Moesia.[255] Lawrence Keppie has also produced a balanced summary of present views on the evolution of the army and its recruitment between the civil war of the late Republic and the death of Nero.[256] A funerary text from Piozzo, south-west of ancient *Augusta Bagiennorum* (Bene Vagienna), for C. Nevius Asus of *leg. IIII*, seems actually to allude to one of Antony's twenty-three legions in the period 41–30 B.C., most of whose names are unknown. This one however seems to be the poorly-armed and under-strength unit raised by P. Bagiennus (Asinius Pollio ap. Cicero, *ad fam.* 10.33.4).[257] The appearance of a tribune in the VII Augusta in an Augustan local honorific found at Lisbon seems to prove that this, rather than Macedonica, was the name of VII Claudia before A.D. 14, when it was transferred to Dalmatia to deal with the revolt there.[258] Thanks to the rescue excavations at Zeugma, the fullest new legionary

[251] On the history of Byblos in Phoenicia: M. G. Angeli Bertinelli in *Biblo: Una città e la sua cultura* (1994) [1996], 145–65. M. Sartre, *AnnArcharabes* 42 (1996), 385–405 seeks to show, wrongly in our view, that Palmyra was a perfectly regular Greek *polis* from the first century A.D. until being promoted to the rank of colony.

[252] e.g. P. Weiss, *ZPE* 117 (1997), 227–68 (=*AE* 1997: 1761–70), of which sixteen belong to a single private collection and probably come from the Danube area; also idem, *ZPE* 124 (1999), 287–92 (= *AE* 1999: 1360–2); M. M. Roxan and P. Weiß, *Chiron* 28 (1998), 371–420 (=*AE* 1998: 1621–7).

[253] A new journal is exclusively devoted to military affairs: *Aquila legionis: Cuadernos de estudios sobre el ejército romano* 1 (2001), note especially S. Perea Yébenes, 'Epigrafía militar en publicaciones recientes (1)' in that issue. M. Clauss, *Lexicon lateinischer militärischer Fachausdrücke*, Schriften des Limesmuseum Aalen 52 (1999), has produced a well-illustrated lexicon for the military history buff, useful for quick reference for e.g. the difference between a *stator* and a *strator*; many entries allude to an inscription or two, but no specialist secondary literature is cited. One notes a number of minor omissions, e.g. *hastile*, and the definitions are sometimes too brief to be very helpful, and/or are contradicted by other sources.

[254] Y. Le Bohec and C. Wolff (eds), *Les légions de Rome sous le Haut-Empire: Actes du congrès, Lyon sept.1998* (2000); the useful review by J. J. Wilkes, *JRA* 15 (2002), 528–35, to some extent compensates for the poor indexing of the volume.

[255] H. Halfmann, *Germania* 195 (1995), 751f., has protested against drawing conclusions about the supposed importance of geographical origin in Roman appointment and promotion policies which are derived from an inadequate empirical base. He cites for example the use for this purpose of the surviving careers of centurions of X Fretensis, which are inscribed on funerary monuments; but this practice is typical for officers of Italian origin, so that the only correct conclusion would be that, say, centurions of Syrian origin did not follow the same practice.

[256] *PBSR* 65 (1997), 89–102. Note also his excellent collection of military papers, *Legions and Veterans: Roman Army Papers 1971–2000*, Mavors 12 (2000), with useful indices.

[257] G. Mennella in C. Stella and A. Valvo (eds), *Studi in onore di A. Garzetti* (1996), 257–69 (=*AE* 1976: 679). On these legions, see also L. Keppie, *Making of the Roman Army* (1984), 202.

[258] A. M. Dias Diogo and L. Trinidade, *Ficheiro Epigráfico* 60 (1999), no. 275 = *AE* 1999: 857. The debate over the legion's main base prior to A.D. 14 continues to rage: see J.-P. Laport vs K. Strobel, in Le Bohec and Wolff, op. cit. (n. 254), 557–79 and 515–28.

history is that of IV Scythica.[259] The first evidence for the participation of XV Apollinaris in the (first) Marcomannic War, *de]duct(ae) in [exped(itionem) prim(am) ? | Ge]rman(icam)*, seems to occur in an equestrian *cursus* of Commodan date.[260]

Next, some individual contributions by epigraphic texts to our knowledge of historical events. An Augustan grave marker for one Laberius Lepidus from S. Gemini near Terni (where the family was already known) contains the phrase *[t]rans usque Euph[ratem*, suggesting that he may have been a member of an expedition to the frontier of Commagene. One possibility would be the occasion of Caius Caesar's meeting in A.D. 1 with Phrataces, the Parthian king, on the island in the middle of the Euphrates (Vell. Pat. 2.101) — Zeugma seems to have been occupied by the Romans immediately after Actium.[261] The chape of a Roman scabbard recording the owner's century (*centuria Doxiti*) comes from the probable site of the slaughter in the Teutoburger Wald (Kalkriese nr. Osnabrück), an identification still not accepted by all, although re-excavation of the site over more than a decade has revealed not only some 3,200 objects — quantities of coins, arms, fragments of articulated armour, and harness, to say nothing of human and animal bones — but also a furthered understanding of the ignorance and folly that led to Varus' decision to march in column through the narrow pass between the Kalkrieser Berg and the swamp that had been well prepared in advance by Arminius.[262]

Ritterling's inference that the extremely unusual occurrence of a legionary legate's name, that of A. Bucius Lappius Maximus (cos. A.D. 86; 95), on military tiles found at Mirebeau-sur-Bèze and Néris must be connected with his suppression of Saturninus' rebellion in A.D. 89 (*CIL* XIII.12173.16–18) has been reinforced by the discovery of many more tiles of the same series, manufactured in the camp of VIII Augusta at Mirebeau (near Dijon).[263] A re-study of the well-known *cursus* of M. Valerius Lollianus (*ILS* 2724), comparing the troops listed in the text against those known from Syrian diplomata, indicates that the inscription probably dates not from the time of Verus' Parthian War in A.D. 163–66 but from some time between 106 and 132, perhaps A.D. 123, when Hadrian seems successfully to have built up troops in Syria to warn off the Parthians — that might explain why Lollianus received no insignia.[264] There may have been a barbarian incursion across Hadrian's Wall later in Hadrian's reign than A.D. 122, to which the response was the *expeditio Britannica* mentioned in the *cursus* of M. Maenius Agrippa (*ILS* 2735). The attack would no doubt have been a reaction to the withdrawal of auxiliary troops from Britain after the completion of Hadrian's Wall; such an attack would also explain the choice of Iulius Severus as governor in A.D. 129/30.[265] It has been suggested that *AE* 1954: 102 should be (dramatically) reinterpreted to provide evidence for a local militia recruited from among local veterans at Glanum at the time of Maternus' insurrection in Gaul and Spain during A.D. 186–87 (cf. *HA* Comm. 16.2; Nigr. 3.4).[266]

[259] M. A. Speidel in D. Kennedy (ed.), *The Twin Towns of Zeugma on the Euphrates*, JRA Suppl. 27 (1998), 163–204, reprinting all the relevant texts (also idem in Le Bohec and Wolff, op. cit. (n. 254), 328–37), cf. H. Devijver on the officer-corps, ibid., 205–32. The new inscriptions, though, are pretty wretched, cf. *AE* 1998: 1426–9. We can now add the many tile-stamps of the legion found in 2002 at 'At Meydanı', one of the unfortified 'logistics' camps of the first to third century A.D. on the right bank of the river, and a fragmentary building-inscription in Latin: M. Hartmann and M. A. Speidel in R. Early *et al.*, *Zeugma: Interim Reports*, JRA Suppl. 51 (2003), 100–26.

[260] I. Piso, *ActaMusNapoc* 35 (1998), 97–104 = *AE* 1998: 1087.

[261] L. Sensi, *Epigraphica* 58 (1996), 182–5, no. 2 = *AE* 1996: 648.

[262] Convenient summary in English by W. Schlüter in J. D. Creighton and R. J. A. Wilson (eds), *Roman Germany: Studies in Cultural Interaction*, JRA Suppl. 32 (1999), 125–59; cf. idem in R. Wiegels and W. Schlüter (eds), *Rom, Germanien u. die Ausgrabungen von Kalkriese: Akten Kongr. Osnabrück, Sept. 1996* (1999); graffito: R. Wiegels, *Germania* 77 (1999), 600–2. It now seems extremely unlikely that the XVIII legion (one of Varus') was ever stationed in Vetera: R. Wiegels, *XI Congresso* (n. 6 above), 2, 103–24, at 110f. (a good survey of recent discoveries in relation to the army of the Rhine/Raetia during the first century A.D.).

[263] F. Bérard *et al.* in R. Goguey and M. Reddé (eds), *Le camp légionnaire de Mirebeau* (1995), 191–251, at 220–2; discussion of Lappius' career, pp. 194–200; cf. E. Ritterling, *RE* 12 (1925), 1657f.; also R. Wiegels, *XI Congresso* (n. 6 above), 2, 117–19.

[264] D. Kennedy in F. Sartori (ed.), *Studies . . . for 75th anniversary . . . of the Jagellonian University* (1997), 69–81. It has been suggested that *AE* 1929: 167 alludes to trouble in Judaea at the end of Trajan's reign, perhaps a forewarning of the Bar-Kochba revolt: M. Pucci-Ben Zeev, *ZPE* 133 (2000), 256–8.

[265] S. S. Frere, *Britannia* 31 (2000), 23–8, recapitulating a suggestion made by E. R. Birley.

[266] Y. Le Bohec, *RANarbonn.* 32 (1999), 293–300.

S. Dušanić has plausibly described the system of internal control of Moesia Superior devised mainly after the Marcommanic Wars to protect the extensive mining activities in the interior, both against the miners themselves, and against the local *latrones*; the system gave rise to numerous special institutions, such as the quinquennial prefecture of the *canabae* at Singidunum (*IMSup* I. 13); he suggests too that the young soldier of *leg. VII Claudia* who died as *librarius offici prae(fecti) ter<r>it(orii)* (*AE* 1990: 858 = *IMSup* III/2, 31) worked in an office that controlled and protected a large administrative area around Ravna and supervised the mines.[267] Not surprisingly, municipalization in this area of great fiscal importance was, by contrast with Moesia Inferior, extremely slow. A new interpretation of *ILS* 487, which records work performed in the reign of Maximinus Thrax near Aquileia by *tirones iuventutis novae Italicae suae dilectus posterioris*, argues that it most probably refers to the *legio IV Italica* which is to be equated with the *legio IV* raised by Alexander Severus in which Maximinus Thrax had been tribune, and which he might well therefore have considered 'his own'; the first levy was held in Transpadana (*ILS* 1173); this 'second levy' presumably took place in Aquileia. Legions thus continued to be raised in Italy at least until the mid-230s, despite the fact that Italians are hardly attested as volunteers after Hadrian.[268] This is consistent with the notion of the army as preserving cultural memory, so that the fiction of citizen peasant-legionaries returning to till the soil, who self-evidently required no proof of their military service, could be upheld well into the third century A.D.

The observation in an official inscription from Rough Cilicia recording the re-occupation of a fort on the Kalykadnos in A.D. 359, that it had been *diu ante a latronibus possessum et provinciis perniciosum* (*ILS* 740), has been confirmed by a study concluding that the Isaurians, even those who lived in cities, enjoyed virtual autonomy from the Roman state from the late third century A.D., and that K. Hopwood's model of banditry, at least insofar as it opposes urban patrons to transhumant pastoralists, cannot be allowed to stand.[269] A fragmentary funerary of the mid-fourth century from Thessaloniki records an anonymous soldier who was employed by the state arms factory in the city, ἀναφερόμενος ἐν τῇ εἱερᾷ φάβρικι. This is the sole documentary confirmation for the statement of *Notitia Dignitatum* 11.35–9 concerning the state arms factory in the city.[270]

The most important new work on ranks has been stimulated by the discovery of large groups of dedications set up by *beneficiarii* at Osterburken and Sirmium in the 1980s, and the consequent collection of all the relevant inscriptions by E. Schallmayer and his colleagues.[271] An excellent book by J. Nelis-Clément shows that the functions of *beneficiarii* varied, more or less completely, with the rank of the person from whom they obtained them, and that it is therefore very unwise to make generalizations about 'the function' of such officers.[272] Even in the case of *beneficiarii cos*, the group about which we know most because it served in provincial *stationes* such as Osterburken, there can be no simple answer, since they apparently represented the provincial governor's authority in all the fields that came under his purview. It has also been shown that

[267] S. Dušanić in G. Alföldy *et al.* (eds), *Kaiser, Heer und Gesellschaft in der römischen Kaiserzeit: Gedenkschrift E. Birley*, HABES 31 (2000), 343–63.

[268] J. C. Mann, *ZPE* 126 (1999), 228.

[269] N. Lenski in Jean *et al.*, op. cit. (n. 248), 417–24. Hopwood might however reply that he was simply applying the commonly-accepted view of banditry among early-modern historians to the ancient world.

[270] G. A. Souris, *Tekmeria* 1 (1995), 66–78 (= *AE* 1995: 1388; *SEG* 45. 816). On their organization, S. James in J. C. Coulston (ed.), *Military Equipment and the Identity of Roman Soldiers* (1988), 257–330.

[271] There is another important find now at Obernburg am Main, due south of Aschaffenburg at the north-west tip of Bavaria, which includes twelve altars, fifty-two bases and space for many more: B. Steidl, *Das archäologische Jahr in Bayern 2000* (2001), 81–3; *Mitt. Freunde Bayer. Vor- u. Frühgesch.* 97 (2001), 2–10. The most important review of Schallmayer's volumes was by R. Haensch, *BonnJahrb* 195 (1995), 800–19.

[272] *Les beneficiarii: militaires et administrateurs au service de l'Empire (I^er s. a.C.–VI^e s. p.C.)*, Ausonius Études 5 (2000), with extremely full and useful appendices, listing e.g. the days on which altars were erected, and those commemorating promotion; cf. B. Rankov in *XI Congresso* (n. 6 above), 1, 835–42, likewise counselling the need for caution in inferring the functions of *beneficiarii*, and the need to pay close attention to provenance and the rank of the officer to whom the *bf* was attached. But it remains true that 'the *stationes* of the *bf. cos* are so widespread that they admit of any number of interpretations'.

governors and their staffs had complete freedom in the choice and assignment of *beneficiarii*.[273]

Some work has also been done on prosopography and social background of the forty-seven holders of the rank of legionary tribune known between the Civil War and the death of Nero (mainly of course men from the municipal élites, cf. Suet., *Aug.* 38; but think of Q. Veranius, cos. A.D. 19, and the poet Horace, son of a freedman), showing that, although the post was often used by the emperor as a direct form of patronage, the majority held, so far as is known, just this one appointment, and then returned to their city. The emperor thus bound municipal grandees to himself, while they used it, no doubt, as an external confirmation of their local social worth. In the army, however, tribunes frequently had not merely to adorn offices but to take independent command of vexillations or small mobile forces.[274]

At *Colonia Iulia Equestris* (Nyon), a priestess of the imperial cult erected a tombstone to her father in the late first/early second century A.D. Before becoming decurion of the colony, he had held the ranks of *optio*, *quaestor equitum*, and *interrex leg. XXI*.[275] The term *quaestor eq.* is attested otherwise only in *CIL* XIII.6669 and *AE* 1969–70: 583, and seems to have been some kind of quartermaster; a military *interrex* is a *hapax*, and might represent either a misspelling of *interpres* (cf. *AE* 1978: 635), that is, a reader of omens, or possibly an irregular temporary appointment as commanding-officer of the ill-fated XXI Rapax: indeed the appointment might stand in some immediate relation to the mysterious disappearance of that legion.[276]

Turning to the auxiliary forces, the hope of one day being able to plot the movements of troops pretty completely has largely evaporated, especially for the Julio-Claudian period, when the epigraphic evidence is scanty and the literary reports schematic to indifferent.[277] But some tendencies have been made out: for example, the discovery during the 2001–2 rescue campaign of the gravemarker of a soldier of the *coh. Maurorum* (which was permanently based in Pannonia Inferior) at Zeugma on the Euphrates tends to confirm the belief that auxiliary units regularly moved with their provincial legions/vexillations to form short-term armies.[278]

The major evidence for the auxiliary troops is obviously the *diplomata*, the study of which has now become almost a sub-discipline in itself. Almost every new document of this kind brings some gain of prosopographical and military knowledge, of a hitherto unknown suffect consul, a new proconsular date, an additional element in an equestrian career; indispensable though they are in the reconstruction of the élites of the High Principate, they are simply too numerous to survey here. It seems best to take three or four examples of recently-published *diplomata* in order to give an impression of the kinds of novelties they offer.[279]

[273] R. L. Dise, *ZPE* 116 (1997), 284–99. On the functions of *stratores*, a sort of military policeman, see now S. Perea Yébenes, *Los stratores en el ejército romano imperial*, Signifer 1 (1998).

[274] D. B. Saddington in *XI Congresso* (n. 6 above), 2, 297–314, with lists, including later careers, on pp. 305–14. As for the *tribuni laticlavii* (the one tribunate of the six per legion reserved to senators), there seems to be no foundation for the belief that future military commanders came to notice through their service in this rank.

[275] R. Frei-Stolba in F. Rossi and M. Tarpin, *Annuaire de la Société Suisse de Préhistoire et Archéologie* 81 (1998), 183–96, at 188–93 (=*AE* 1998: 975).

[276] Ritterling held that XXI Rapax, which he thought Domitian moved to the Danube after Saturninus' revolt in A.D. 89, was cut to pieces by the Sarmatians in *c.* A.D. 92. F. Bérard in Le Bohec and Wolff, op. cit. (n. 254), 56–60, has however suggested that it was condemned personally by Domitian at Vindonissa. If that had been so, the officer from Nyon would hardly have thanked his daughter for calling attention to his membership of it.

[277] cf. L. Keppie, *Athenaeum* 84 (1996), 101–24 — useful summary of recent work on the numbers and strengths of the cohorts and their quarters under Augustus and Tiberius. Important study of auxiliary troops in the Pannonias: B. Lörincz, *Die römischen Hilfstruppen in Pannonien während der Prinzipatszeit* (2001). D. Balteanu, *Arhivele Olteniei* n.s. 14 (1999), 39–71 and 15 (2000), 15–40 (English summaries), reviews the new information relating to the auxiliary troops in the Moesias, concluding that the overall picture has not substantially changed since K. Kraft's *Rekrutierung . . . am Rhein u. Donau* (1951).

[278] Hartmann and Speidel, op. cit. (n. 259), 117 no. 8.

[279] We now possess eight *diplomata* dated to the same day, 21 July A.D. 164: W. Eck and M. M. Roxan, *Xantener Berichte* 8 (1999), 347–52 (=*AE* 1998: 1103). The earliest *diploma* which certainly disallows children born before discharge from sharing in their father's and mother's privileges is an example dated 7 August 143, relating to the auxiliary troops of Pannonia Inferior: we can now conclude that the reform was imposed between A.D. 140 (*RMD* 1: 39: Palamarcia) and the middle of 143: M. M. Roxan, *ZPE* 127 (1999), 249–73 no. 2 (p. 255–67). This is also the earliest *diploma* to omit the list of units in the *intus* version.

An early *diploma* (2 July A.D. 61, the same date as *CIL* XVI.4, for an *eques* of the same unit), found near Vukovar, was issued to a decurion of the *ala II Hispanorum*.[280] Like that *diploma*, this one still uses the name 'Illyricum' for the province of Pannonia seventy years after its creation. Both again are issued only in favour of '*cohortales*', since they date from the period before the introduction of cumulative lists. Dušanić argues, as he has before, in favour of the idea that these early *diplomata* were issued only to especially meritorious individuals. Even if that position is rejected (as it is by most), one must still explain why there are so few surviving early *diplomata* prior to A.D. 69, and why those there are figure only the Danubian armies and the period of Nero's Parthian War; it seems clear that some provinces and fleets at that time did not receive any *diplomata* at all. Another peculiarity of these examples is that three of the eight witnesses are *eq. Rom.*, evidently men active in the municipal administration. Dušanić suggests that these people and their clerks helped the veterans to sort out the no doubt cumbersome documentation required for having the *diplomata* cut — individuals of course had to pay for their own copies.[281]

The second example comes from the area of Montana, north-west Bulgaria, not far from the ancient road from Serdica to Oescus, and was issued to a 'Dacian' cavalryman of the *coh. IV Thracum* (thus attested for the first time to have had a cavalry section).[282] This man must have been recruited during the first Dacian war of Trajan (A.D. 102) and have returned home after his service in Germany — this at a time when, generally speaking, local recruitment had become the norm. L. Coelius Rufus (cos. suff. A.D. 119) is now known to have been governor of Germania Inferior in that year, which fills something of a gap in the fasti of that province (he was already known to have been legate in Moesia Superior from *c.* A.D. 120). The unit's prefect, L. Porcius Crescens, is a new equestrian officer.[283] Most of the units are naturally familiar in the army of Germania Inferior, but the new *diploma* reveals five hitherto unknown units — *coh. III Breucorum, VI Brittonum, VI Breucorum, VI Raetorum, II Hispanorum* (appears in an unpublished *diploma* of A.D. 98) — and two cases in which we may be faced with two units of the same name in neighbouring provinces (*ala Thracum classiana c. R.*; *coh. II Asturum*). Once again the sketchiness of our knowledge of the disposition of auxiliary troops is underlined, for if a single *diploma* can produce five or even seven new units, there are probably several more at least still unknown to us in the second century alone. Several minor details give insights into the leisurely manner in which centrally-ordered administrative changes, such as the requirement to enter the provenance of the unit commander after A.D. 125, were taken cognisance of in the governors' offices.[284]

A fragmentary diploma from Ravenglass in Cumbria, dated 27 February A.D. 158, has been reconstituted by P. A. Holder.[285] The recipient, a cavalryman of *cohors I Aelia*

[280] S. Dušanić, *Starinar* 49 (1998) [1999], 51–62 (= *AE* 1998: 1056). M. M. Roxan has provided a useful survey of all Pannonian *diplomata* to date: *ZPE* 127 (1999), 249–73.

[281] D. B. Saddington, *Epigraphica* 59 (1997), 157–72, suggests in a careful discussion of the seven (sometimes nine) witnesses to early diplomas, who are often relatively substantial local persons – equestrians, decurions and veterans – that they did not have to travel to Rome to sign the documents but were allowed to do so in communities of suitable rank, viz. Roman *coloniae* or *municipia*, which are often their home towns. The standard practice after A.D. 74, whereby seven officials in Rome signed the diplomas, would thus have amounted to a centralization and routinization of the attestation procedure.

[282] W. Eck and E. Paunov, *Chiron* 27 (1997), 335–54 (dated A.D. 127) (= *AE* 1997: 1314).

[283] Similarly, in a diploma of the same year from Moesia Inferior, for a Thracian likewise recruited under Trajan at the beginning of the Dacian War, into an originally North African cavalry *ala* (M. M. Roxan, *ZPE* 118 (1997), 287–99). The governor at the time was C. Bruttius Praesens, cos. suff. in A.D. 118 or 119 (*AE* 1950: 94; *IRT* 545), and the diploma now allows a solution to a long-standing debate over his career. The *cos suff.* P. Lucius Cosconianus can be identified with the *curator operum publicorum* of *CIL* VI.1472, and seems to have been of Spanish origin.

[284] Numerous minor peculiarities of the *diplomata* seem to derive from the vagaries of the governors' offices. For example, after A.D. 122, the order in which units are enumerated in *diplomata* from Mauretania Tingitana (the only African province from which they are known) is no longer numerical but geographical, arranged South to North in the case of *alae* and the reverse for *cohortes*: N. Labory, *AntAfr* 34 (1998), 83–92.

[285] *BRylandsL* 79 (1997), 3–41; cf. R. S. O. Tomlin, *Britannia* 28 (1997), 463–4, no. 28 (= *AE* 1997: 1001). The Roman name of Ravenglass is now believed to be *Itunocelum* rather than *Glannoventa*, as *RIB* has it. Twenty, mostly very fragmentary, diplomas are now known for members of units that served in Britain, fifteen found there, five elsewhere: J. Nollé, *ZPE* 117 (1997), 269–74 with an addendum by M. M. Roxan, pp. 274–6 (= *AE* 1997: 1779); see above n. 149.

Classica, which is now proved to have had a mounted section, seems to have been born in Heliopolis in Syria, which may suggest that Sex. Iulius Severus took the unit with him to help crush the Bar-Kochba revolt in A.D. 132/33, and recruited replacements for casualties while in Syria. (The unit was commanded in A.D. 156 by a hitherto unknown prefect [.] Caedicius Severus.) It has been suggested that Iulius Severus also took *cohors III Bracaraugustanorum* to the East with him and probably also half of the *coh. I Hispanorum* ∞, which seems to have left Maryport at that time never to return.[286]

A fragment of a 'two-province' *diploma* (concerning troops from two provincial armies) from Viminacium seems to imply that Egnatius Victor, who was certainly governor of Pannonia Superior in A.D. 207 and perhaps earlier, was previously governor of Pannonia Inferior in A.D. 202.[287] The editor suggests that the reason why auxiliary *diplomata* become rare after Commodus is that the Severans altered the criteria in favour of those who had actively participated in war. The odd clustering of hitherto-published Severan *diplomata* in Pannonia Inferior, and their apparent dating to A.D. 202/3, may be related to the units' having taken part in the second Parthian expedition.

Diplomata are of course only one type of military document. Their counterparts in the legions were certificates of honourable discharge (*honesta missio*). Although grants of citizenship to auxiliaries and members of the fleet were always made by the emperor alone, grants of *honesta missio* to legionaries were in practice almost invariably by the army commander, although some individuals of high status, especially centurions and members of the *equites singulares*, claim to have been discharged by the emperor personally.[288] Exceptions to this rule, such as the Vindonissa constitutions, imply exceptional circumstances — probably that the recipients were of peregrine status when they were recruited into Legion XI Claudia or some other unit in A.D. 66/67.

More or less important, but certainly interesting, collections of wooden writing-tablets analogous to the famous ones from Vindolanda have also been published or re-edited.[289] The (re-)edition by M. A. Speidel of the Vindonissa tablets contains sixty-odd, mostly brief, fragmentary texts (out of 612 recovered), including another example of a bill for a debt to be repaid within thirty days, dated 25 January A.D. 90, together with the names of the witnesses, and a number of personal letters, one from a soldier on leave who wishes he were back with his friends: *ut a{c} cohorte m(ih)i rescribas, u[t] semper in mentem (h)abes, ut m(ih)i rescribas*. Another seems to be an invitation to a party: *cras, per genios potissimos ludi, crispo orcam* (a wine jar) *sicut gladium*.[290] The late first/early second-century tablets from the Roman fort at Carlisle (*Tabulae Luguvalienses*) are also a trifle disappointing by comparison with those from Vindolanda. By a considerable margin, the most significant is the first example of a standard ration-issue of barley (for the horses) and wheat (for the men) to the sixteen *turmae* of an *ala*: each troop is referred to by the name of its decurion, and each receives an amount divisible

[286] One of the dedicators of the Maryport altars, M. Censorius Cornelianus, *praef. coh.*, accepted a post as centurion in *leg. X Fretensis*, perhaps shortly afterwards: *RIB* 814 with D. J. Breeze in R. J. A. Wilson (ed.), *Roman Maryport and its Setting: Essays in Honour of M. G. Jarrett* (1997), 67–89, at 74f. The Maryport altars are likely to have been buried at the same time, when the sacred area they flanked was abandoned in the third century A.D.: P. R. Hill, ibid., 93–104.

[287] S. Dušanić, *ZPE* 122 (1998), 219–28 (A.D. 202) (=*AE* 1998: 1116). An assemblage of three fragmentary *diplomata*, all from Čair (Viminacium), may suggest that the city played a role in their administrative distribution: idem, *Starinar* 48 (1997), 63–71 (=*AE* 1997: 1298–1300), cf. M. Mirković, *ZPE* 126 (1999), 249–54 (six more, *AE* 1999: 1312–17).

[288] J. C. Mann in Alfoldy, op. cit. (n. 267), 153–61, with apt citation of *CIL* XVI App. no. 13, the *subscriptio* granted by Velius Fidius, governor of Syria in A.D. 149/50 to twenty-two members of *leg. X Fretensis*, who were Egyptians and wished to return home.

[289] Among the new funeraries from Zeugma on the Euphrates is one for an *optio* of *VII Claudia* which pictures his wooden writing-tablets: the duties of *optiones* included book-keeping and writing lists and memoranda for the commander: Hartmann and Speidel, op. cit. (n. 259), 115 no. 7; cf. *RIB* 492.

[290] M. A. Speidel, *Die römischen Schreibtafeln von Vindonissa*, Veröffentl. der Gesellschaft Pro Vindonissa 12 (1996), nos 3, 45 and 40 (alluded to in our last survey) (=*AE* 1996: 1124–35). The *genii potissimi ludi*, the spirits that bestow luck in gambling, seem to be unparalleled elsewhere. 'Many of the most deeply ingrained motifs of Roman society were concentrated into the emotional explosions of their gambling': J. P. Toner, *Leisure and Ancient Rome* (1995), 89. Speidel, 61 fig. 28, illustrates another *optio* with writing-tablets.

by three, implying that the allocation was in each case for three days at a time.[291] It seems probable that all the amounts (which vary strangely from troop to troop, some receiving as little as 33 *modii*, one as much as 60) are rounded up, and are purely notional, so that fractions could be deducted from the men's pay. The barley must have been issued in bulk to the horse-lines, the wheat was not issued to the men (and their grooms?) individually but ground and baked collectively (cf. Joseph., *Bell.Jud.* 3.85). The document hints tantalizingly at the possibility of working out the daily consumption of grain in a cavalry unit, though there are too many imponderables to give a very satisfactory result. But this kind of text (of which each *ala* must have produced more than 100 per annum; at 100 *alae* in the entire army at this time, we get a figure of 10,000 such documents produced annually, of which this is the first example ever found) can be used as a check on the Egyptian evidence for grain consumption, in trying to work out the total military requirements for grain.

Another document found at Carlisle is a report to the *ala*-prefect listing the names of the cavalrymen whose lances are missing.[292] This is the earliest known use of the word *lanciarius* to mean 'mounted lancer', more than a century earlier than the funeraries of *leg. II Parthica* at Apamea (where the word is used for *dismounted* lance-throwers), and two centuries earlier than the lancers of the Diocletianic *comitatus (ILS* 2781). A third interesting text is the direction of a letter to an unknown *eques singularis* (governor's mounted escort) of Agricola, surely Cn. Iulius Agricola, who presumably passed through Carlisle at least in A.D. 79, unless we assume that the letter was brought back by the soldier, when he returned from secondment in the governor's service to his unit in the Carlisle garrison (*ala Sebosiana*).[293]

We may finally note the apparent use of 'T' in a Roman military context to represent the Greek *theta nigrum* = 'deceased' in a short list of names on a fragmentary slab from Vindolanda. One analogous case is known, in a Latin legionary casualty list from Egypt, where it appears as 'te' (Fink, *RMR* no. 34, recto i, three cases; also p. 13, but in col. ii as 'tetates').[294]

There is little new to report concerning the fleet, apart from an interesting *diploma* to members of the Ravenna fleet, dated 26 February A.D. 70, nearly a year earlier than its parallels.[295] The recipient is one of the *beneficiari(i) qui militant in classe Ravennate* under Sex. Lucilius Bassus, the admiral of the combined fleets who abandoned Vitellius after being refused still higher promotion, and joined Vespasian (albeit half-heartedly) at a crucial juncture of the latter's bid for the throne in the latter part of A.D. 69 (Tac., *Hist.* 3.12 etc.). These *beneficiarii*, assuming that they obtained their privilege from Bassus himself, are therefore likely to have been among those who remained loyal to him, after the Ravenna fleet attempted to make Cornelius Fuscus its commander, and were duly rewarded by Vespasian with early release.[296] We may also note a brief study of the funeraries of members of the Misenum fleet, which provides information, *inter alia*, about the origins of the sailors (46 per cent of the 392 known texts provide such

[291] R. S. O. Tomlin, *Britannia* 29 (1998), 31–84, at 36–51 (= *AE* 1998: 838). As usual, the commentary scintillates.

[292] R. S. O. Tomlin in A. Goldsworthy and I. Haynes, *The Roman Army as a Community*, JRA Supplement 34 (1999), 127–38; *Britannia* 29 (1998), 55–63 no. 16 (=*AE* 1998: 839). For lancers at Apamea see J. Ch. Balty, *JRS* 78 (1988), 101.

[293] R. S. O. Tomlin, *Britannia* 29 (1998), 74 no. 44 (=*AE* 1998: 852). The term *cohortales* appears in a tiny fragment (p. 67f. no. 28 (=*AE* 1998: 847)), either as a noun — it would be the first such occurrence during the Principate — or, as the analogy of the roughly contemporary *ILS* 2487 (Hadrian to the army of Africa) suggests, an adjective; yet the following word(s) seem in fact to be crossed out. The editor suggests a sort of joke: slow soldiers deserve fetters (to make them really slow?); but this seems strained. If *pediças* in *tardius superveniunt quibus m<a>ncipare debeo pediças* . . . is to be retained, one might perhaps think of *cohortales [[statores]]*: a reference to military policemen might make sense in the context of ankle-fetters. But it is difficult to imagine why these might be being *sold* to policemen.

[294] R. S. O. Tomlin and M. Hassall, *Britannia* 29 (1998), 435f. no. 7 (=*AE* 1998: 835), on the text presented by A. R. Birley, *Britannia* 29 (1998), 299–305. There is an intermediate case in Hunt's *pridianum* (*RMR* no. 63) ii 11, θetati. But in a Latin-speaking context, one might expect 'o(b).' (for 'obiit') as in *RMR* no. 34, recto i, 6.

[295] M. M. Roxan, *JRA* 9 (1996), 248–56 (=*AE* 1997: 1771). Note that the men *militant*, are still in service. This is the sole *diploma* to mention that it is copied from an original *quae fixa est Romae in Capitolio in podio muri ante aedem Geni P(opuli) R(omani)*.

[296] A hitherto unknown fleet prefect under Hadrian: P. Weiß, *ZPE* 126 (1999), 243–6.

information). The largest single group are Egyptians (31), then Thracians (20) and Alexandrians and Cilicians (16 each), also 12 Sardinians and 11 Syrians.[297]

Comparison between the Stanegate, the first Wetterau and the Rhaetian *limites* has suggested the creation, under Trajan, of collocations of larger and smaller forts commanding valleys, which anticipate the 'closed system' created by Hadrian. The 'zone' conception of frontiers, at least in North-West Europe, does not correspond to the archaeological evidence.[298] In the East, the rescue-excavations at Zeugma now seem to suggest that this site formed part of a long chain of 'logistics' camps, designed to facilitate the movement of armies from Europe to the northern sector of the Eastern frontier. These camps were supplied by means of infrastructural measures, including canals, to help transport supplies as cheaply as possible to the frontier in preparation for campaigns.[299]

There is space only to note a small fraction of work on the army as a social institution.[300] The role of the army in Africa both in creating and in extending the condition of prosperity has been stressed, initially through conquest and secondarily through the building of infrastructure (roads, aqueducts); but the soldiery also acted as significant economic agents.[301] Against the majority view of relative integration, N. Pollard argues on the basis of the material from Dura-Europos in support of B. D. Shaw's view of the army as a total institution in Goffman's sense (though in fact Goffman himself argued only for basic training camps as 'total').[302] He lays stress on the points of tension or cultural difference (policing duties, the religious calendar, institutional endogamy, continued orientation of veterans towards the army). A good general rule has been stated by Y. Le Bohec in relation to the events of A.D. 238 in Lambaesis: 'les légionnaires n'étaient ni de la ville ni de la campagne, mais du camp'.[303] In this connection, perhaps the most interesting feature of a new group of mainly second- and third-century funeraries from Haïdra (Ammaedara, on the Carthage–Tebessa road) is that they feature a considerable number of soldiers, even though the camp seems not to have been used after the Flavian period. It seems likely that, on the one hand, readiness to enter the army tended to run in family tradition, while, on the other,

[297] A. Parma in *XI Congresso* (n. 6 above), 1, 817–24. It has been argued that until the reign of Hadrian there was no Syrian fleet; prior to this time, shipping was improvised as required: D. B. Saddington, *Archäologisches Korrespondenzblatt* 31 (2001), 581–6. It seems that there were after all no batmen (*stratores*) in the fleet: *AE* 1929: 149 has been revised to read *st]rat(iôtou) stolou*, 'marine belonging to the fleet': Y. Le Bohec, *Ktema* 21 (1996), 313–20.

[298] N. Hodgson, *Britannia* 31 (2000), 11–22; cf. also P. J. Sijpesteijn, *ZPE* 111 (1996), 281f. Note also P. Petrović (ed.), *The Roman Limes on the Middle and Lower Danube* (1996).

[299] M. Hartmann and M. A. Speidel, *18th International Roman Frontiers Congress* (2003). D. Kennedy in idem (ed.), *The Roman Army in the East*, JRA Supplement 18 (1996), 9–24, raises the question of how such military sites functioned within the local ecology, and notes, in passing, the massive threat to the archaeology of much of the Near-East by modern farming and settlement patterns.

[300] An excellent study by G. Wesch-Klein, *Soziale Aspekte des römischen Heerwesens in der Kaiserzeit*, HABES 28 (1998), covering the entire range of the social, sexual, and familial life of soldiers, discipline and order, privileges and relations with the civilian world.Note also A. Goldsworthy and I. Haynes, *The Roman Army as a Community*, JRA Supplements 34 (1999), emphasizing the regionalism and diversity of the army, drawing upon local recruits and being influenced by local communities; note especially B. Rankov, on the *officium consularis* in provincial administration, and J. J. Wilkes on Legion VII in the Danube area.

[301] Y. Le Bohec in Alföldy, op. cit. (n. 267), 207–26: convenient lists of the army units of Africa Proconsularis/Numidia, and the Mauretanias; note also Alföldy, ibid., 33–58, on the army in the social structure of the Empire, and P. Le Roux, ibid., 261–78, on the army and society in Spain. Note also S. M. García Martínez, *La base campamental de la Legio VII y sus canabae en Léon. Análisis epigráfico* (2000), and, on the veterans of this legion as intermediaries between the the military and civilian worlds: J. J. Palao Vicente in Á. Alonso Ávila (ed.), *Homenaje al prof. Montenegro* (1999), 453–72.

[302] N. Pollard in Kennedy, op. cit. (n. 299), 211–28. Oddly enough, he does not refer to B. Isaac's exploitation of Talmudic sources, *The Limits of Empire*[2] (1992), 115–18.

[303] Le Bohec, op. cit. (n. 301), 209.

the prosperity of Ammaedara meant that there were plenty of relatively influential persons prepared to write recommendations to the governor at the *dilectus*.[304]

There has been more debate on the demography of the army. In 1995 W. Scheidel argued that, though one cannot use the military funeraries to establish expectation of life at recruitment, or by comparison with the civilian population, the lists of soldiers *honesta missione dimissi* do allow one to estimate the rate of loss by death.[305] He concluded that some 40 per cent of soldiers died before the end of their engagement, and some 10–15 per cent were discharged early. In reply, M. Marković denies that the known lists of discharged legionaries (e.g. *CIL* III.6178–80, *AE* 1955: 238 etc.) can provide the type of information that both Gilliam and Scheidel have supposed they do: they simply present a very approximate number of soldiers discharged in different years in three different provinces, with such large variations that any attempt to normalize must be arbitrary. They can however be used to suggest the discharge-policies relating to legionary soldiers in different provinces and reigns. Moreover there is a striking — suspicious — disparity between estimates of mortality-rates arrived at on the basis of these lists and those suggested — impressionistically of course — by military tombstones.[306]

After death, sickness. The evidence for doctors and oculists in military contexts in northern Britannia has been intelligently assembled, drawing on archaeological evidence for further information concerning the general health of the population.[307] More dedications by members of I Italica to Aesculapius have been found *in situ* in front of the Trajanic temple of Aesculapius at Svištov (Moesia Inferior).[308] Some of these inscriptions seem originally to have come from the camp hospital, and may relate to one or other wave of 'plague' during the mid-second century. The most notable new text records the dedication by the legionary legate, C. Mansuanius Severus, of a silver statue of Aesculapius weighing 1 kg 773 gr., apparently the complement to the slightly lighter statue of Hygeia dedicated by the legate M. Clodius Laetus (*IGLNovae* 16). Another new text, a dedication to the god by the entire legion, *Aesculapio sacrum Leg. I Ital(ica)* confirms the hypothetical reading of *IGLNovae* 18. After sickness, rude health: L. Maximius Gaetulicus, from Vienne, already known as a centurion from *RIB* 1725 and 2120, is now known to have fulfilled as *primipilus* of *leg. I Italica* at Novae in A.D. 184, after more than half a century in the army (*stip. LVII*), a vow he made as a simple soldier in *XX Valeria Victrix* at Chester (*quod tiro aput leg. XX V.V. voveram, nunc*

[304] Z. ben Abdallah and Y. Le Bohec, *MEFRA* 109 (1997), 41–82, at 45–51, no. 2a (=*AE* 1997: 1620–37). Note in particular Geminius Orfitianus, who is an addition to the very small group of third-century African recruits known in the élite *cohortes urbanae* (172 Italians, 20 provincials of whom 2 are from Africa), who was evidently able, through his personal and family resources, to influence the governor's decision. His grandfather and great-uncle bore *cognomina* clearly calqued upon indigenous words or names: Pusissus and Salfenius. In another of these texts, perhaps from the mid-first century A.D. (p. 68f. no. 10), the dedicator mentions that he was a *comanipul(aris)* of the deceased, a term that occurs extremely rarely in military funeraries (the maniple was a fighting unit composed of two centuries under a single *signum*).

[305] W. Scheidel, *Klio* 77 (1995), 232–54. Cf. idem, *Measuring Sex, Age and Death in the Roman Empire*, JRA Suppl. 21 (1996), 93–138, at 93–7, 117–24. The main arguments are however parametric.

[306] M. Mirković, *XI Congresso* (n. 6 above) 2, 139–52. He argues with R. Saller and B. Shaw, *JRS* 74 (1984), 124–56, that the small number of sons recorded on legionary tombstones, and the omission of wives' names, reflect the fact that a tombstone was as much a statement of legal inheritance as anything else; by contrast, families are often mentioned in auxiliary tombstones, and it is these that perhaps offer a more promising line of approach for research on military families than the legionary tombstones.

[307] L. Allason-Jones, *Britannia* 30 (1999), 133–46; note p. 140, on wines for medical use, one type flavoured with white horehound (*marrubium vulgare*), against coughs and catarrh; a second-century A.D. wooden barrel has been found at Aquincum apparently containing wine for a military hospital and thus duty-free: *immune in r(ationem) val(etudinarii) leg. II Ad(iutricis)*: T. Bezeczky, *Britannia* 27 (1996), 334f. Add to Allason-Jones' list of dedications to Aesculapius in this area (p. 142), R. S. O. Tomlin, *Britannia* 32 (2001), 390 no. 15 (*Asclepio* at Carlisle: all known doctors in Britain have Greek names). Note also R. Breitweiser, *Medizin im römischen Österreich*, Linzer archäologische Forschungen 26 (1998), section 1, and in general the excellent account of J. C. Wilmanns, *Der Sanitätsdienst im römischen Reich* (1995), with Y. Le Bohec, *Gnomon* 24 (1998), 367–9.

[308] J. Kolendo, *Archeologia* (Warsaw) 49 (1998), 55–71 (=*AE* 1998:1130–7). There is a new *medicus cohortis* of second-century A.D. date from Cabyle in Thrace, with an evidently Thracian name, published as a simple soldier (V. Velkov, *Cabyle, 2* (1991), 24 no. 19) but the photograph allows a corrected reading *Au]|luzen(us) med(icus)|coh. II Lucens(ium)*, see *AE* 1999: 1377.

. . .).[309] The dedication, to *Victoria Aug. panthea sanctissima* is unique, but is no doubt the soldiers' correlate of *Concordia panthea* known from *AE* 1908: 119.[310]

VII. RELIGION

In a memorable passage of the *Letters from Pontus*, Ovid expresses his envy of those who do not need to make do with mere images of the gods but, being able to see the emperor, can behold them in person: 'felices illi, qui non simulacra, sed ipsos, quique deum coram corpora vera vident' (*Pont.* 2.8.57f.). What once would have been instantly recognized as servile flattery, has now come to be seen as something which can be apprehended only by an effort of historical imagination. The fecundity of Simon Price's work on the imperial cult in Asia Minor, now twenty years old, has been impressively affirmed by the appearance of two books whose avowed intention is to apply it to the Roman West.[311]

Their common ground can be summarized as follows. Since divine honours expressed not the essence of the divinity but the disparity in status and power between divinity and worshipper, the difference between worshipping, say, Jupiter and an emperor was merely one of degree — the degree, as it were, to which the emperor was less powerful than Jupiter. The contractual view that bound the ordinary gods to bestow benefactions in return for divine worship applied equally to the Princeps. The anomalousness of the imperial cult is thus merely the result of a modern dichotomy between religion and politics; the key to it lies in studying ritual, which constructs theology, the world and its social order. From here, however, one can take different routes. For Clauss, the crucial insight is that the emperors' divinity was produced by popular longing for immanent divinity (*di praesentes*), and emphasis is upon the evidence for worship of the emperors during their lifetimes, the ubiquity of images and rituals which expressed their highness.[312] For Gradel, studying ritual means in effect looking for evidence of the local, low-level, day-to-day, even domestic, reproduction of the divinity of the emperors mainly in Italy.[313] Rather different is the approach of U.-M. Liertz, whose study of the official cult in the two Germanies and Gallia Belgica emphasizes its association with Romanized urban sites, and the irregularity of its attested presence outside the major cult-centres of Metz, Trier, Cologne, Nyon, Augst,

[309] J. Kolendo and V. Bozilova, *Inscriptions grecques et latines de Novae (Mésie Inférieure)* (1997), no. 46. But Gaetulicus may have become familiar with the notion of a universal goddess in Britain, cf. *RIB* 1135 (Corbridge, fragment, date unknown; ?not Cybele). Note also *ILS* 2649 for a *princeps iterum leg. XIII* who served forty-six years, dying at the age of sixty-four.

[310] One must also find space for J. N. Adams, *JRS* 89 (1999), 109–34, on the range of centurions' cultural aspirations, arising from the splendid poem from Bu Njem by M. Porcius Iasucthan (*AE* 1995: 1641).

[311] M. Clauss, *Kaiser und Gott. Herrscherkult im römischen Reich* (1999); I. Gradel, *Emperor Worship and Roman Religion* (2002).

[312] The book is divided into a reign-by-reign historical survey and a (more successful) thematic section, followed by appendices listing the evidence for worship of each emperor while alive (1) and the *divi* (7); some of this material is discussed in idem, *Klio* 78 (1996), 400–33, on the evidence for living emperors as active divinities in the world. Note also: A. Scheithauer, *ZPE* 114 (1996), 213–26, on the formulae of the type *salvis Augustis felix* . . ., which suggest that private individuals saw a close link between their well-being and that of the emperors; C. Witschel, *Klio* 78 (1996), 524–9 (review of Kuhoff, *Felicior Augusto* (1993)), an important sketch of the climate of religious feeling which transformed perceptions of the emperor into spontaneous religious gestures; and J. Wiseman in I. K. Xydopoulos (ed.), *Ancient Macedonia VI: 6th International Symposium, Thessaloniki, Oct. 1996*, Institute for Balkan Studies 272 (1999), 1359–70, on the use of the Latin expression *deo Caesari* at Stobi, which directly follows Greek usage.

[313] Note especially: criticism of Zanker and J. J. Dobbins on the role of the imperial cult in the forum of Pompeii (pp. 103–8); interesting suggestion that the *genius Aug.* is a solution to the *de facto* impossibility of the emperor being personally ubiquitous (pp. 244f.), though it surely works against the major claim that worship is all about estimates of power, and anyway ignores evidence such as *Pan. Lat.* 6(7).22.1 (cited by Clauss, op. cit. (n. 311 above), 197), and the general point that this *genius* is the public form of the *genius domini*, which certainly had no such value; argument against the supplement *n[umini Augusti ad aram q]uam dedicavit Ti. Caesar* in *FPraenestini* s.v. 17 January on grounds of letter form (pp. 235–9), while admitting that there really is no alternative, and the claim seems quixotic in view of the undoubted existence of the term *numen Aug.* at Narbo (*CIL* XII.4333); list of varying titles of municipal priests in Italy up to A.D. 235 (pp. 376–9).

and Avenches.[314] Against Clauss and Gradel, Liertz notes the apparently rather pragmatic attitudes of private dedicators, whose votives, especially those *pro salute . . .*, which apparently emphasize the vulnerability of the emperors to worldly ills and give the impression of viewing the cult as a conscious act of loyalty to the maintenance of a political system in which they have their proper place.[315]

The evidence for priesthoods of Rome and Augustus has also been used as an index of the development of municipalization in Gaul.[316] The role of such priests, who were invariably local magnates, was not to import something extraneous, the 'imperial cult', into a locality, but rather to represent the integration of civic community, local pantheon and the divinized imperial power. Outside the major cities, the imperial cult only exists in close connection with the cult of the local pantheon: virtually every large rural sanctuary in Gaul played some role in the imperial cult. Though they are, of course, an important part in local career structures, the real significance of municipal priesthoods is that they enabled members of major families to enter into a mediating role between the *municipium*, or even *vicus* — at any rate a Roman institution developing out of a Gallic settlement — and its deities.[317]

An apparently insignificant new text from Emerita suggests the possibility that *ILS* 6892 = Ehrenberg & Jones, *Docs.*, no. 112 might also refer to the cult of Augustus coupled with Livia.[318] Even if, as is likely, *ILS* 6892 was a small private dedication, the re-reading allows a fresh reconstruction of the history of the cult in Lusitania which makes sense of its puzzling shifts of terminology. Until A.D. 42, the imperial cult in Lusitania, as in Gallia Narbonensis,[319] was centred on *divus Augustus* alone, and his priest was known for short as the *flamen Augustalis*; after Livia's deification the title became *flamen divi Aug. et divae Aug. provinciae Lusitaniae*. Once Claudius was consecrated in A.D. 54, it became simplified to *flamen provinciae Lusitaniae*: it is only then that one can properly speak of a 'cult of the emperors'.[320] The re-excavation of the Augusteum at Narona (Vid near Metković on the coast of Croatia) in 1995/96 revealed numbers of impressive statues belonging to what seems to have been one of the largest imperial cycles yet recorded. Among them is one dedicated *divo Augusto* by the governor

[314] U.-M. Liertz, *Kult u. Kaiser: Studien zur Kaiserkult und Kaiserverehrung in den germanischen provinzen und in Gallia Belgica zur römischen Kaiserzeit* (1998).

[315] Of general works on the imperial cult note also A. Small (ed.), *Subject and Ruler: the Cult of the Ruling Power in Classical Antiquity: Festschrift D. Fishwick*, JRA Suppl. 17 (1996), esp. R. Turcan's original essay, picking up on a remark by Fustel de Coulanges about the imperial cult as 'un principe de liberté', on the manner in which the cult of the sovereign provided that liberty which consisted in a distinct identity within a universal 'symbolic' framework (pp. 51–62). Like Gradel, Turcan pays particular attention to domestic cult, emphasizing the variety of small objects associated with the cult of the emperors; cf. H. Hänlein-Schäfer on the iconography of the *genius Aug.* in compital ('cross-roads') and domestic cults, pp. 73–98.

[316] W. van Andringa in Dondin-Payre and Raepsaet-Charlier, op. cit. (n. 97), 425–46, list on 442–6; *La religion en Gaule romaine: piété et politique Ier–IIIe siècle apr. J.-C.* (2002), 187–204. The titles of municipal priesthoods never bore any close relationship to those known from Rome — pontiffs and augurs, for example, as prescribed in the Lex Ursonensis, virtually never occur in Gaul (outside Narbonensis and Lugdunum) or the Germanies. Note too T. Derks, *JRA* 15 (2002), 541–5 on Van Andringa (ed.), *Archéologie des sanctuaires en Gaule romaine*, Mémoires du Centre Jean Palerne 22 (2000).

[317] cf. also S. Lefebvre in Cébeillac-Gervasoni, op. cit. (n. 144), 267–305, on the collective character of the Italian élites' expressions of gratitude and respect for the Julio-Claudians.

[318] J. Edmondson, *MadridMitt* 38 (1997), 89–105: *divo A[ugusto] et diva[e Augustae] . . .* (*AE* 1997: 777a). Hitherto *ILS* 6892 read: *divo Augusto Albinus Albini f. flamen divi Aug. provinciae Lusitaniae*. One could not guess from this presentation that the stone is broken to the right, and that nearly half of each line is evidently missing. D. Fishwick, *Epigraphica* 61 (1999), 81–101, argues that Albinus was not a Roman citizen, which seems implausible, and that the cult in Lusitania was controlled centrally through a law similar to that for Narbo (*FIRA* I² no. 22). D. Fishwick, *ZPE* 126 (1999), 291–5 and 128 (1999), 283–92 attempts to find further support for the idea of central organization in *CIL* II.4217 and *AE* 1987: 539 = *CIL* II².7.799 (Fuente Ovejuna). See the objections of P. Le Roux in *AE* 1999: 966.

[319] Note the re-reading of *CIL* XII.392 (near Arles) by J.-P. Brun and J. Gascou, *ZPE* 125 (1999), 261–71, following discovery of a new fragment and re-discovery of the old. It seems to show that the honorand was *sacerdos] templi divi Aug(usti)* prior to A.D. 42. R. Frei-Stolba, *Pro Aventico* 38 (1996), 59–72, suggests reading the second line of *ILS* 2697, the *cursus* of C. Iulius Camillus *sac(erdos) Aug(usti), mag(ister)* instead of *mag(nus)*, with H. Wolff, which would represent an early stage in the development of the imperial cult in the Flavian *colonia Helvetiorum*, while *magister* may be the title of the chief magistrate at this stage.

[320] Edmondson adopts Étienne's suggestion that the post of *flaminica* was introduced in the Flavian period, to look after the cult of the growing number of *divae*.

of Illyricum in A.D. 14, P. Cornelius Dolabella, who, Tacitus claims, made himself egregious as a flatterer of the imperial house (Tac., *Ann.* 3.47).[321] However that may be, it seems clear that Dolabella played an important part from the very beginning in establishing the cult of the *divus* at Narona, Aenona, and Issa.

G. Alföldy has offered an ingenious re-interpretation of the famous fragmentary inscription by Pontius Pilate found at Caesarea Maritima in 1961 (*AE* 1963: 104). This text has generally been interpreted as recording the building or furnishing by Pilate of a shrine — probably not an entire building — in honour of Tiberius, a *Tiberieum*, during his lifetime, Caesarea being a predominantly pagan city at this time, and anyway the capital of the province. Since the stone was found near the theatre, it is assumed that the shrine was in the vicinity. But there has always been intense debate over how to restore the missing left-hand side.[322] Herod's main harbour at Caesarea was of course named Sebastos, the Greek word for 'Augustus'; and it was overlooked by the temple of Rome and Augustus at the south end of the forum. At the end of the longer harbour-mole (the southern), it is thought, stood a lighthouse 80–90 m in height, probably named the *Druseion*, in Latin no doubt *Druseum*, in honour of Augustus' stepson, Nero Claudius Drusus, the father of Germanicus and the emperor Claudius.[323] Concrete foundations capable of supporting a structure such as this were found by the Harbour Excavation project many years ago; at the same time they also found massive concrete foundations for a tower at the end of the shorter, northern mole.[324] Josephus, who says nothing of a lighthouse, describes (*BJ* 1.411–13) two towers at the entrance to the harbour, one on either side; one taller than the other. Alföldy, after re-examining the stone, suggests that this was in fact a second light-house, named after Tiberius, the brother of Drusus, giving a restoration: *[Nautí]s Tiberiéum |[. Po]ṇtius Pílatus |[praef]ectus Iudaę[a]ę | [ref]é[cit.* Not merely would this explain the small space available for the dedication in line 1, it cleverly removes all allusion to a shrine of Tiberius during his lifetime. The main objections are first, that it is by no means certain that the name of the lighthouse at Caesarea was *Druseion*, and the fact that, as A. Frova pointed out thirty years ago, it makes no sense for such a wretchedly small stone to have been transported all the way to the theatre, which is 1.3 km away from the northern mole and where there is anyway plenty of stone.[325] Sadly, it looks as if we have not heard the last of the Tiberieum at Caesarea.

Some lesser novelties from Asia Minor may be noted.[326] A subscription-list from Metropolis in Asia, from the early Principate, records the names of persons, mainly élite, who made gifts, both in money and kind (e.g. reclining couches), to enable a dining-room to be fitted out in the gymnasium of the *Presbyteroi* for holding meals after sacrifices, *inter alia*, in honour of the emperors.[327] From Perge comes an honorific for Tib. Claudius Plokamos, an imperial freedman (either of Claudius or Nero), who had been the imperial priest in Claudiconium and is now honoured for his 'piety towards the Sebastoi' in Perge.[328] It has been suggested that the role of a high priestess of the imperial cult was to entertain women participants in the appropriate festivals; the possibility arises from the case of a woman of Pessinus who had been *archiereia* twice

[321] E. Marin in *Preatti XI Congresso* (n. 115 above), 411–15; idem in P. Cabanes (ed.), *L'Illyrie méridionale et l'Épire dans l'Antiquité, 3. Actes du III^e colloque de Chantilly, oct. 1996* (1999), 265–9; on the statues, idem, *CRAI* 1996, 1029–40; *JRA* 14 (2001), 81–112. Narona seems itself to have been an Augustan colony.

[322] G. Alföldy, *ScCIIsrael* 18 (1999), 85–108; the best discussion, with overwhelming bibliography to 1992, is L. Boffo, *Iscrizioni greche e latine per lo studio della Bibbia*[2] (1994), 217–33 no. 25.

[323] R. Vann, *IJNArch* 20 (1991), 123–39.

[324] A. Raban (ed.), *The Harbours of Caesarea Maritima. Results of the Caesarea Ancient Harbour Project, 1980–85, 1: The Site and the Excavations*, BAR S491 (1989); S. Kingsley in L. Lavan (ed.), *Recent Research in Late-Antique Urbanism*, JRA Suppl. 42 (2001), 69–87. The second tower does not however appear on any of the familiar reconstructions, e.g. K. G. Holum *et al., King Herod's Dream: Caesarea on the Sea* (1988), 99 fig. 62.

[325] A. Frova, *RIL* 95 (1961), 419–34 = *AE* 1971: 477.

[326] Honours for the emperors at Eleusis: K. Clinton in Hoff and Rotroff, op. cit. (n. 231), 161–81, including a list of known high-priests of the imperial cult at the sanctuary (useful summary in *SEG* 47.37).

[327] H. Engelmann, *ZPE* 125 (1999), 139–42 no. 2.

[328] *IPerge* (n. 205 above), 50f. no. 35. A new fragment of *IG* XII.5.629, probably part of the epistyle of the small Sebasteion at Ioulis on Keos, a votive by the high-priest Theoteles *philokaisar* to *theois Olympiois kai theois Sebastois*, seems to prove that the cult of the *theoi Sebastoi* here antedates the death of Augustus: S. Zoumbaki and L. G. Mendoni in *Kea-Kythnos: History and Archaeology*, Meletemata 27 (1999), 669–78 = *AE* 1999: 1455.

whereas her husband, Pylaimenes, had held the male priesthood only once. At first sight, this seems to support the belief that women could hold the priesthood in their own right; but she may have held it jointly with a male relative.[329]

An invitation to the celebration of the *Alexandreia* on 23 June A.D. 252 to be held at the capital Beroea by the Macedoniarch and provincial high-priest Claudius Rufrius Menon and his wife seems to have been posted in the period between the death of Decius early in June 251 and the Senate's recognition of Trebonianus Gallus (since his *trib. pot.* figure is given it was probably drafted before his death): the preface expresses wishes for the 'health, life, victory and eternal continuance in a good condition of our mighty, divine lords' — but leaves a blank for their names. One could hardly wish for a better example of routinization. The spectacles are to include eighteen pairs of gladiators and eighteen specimens of all ζῷα ἐγχώρια, local animals, presumably because it was temporarily impossible to obtain more exotic ones.[330]

Turning now to 'traditional' Roman religion, it is a remarkable fact that no votive to Quirinus is yet known from Rome; but one has now been found at Bir Mcherga (ancient Giufi) in Africa Proconsularis. To judge from his association with the Larentalia, Robigalia, and Consualia, Quirinus was, like 'rural' Mars, a god of agricultural prosperity, but his adoption into the Augustan promotion of Romulus means that it is impossible to be sure quite how he was understood at Giufi, where, with the title *Augustus*, he was both an ancestral god, *deus pater* (Quirinus is named by Lucilius as one of the three gods addressed as *pater* in prayer), and the *genius municipii*.[331] The first votive from outside central Italy for another archaic divinity, the Italic goddess Laverna, has been found elsewhere in the same province, near the forum of Uchi Maius (Henchir ed-Douâmis, Tunisia). This extremely shadowy chthonic divinity is familiar mainly from the prodigy which occurred in Sulla's favour, when a flame emerged out of a cleft in the earth in her shrine in Rome (Plutarch, *Sulla* 6.6); but there was also a gate, the Porta Lavernalis, named for her (Varro, *LL* 5.163).[332] In the new text, the goddess's name is followed by the letters *MI[*; the editor thinks, probably rightly, as in the previous case, of a cult maintained by one of the *gentes* or their sub-divisions, originating from a family cult of a settler deriving from central Italy.[333] In the context of a complete reconsideration of the names on the well-known mosaic in S. Angelo in Formis at Monte Tifata (*CIL* I^2.2948 = *ILLRP* 721), it has been suggested that the overhaul of the temple, including *columnasq[ue et simulacra pro] columneis ina[u]rata de stipe Dianai faciunda*, is just one example of a wider refurbishment of Italian temples, under Hellenistic influence, which took place well before the Social War.[334]

The most impressive epigraphic achievement of the quinquennium in relation to 'traditional' Roman religion is undoubtedly John Scheid's revised edition of the Arval Acts, with translation and full photographic illustration, which replaces the old texts of

[329] J. H. M. Strubbe and M. Devreker, *EpigAnat* 26 (1996), 53–66, at 53 no. 1; a good survey of the tangled question of the priestesses: Cécile Hayward in R. Frei-Stolba and A. Bielman (eds), *Femmes et vie publique dans l'Antiquité gréco-romaine*, Etudes de Lettres (1998), 1, 117–37.

[330] G. Velenis in Xydopoulos, op. cit. (n. 312), 1317–27 = *AE* 1999: 1425, with *Bullép* 2000 no. 473. In two other formal invitations of the same series, to the *Pythia*, dated to A.D. 259 and 260, the names of Gallienus, Valerianus, and Saloninus have been martellated. By the time of the last, Menon has become hierophant of the Cabeirus and priest of the imperial cult for the second time; six each of the very expensive animals imported from Libya, leopards, hyenas and an unknown species (ΛΑΙ[.]ΑΝΑ), are offered, and four each of native species.

[331] Z. Benzina ben Abdullah, *CRAI* (1999), 457–68 (end of first third of third century A.D.) (=*AE* 1999: 1828).

[332] L. Gasperini in M. Khanoussi and A. Mastino (eds), *Uchi Maius, 1: Scavi e ricerche epigrafiche in Tunisia* (1997), 177–82 (=*AE* 1997: 1674), in the form of an aedicula, evidently containing a statue, probably of second-century A.D. date, in Latium, there is sporadic evidence from Anagnia and Sulmo.

[333] Uchi Maius has also produced an honorific for Severus Alexander by an *eq. R.*, who mentions that he held the office of *sacerdos bidentalis*, responsible for the ritual of *fulgur conditum* at Rome (A.D. 230) (cf. schol. ad Pers. 2.26). It is generally believed that the tradition of this small college was revived, or even invented, in the mid-second century A.D.: M. Khanoussi, *CRAI* (1999), 469–79. A. Arnaldi, *Ricerche storico-epigrafiche sul culto di 'Neptunus' nell'Italia romana*, Studi pubbl. dall' Ist. Ital. Storia antica 64 (1997) is a painstaking study, including a useful commentary on all forty of the certain epigraphic attestations (pp. 91–193).

[334] M. Pobjoy, *PBSR* 65 (1997), 59–88 (=*AE* 1997: 316). He dates the mosaic not to the Sullan period but to 108 B.C.: *[Ser. Sulpi]cio M. Aurelio consolibus.*

Henzen and Huelsen, and the commentary by E. Pasoli.[335] In the context of the Arval archives of which the Acts are copies on stone, M. Beard has suggested that, although the priestly colleges, such as the Arvals, certainly had their own archival resources and scribes (for example, the pontiffs' *kalatores*), archives relating to finance and personnel were in fact accumulated by all the temples of Rome, and that this function was gradually taken over by the imperial *familia*, along with the centralized maintenance of the temples themselves.[336] Scheid's earlier prosopographical work on the Arval Brethren has inspired a book listing all known holders of conventional Roman priesthoods, non-specified religious offices, functionaries local and provincial of the imperial cult, and holders of religious offices in the 'oriental' and indigenous cults, in the three Spains and two Mauretanias from Augustus to Diocletian.[337] This is understood as a preliminary step towards the more detailed analysis of particular areas and provinces, particularly of the extent to which patterns of the tenure of priesthoods differed between the imperial and other cults, as some studies have suggested. Unfortunately, however, the surviving material is insufficient to provide much information on such questions.[338]

In another important intervention, relating in this instance to the dissemination of Roman religion in the western Empire, Scheid has argued that the process of municipalization, precisely because it involved passing indigenous religious culture through a sieve of Roman juridical practice, was the major means of transforming that culture: one of the first acts required of a new town council was that it provide a Roman name for an indigenous deity, and create a calendar of sacrifices and festivals of a Roman type, as in *lex col. Genet.*§64.[339] It was here that the crucial mediation took place between indigenous and Roman styles, a mediation which enabled these *civitates* to maintain their double identity as Roman and native. In the long run, as T. Derks has emphasized in an impressive book, indigenous cosmologies were thoroughly transformed.[340] On the other hand, public management of a cult or sanctuary did not mean the imposition of a uniform architectural model. A whole variety of temple-forms was created in Roman and Romanized settlements, which in their own way contributed to the construction of local identities defined against the universal claims of the Empire.[341]

Frustula: The legate of Legion XIII Gemina at Alba Iulia in A.D. 115–17, M. Herennius Faustus, offered a small votive altar to Mercury *Hilaris*. This must be a Latinized Hermes, for Hermes is often associated with the symposium; and as the god of luck, he was intimately associated with gambling, both of them important adjuncts to a sense of military well-being.[342] Another unique divine epithet in a military votive is Minerva *doctrix*, who occurs in a list of deities honoured by a newly-retired *bf. cos* at

[335] J. Scheid with P. Tassini and J. Rüpke, *Recherches archéologiques à La Magliana. Commentarii fratrum arvalium qui supersunt. Les copies épigraphiques des protocols annuels de la confrérie arvale (21 av.–304 ap. J.-C.)*, Roma antica 4 (1998).

[336] In Moatti, op. cit. (n. 174), 75–101. These archives also acted as places of safe-keeping for important documents, such as personal wills, belonging to ordinary people. In the same volume, note also J. Scheid, on the hypothetical oracular archives of the *XVviri* (pp. 11–26); J. Rüpke, on the *commentarii* of the *vicomagistri* (pp. 27–44).

[337] J. A. Delgado Delgado, *Elites y organización de la religion en las provincias de la Bética y las Mauretanias. Sacerdotes y sacerdocios*, BAR International series 724 (1998). All this material is listed in the appendices (pp. 159–230). Note that the Augustales are included, despite the conclusion of A. Abramenko, *Die munizipale Mittelschicht im kaiserzeitlichen Italien. Zu einem neuen Verständnis von Sevirat und Augustalität* (1993), that they were not principally connected with the imperial cult.

[338] Also on North Africa, J.-J. Callot, *Recherches sur les cultes en Cyrénaique durant le Haut-Empire romain* (1999).

[339] J. Scheid in Dondin-Payre and Raepsaet-Charlier, op. cit. (n. 97), 381–423; cf. M. Beard, J. North and S. Price, *Religions of Rome* (1998), I, ch. 7.

[340] T. Derks, *Gods, Temples and Ritual Practices: the Transformation of Religious Ideas and Values in Roman Gaul* (1998), especially on the cults of Mars, Mercury, Hercules, and the Matronae (pp. 73–130). A. Villaret, *Aquitania* 16 (1999), 127–51, rightly stresses the part played by the religious gifts of the local élites in managing this passage between centre and locality. On the complexity of the construction of a divinity such as Minerva in the North-West provinces: S. Février and Y. Le Bohec, *SocHistArchLangres* 22 (1997), No. 329, 291–324, at 314–19 no. 20.

[341] C. Tussi, *Il culto di Esculapio nell'area nord-adriatica*, Studi e ricerche sulla Gallia Cisalpina 10 (1999), is a more conventional study of a single cult, but with special attention to the topographical context within the cities and within programmes of civic building. There must have been a temple at Aquileia, which has produced the largest bulk of evidence in Italy outside Rome, and the cult evidently spread from there into the North-East.

[342] *IDR* III.5.708 (=*AE* 1998: 1081) = N. Rodean and M. Ciută, *Apulum* 35 (1998), 151–5 (summary in French).

Augsburg in A.D. 194.[343] The editor suggests that he had earlier been some sort of instructor; but it seems preferable to think that, since he is fulfilling a vow he made as a *miles* (= here ?*gregalis*), that he then needed a divinity who might give him the knowledge and quickness he required for promotion, and so chose to allude to one of the ancient etymologies of Minerva. Finally, we record an amusing verse votive from Italy to Herakles, puffed up like a tempest with elaborate hyperbole, in gratitude for having saved the dedicator from a dreadful 'three-day' storm at sea (A.D. 150–250).[344]

This is perhaps the place to mention an important re-consideration of the Latin inscription from near Caesarea Philippi in the upper Jordan Valley which celebrates the emperor Julian as *R̤[o]mani orbis libera[to | r̤[i], templorum | [re]s̤tauratori, cu|r[ia]r̤um et rei public̣|[ae] recreatori* (*AE* 1969/70: 631).[345] It is now certain that it was dedicated by the *Foenicum genus*, the provincial assembly of Diocletianic Phoenicia, an odd expression doubtless playing on the formula *genus Iudaeorum*, but alluding also to the contemporary fame of Phoenician theology. Since it is an exact copy of an inscription from Minet el-Hosn, near Beirut (*AE* 1907: 191), there may have been an entire system of them along this road. Our text must record a vow: *[vota suscepit]* — a vow not exactly to a god (no god is mentioned) but to the *pontifex maximus* as His representative. Given the tense religious situation in Phoenicia at this time, it is likely that such a vow was undertaken by the élite of Tyre not merely in support of Julian's religious reforms but in the hope of obtaining some political advantage over Antioch from the emperor on his return from the East. A skilful move that unfortunately did not come off.

Attention has been drawn to the potential interest of two apparently insignificant dedications *Deo Romulo* from Fulginiae (Foligno) and Sestinum, which are perhaps to be dated to the mid-fourth century A.D. — or even to after Theodosius — and allude, in the face of unanimous Christian contempt for Romulus, to the divine nature of the (pagan) founder of Rome.[346] Gratian of course had himself represented as the new Romulus, and at Sestinum we know of Vesenus Frontinianus, who dedicated a statue of the *Genius curiae* in A.D. 375 (*ILS* 5519).

The 'ritual turn' of modern religious studies makes a sub-section on cult-practice desirable. An important book in this connection, which deliberately aims to combine epigraphy with archaeological research in order to recover the religion of every-day, is Ulrike Egelhaaf-Gaiser's ambitious dissertation exploring the sense and use of religious space from different points of view, and the lives and accommodation of the staff of religious buildings.[347] It is an interesting attempt to combine a subjective (that is, narrator-subjective) reading of Apuleius, *Met.* 11 with concepts of socio-religious space derived from the History of Religions school and traditional archaeological research into temple- and temple-complex plans.

A fragmentary *lex sacra* from Aletrium (Alatri, north of Frosinone) prescribes minor offerings to the *di Indicites* (sic), *Fucinus, Summanus, Fiscellus, Tempestates, Jupiter* (with an epithet?) . . .[348] Of these, Fucinus at any rate is a local lake-god; Summanus is the deity of lightning-strikes by night; Fiscellus is otherwise unknown. The occurrence of *di indigites* is interesting, since they are rarely otherwise attested, outside Rome and Lavinium. In Augustan literary contexts, the *di indigites* are appealed to in lists of 'archaic' divinities of a place (Verg., *Georg.* 498f., Ovid, *Met.* 15.861–7), in close association with *di patrii*. Such laws, which were presumably attached to a rural

[343] L. Bakker, *Das archäologische Jahr in Bayern 1996* (1997), 118 = *AE* 1996: 1181.

[344] M. Kajava, *Arctos* 31 (1997), 55–86, from S. Nicola, near Segni.

[345] K. Dietz, *Chiron* 30 (2000), 807–55, with W. Eck, ibid., 857–9, with photos on pp. 854ff. There are numerous minor deviations from A. Negev's original reading.

[346] G. Paci, *CahiersGlotz* 7 (1996), 135–44, on *CIL* XI.5206; 5997.

[347] U. Egelhaaf-Gaiser, *Kulträume im römischen Alltag: Das Isisbuch des Apuleius und der Ort von Religion im kaiserzeitlichen Rom*, Potsdamer Altertumswissenschaftliche Beiträge 2 (2000). It concludes with an appendix listing Greek and Latin words for (sacred) architecture and organized space (pp. 485–553).

[348] G. L. Gregori and L. Galli, *Donaria: Le offerte agli dei* (1995), 11; idem, *Suppl. It.* n.s.16 (1998), 45–6, no. 1 = *AE* 1998: 295. Date uncertain, possibly late Republican/early Principate. It is doubtful whether the law is, as the editors suggest, to be associated with transhumance in this area.

shrine in the vicinity, tacitly allude to the ordering function of the grand laws at Rome; yet unlike them, they leave dates and festivals entirely to the imagination.

During the excavation of the *cella* of the rural temple of Feronia in the territory of Pinna (near Loreto Aprutino), an exceptional late Republican bronze umbilical patera was found, apparently given to the temple by the donor: *Fer(oniae) aed(i) C. Vibius C.f. Carbo*. Such a find suggests that even simple temples might possess their own 'altar plate', accumulated over time and expressing the enduring character of worship at a particular spot.[349] A silver ring dedicated to the goddess Salus, found in a Gallo-Roman temple in the *vicus* Noviomagus in Gallia Belgica, makes a similar point.[350] It was offered on behalf of the cobblers in the *vicus* (*sutoribus Noviom(agensibus)*) and may have been placed on the finger of a statue, which thus physically wore the piety of her worshippers.

A barbotine vessel from a small *vicus* belonging to the territory of Bagacum (Bavay near Mons) in Gallia Belgica has stimulated further reflections on the intermingling of imperial with daily, local cult.[351] The vessel shows, front and back, an ordinary Gallo-Roman temple with a cult-statue of Mercury in the centre, and a bust in each aisle, apparently imperial busts. It is suggested that this is the image is the visual equivalent of gods surnamed 'augustan' (*Rosmertae Augustae*, for example, or *Numinibus augustis*).[352] The imperial images in such unpretentious local temples were surely on perishable materials, such as wood, and have not survived; but their presence might help to explain phenomena such as the interesting graffiti from a rural shrine to Mercury at Châteauneuf (Savoie), in the territory of Vienna (Vienne), missed in our last survey, which include dedications such as *Cae(sari)*| *v.s.l.*; *v.s.l.* |*Caes(ari)* | *Caes(ari)* (sic); *Im*[*peratori . . .*; *Romae* | *v.s.l.m*; and *Augus*[*to*].[353]

A convenient transition from ritual to the oriental religions is provided by the rock sanctuary at Panóias (Freguesia Vale de Nogueira, Concelho Vila Real) in the Tráz-os-Montes in northern Portugal (*conv. Bracaraugustanus*), which was dedicated by G. C. Calpurnius Rufinus in the late second/early third century A.D., and has excited comment since it was first examined by C. Argote in the eighteenth century. Although the major inscription, on a large natural rock, was dedicated to Sarapis *hypsistos*, it is clear that Rufinus also thought of this site as one in close contact with (other) gods of the Underworld. In an important study, G. Alföldy has improved the readings of several of the texts (= *CIL* II.2395) although uncertainties remain.[354] One of the more remarkable features is that votive texts take the form of ritual instructions, such as: *hostiae, quae cadunt, hic immolantur. Exta intra quadrata contra cremantur* (*CIL* II.2395e).[355]

There is an unusual amount of new information about the cult of IOM Dolichenus to report. A new temple has been discovered at Balaclava in the Crimea (mid-second to mid-third century A.D.) apparently founded (or re-founded) by vexillations from the

[349] M. Sanzi di Mino, *RendPontAcadArch* 69 (1996/7), 169–73 (=*AE* 1999: 594); a number of lamps were found at the same time.

[350] Haalebos and Willems, op. cit. (n. 121), 249f. This is the first documentation from within the Netherlands of the name of the town.

[351] W. van Andringa in idem (ed.). *Archéologie des sanctuaires en Gaule romaine*, Mémoires Centre Jean Palerne 22 (2000), 28–44; idem, *La religion en Gaule romaine: piété et politique Ier–IIIe siècle apr. J.-C.* (2002), 159–86.

[352] See the list of 'august' divinities in Clauss, op. cit. (n. 311), App. 6, 527–32. A striking example can be found at Histria, where more than half of all votives bear such epithets: F. Tassaux, *Izdanja hrvatskog arheološkog društva* 18 (1997), 77–84 (French summary). Note finally a statuette of Helios in the hoard from Vaise/Lyon dedicated *num(ini) Aug(usti)* by the boatmen who managed the passage between the Rhine and Rhône: G. Aubin *et al.*, *Le trésor de Vaise à Lyon (Rhône)*, DARA 17, sér. lyonn. 6 (1999), 90 no. 21.

[353] Châteauneuf: C. Mermet, *Gallia* 50 (1993), 95–138; those cited are *AE* 1993: 1149, 1150, 1128; 1146, 1144; B. Rémy, *RANarbonn* 32 (1999), 31–8 (with some revisions of Mermet's readings), seems to go too far however in thinking that the living emperors were actually identified with local gods.

[354] G. Alföldy, *MadridMitt* 38 (1997), 176–246.

[355] Again in the context of Isiac cult, note a funerary from the new catacomb on the Via Latina (Via Latina 135) for M. Iulius Eutychides, who died aged eighteen, *aretalogo graeco, quietissimo, piissimo, reverentissimo* (later third century A.D.); the string of moral epithets, two of them rare in Italy, suggests a religious rather than a secular (e.g. 'mendax aretalogus', Juvenal, *Sat.* 15.16) context, and one thinks inevitably of the aretalogists attached to the cult of Isis and Sarapis at Delos, who composed and recited variations upon the Memphis aretalogies: M. P. del Moro, *RArchCrist* 75 (1999), 33–6 (=*AE* 1999: 349–51). Also G. Capriotti Vittozzi, *Oggetti, idee, culti egizi nelle Marche (dalle tombe picene al tempio di Treia)* (= *Picus* Suppl. 6) (1999), pt. 2, 57–230 (Roman period catalogue), mainly from the temple of Sarapis at Trea/Treia.

army of Moesia Inferior, commanded by a hitherto unrecorded *tribunus angusticlavus* of I Italica.[356] A new indication of the role of members of the fleet in spreading the cult may be provided by a fragmentary text from Ostia that mentions *Aur(el-) Theotec*[, a name that recurs in *CIL* VI.415, from S. Maria dell'Orto, the site of the *castra Ravennatium* in Trastevere.[357] The first two priests of Jupiter Dolichenus in North Africa have turned up at Ammaedara, where they built a temple *ex indulgentia* (with official permission).[358] In the context of a study of barbarian booty taken out of the Empire, it has been pointed out that a small votive-hand for IOMD (*CCID* no. 181 = *ILS* 9171, 11.5 cm high), dedicated by an *optio* of the *coh. I Hispanorum*, which was stationed in the far north-east of Dacia, was actually found at Myszków/Mychkovo/Mukačeve in the eastern Ukraine, at least 200 km to the north-west. It may have been taken as booty by the Costoboci in A.D. 167, or during some later raid in the Severan period.[359]

In an important study of the later taurobolium, N. McLynn shows again that the epigraphic evidence clearly implies a substantial ritual continuity from the earlier period and that the description of Prudentius, *Peristeph.* 10 is based merely on a lurid imagination.[360] An interesting addition to the few known Mithraic reliefs from Syria, possibly from Apamea, seems to have been paid for very unusually from 'the god's funds'. The splendid new Mithraeum beneath the church of Archbishop Photios at Hawarti, 20 km north of Apamea, unfortunately contains no inscriptions.[361]

The most important new text concerning religion in Anatolia relates to the organization and financing of a pilgrimage feast in Lycia.[362] Heavy damage renders its sense to some extent baffling, but it presents the *dioikesis* of a reform of (some aspects of) the financing of the festival of a hitherto unknown cult of Zeus 'on the heights' at Dereköy, overlooking one of the upper tributaries of the river Xanthos, a festival which was evidently the focus of pilgrimage from far and wide. Fifty-four parcels of land (*chôria*) in the village below the fortified height are grouped in five *homouriai*, each of which is to contribute twenty *symbolai*, amounts of money or goods in kind, to the general fund for the festival, but also to help organize the processions, sacrifices, and competitions involved. Evidently there had been complaints about unfair distribution of the burdens, for the new arrangement declares that it is just that each *homouria* should bear the same burden as the others.

The corpus of Lydian and Phrygian 'confession texts' by G. Petzl reported in our previous survey has stimulated a good deal of work on these interesting texts.[363] Among new publications is a text from Maionia, from the area of the rural temple of (Artemis) Anaitis and Meis Tiamu: a man whose name is lost has been punished by the gods in

[356] T. Sarnowski *et al.*, *Historia* 47 (1998), 321–41 (inscriptions); *Archeologia* 49 (1998), 15–54 (archaeology).

[357] A. Pellegrino in G. M. Bellelli and U. Bianchi (eds), *Orientalia sacra urbis Romae: Dolichena et Heliopolitana. Recueil d'études . . .*, Studia archaeologica 82 (1998), 561–80, at 564 no. 5. (Note, in the same voluime, J. Calzini Gyssens, on Syrian ba'alim at Rome: pp. 261–88).

[358] Z. Benzina ben Abdallah in F. Baratte *et al.* (ed.), *Recherches archéologiques à Haïdra* (1999), 1–31, at 14f. no. 8.

[359] J. Kolendo and J. Trynkowski, *Novensia* 10 (1998), 251–64 = *AE* 1998: 1113.

[360] N. McLynn, *Phoenix* 50 (1996), 312–30. A fragmentary membership list of a Dionysiac *speira* at Thessalonike (second to third century A.D.), contains several novel titles, such as *archigallaros*, *palaiomystes*, *archikranearches*, and *kranearches*: A. Lioutas *et al.*, *BCH* 124 (2000), 934 with *Bullép* 2000 no. 471.

[361] For the relief, A. de Jong, *Bulletin of the Asia Institute* n.s. 11(1997) [2000], 53–68, with *Bullép* 2001 no. 481; the Mithraeum, M. Gawlikowski, *Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean* 10 (1999), 197–204; 11 (2000), 261–71. Several of the numerous frescoes are without precedent in the western cult of Mithras.

[362] M. Wörrle and W. W. Wurster, *Chiron* 27 (1997), 393–469 (= *SEG* 47.1806).

[363] Addenda and corrigenda to the corpus: G. Petzl, *EpigAnat* 28 (1997), 69–79 (including the text from Maionia); idem, *Die Beichtinschriften im römischen Kleinasien und der Fromme und Gerechte Gott*, Nordrhein-westfäl. Akad. der Wiss., Kl. Geisteswiss., Vorträge G355 (1998). Two good discussions: A. Chaniotis in G. Thür and J. Velissaropoulos-Karakostas (eds), *Symposion 1995: Vortträge zur gr. und hellenist. Rechtsgeschichte, Korfu Sept. 1995* (1997), 353–84 (legal aspects; temple-justice); M. Ricl in E. Schwertheim (ed.), *Forschungen in Lydien*, Asia Minor Studien 17 (1995), 67–76 (continuity from Hittite period). M. Paz de Hoz, *Die lydischen Kulte im Lichte der griech. Inschriften*, Asia Minor Studien 36 (1999) is a conscientious study with complete epigraphic appendix (uncommented), including all the confession texts. A study of village religion in this area, stressing the abiding trust in the order created by Roman power: T. Gnoli and J. Thornton in R. Gusman *et al.* (eds), *Frigi e Frigio: Atti del primo simposio, ott. 1995* (1997), 153–200.

two parts of his body. He offers as a (partial) explanation that this happened *kata genesin*, 'because of my horoscope', possibly conveyed to him by a professional astrologer (the text is too fragmentary to say with confidence that it referred to oracular information). The welcome publication of 396 reliefs of local Anatolian rider-gods accomplishes a task that L. Robert once set himself.[364] On a smaller but still impressive scale, some seventy-five votive reliefs from Balboura have been collected and published, showing among other divinities, both Greek and indigenous, a male triad 'the wild gods', Artemis Lagbane, and the rider-god Kakasbos.[365] A list of peregrine *mystai* from the shrine of Apollo Pleurenos near Lake Koloe (north of Sardeis), dated by means of the priest of Rome and the priest of Zeus Polieus, must belong to the period before the introduction of the imperial cult in this area, in the later first century A.D.[366] A funerary for an eighteen-year-old doctor from Tieion, Neiketes, names him as the 'son of Glykon'. Tieion is known to have featured the snake-god Glykon on its coins; and Lucian claims that Alexander of Abonuteichos had numerous illegitimate children by credulous women (42).[367]

Finally, two Anatolian passions, dice oracles and grave curses. Of the oracles, one, an alphabet oracle in iambic trimeters, is routine, being one of nearly a dozen similar examples in Pisidia-Phrygia-Lycia-Pamphylia, all second- to third-century A.D.[368] The dice-oracle from Perge, on the other hand, which was probably erected against the outer wall of the theatre for the use of tourists (the townsfolk used another), is very unusual in being a 7–dice oracle, of which only two were known hitherto.[369] J. H. M. Strubbe has published an admirably complete corpus of grave curses from Anatolian epitaphs.[370]

This is not the place to attempt to review the flood of publications on Jewish communities in the Graeco-Roman world. With the exception of the excellent synthesis by W. Ameling on the Jewish communities in Asia,[371] we note just one or two new finds. The most interesting are the funeraries from the northern and eastern necropoleis at Hierapolis in Phrygia.[372] The formulae are stereotyped, the monuments typical of the date and place, and the nomenclature with the exception of 'Sanbathios' (No. 10c, a variant of Sabbathai etc.), largely pagan Greek. On the other hand, seventeen of the deceased men describe themselves as *ioudaios*, which is then assumed to apply to the rest of the family (the word occurs in all twenty-three times in these inscriptions, twice of women, twice of a couple, which at a stroke increases the number of known cases in Asia Minor by more than 100 per cent, and undermines the claim that it might indicate pagan adherence to, or admiration of, Judaism). The editor claims that the word *ioudaios*

[364] I. Delemen, *Anatolian Rider Gods*, Asia Minor Studien 35 (1999).

[365] T. J. Smith, *AnatSt* 47 (1997), 3–33, with an epigraphical commentary on the dedications by N. P. Milner (pp. 33–49).

[366] H. Malay and C. Nalbantoğlu, *Arkeoloji Dergisi* 4 (1996), 79–81 = *AE* 1996: 1447.

[367] C. P. Jones, *EpigAnat* 30 (1998), 107–9. L. Robert had already suggested that another 'son of Glykon', from south-west Lydia, might have been such an offspring (*SEG* 30.1388). Dedication to Apollo Smintheus by a priest of polyonymous Hekate at Alexandria Troas: *IAlexandria Troas* (1997), 95 no. 65. Popularity of the Rosalia in the eastern Empire: C. Kokkinia, *MusHelv* 56 (1999), 203–19.

[368] Horsley and Mitchell, op. cit. (n. 205), no. 159. A complete list in T. Corsten, *EpigAnat* 28 (1997), 41–9. They are all slightly different from one another.

[369] *IPerge* (n. 205 above), 245–59 no. 207. A large fragment is preserved, with fifty-three groups of four pronouncements.

[370] J. Strubbe (ed.), *Arai epitymbioi: Imprecations against Desecrators of the Grave in the Greek Epitaphs of Asia Minor*, IK 52 (1997). We may add an impressive début by another Leyden scholar, on the religion of Palmyrenes at Dura: L. Dirven, *The Palmyrenes of Doura-Europos*, RGRW 138 (1999), with an extensive archaeological-epigraphic appendix.

[371] W. Ameling in R. Jütte and A. P. Kustermann (eds), *Jüdische Gemeinden und Organisationsformen von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart* (1996), 29–55; cf. E. Gruen, *Diaspora: Jews amidst Greeks and Romans* (2002), 105–32.

[372] E. Miranda, *EpigAnat* 31 (1999) 109–56, at 114–32 (= *Le iscrizioni giudaiche di Hierapolis di Frigia* (1999)) (=*AE* 1999: 1579–88). The article begins with a brief account of the situation of the Jewish diaspora especially in Asia Minor after the revolts of A.D. 115–17 and 123–35 (pp. 109–13). No. 23, p. 131f. discusses the re-edition by T. Ritti, *Scienze dell'Antichità* 6–7 (1992–3) [1996], 41–68, at 41–3, of the text of P. Aelius Glykon Zeuxianos Ailianos and his wife Aurelia Amia (= *CIJ* 777), reading ἀκαιροδαπισ<τ>ών, which Ritti understands to mean the weavers of rugs or tapestries on looms without heddles. Miranda usefully summarizes the discussion of the sepulchral foundation, inclining towards the position that Glykon envisaged different festal days, Shavuot (Pentecost) and the Kalends of January, for Jewish and pagan members of the college to honour his memory, allowing that this would imply that all the members of the other college, the purple-dyers, were Jewish, since they are all to pay their respects at the major feast of Ha-Matzot, beginning on 15 Nisan.

denotes not so much an ethnic Jew as a member of the Jewish synagogue (pp. 133–6).[373] In one case (No. 14b) the 'most sacred synagogue' is foreseen as the recipient of the fine in case of wrongful burial in the sarcophagus, and appears to be a synonym for the community in Hierapolis, elsewhere referred to as ὁ λαὸς τῶν Ἰουδαίων and ἡ κατοικία, 'il borgo' (No. 16). There is an unusual reference among the new funeraries to the Jewish practice of collecting the bones from sarcophagi and taking them back to Palestine (pp. 127–9, No. 19).[374]

Something should however be said on H. C. Kee's controversial thesis that *synagoge* only acquired the sense of a building for worship and social foregathering around A.D. 200 and that prior to this date it denotes only a socio-religious group. In this debate, *CIJ* II.1404 is crucial, both because it explicitly speaks of the synagogue building as a place for the reading of the Law and the teaching of the Commandments, as well as a place where pilgrims from abroad might stay, but also names the dedicator's grandfather as an *archisynagogos*, implying that the institution existed around fifty years earlier than any other epigraphic or literary attestations of it.[375] This text has always been dated to before the revolt of A.D. 66–70, but was radically down-dated by Kee to suit his general claims. It has now been argued that the letter-forms are indeed compatible with a Herodian date.[376]

A rare inscription in Hebrew has been discovered amongst the fragments of plaster recovered by S. F. Strzheletsky in 1950 from the southern nave of the well-known basilica in Chersonesus (Sebastopol) excavated in 1935 by G. D. Belov. It was incised over a longer Greek text and reads 'Jerusalem/ Hananiah from Bosporus/ Amen Amen Selah'.[377] Though the text can hardly be read satisfactorily, it seems to be an evocation of the by now mythical city of Jerusalem; the concluding formula 'Amen Amen Selah' is often found in the Aramaic magical bowls and the *segullot* and *shimmush tehillim* magical or ritual texts from the Cairo Genizah, to apply the force of Scripture to the wishes expressed. The archaeological context is fourth century A.D., and the use of Hebrew in the Jewish community at that date, which is very surprising, is presumably a self-conscious linguistic marker of religious and social difference.

A transition from Judaica to Christianity is offered by an excellent survey of the evidence for 'Hypsistarians' mainly in western Anatolia, but also in Athens, Macedonia, the Crimea, Cyprus, and Syria (293 texts), arguing that the information provided by Gregory of Nazianzus (*Or.* 18.5) is substantially accurate. From the later Hellenistic period, Theos Hypsistos was understood, as in the well-known oracle of Clarian Apollo from Oenoanda, as a unique, aniconic, interventionist High God, attended or supported by angels. This cult had nothing to do with civic religion, and was therefore much better able to survive the shocks of the third and fourth centuries A.D.; and it represents an unusual example of congruence between élite tendencies, above all (Neo-)Platonist, and a popular religious renewal. One cannot clearly distinguish this pagan Theos Hypsistos from Jewish Jahweh: it is even thinkable that Jewish colonists at Sardeis influenced indigenous Lydian cults, particularly of Men. Mitchell argues, on the principle of Ockham's razor, for the identity of the Hypsistarians with the *theosebeis*, the 'God-fearers', of the New Testament. This claim has been sharply rebutted, however, on the grounds that one can indeed, in the great majority of cases, distinguish between Jewish and pagan dedications to Hypsistos, if not from the language then from the iconography;

[373] cf. M. H. Williams, *ZPE* 116 (1997), 249–62, who argues, like P. J. Thomson, that *ioudaios* almost always just means 'Jew', and primarily one who was born a Jew in Palestine or the Diaspora, and only occasionally converts; its most common use is as a marker of difference from a pagan social or funerary environment.

[374] The first evidence for a Jewish precentor in Greece, analogous to those known from Aphrodisias and Rome, has been found on a fragmentary fourth-century (first half) gravestone from Beroea in Macedonia, πρ]οφερέ<σ>τατος ὕμνοις; also the hitherto unrecorded term μελ(λ)οπρεσβύτερος, which however joins a number of similar coinages attested in a Jewish context, e.g. *mellarchon*, *mellogrammateus*: A. Koukouvou, *Tekmeria* 4 (1998/9), 13–28, at 20 no. 2, 16 no. 1. The graves were found apparently in close proximity to pagan and Christian burials.

[375] J. S. Kloppenborg Verbin, *JJewishSt* 51 (2000), 243–80.

[376] cf. on synagogue leadership, L. I. Levine in M. Goodman (ed.), *Jews in a Graeco-Roman World* (1998), 195–213.

[377] A. Overman, R. MacLennan and M. I. Zolotarev, *Archeologia* (Crimea) 1 (1997), 57–63 (Russian with English summary).

and that there is no independent evidence that the diaspora Jews ever abandoned faith in Jahweh.[378]

A small number (six or seven) of distinctly Christan epitaphs within the Severan *domus augustana* have been collected.[379] An extremely well-documented critical study of ninety-five Montanist or supposedly Montanist documents, mainly of course from Phrygia, accepts only twenty-one as (probably) Montanist, and a further three as about Montanists. This provides a sound, if very diminished, base for further work on the sect.[380] Finally, a careful discussion of the evidence relating to the Decian persecution argues that, when Roman sources are set against Christian sources such as the *Acts of Cyprian*, it was no deliberate act of policy, as the Christians claimed, merely an unintended, even routine, outcome of the usual celebrations on the emperor's accession.[381] It is Valerius' persecution which should be counted as the first significant deliberate attack on the Christians.[382]

Some miscellaneous magic documents may be cited here. In his vindicative text of the second half of the fourth century A.D., found in the tidal area of the Hamble estuary in Hampshire, one Mucionius dedicates the person or persons (*dono nomina*) who stole money from him to Neptune, familiar enough in such contexts, but also to Niskus, a hitherto unrecorded water divinity, whose name is clearly present in the Middle High German *nickes* and Middle Dutch *nicker*, a waterspirit, both to be derived from a Gothic **nikwus* (the Indo-European root is **neigʷ-*, wash, clean).[383] The stolen money is not dedicated to these divinities, but the thief and that three times over, first his *vitam, valetudinem, sanguem*, then his guilty *animus*, and finally, resorting again as so often to the most graphic image, *sanguem eiius consumas et decipias* [sic]. The word *decipere* is used to suggest a satisfying complementarity between crime and punishment, for in *qui decepit* and *conscius . . . eius deceptionis* it means 'steal/theft', but in *decipias*, 'carry off'.[384] A phylactery-case found in a necropolis immediately north of Lake Garda contains a charm addressed to *Hagios Prôtogenetôr* against epilepsy (*hiera{n} nosos*), the wrath of gods or men or *daimones* or the *Moirae*, attacks of frenzy (*automania*), hallucinations

[378] S. Mitchell in P. Athanassiadi and M. Frede (eds), *Pagan Monotheism in Late Antiquity* (1999), 81–148; cf. idem, *Chiron* 28 (1998), 55–64: He argues (p. 116 n. 100) against Tannenbaum's attempt in J. Reynolds and R. Tannenbaum, *Jews and Godfearers at Aphrodisias* (1968), 53 to distinguish the two categories. Against him M. Stein, *EpigAnat* 33 (2001), 119–25. W. Ameling, *EpigAnat* 31 (1999), 105–8, was more sympathetic, citing *IPrusa ad Olympum* 115 in support. But Stein is surely right, not only on the main issue, but in rejecting Jewish influence on the cults of Lydia and on the situation in the Crimea. On the oracle at Oenoanda, E. Livrea, *ZPE* 122 (1998), 90–6, argues that it represents an independent tradition of the *Chaldaean Oracles* from Porphyry's.

[379] P. McKechnie, *JEcclHist* 50 (1999), 427–41. A superior, well-illustrated synthesis on the Christian epigraphy of the catacombs, available in several languages: D. Mazzoleni in V. Fiocchi Nicolai *et al.* (eds), *Le catecombe cristiane di Roma* (1998), 146–84. Bilingual inscriptions in the Christian community at Rome: A. E. Felle, *XI Congresso* (n. 6 above), 2, 669–78.

[380] W. Tabbernee, *Montanist Inscriptions and Testimonia: Epigraphic Sources Illustrating the History of Montanism*, North American Patristics Society Monograph 16 (1997). On the Christianization of rural areas in North Africa: D. Artizzu in *L'Africa Romana, Atti del XII convegno, Olbia 1996* (1998), 1–17. Corpus of early Christian texts on Sardinia: A. M. Corda, *Le iscrizione cristiane della Sardegna anteriori al VII secolo*, Studi di antichità cristiana 55 (1999). J. Guyon in *Actes Xᵉ Congrès* (n. 74 above), 141–55, on the progress of the *Recueil des inscriptions chrétiennes de la Gaule*.

[381] R. Selinger, *The Mid-Third Century Persecutions of Decius and Valerius* (2002). However we continue to believe that Decius took a decisive step towards defining religious deviance: cf. J. B. Rives, *JRS* 89 (1999), 135–54.

[382] The St Petersburg martyrdom text of Ploution, Berekon, and [Ko]non (*SB* IV.7315), hitherto dated to the Diocletianic persecution, and as such deemed to be the earliest Christian documentary text from Egypt, has been down-dated to the mid-fourth century A.D.: A. Łajtar and E. Wipszycka, *JJurPap* 29 (1999), 67–73.

[383] R. S. O. Tomlin, *Britannia* 28 (1997), 455–57 no. 1 (=*AE* 1997: 977).

[384] Note also (1) a late Republican/early imperial bilingual text (Latin on one side, Greek on the other) from Barchín del Hoyo, Cuenca (Hispania Citerior). The texts are clearly written by the person involved (*pro me, pro meis*), and are not exact translations: the Latin seems clumsier and more repetitive than the Greek. Two interesting points: the conception seems midway between a vindicative text and a plain curse; and the writer in the Greek version explicitly claims to be justified, οἷς δικαίως κατηρασάμην. J. Curbera *et al.*, *ZPE* 125 (1999), 279–83 with the comments of *Bullép* 2000 no. 748; (2) a hardly legible fragmentary vindicative to Mars from near Swindon, Wilts., remarkable only for the apparent use of *genius* as a polite locution analogous to *maiestas* at Bath, or those used for social superiors (*rogaṭ genium tuum, domine*), and the unparalleled hope that the miscreants will not be able to go about their business for a 'magical' number of years, *nec eant per annos novem*: R. S. O. Tomlin and M. Hassall, *Britannia* 30 (1999), 378 no. 3.

(*phantasia*), or dizziness (*skot[ô]d[enia]*).[385] On a larger scale, we may note an innovative study of the social background of the North African *defixiones*: the concentration of these texts upon chariot-racing and beast-fights suggests that they by no means belong to the poorest and most ignorant social orders; the peculiarities of nomenclature may have to do more with the generic requirements than with status.[386]

VIII. SOCIETY AND ECONOMY

Since virtually all publication in this area is based at least indirectly on epigraphic evidence, it seems best in this section to limit discussion to publications based directly on specific texts. This renunciation allows us to exclude demography, where empirical evidence now seems to be admitted only where it confirms the parametric evidence, that is, the standard Life Tables.[387] We may, however, just note the sort of inferences that are being made by Roman demographers now that the 'bewildering social consequences' of high mortality and the 'demographic holocaust of women' are becoming routinely-accepted facts: for example, that slaves must have reproduced themselves massively, otherwise, given a life-expectancy at birth of twenty to twenty-five years and high summer mortality, the population of towns would have shrunk dramatically, which it evidently did not.[388]

On the status of women, and the epigraphy of the family, it has been argued that, although practices varied in space and by period, women were considerably less restricted in practice than the law formally prescribed: women of peregrine status and citizen women without the *ius trium liberorum* are involved in economic transactions without the intervention of a *tutor*; married women seem often to have been able to call upon their dowry without reference to their husbands (though it also was often assumed that such moneys could be used to pay his debts); and the numerous building projects and donations by heiresses in Asia Minor suggest that they could dispose freely of wealth inherited from their fathers.[389] It has again been suggested that cross-cousin marriage was much more common than Saller and Shaw allowed: their criterion, of shared *gentilicia*, was too simple, since it failed to take into account the fact that only one in four female first cousins (*consobrina*), and one in eight female second cousins (*sobrina*) would share any given man's *gentilicium*.[390] As for fosterage, half of all known *alumni* in Italy bear the same *nomen* as at least one other person mentioned in the inscription, which suggests that such relations were frequently assumed within extended families,

[385] E. Cavada and G. Paci, *Archeologia delle Alpi* 6 (2002), 189–215, at 200–2; the associated coins suggest a date in the late second or early third century A.D. 'Prôtogenetôr' is of great interest.

[386] M. I. Mura, *L'Africa Romana* 11 (1996), 1535–46.

[387] W. Jongman in A. C. V. M. Bongenaar (ed.), *Interdependency of Institutions and Private Entrepreneurs*, Proceedings of the second MOS Symposium, Leiden 1998 (2000), 259–84, at 267–9. A case in point is W. Scheidel, *Measuring Sex, Age and Death* (1996), on rounded numbers in various contexts, such as funeraries and mummy-slips, and differential mortality by season in late antique Rome and Italy; cf. idem, *JRS* 91 (2001), 1–26. One exception to the rule is R. Bagnall and B. W. Frier, *The Demography of Roman Egypt* (1994), another is R. R. Paine and G. Storey in *XI Congresso* (n. 6 above), 2, 453–62, who argue that biologically-accurate figures can be found for antiquity (e.g. from the indices of *CIL* VI) — and indicate 'catastrophic mortality'. They also question the prevalence of rounded numbers.

[388] W. Scheidel, *JRS* 87 (1997), 156–69. The 'holocaust' phrase is B. D. Shaw's, *CPh* 89 (1994), 188–92, at 192. Ulrike Ehmig, *ZPE* 122 (1998), 206–8 argues from the evidence of Baetican oil-amphorae against Duncan-Jones' view of the dramatic demographic consequences of the plague in the second century A.D. (noted in our previous survey).

[389] K. Mantas, *Eirene* 33 (1997), 81–95; similarly, J. F. Gardner in P. Setälä and L. Sauven (eds), *Female Networks and the Public Sphere in Roman Society*, ActInstRomFinl 22 (1999), 11–27, suggests that the representation of women by male *tutores* in the *Tab. Sulpiciorum* from Pompeii (and, we may add, the *THerculanenses*) is merely a social convention and tells us little about such women's actual status and rights of decision. Note also: B. Rawson and P. Weaver (eds), *The Roman Family in Italy: Status, Sentiment, Space* (1997); on family structure in Lusitania: M. M. Alvas Dias in *XI Congresso* (n. 6 above), 2, 11–20.

[390] M. Corbier in Le Bohec and Roman, op. cit. (n. 2), 101–52, at 118–23. She also stresses the use of selective genealogical memory. The offspring of mixed-status *iusta matrimonia* took the status of the father: the evidence used by Chastagnol to show that Hadrian must have altered the law to allow the children of a citizen woman to take her status is to be interpreted case by case: J. Gascou, *ZPE* 127 (1999), 294–300, against A. Chastagnol† in Paci, op. cit. (n. 28), 249–62.

or were linked to slave *familiae*.[391] In connection with a funerary from Rome for Ti. Cl. Didymus by his son, L. Turpilius Isidorus, and his brother, Porcius Aptus (second/third century A.D.), a search has been made for analogous cases — especially common among freedmen and in fosterage relations — which give an impression of the frequency with which *vernae* were sold or otherwise passed between households.[392] The socio-legal issues raised by Junian Latinity have been explored in an excellent paper, suggesting that there were in fact always more Junian Latins in urban contexts – that is, slaves who had been informally manumitted at under thirty years of age — than *liberti* freed under the Lex Aelia Sentia of A.D. 4, and that the status, under which the person's estate (though not any children) reverted to the patron as though he were still a slave, was a compromise between the desire to provide slaves with the goals of *libertas* and *commercium* and (as B. Sirks argued) the interests of the patrons, who wished to protect their right of succession to their portion of the freedman's property.[393]

Another indication of the relatively high status of imperial slaves has been provided by a re-reading of *ILS* 1501 (Rome), where an *arcarius* of *provincia Belgica* has been married successively to two *ingenuae*.[394] The disparities of wealth that existed within the servile status are likewise indicated by the purchases by a public slave of Luna of the ground for a tomb for himself and his family.[395] *CIL* V.800* (Aquae Statiellae) has been recognized as an authentic dedication by a privileged slave or freedman who had held three functions — aedileship, tribunate, and quaestorship — in a domestic (funerary) college. The obvious explanation for the presence of a large slave household in a place like Aquae Statiellae is that they were the service personnel attached to the famous spa (Pliny, *HN* 31.4).[396] G. Camodeca continues his re-edition of Arangio-Ruiz' *THerculanenses*, which as a group constitute, with *TPSulpiciorum* from Pompeii, by far the most valuable primary sources for the application of the law to every-day economic transactions in the Julio-Claudian and early Flavian period, both because of their variety and the fact that they relate, not to provincial, but to Romano-Italic law.[397] Four documents relating to the sale of slaves are now revised in the light of his earlier work on the *TPSulpiciorum*.[398] Most important is the re-reading of No. 60, which replaces the

[391] C. Saviato, *Epigraphica* 61 (1999), 288–92; an example of a slave woman, Nicephoris, putting up a tombstone for her young *alumna*: M. de Fino in Pani, *Epigrafia e territorio: politica e società* (1999), 41f. no. 3 = *AE* 1999: 532. It had earlier been noted that 40 per cent of *alumni* at Rome are servile, but only one quarter of those in the rest of Italy. Note also the wide-ranging collection *Adoption et fosterage* (1999), directed by M. Corbier.

[392] N. G. Brancato, *Nuclei familiari e variazioni gentilizie nell'antica Roma* (1999).

[393] P. Weaver in Rawson and Weaver, op. cit. (n. 389), 55–72 (note the discussion of L. Venidius Ennychus at Herculaneum on the riskiness of Junian Latins' laying claim to full citizenship for themselves and their family, p. 68f.). P. López de Quiroga, *Athenaeum* 86 (1998), 133–63 agrees that there were probably even more Junian Latins than freedmen under the Lex Aelia Sentia, but sees the object of creating the status neither as a means of answering the anxieties of the patrons nor as a generous response to the anxieties of the informally-freed, but to limit the numbers of those eligible for the *annonae*; equally contentious are the claims that there was a specific *civitas Latina* and that the status of the holders overlapped very largely with that of the inhabitants of Latin *municipia*.

[394] J. Reynolds in *XI Congresso* (n. 6 above), 2, 283–90; likewise an imperial female slave, Panthera, married to a freedman of the *gens* Birria: F. Berti in *SupplIt* 17: 168f. no. 4 (Voghiera, south-west of Ferrara).

[395] M. A. Angeli Bertinelli in *Serta antiqua et mediaevalia*, Univ. Genova, Dip. Scienz. Ant. e Med., n.s. 1 (1998), 203–9 (wrongly interpreted as a late antique Christian text; see the remarks of S. Dardaigne at *AE* 1998: 435).

[396] G. Mennella, *Epigraphica* 58 (1996), 225–9. More slave professions: a female hairdresser (*tonstrix*) from Venafrum: Capini, op. cit. (n. 105), 100 no. 94 = *AE* 1999: 473; a *saltuarius* (rural guard, gamekeeper) on an otherwise unattested imperial estate in the southern Po valley, owned by Livia or Agrippina the Younger (first half first century A.D.): *SupplIt* 17: 167 no. 3; another slave *lanipendia*, with the original name Catallage, the companion of the same master's *dispensator*, which suggests that the word might be used in a metaphorical sense, for a 'housekeeper' in charge of the female slaves: M. Chelotti in Pani, op. cit. (n. 391), 516 (Venusia). On the municipal ruling from Pozzuoli concerning the crucifixion of slaves, on the orders of their masters (ll. 8–10), or of the magistrates (ll. 11–14) (*AE* 1971: 88): B. Bonfiglio, *Index* 24 (1996), 301–19.

[397] G. Camodeca in U. Manthe and C. Krampe (eds), *Quaestiones Iuris: Festschrift J.G. Wolf* (2000), 53–76. 'For the people who left . . . records, market exchange was a way of life': P. Temin, *JRS* 91 (2001), 169–81, at 180.

[398] G. Camodeca, *Tabulae Pompeianae Sulpiciorum (TPSulp)*, Vetera 12 (1999), complementing his excellent *L'archivio puteolano dei Sulpicii*, 1 (1992), cf. J. A. Crook, *JRS* 84 (1994), 260f.; also Camodeca, *XI Congresso* (n. 6 above), 1, 521–44 on della Corte nos 12 and 85 (a *iudex privatus* is mentioned for the first time in *Tab.* III, p. 5, of which there is now a second copy available). J. Urbanik, *JJP* 28 (1998), 185–201 notes that on several occasions in the *TPSulp* slaves enter into *sponsio*-contracts on behalf of their masters, even though this was not strictly lawful.

difficult old text *vel quantam pecuniam ex imperio aedilium curulium* . . . by *[dupla]m pecuniam ex formula edicti [aedili]um*, thus recognizing a reference to the *stipulatio duplae* in cases of eviction required under the aediles' Edict (*Dig.* 21.2.37.1). This stipulation allowed the buyer to enter an action for twice the slave's value if he or she ran away; and this allows an analogous formulation, *duplam pecun[iam ex for]mula, ita uti adsolet, rec[t e dari] stipul[atus] est L. Venidius Enn(ychus)* to be read in No. 62.[399]

There seems to be a case in the Upper Hermos valley of manumission *per vindictam* (i.e. *inter vivos*), which granted all the rights of a freedman to persons under thirty years of age freed by it. It involves a *threptos* who must have been given into slavery as a child and thus became 'foster-brother' (*syntrophos*) to the man who subsequently became his owner by inheritance.[400] Another manumission document involving affection has turned up from Kyrrha (Leukopetra), near Beroea (A.D. 199/200), which hints at the financial difficulties of a local bouleutic family on the death of the husband. The husband had borrowed 125 denarii from his foster-sister, which was still outstanding; the wife, having promised to free the slave, has had to pay the debt, presumably from her own dowry, and posts up both the note of debt and the act of manumission (by fictitious sale to the Autochthonos Mother of the Gods) in Kyrrha in order to prevent the slave from being seized for the debt.[401]

On the subject of *collegia*, a statue-base discovered at Lavinium carries a dossier which enables us to follow in some detail the creation of a foundation for the benefit of the local *collegium dendrophororum* (A.D. 227–8). It consists of an ordinary honorific, in the name of his wife, setting out the career of C. Servilius Diodorus *v.e.*; three letters relating to the foundation; as an appendix, the college's decree concerning the election of Diodorus and his wife as patrons, and the reply from Diodorus to the college on receipt of the bronze tablet recording the resolution.[402] The dossier thus provides evidence of an evidently familiar politico-administrative procedure and underlines the role of the *dendrophori* as mediators between the decurial class and the rest of society in third-century Italy.[403]

With the notable exception of recent work by J. Patterson on Italian associations (see n. 405), few studies of *collegia* have attempted to break away from a purely institutional or legal conception of these organizations to focus upon the experiences, expectations, and aspirations of the people who joined them. Two books have now tried to do this in very different ways. The first commendably unites an epigraphic with an archaeological approach in order to examine the social location, between the institutionalized city élites and the mass of unorganized poor, of the *collegia* in Italy. The close connection between *collegia* and public festivity especially in relation to imperial calendars, the physical relation and the internal furnishings of their *scholae*, all suggest something of the aspirations of their members, even if it begins to seem as if what separates different kinds of *collegia* is quite as important as what unites them into a

[399] The seller of the slave in no. 61 (May A.D. 63), P. Cornelius Poppaeus Erastus, must himself have once been a slave jointly owned by the mother of Poppaea Sabina (d. A.D. 47) and her second husband P. Cornelius Lentulus Scipio (cos. A.D. 24), and is currently the manager of the brick-works in Pompeii, which must now be owned by Poppaea. This is a typical example of the social details these texts reveal.

[400] D. Salsano, *Chiron* 28 (1998), 179–85 on *SEG* 35.1167 (A.D. 242/3), originally published by C. Naour, *EpigAnat* 5 (1985), 56–60. The text claims that he did so *teleutôn*, on his deathbed; Salsano argues that this cannot be meant literally, but there was a recognized, though obscure, form of *vindicta* manumission *mortis causa* (*Dig.* 40.1.15), which may be the point here. The omission of a mention of a Roman official (in the provinces, the governor) may mean that this requirement had been relaxed, or that he could be represented, as in Rome, by a lictor. On the slave-market at Sardeis: P. Herrmann, *Ark. Dergisi* 4 (1996), 175–87 with pl. 38 (see *Bullép.* 1997 no. 516).

[401] M. B. Hatzopoulos, *ŽivaAnt* 47 (1997), 51–62. Note also E. Leigh Gibson, *The Jewish Manumission Inscriptions of the Bosporan Kingdom* (1999) — interesting texts, but not a very penetrating treatment.

[402] D. Nonnis, *RendpontAccadArch* 68 (1995/6) [1998], 235–62, at 247–62. The college meets in the Caesareum of Lavinium.

[403] G. Mennella and G. Apicella, *Le corporazioni professionali nell'Italia romana: un aggiornamento al Waltzing*, Quaderni dell'Università . . . di Salerno, Dipart. di Scienze dell'Antichità 25 (2000), usefully combine a supplement to Waltzing's Index collegiorum §1 in vol. 3 (all new texts are printed in full), with tables enabling one to see at a glance how many 'old' and 'new' *collegia* are known from any of the fifty-one cities for which there is evidence. An appendix lists all the epigraphic testimony for the *fabri, centonarii*, and *dendrophori* in Italy.

single category.[404] Another, more exclusively epigraphic approach has been adopted by O. Van Nijf in his study of the *synodoi* of the Greek East, which nevertheless tends in the same direction.[405] He suggests that these associations were deeply interested in fitting themselves snugly into the social and moral hierarchy of their cities. In funerary contexts, they deferred to the language and attitudes of the élite, but substituted for the social rank their members could never obtain titles of another kind, indications of occupational status. In religious and civic contexts, they attempted as best they could to insert themselves into the rigid social categories operated by city councils. And in relation to their patrons, they offered what the weak can offer the strong, fulsomely-expressed gratitude, as a counter-gift for various kinds of engagement, including the defence or prosecution of their economic interests. Van Nijf's desire to tackle familiar material with a set of fresh questions is very welcome. We may, however, suspect that he has allowed the type of hard evidence that we possess, often honorific inscriptions, to dominate his argument, without sufficient regard for their generic constraints, and has not perhaps sufficiently discriminated between the horizons of expectations of different types of association.

Another Dutchman allows us to manage the transition between society and the economy. It is a relief to find a scholar such as L. de Ligt arguing against the view that the Roman authorities were reluctant to grant the *ius nundinarum*, the right to hold periodic rural fairs, for fear of unofficial assembly.[406] *Dig.* 50.11.1 (Modestinus) does indeed state that this right could be obtained as a *beneficium* from the emperor, but this probably applied only to Italy. In the provinces, the governor gave permission — or sometimes the Senate, if applied to by a senatorial land-owner[407] — and the criterion applied was not fear of sedition but the infringement of the rights of existing fairs. But the claim about markets really rests upon the traditional notion, fed by an unhistorical reading of the *lex Iulia de collegiis* (49–44 B.C.) and Trajan's letter to Pliny about the Bithynian *hetaireiai kai synodoi* (*ep.* 10.34), that the Roman government sternly controlled all *collegia*. This view neglects both the temporary and limited nature of Trajan's ruling, and the combined evidence of *Dig.* 47.22.1 *pr.* (relating to monthly meetings of *collegia tenuiorum*) and Ausbüttel's demonstration, now twenty-years-old, that Mommsen's interpretation of *CIL* XIV.2112. I lines 10–13 (Lanuvium) is impossible because the lines are seven letters longer than he supposed. Ligt rightly argues that the *SC* to which the Lanuvium text refers was a measure of the later years of the reign of Tiberius which permitted the free monthly assembly of private, especially religious, *collegia*, including the collection of money towards defraying the funeral expenses of members, and that even the restriction on monthly meetings was gradually relaxed during the second century A.D.

An analysis of the technical terms attested in Asia Minor relating to the textile trades, especially at Miletus, Laodicea on the Lykos, and in the valleys of the lower Hermos and the Meander, which mainly date from the Antonine/Severan period,

[404] Beate Bollmann, *Römische Vereinshäuser. Untersuchungen zu den scholae der römischen Berufs-, Kult-, und Augustalen-Kollegien in Italien* (1998), with the comments of W. A. Slater, *JRA* 13 (2000), 493–7; also her comments on the location of these *scholae* in Rome in *La Rome impériale: démographie et logistique. Actes de la Table Ronde, Rome, mars 1994*, CEFAR 230 (1997), 209–32.

[405] O. Van Nijf, *The Civic World of Professional Associations in the Roman East* (1997), cf. J. Patterson in *L'Italie d'Auguste à Dioclétien. Actes du colloque de Rome, mars 1992* (1994), 227–38. J.-J. Aubert, *CahiersGlotz* 10 (1999), 49–69 is rather unconvincing on the business administration of *collegia*. On the meat trade, which was organized in *collegia*: L. Chioffi, *Caro: il mercato della carne nell'occidente romano: reflessi epigrafici ed iconografici*, Atlante Tematico di Topografia Antica, Suppl. 4 (1999) (mainly Italy); meat supply to Rome: R. Belli Pasqua in *Agricoltura e commerci nell'Italia antica* (1995), 257–72.

[406] L. de Ligt in E. Lo Cascio (ed.), *Mercati permanenti e mercati periodici nel mondo romano: Atti degli Incontri capresi, Capri, ott. 1997* (2000), 237–52.

[407] J. Nollé in Eck, op. cit. (n. 173, 1999), 93–119, suggests that large landowners in Asia were happy to intervene with the governor on behalf of villages in order to obtain for them the right of holding periodic fairs or markets (see also idem and W. Eck, *Chiron* 26 (1996), 266–73 on the letter of Asinius Rufus at Sardeis, *AE* 1994: 1645: 1996: 1454). W. Jongman in L. de Blois and J. Rich (eds), *The Transformation of Economic Life under the Roman Empire* (2002), 1–20 raises the question of whether these institutions are markets in the proper sense, or merely periodic fairs; D. F. Graf in T. Burns and J. W. Eadie, *Urban Centers and Rural Contexts in Late Antiquity* (2001), 219–40, at 230–2, argues that, at any rate in Syria/Arabia, these institutions helped monetarize the rural economy, linking merchants, artisans, farmers and pastoralists more closely together. He also stresses the considerable presence of artisans in villages.

reveals that these trades were strongly organized into *collegia*, which acted as brokers between the political élite and the artisanal population of the cities.[408] This study, among others, has been used to suggest that the textile products of Asia Minor were a form of luxury article widely consumed by local élites in the Empire, not merely by that of Rome, bolstering the claim that in studying the ancient economy we do not require models so much as empirical evidence concerning trade-flows.[409] The idea of studying the textile trade to answer questions about the nature of the economy of the Roman Empire, especially regarding the primitivist-evolutionist debate, has prompted M. Kleijwegt to look at the factors, particularly the religious factors, that influenced textile consumption.[410] He points to religious activity at festivals and processions, which seem regularly to have required 'sunday best' clothing, and the frequent association between temples and workshops —some sanctuaries, such as the temple of Zeus at Pergamon, may have been actively engaged in artisanal production.[411]

In relation to landed property, analysis of the names in the alimentary inscriptions of Veleia (*ILS* 6675) and Ligures Baebiani (*ILS* 6675) suggests that in each city the local élite is hardly represented in the lists, and that there are fewer indigenous land-owners than outsiders, yet in both cases it was the former who subscribed more.[412] The 2.5 per cent interest rate offered at Ligures Baebiani may be due to the fact that these land-owners were poorer than those in Veleia (who paid 5 per cent). It seems probable that in both cities there was a gradual concentration of land in the hands of outsiders, especially at Ligures Baebiani, which must have led to the cities' gradual impoverishment; the aim of such alimentary schemes would indeed have been to aid them demographically. Against that, Jongman has argued, on the assumption that the average free population of the 431 towns in early-imperial Italy was *c.* 1,160 persons, that the schemes do not imply a crisis of any kind but in effect extended the emperors' paternalistic concern for the welfare of their subjects, as expressed in the *annona* at Rome, to the urban population of Italy.[413] In his view, virtually all families received a substantial contribution to their subsistence costs, and virtually all towns had such a system.[414]

The badly-damaged law of the A.D. 130s that regulates a redistribution of land at Delphi, discovered in 1937, has finally been published.[415] Although prefaced by a reference to Aemilius Iuncus (cos. suff. A.D. 127), who here appears as one of the earliest *correctores* yet known in the East, the law seems not to have been directly prompted either by him or by Hadrian — there is no reason to suppose the Hadrianic *lex de rudibus agris* applied outside Africa.[416] Nor is it prompted by empty municipal coffers, being rather a symptom of a general feeling among the municipal élites of Greece, graspable in Dio Chrysostom's *Euboicus*, that, given the pressures towards extensive use of land, something must be done to increase intensive agricultural production in Greece. The law provides for a second distribution of perpetually-heritable plots, leased without payment, in an area which had already been offered to citizens on an earlier occasion; citizens who had taken up the first offer, termed 'clerouchs', are permitted to take up

[408] G. Labarre and M.-T. Le Dinahet, *Aspects de l'artisanat du textile dans le monde méditerranéen (Égypte, Grèce, monde romain)*, Coll. Inst. arch. hist. ant. 2 (1996) [1998], 49–115. The inscriptions cease during the second quarter of the third century A.D. Words for textile workers attested in Gaul: A. Pelletier, ibid., 133–6.

[409] H. W. Pleket, *EpigAnat* 30 (1998), 117–28: fundamentally, as S. Mitchell argued for eastern Asia Minor, taxes were raised not in money but in kind.

[410] J. Kleijwegt in W. Jongman and J. Kleijwegt (eds), *After the Past: Essays in Ancient History for H. W. Pleket* (2002), 81–134.

[411] Other artisanal activities: R. Chevallier, *ArchClass* 49 (1997), 47–63, on 186 reliefs showing artisan work in Cisalpine and Transalpine Gaul, mainly by freedmen. P. Petridis in F. Blondé and A. Muller (eds), *L'artisanat en Grèce ancienne. Les productions, les diffusions*, Collection UL 3 (2000), 241–50, on Roman lamp manufacture in Greece. Female glass-blowers: E. M. Stern in G. Erath, M. Lehner and G. Schwarz (eds), *Komos: Festschrift T. Lorenz* (1997), 129–32 with pl. 27f.

[412] F. dal Cason, *Athenaeum* 85 (1997), 531–7.

[413] Jongman in Jongman and Kleijwegt, op. cit. (n. 410), 47–80.

[414] P. Garnsey and O. van Nijf in Moatti, op. cit. (n. 174), 303–15, note the infrequency of attempts by civic authorities to control prices of grain on the market. Where such control does occur, it tends to do so in relation to city festivals, when the influx of visitors threatened seriously to disrupt normal price-scales.

[415] J.-L. Ferrary and D. Rousset, *BCH* 122 (1998), 277–342 (= *SEG* 48.592 = *AE* 1999: 1275); cf. D. Rousset, *Le territoire de Delphes et la terre d'Apollon*, BEFAR 310 (2002) [2003].

[416] Important criticisms of D. Kehoe's account of the Hr Mettich text (*CIL* VIII.25902): L. de Ligt, *AncSoc* 29 (1998/9), 219–39.

new plots if they give up their old ones; new applicants have to take up land other than these existing plots. Given the reference at the beginning to 'numerous discussions', we can perhaps infer that the conditions offered by this second law were more advantageous than the first, which must have failed to attract enough takers.[417] Perhaps the most striking feature however is the stipulation that members of the civic élite, *damiourgoi* and *bouleutai*, are allocated plots 1.5 times larger than those of ordinary citizens; these standard plots are 40 *plethra* = 3.5 ha, somewhat smaller than in other analogous cases in Greece, but sufficient to ensure subsistence for a family. This ruling seems to betray a compromise between the desire to improve the state of the landless and self-interest on the part of the élite, for whom such lands, divided up and leased out, would simply mean a larger rental income.[418]

We turn now to the contribution of epigraphy to our knowledge of productive industry, which means essentially matters involving first clay and then extraction. Some work has been done on the involvement of members of the imperial *familia* in the brick industry.[419] Virtually all the limited evidence dates from first to early second century A.D. and of these only Agathyrsus *Aug. lib.*, who over a thirty-year period shared with M. Annius Verus (cos. ord. A.D. 126) co-ownership of the important brick-fields *praedia Quintanensia*, can be said to have been an important entrepreneur. From the second quarter of the second century, as the emperors acquired extensive ownership of the brick-fields, the imperial *familia* ceased to involve itself in direct production and leased the fields to private companies, while the named *officinatores* seem increasingly to have become financiers rather than supervisors.[420]

In relation to amphorae studies, some criticism has been made of current methods which aim to correlate particular types of amphorae with specific olive-yards in Baetica.[421] It has been calculated that there are 24,750,000 amphorae in the Monte Testaccio in Rome, indicating imports of olive oil sufficient for 6 kg per person per annum if the population of the city was 1 million. A further 33 million Dressel 20 amphorae are reckoned to have arrived at Rome but not ended up on Monte Testaccio. T. Bezeczky has completed his study of the important series that provides evidence for the intensive cultivation and export of oil in the late Republic and early Empire from eastern Histria to the Po valley and the middle Danube (emanating from Magdalensberg

[417] The authors plausibly suggest that the land in question is the former sacred land belonging to the temple of Apollo; if this lay in the so-called 'sacred plain', beyond the Pleistos Gorge below Mt Kirphis, as they suggest, its distance from Delphi might explain why few settlers could be found (the law of 'minimum effort'). But could this extensive area be said to be *uphill* from Delphi (ἀναβαίνοντ[ες, l.27)?

[418] At Dereköy in the Ak Çay valley in West Lydia, the fifty-four parcels of land mentioned seem to cover all the land-holdings of the village: the inventory must have been derived from a cadaster, and the individual *chôria* must then have been assigned to the different *homouriai* on the basis of familiarity with their tax-liability, for each *homouria* contains a different number of parcels, and each parcel is due to pay a specific, variably large, contribution: Wörrle and Wurster, op. cit. (n. 362), 429–43.

[419] P. R. Weaver, *ZPE* 122 (1998), 238–46. On the brick-stamps of the *Thermae Antoninianae*: J. Delaine, *The Baths of Caracalla*, JRA Suppl. 25 (1997), 249–58.

[420] Brick-kilns owned by the *Arrii*, local magnates at Blanda Iulia (Tórtora, in the Golfo di Policastro), probably a triumviral colony: G. F. La Torre in La Torre and A. Colicella (eds), *Nella terra degli Enotri: Atti del Convegno, Tórtora, apr. 1998*, Archeologia a Tórtora 1 (1999), 99–104 = *AE* 1999: 543. C. Rico in M. Bendala Galán *et al.* (eds), *El ladrillo y sus derivados en la epoca romana*, Monografás de arquitectura romana 4 (1999), 25–44, argues that the brick and clay industry in Roman Spain was highly diversified between urban and rural undertakings, all employing small numbers.

[421] Ulrike Ehmig, *Germania* 77 (1999), 679–703; compare F. Mayet *et al.*, *Les amphores du Sado (Portugal)* (1996), a study of seven amphorae-producing workshops on the river Sado, mainly first–second century (argued from petrology not distribution however). Tracking Baetican oil and wine: J. Baudou, *Les amphores de nord-ouest de la Gaule (territoire française)*, Documents d'Archéologie Française 52 (1996); P. P. A. Funari, *Dressel 20 Inscriptions from Britain and the Consumption of Spanish Olive Oil*, BAR British Ser. 250 (1996) — a rather unsatisfactory catalogue of 582 items; B. Bruno, *Aspetti di storia economica della Cisalpina romana. Le anfore di tipo Lamboglia 2 rinvenute in Lombardia*, Studi e ricerche sulla Gallia Cisalpina 7 (1995) [1996], a list of all known amphorae stamps from this region; J. M. Blázquez Martínez and J. Remesal Rodriguez (eds), *Estudios sobre el Monte Testaccio, I*, CITA 7: Instrumenta 6 (1999), reporting the work of the seasons 1989–90; note especially J. Remesal on the *tituli picti* (pp. 29–51) and J. Casulleras *et al.* on the graffiti (pp. 53–73); at the end, a revised absolute chronology for Dressel amphorae.

in Carinthia), with a catalogue of more than 700 stamps from Dressel 6B amphorae.[422] The commercial activities of P. Usulenus Veiento have been traced, a member of a Narbonnese family, who in the Augustan period bought up wine in Catalonia on a large scale and imported it into Western Gaul via Narbonne.[423] As for the distribution of *terra sigillata*, a re-reading of *RIU* 595 (Brigetio) implies the existence of a regular passage for the pottery produced at Pons Aeni (Pfaffenhofen am Inn) down the Inn to Passau, and so down the Danube to Pannonia Inferior.[424]

On extraction, it has been suggested that we may need to pay more attention to the texts found in quarries and mines, and that, more generally, we are hampered in dealing with new, or newly readable, types (such as rupestrine texts) by the notion of 'instrumentum domesticum', which is a legacy of nineteenth-century priorities and assumptions about epigraphy.[425] The traditional view of the organization of the mines in Spain, centrally controlled by an equestrian and freedman procurator, and locally directed by a freedman procurator of lower rank (*procurator metallorum*), has been defended against the objections of P. Le Roux.[426] On the nature of the different 'control' marks on (lead) ingots from Spain, it has been argued that the names are those of the producers engaged in commerce, the scratched numbers refer to the weight, and the nail-holes are due to the manner in which the ingots were stowed en route from the mine to Hispalis. These marks were imposed by the customs regulations, but have nothing directly to do with customs inspections or with 'official' trade.[427]

And so to commerce. The traditional belief that (land) transport costs in the Roman world were high has again been sharply challenged.[428] S. Corcoran has challenged traditional views about the nature and reliability of Diocletian's Price Edict, arguing that it may have been largely provoked by local events in Antioch caused directly by the presence of the court and its military entourage, and may indeed only have applied in the eastern Empire.[429] Since the price-list itself was a document created by the bureaucracy, it is likely to contain many errors due to faulty reporting. The Edict's predictable failure marks the practical limitations upon the Tetrarchs' power. In reply, it has been well observed that one of the Edict's aims may have been precisely the tacit acknowledgement of the limitations of government's power to intervene, but also to warn that its wishes had to be taken account of in any local situation, even if, in the

[422] T. Bezeczky, *The Laecanius Amphora Stamps and the Villas of Brijuni*, Denkschr. Österr. Akad. Wiss., phil.-hist. Kl. 261 (1998), with S. Martin-Kilcher, *JRA* 13 (2000), 506–9; oil from imperial estates here: A. Starac, *Izdanja hrvatskog arheološkog društva* 18 (1997), 143–61 (Italian summary). Also C. Panella and V. Morizio (eds), *Corpus dei bolli sulle anfore romane, 1: I bolli sulle anfore italiche* (1998), eighteen groups of Italian stamps, with a discussion of the conclusions that can be drawn from the late republican/early imperial material.

[423] M. Christol and R. Plana-Mallart in Paci, op. cit. (n. 28), 273–302, based on the Pascual I amphorae at Llafranc. On the Veratii of Narbonensis: A. Villaret, *REA* 95 (1993), 487–532, with another attested at Geneva: G. Zoller, *AnnSocSuissePA* 79 (1996), 254 (second half of first century A.D.); P. Berni Millett *et al.*, *Laietania* 11 (1998), 111–23, proving the existence of a hitherto unknown producer of *vinum Lauronense* (Pliny, *HN* 14.71) in Catalonia, L. Cor(nelius) Pro(---).

[424] Z. Mráv, *MünsterBeitrHandel* 18 (1999), 73–86, reading *naucl(erus) portus [Pon(tis)] (A)eni* instead of the accepted *nau(archus) cl(assis) praetoriae*.

[425] M. Mayer, *JRA* 10 (1997), 405–10. This perhaps applies mainly to the Western Empire; for the East these texts have already received some attention.

[426] M. Christol in J.-M. Pailler and P. Moret (eds), *Mélanges C. Domergue*, Pallas 50 (1999), 233–44; P. Le Roux, *MDAI(M)* 26 (1985), 218–33. *Mise au point* on mining in Spain: J. Mangas and O. Orejas in J. F. Rodríguez Neila *et al.*, *El trabajo en la Hispania romana* (1999), 207–337. Note also the study of the *lex metallis dicta* (= *FIRA*² 1 no. 104) by S. Lazzarini, *Lex metallis dicta*, Minima Epig. & Pap., Separata 2 (2001). In Dacia: V. Wollmann, *Der Erzbergbau, die Salzgewinnung u. die Steinbrüche im römischen Dakien* (1996) (German summary at end). There is some anxiety over current plans to begin extraction again in the gold-mines in the Siebenbürgen area for fear of destroying the Roman-period remains.

[427] C. Domergue in S. Keay (ed.), *The Archaeology of Early Roman Baetica*, JRA Suppl. 29 (1998), 202–15; cf. G. Long and C. Domergue, *MEFRA* 107 (1995), 801–67, re-studying the lead ingots found at Saintes-Maries-de-la-Mer, now kept at Arles Museum. They were produced by L. Flavius Verucla, who evidently leased a silver/lead mine in Spain from the emperor and paid in kind; Eros, whose name appears on some of the ingots, must be the freedman overseer of the production. Lead seals at Trèves: H.-J. Lenkel, *Römische Bleiplomben aus Trierer Funden*, Wiss. Reihe der Trierer Münzfreunde, 3 (1995).

[428] R. Laurence in H. Parkins and C. Smith (eds), *Trade, Traders and the Ancient City* (1998), 129–49, following on from the work of M. Polfer, *Helinium* 31 (1991), 273–95. Some of the most revolutionary archaeological and modelling work on harness and wheeled transport over the last twenty years has been done by G. Raepsaet. Note especially his *Attelages et techniques de transport dans le monde gréco-romaine* (2002), stressing the constant minor technical improvements ignored by traditional views.

[429] S. Corcoran, *The Empire of the Tetrarchs: Imperial Pronouncements and Government, AD 284–324* (1996), esp. 220–31.

nature of things, profiteering and coercion could hardly be eliminated.[430] Among the new texts from the Red Sea is a crude *laissez-passer* from Myos Hormos, in the form of an ostrakon addressed to Priscus, the *duplicarius*, telling him to allow the named bearers through: it thus functioned as a certificate that the bearers had paid the customs dues at some earlier point, and shows that soldiers regularly manned customs posts here.[431] The Red Sea seems altogether to have been much more travelled than the Silk Road itself.[432]

IX. LATE ANTIQUE INSCRIPTIONS

A number of late antique texts, some of them significant for the study of Late Antiquity, are cited in other sections but do not figure here. The following footnotes, and the discussions to which they refer, might usefully be consulted: nn. 12, 129–36, 164–5, 192, 197, 243–5, 269–70, 273, 330, 331, 333, 346, 355, 368, 374, 377–82, 395, 403, 408, 429, 430.

There is increasing interest in late antique epigraphy — 'the epigraphy of the Third Age' — which was reflected in a substantial number of contributions to the XIth Epigraphic Congress in 1997;[433] but since these inscriptions are limited in number and widely scattered we need, if we are to understand them, regular and informed overviews of what we have and more accessible publication. For the Greek texts Denis Feissel's contributions to the *Bulletin Épigraphique*, *SEG*, and the International Congress of Byzantine Studies in 2001 are transforming knowledge;[434] there is less on Latin texts. A number of new publications are beginning to make these inscriptions more easily available, again more often the Greek ones than the Latin: thus there are new corpora for late antique Athens,[435] Palmyra,[436] the Cyclades,[437] Eastern Thrace and Imbros,[438] Sardinia,[439] and Italy;[440] while the corpora of all texts of Caesarea Maritima,[441] of several cities in Syria-Palestine,[442] and of Side[443] are particularly rich in late antique items; also

[430] C. Kelly, *CR* 47 (1997), 367f.

[431] W. van Rengen in C. Evers and A Tsingarida, *Rome et ses provinces: genèse et diffusion d'une image du pouvoir: hommages à Jean-Charles Balty* (2001), 233–6. For the interesting ostraka from Berenike, further south than Myos Hormos: R. S. Bagnall *et al.*, *Documents from Berenike, I: Greek Ostraka from the 1996–8 Seasons*, Pap. Bruxell. 31 (2000). On Roman trade with India from Berenike, using the Tamil and Pakrit inscriptions, see now F. de Romanis, *Cassia, cinnamono, ossidiana: uomini e merci tra Oceano e mediterraneo* (1996), and de Romanis and A. Tchernia (eds), *Crossings. Early Mediteranean Contacts with India* (1997), with C. R. Whittaker, *JRA* 13 (2000), 691f. New and revised rock-cut texts from Berenike: H. Cuvigny and A. Bülow-Jacobsen, *BIFAO* 99 (1999), 133–92.

[432] F. Millar in Austin *et al.*, op. cit. (n. 55), 119–37 on the caravan epigraphy of Palmyra and the overland routes from there to the Persian Gulf (and so by sea to India). If long-distance trade were to have been important anywhere, it would have been north of Palmyra, from Zeugma westwards. Of course there were land-routes through Asia, on which see *Palmyra and the Silk Road, International Colloquium, Palmyra April 1992*, AAAS 42 (1996); but their significance should not be exaggerated.

[433] See n. 6 above.

[434] This is now available on the National Hellenic Research Foundation site on the internet http://www.eie.gr/ibe/xx-congres/section1–4p01.html. There is also a section on Epigraphy from various contributors in the annual bibliography published in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*.

[435] E. Sironen, *The Late Roman and Early Byzantine Inscriptions of Athens and Attica*. (1997).

[436] S. P. Kowalski, 'Late Roman Palmyra in literature and epigraphy', *Studia Palmyrenskie* 10 (1997), 39–62.

[437] Georges Kiourtzian, *Recueil des inscriptions grecques chrétiennes des Cyclades de la fin du IIIe au VIIe siècle* (2000).

[438] C. Asdracha, 'Inscriptions chrétiennes et protobyzantines de la Thrace orientale et de l'île d'Imbros, IIIe–VIIe siècles. Présentation et commentaire historique', *Arch. Deltion* 49–50 (1994–1995) [1998], 279–356; *Arch. Deltion* 5152 (1996–1997) [2000], 333–86.

[439] A. M. Corda, *Le iscrizioni cristiane della Sardegna anteriori al VII secolo* (1999).

[440] A. Guillou, *Recueil des inscriptions grecques médiévales d'Italie* (1996), with the reviews of W. Horändner, *JöB* 48 (1998), 307–16, and C. Mango, *BZ* 91 (1998), 129–32. But see also n. 12 above.

[441] C. M. Lehmann and K. G. Holum, *The Greek and Latin Inscriptions of Caesarea Maritima*, American Schools of Oriental Research (ASOR) (2001), including material found up until 1992; for some more discoveries see J. Patrich *et al.*, 'The warehouse complex and governor's palace', in K. G. Holum, A. Raban and J. Patrich (eds), *Caesarea Papers* 2 (1999), 71–107.

[442] P.-L. Gatier, 'Les inscriptions grecques et latines de Samra et de Rihab', in J.-B. Humbert and A. Desreumaux (eds), *Khirbet es-Samra* 1 (1998), 361–431; L. Di Segni, 'New epigraphical discoveries at Scythopolis and in other sites of late antique Palestine', *XI Congresso di Epigrafia* (n. 6 above) 625–42; eadem, 'The Greek Inscriptions', in M. Piccirillo and E. Alliata (eds), *Mount Nebo. New Archaeological Excavations 1967–1997* (1998), 425–67.

[443] J. Nollé, *Side in Altertum* II, IK 44 (2001).

in this category are publications of texts of the Sardeis Synagogue,[444] of the building inscriptions of Justinian,[445] and of verse inscriptions of the Greek East (of all periods, but notably rich for Late Antiquity).[446] A relevant new tool is the volume of concordances to the Christian inscriptions of Rome.[447]

Three categories of text have received notable additions recently: verse inscriptions, legal inscriptions, and acclamations.

Inscribed epigrams began to replace the use of prose for honours to officials and benefactors in the mid-third century A.D.[448] Their language and matter quite commonly reflect the influence of Homer. Thus in an inscribed epigram of the reign of Tacitus which sets out the titles and honours of the city of Perge the language is a remarkable mixture of Homericizing with transliterated Latin vocabulary;[449] and in an epitaph from Pontus the Homeric river Iardanes is assimilated to Jordan, the symbol of Christian baptism.[450] The corpus of verse inscriptions mentioned above offers a new step towards evaluation of such epigrams, and of their implications for the education and tastes of their period.

Study of legal texts is advanced by Simon Corcoran's treatment of those of the Tetrarchic period which has now been expanded and re-edited.[451] Feissel has reconsidered some legal texts, notably of Constantine, Julian, and Justinian,[452] and shown that the monumental context in which inscriptions of this type were displayed may add to their interest, bringing to notice unexpected relationships with texts of other kinds, as, e.g., those between the legal texts and the acclamations which confront each other in the Marble Street at Ephesus. The Builders' Inscription of A.D. 469 at Sardeis (which has been thought of as embodying reference to something like trade union activity) has been reconsidered too. After a careful account of the interpretations offered in the past M. di Branco proposes to see it in the terms of its own time, as a *stipulatio necessaria* designed to prevent the builders of Sardeis from failing, from whatever cause, to complete work undertaken.[453] New inscribed texts in this category are also turning up.[454]

On acclamations there has been a useful general study by Nollé,[455] as well as a number of discussions of specific examples.[456] This is a category of text that has sometimes been omitted from publications in the past so that currently items found long ago are reaching readers for the first time; that raises the possibility of other new texts still to be discovered in old excavators' notebooks or by renewed examination of

[444] J. H. Kroll, 'The Greek inscriptions of the Sardis Synagogue', *Harvard Theological Review* 94 (2001), 1–127.

[445] D. Feissel, 'Les édifices de Justinien au témoignage de Procope et de l'épigraphie', *Antiquité tardive* 8 (2000), 81–104, already supplemented by new discoveries — see *Bullépig* 2002: 576.

[446] Merkelbach and Stauber, op. cit. (n. 33).

[447] See n. 12 above.

[448] C. Roueché, 'Benefactors in the late Roman period: the eastern empire', in M. Christol and O. Masson (eds), *Actes du Xe Congrès International d'Épigraphie Grecque et Latine* (1997), 353–68.

[449] R. Merkelbach, S. Sahin and J. Stauber, 'Kaiser Tacitus erhebt Perge zur metropolis Pamphyliens und erlaubt einen Agon', *Epig Anat* 29 (1997), 49–50 (= *SEG* 47. 1788 = *AE* 1997: 1506).

[450] L. Jonnes, 'An inscription of a Homeric cento', *Epig Anat* 33 (2001), 49–50.

[451] S. Corcoran, *The Empire of the Tetrarchs. Imperial Pronouncements and Government* (1996; rev edn 2000). See also idem, 'The Sins of the Fathers: a neglected constitution of Diocletian on incest', *The Journal of Legal History* 21.2 (August 2000), 1–39; 'A fragment of a tetrarchic constitution from Crete', *ZPE* 133 (2000), 251–8; 'A tetrarchic inscription from Corcyra and the Edictum de Accusationibus', *ZPE* 141 (2002), 221–30.

[452] See D. Feissel, 'Une constitution de l'empereur Julien entre texte épigraphique et codification (*CIL* III 459 et *CTh* I, 16, 8)', in *La codification des lois dans l'Antiquité* (2000), 315–37; idem, 'L'adnotatio de Constantin sur le droit de cité d'Orcistus en Phrygie', *Antiquité tardive* 7 (1999), 255–67; on Justinian see n. 445 above.

[453] M. Di Branco, 'Lavoro e conflittualità sociale in una città tardoantica', *Antiquité tardive* 8 (2000), 181–208.

[454] e.g. N. M. Kennell, 'An early Byzantine constitution from Ziporea', *Epigraphica Anatolica* 26 (1996), 129–36.

[455] J. Nollé, '*Feliciter dominis*: Akklamationsmünzen des griechischen Osten unter Septimius Severus', *Chiron* 28 (1998), 323–54.

[456] e.g. Michael Ballance and C. Roueché, 'Three inscriptions from Ovacik', Appendix 2, in Martin Harrison, *Mountain and Plain: From the Lycian Coast to the Phrygian Plateau in the Late Roman and Early Byzantine Period* (2001), 87–112. Note that a second epigraphic example of ληστοδιώκτης, found in these texts, has been read in a fifth-century funerary text from Hermopolis Magna, published by A. Łatjar, *ZPE* 114 (1996), 143–6. C. Roueché, 'Looking for late antique ceremonial: Ephesos and Aphrodisias', in H. Friesinger and F. Krinzinger (eds), *100 Jahre Österreichische Forschungen in Ephesos. Akten des Symposions Wien 1995*, Archäologische Forschungen 1, DenkschrWien 260 (1999), 161–8.

excavations[457] (though too often plaster on the walls has decayed and vanished with what was written on it). The verse inscription at Perge already mentioned above is balanced by related acclamations. New examples are constantly found[458] and that they were not necessarily pure official propaganda but could express the genuine pride of citizens appears from the discovery that a citizen of Perge wrote up an acclamation of his city when visiting the healing baths at Gadara.[459] The sub-category of acclamations related to games, competitions and factions is enlarged by the publication of the texts from the hippodrome at Tyre.[460]

Acclamations fall within the larger category of graffiti so that it is convenient to note here a collection of prayers by a variety of stage-performers in the baths at Gadara[461] and a series from the theatre at Ephesus which appear to give the names of some actors and of the parts played by others.[462] New aspects of the theatre and its performers are likely to emerge from this kind of text.

Honorific inscriptions have also been the subject of a general survey,[463] while a preference for verse rather than prose in Late Antiquity is noted above — not that prose is wholly abandoned, as the long prose panegyric of a fifth-century governor at Amisos shows.[464] As with several other categories it has also become clear that they can often be better understood if considered in their monumental context.[465]

Other subjects of interest on which there is new epigraphically-based information are:

1. *Emperors*

On Decius and Valerius see below under Religion. Several texts have already been mentioned but are relevant here too. The importance of its legal texts for understanding the Tetrarchy needs no underlining.[466] A new commentary on the eulogy of Constantine from Beroia emphasizes its originality.[467] One of the plates newly-added to the Kaiseraugst treasure is inscribed in Latin with two verses that stress the coincidence of the victory of Constans over the Franks in A.D. 342 with his decennalia and promised celebration of trecennalia.[468] Reconsideration of an inscription honouring Julian from near Paneas in the Upper Jordan Valley suggests that it may be one of a series set up along the road from the Jordan to the coast which expressed approval of Julian's reforms, possibly in hopes of imperial promotion of the interests of Tyre.[469] A monument honouring Aelia Flaccilla in the Monumental Street at Ephesus can be shown to have acquired additional meaning from earlier monuments carrying Victories brought from elsewhere to stand on either side.[470] A fragmentary inscription from Potenza has been identified as a dedication to Majorian.[471] Feissel's collection of the building inscriptions of Justinian[472] provides a very useful counterpoint to the *Buildings* of Procopius. New examples of these texts continue to be found — thus the dedication of a bath building at Aleppo reminds us that much of Justinian's building was undertaken in response to enemy destruction.[473] An inscription on a statue-base for him

[457] C. Roueché, 'Images of performance: new evidence from Ephesus', in P. E. Easterling and E. Hall (eds), *Greek and Roman Actors* (2002), 254–81.
[458] C. Roueché, 'Enter your city! A new acclamation from Ephesos', in P. Scherrer *et al.*(eds), *Steine und Wege, Festschrift for Dieter Knibbe* (1999), 131–6.
[459] L. di Segni, 'The Greek inscriptions of Hammat Gader', in Y. Hirschfeld, *The Roman Baths of Hammat Gader* (1997), 185–237, no. 31.
[460] J.-P. Rey-Coquais, 'Inscriptions de l'hippodrome de Tyr', *JRA* 15 (2000), 325–35.
[461] See above, n. 459.
[462] See above, n. 457.
[463] M. Horster, 'Ehrungen spätantiker Statthalter', *Antiquité tardive* 6 (1998), 37–59.
[464] C. Marek, 'Der Dank der Stadt an einen comes unter Theodosius II', *Chiron* 30 (2000), 367–87.
[465] See e.g. R. R. R. Smith, 'Late antique portraits in a public context', *JRS* 89 (1999), 155–89.
[466] See above, n. 451.
[467] See above, n. 135.
[468] See above, n. 136.
[469] See n. 345 above with the discussion to which it refers.
[470] C. Roueché, 'The image of Victory: new evidence from Ephesus', in *Mélanges Gilbert Dagron, Travaux et Mémoires* 14 (2002), 527–46.
[471] G. Mennella, 'Una nuova dedica a Maioriano', *ZPE* 133 (2000), 237 n. 42.
[472] See above, n. 445.
[473] P. Gatier, 'Un bain byzantin à Alep', *Annales arch. arabes syriennes* 44 (2001), 181–6.

found at Pisidian Antioch has been analysed within the wider context of the emperors' self-presentation.[474]

2. *Administration*

A damaged text from Merida concerns a known pagan senator who acted as *vicarius Hispaniarum* under Constantine; he is the earliest known example of a man ranked as *clarissimus* who acted as vicar.[475] New inscriptions at Ephesus have enabled Feissel to clarify the relation between vicariate and proconsulate in early fifth-century Asia.[476]

3. *Religion*

The importance of the persecution of the Christians by Decius has been questioned, with the suggestion that it was Valerian who was responsible for the first deliberate attack on the Christians.[477] The relationships of Jews, Christians, and Muslims are central to the period[478] but hard to evaluate since it remains extremely difficult to judge the meaning of religious terminology in any particular inscription. A recent example is the discovery of the Christian signum XMΓ on the head of a statue of a late antique governor at Aphrodisias.[479]

With this last example we are reminded that what was probably quite obvious in its own time may be completely obscure to us, something only to be unravelled as knowledge is expanded and even then, perhaps, only with the insight of experience. For a nice piece of unravelling note Feissel's presentation of an obscure text at Ephesus, incomprehensibly concerned with a horse, as one of a series describing street lighting, here in the city's Street of Horses.[480]

X. MISCELLANEOUS

The final section is devoted to a range of topics that fit ill under other headings, and deals, broadly speaking, with inscriptions as objects cut in a certain manner on certain types of surfaces and placed with a certain care by people with specific names, thence to the trade in marbles, to evidence for the building and other professions, to entertainment, learning and finally to funerary monuments.

G. Susini† is well known in the Anglo-Saxon world for his *The Roman Stonecutter* (1973), the Italian text of which has been reprinted in a volume of his essays. His

[474] C. Zuckerman, 'The dedication of a statue of Justinian at Antioch', T. Drew-Bear *et al.* (eds), *Actes du Ier Congrès international sur Antioche de Pisidie* (2002), 243–55.

[475] J. C. Saquete, 'Septimius Acindynus, corrector Tusciae et Umbriae', *ZPE* 129 (2000), 281–6.

[476] See D. Feissel, 'Epigraphie administrative et topographie urbaine', in R. R. Pillinger, O. Kresten, F. Krinzinger and E. Rosso (eds), *Efeso paleocristiana e bizantina* (1999).

[477] See n. 381 and the discussions to which it refers.

[478] 'War. society and popular religion in Byzantine Anatolia (6th–13th centuries)', in Η Βυζαντινή Μικρά Ασία (1998), 9–139; 'Early medieval Boiotia (c. 580–1050 A.D.)', *Επετερις τής Εταιρείιας Βοιοτικων Μελέτων* 3 (2000), 990–1008 and R. Gregg and D. Urman, *Jews, Pagans, and Christians in the Golan Heights. Greek and Other Inscriptions of the Roman and Byzantine Eras*, South Florida Studies in the History of Judaism 140 (1996); C. Dauphin *et al.*, 'Païens, juifs, judéo-chrétiens, chrétiens et musulmans en Gaulanitide: les inscriptions de Nq'arân, Kafr Naffakh, Farj et er-Ramthâniyye', *Proche-Orient chrétien* 46 (1996), 305–40, with the review by B. Isaac, 'Inscriptions and religious identity on the Golan', *The Roman and Byzantine Near East, 2, Some Recent Archaeological Research* (1999), 179–88.

[479] R. R. R. Smith, 'The statue monument of Oecumenius: a new portrait of a late antique governor from Aphrodisias', *JRS* 92 (2002), 137. For the most recent item in the long discussion of this signum see S. R. Llewelyn, 'The Christian symbol XMG: an acrostic or an isopsephism?', *New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity* 8 (1998), 156–68.

[480] D. Feissel, 'Öffentliche Strassenbeleuchtung im spätantiken Ephesos', in Scherrer, op. cit. (n. 83), 25–9.

message has always been that we should consider not merely the printed text of an inscription but the complete monument as a bearer of expressive or connotative meaning; and he has devoted pioneering studies not merely to groups of inscribed monuments, at Urbino, Ravenna, and in the Rhine Valley, but also to the instauration of epigraphic culture itself.[481] Most recently, he has plotted the geographical distribution of monuments, conceived as the work of particular artisanal shops, both within Bologna and along the main ancient thoroughfares where the necropoleis were located, and contrasted this pattern with that suggested by the fourth-century finds.[482] This work represents an important alternative to the urban-core mapping we associate with G. Alföldy and his associates in Spain.

From mapping to cutting. It is usually assumed that there were three stages involved in creating an inscription: (1) composing the original text; (2) transferring the the text to the stone by drawing each letter onto the surface in accordance with the scheme for the lay-out (*mise en page*, *impaginazione*); (3) the actual cutting.[483] This process admits of a very wide spectrum of possibilities, between extreme care and extreme carelessness. Some examples of the former, including *RIB* 288 and 330, have been analysed by R. Grasby, suggesting that they are the product not only of several stages of work but also of careful measurement and calculation.[484] Such care we rightly associate with the finest products of Augustan and Julio-Claudian epigraphic workshops; but sometimes its opposite is also worth studying for the insight it provides into the conditions under which humbler non-urban monuments might be made. A funerary for a wife and child (second/third century A.D.) from a private collection is a case in point.[485] Not only does it confuse the life-spans of the two deceased but there are numerous oddities in the lettering — most of the Ms are written AA, for example. The inference is that the cutter was either illiterate or did not speak Latin, and was copying directly from a document that used (customary) abbreviations, which he tried as best he could to inscribe directly onto the stone. After he had finished, the client or the master realized the most important mistake, and told him to inscribe the wife's name in small letters at the foot of the text, near the indication of her life-span.

Whatever the case in late Republican Italy, it seems that in Spain all pre-Augustan texts are due to the initiatives of Roman magistrates. Like G. Alföldy, A. Stylow has stressed the point that local epigraphic shops developed in Baetica only with the Augustan peace.[486] Such observations are naturally only a starting-point: an adequate history of the unique epigraphic culture of each province demands the systematic development of multiple dating criteria based on the detailed examination of thousands of texts, including palaeography, onomastic formulae, structuration of the text, and material, shape and ornamentation of the object inscribed.[487] Only then will we be in a position to judge the adequacy of S. Mrozek's now well-known claims about the overall pattern of epigraphic production in the Principate. Mrozek has recently re-affirmed these views, albeit with the caveat that, since they are based solely on securely-dated texts, the figures may distort actual patterns to some extent — no one knows the relation between the production of dated and undated texts.[488] It is in fact, he argues, non-imperial epigraphy which suffers the steepest decline from the second quarter of the

[481] *Epigraphica dilapidata: Scritti scelti di G. Susini*, Epigrafia e Antichità 15 (1997), 7–79; cf. D. Rigato (ed.), *Giancarlo Susini: Bibliografia sino al 1997*, Epigrafia e Antichità 16 (1997), containing 1,943 (generously computed) items. The essays cited are reprinted at 257–74; 301–32; 333–61; 141–8.

[482] G. Susini, *RALincei* ser. 9, 8 (1997) 337–63. The truism that the precise meaning of inscriptions is often only intelligible, at least in urban contexts, with reference to archaeological knowledge of the site has been re-affirmed by I. Piso and A. Diaconescu, *XI Congresso* (n. 6 above), 2, 125–37, in relation to the three fora of Sarmizegetusa.

[483] It has however often been doubted whether in practice these were always fully distinct operations, cf. G. Susini, *Epigrafia romana* (1982), 69–76.

[484] R. Grasby, *PBSR* 64 (1996), 95–138.

[485] G. Paci, *Scrittura e Civiltà* 19 (1995) [1996], 53–66, not in *AE*.

[486] A. U. Stylow in Keay, op. cit. (n. 145), cf. his earlier piece on the same theme in F. Beltrán Lloris (ed.), *Roma e il nacimiento de la cultura epigrafica en Occidente* (1995), 219–38.

[487] Other general accounts of Spanish epigraphic culture: G. Alföldy in *Hispania. El legado de Roma* (1998, 1999^2) (exhibition catalogue, La Lonja, Saragossa), 289–301; F. Beltrán Loris, *XI Congresso* (n. 6 above), 2, 21–37, on the use of bronze as a typical trait of the epigraphy of Spain (with an appendix giving an extract from the new Hadrianic *lex* about the *rivus Hiberiensis*).

[488] S. Mrozek in Frézouls and Jouffroy, op. cit. (n. 129 above), 11–20.

third century A.D. — in the Moesias, for example, official inscriptions and milestones are virtually the only type of text known from the second half of the century.[489] If the development of more accurate dating criteria for the mass of texts that bear no date is a desideratum, more attention should be paid to the criteria worked out for the inscriptions of Gaul and the Germanies by M.-Th. Raepsaet-Charlier.[490]

What we might call the 'day-to-day' epigraphy of the Roman world, its ordinary written communication, public as well as private, has all but disappeared, for it was written and disseminated on wood or potsherds, directly in ink or scratched on wax or walls.[491] What survives for us to read, on bronze or stone, must not be confused with this day-to-day use of documents, since by its very choice of material support, it asserts its qualification as a monument. Apart from odd strokes of good fortune, which produced the Vindolanda birchwood tablets or the Romanian wax-tablets, only Egypt provides a hint of the role that wood or potsherds played in antiquity as a writing surface. Public inscriptions were set up for a variety of immediate reasons, but we can discern beneath the presenting reasons two underlying motives, the bestowal of honour by commemorating an individual's high status, and the boosting of one's own position by self-glorification.[492] A rather different point about the relation of readers to official inscriptions has been made by M. Corbier, who stresses the mental map of spots considered appropriate for the erection of certain kinds of public or honorific documents, which such readers had to construct in a city such as Rome.[493] One such site there was the cuirassed statue of Julius Caesar, evidently in his Forum,which was apparently also the address of the office of the fiscus (*CIL* VI.8688): it was here that an entire dossier relating to the SC in honour of Claudius' freedman Pallas was inscribed on bronze (Pliny, *ep.* 8.6.13 with Sherwin-White ad loc.). A similarly extensive text was inscribed on bronze at an unknown location in Rome in relation to the case of Cn. Piso (*AE* 1996: 885 ll.166–70).[494]

Maps in readers' heads however raise the issue of literacy. An examination of all types of inscribed material in Britain, including *instrumentum domesticum*, suggests once again that we need to think in terms of a continuum of familiarity with the written word, heavily conditioned by context and use, rather than a sharp dichotomy between literate and illiterate.[495] This in turn implies that, as others have argued, W. V. Harris' conclusions about the distribution of literacy rely upon an argument from silence — Eck's point about the almost total loss of communications written on perishable materials. The Vindolanda texts, for example, have revealed the surprising fact that the wife of Flavius Cerialis, the prefect at Vindolanda, could not only write but had a circle of women correspondents; and there is no reason to think that she was untypical of her milieu.[496] How did such women acquire literacy, if they did not attend school?[497]

[489] I. Rodà, *Histria Antiqua* 5 (1999), 121–30, confirms a sharp decline in epigraphic culture in north-east Italy from the end of second century A.D.; in Spain, the maximum density was reached between the Flavians and Marcus Aurelius, followed by slow decline: Alföldy, op. cit. (n. 487); at Trier, the decline sets in around the middle of the third century: L. Schwinden, *XI Congresso* (n. 6 above), 2, 729–38, as also in Moesia Inferior, where epigraphic culture hardly begins before the late second century A.D.: L. Mrozewicz, ibid., 2, 461–72.

[490] See Dondin-Payre and Raepsaet-Charlier, op. cit. (n. 97), vii–xii, a useful tabular conspectus of the various indications of date in the North-West provinces excluding Britain, developed by Raepsaet-Charlier over the years and mostly now well-known — onomastic, social, religious, funerary; the handiest are perhaps the list of the shifting locations of the Rhine legions and the city police of Lugdunum (pp. x–xi) (presumably the auxiliary troops' movements cannot be reduced to list form) and the specifications of the basic funerary formulae, summarized in the dictum 'l'abondance verbale est tardive' (p. viii). Stylow's criteria are more challenging and less narrowly limited to content, but they can only be worked on when the majority of relevant texts are available as images on data-bases.

[491] W. Eck, *XI Congresso* (n. 6 above), 2, 55–75; cf. idem in P. Kneissl and V. Losemann (eds), *Imperium Romanum. Festschrift K. Christ* (1998), 205–17.

[492] W. Eck in *Die Verwaltung des römischen Reiches in der Hohen Kaiserzeit* (1997), 359–81 = Paci, op. cit. (n.28), 343–66.

[493] M. Corbier, *Rev numism* 152 (1997), 11–40.

[494] cf. W. Eck, *ZPE* 133 (2000), 275–82, on bronze inscriptions attached to honorific monuments in Rome.

[495] M. E. Raybould, *A Study of Inscribed Material from Roman Britain*, BAR British Series 281 (1999).

[496] On Sulpicia Lepidina, see P. Flobert, *Helmantica* 50 (1999), 373–82.

[497] cf. the *carmina epigraphica* at Pompeii, which combine free invention with allusions to and adaptations of poets, esp. Ovid: R. Wachter, *ZPE* 121 (1998), 73–89. For a boy who died, probably at Lugdunum, aged ten years, *studis educatus*: F. Bérard in Paci, op. cit. (n. 28), 211–23, with list of other scholars at Lugdunum. Other precocious children are mentioned by B. Rawson, *Antichthon* 31 (1997), 74–95, at 80f.

Since the growth of sociolinguistic interest in multilingualism in the 1970s, it has become trite to observe that the Roman Empire was a multilingual congeries of societies. It is more difficult to know how to deploy the insight in any particular cultural context, for even in multilingual sub-societies, even in Palmyra, say, there was probably a majority of people who were unilingual, and most bi- or tri-linguals may well have spent most of their lives speaking one language. And where one language is an imposed language of administration, there may, in what appears to be a bilingual society, in fact be two uni-lingual groups.The role of Latin in the Greek-speaking parts of the Empire has now been very capably discussed in a wide-ranging study which does not limit itself to this issue of Latin as an administrative language, but analyses the evidence for its extension beyond the bureaucracy – its teaching in schools, and the (educated) groups who had reasons to be able to speak Latin fluently.[498] The authority of Latin as a written language in the West can be estimated from the early incidence of indigenous languages being written down in the Latin alphabet — but this was merely a transient phenomenon, for in general the indigenous languages remained unwritten, while the élite became literate in Latin.[499]

Writing penetrated into every *vicus* and village of the Roman world. For the *vici* were responsible for keeping lists of their residents, actual and nominal, so that the latter could prove their legal place of residence. This is the implication of the fact that individuals often name their *vicus* in inscriptions; it has been suggested that their right to distributions of *annonae* in cities depended upon this registration.[500] In the new text reforming the festival of Zeus at Dereköy, a public slave named Koros is to be responsible for doing the clerical work involved (Text C, line 17f.): he was either owned by the village — archives in villages are attested elsewhere in Asia Minor — or perhaps more likely by the polis, Tlos, in whose territory the village probably stood.[501] The word used for his activity, *eikonizein*, occurs in several senses in papyri from Egypt, including 'copy from a document' and 'verify someone's identity', but here it evidently means to check the authenticity and contents of documents concerning the ownership of property, a sense which is to be added to the LSJ *Supplement*.

Such lists contained, of course, names, to which we now turn. Several onomastic inventories have been completed, revised or added to during the quinquennium, of which perhaps the most important is the admirable *Onomasticon Provinciarum Europae*

[498] B. Rochette, *Le Latin dans le monde grec. Recherches sur la diffusion de la langue et les lettres latines dans les provinces hellénophones de l'Empire romain*, Coll. Latomus 233 (1997). The topic of the aims and qualities of translations is also treated. A specific case, that of *IEphesos* 2103, which contains a Greek epigram (ll.6–17), followed by the expression in Latin of sanctions against interference with the tomb, is discussed by R. A. Kearsley in Scherrer, op. cit. (n. 83), 77–90 (we are not convinced by the suggested restoration of ll. 1–5 , however). Here the husband was a bureaucrat in the *tabularium*. D. Boïadjiev, *Les relations ethno-linguistiques en Thrace et en Mésie pendant l'époque romaine* (2000), uses linguistic errors in private inscriptions to estimate the degree of Romanization, which will not meet everyone's approval.

[499] A further text written in Lusitanian in Latin characters (second century B.C.) from near Cáceres (*conv. Emeritensis*) to add to the small group already known: M. Almagro-Gorbea *et al.*, *Complutum* 10 (1999), 186 = *AE* 1999: 879; and a funerary in Punic in Latin characters: A. F. Elmayer, *Libya Antiqua* n.s. 4 (1998), 129–33 (the translation is possible rather than probable). Greek in Italy: there are very faint traces of indigenous speakers of Greek around Brundisium, 'in nettissima minoranza': L. Gasparini in M. Lombardo and C. Marangio (eds), *Il territorio brundisino dall'età messapica all'età romana: Atti del IV Convegno, gennaio 1996*, Università di Lecce – Testi e Monumenti 9 (1998), 55–80.

[500] M. Tarpin in Moatti, op. cit. (n. 174), 387–409.

[501] Wörrle and Wurster, op. cit. (n. 362), 414–17. The three people who sign the document, and so guarantee its accuracy, seem to be large local landowners.

Latinarum.[502] It has been argued that names provide a good instrument for the study of Romanization partly because of their structuration (*tria /duo nomina* for citizens and Junian Latins, single names for peregrines), and partly because of the flexibility with which they could be coined on the basis of the indigenous language, using phonetic and semantic associations as springboards. Several contributions to a recent symposium explore this latter theme.[503] Rizakis' *Roman Onomastics* contains a number of essays dealing with similar issues during the late Republic and early Empire. It has been suggested, for example, that at Rhodes prior to the mid-first century A.D. there was some cultural resistance to the assumption of Roman names even by those few individuals with Roman citizenship — indeed their use seems to have been forbidden; although after that date resistance seems to have been abandoned, at least at Kamiros members of the élite tended to use their Greek name for internal affairs, their Roman one only in matters relating to the outside world.[504] *Africa semper aliquid novi affert*, in this case the name Maracutzilus Corocotta.[505] The *cognomen* is indeed attested in Spain; its meaning is given by Pliny the Elder, *HN* 8.107, as a cross between a hyena and an African lioness.

From names to the stones they adorned. One remarkable feature of the entire marble trade is the absence of relevant inscriptions (as opposed to quarry marks). Thus almost nothing is known from epigraphy of the *statio marmorum*, the marble-trade and -workshops in Rome and Ostia, which M. Maischberger has now examined in minute detail.[506] He has deduced that around 2,000 pieces were brought annually to Rome, from half the known quarries, and that, as the Emporium became too crowded towards the end of first century A.D., operations at Portus were stepped up. One key question concerns the extent to which Rome formed the hub of the imperial quarrying operation, which was one of the central assumptions of the Ward-Perkins model, according to which all imperial marble was exported to Rome and then shipped out as required to the provinces. P. Pensabene has analysed over 100 blocks of marble from the bank of the Fiumicino canal, arguing that, as this model requires, they represent the remains of a vast stockpile accumulated by the emperors at Rome.[507] A study of decorative marbles on Crete, on the other hand, has argued that Ward-Perkins' model does not fit the evidence there.[508] Expensive marbles may have been quarried in imperial quarries, but that does not mean that they were all sent to Rome; there seems in fact to have been no obstacle to the importation of such marbles directly from the quarries. And even J. C. Fant, who formerly championed the model, has now tacitly distanced himself from it, suggesting that there was always scarcity of marble and that much of the work of the Roman yards involved repair, cutting-down and making-good damaged columns and veneers. This implies agreement that much of the imperial quarries' production indeed

[502] *Onomasticon*, 2 (1999), 3 (2000) and 4 (2002), by B. Lörincz. O. Salomies, *Arctos* 32 (1998), 197–224, at 218–24, provides addenda and corrigenda to *Repertorium nominum gentilicium et cognominum Latinorum*^{2} (1994), and a list of the commonest *nomina* (pp. 209–18); H. Solin, ibid., 235–51, does the same for the *cognomina*. Also useful: H. Solin, *Die stadtrömischen Sklavennamen. Ein Namenbuch*, Forschungen zur antiken Sklaverei, Beiheft 2 (1996) (which also contains the *cognomina* of freedmen); idem, *Analecta epigraphica 1970–97*, Acta Inst. Rom. Finl. 21 (1998), which contains Solin's collected Notes, mainly onomastic; K. Jongeling, *North African Names from Latin Sources* (1994), missed in our last survey; M. Jiménez Losa, *Revista de estudios extremeños* 53 (1997), 741–66, Latin servile names at Emerita; M. Heil, *ZPE* 119 (1997), 292–6, names on the *instrumentum domesticum* of Rome; M. Abascal Palazón, *Los nombres personales en las inscripciones latinas de Hispania* (1994) is a simple list of *gentilicia* and *cognomina*, together with native names. Greek names: P. M. Fraser and E. Matthews, *LGPN IIIa: The Peloponnese, Western Greece, Sicily and Magna Graecia* (1997); in Dacia: L. Ruscu, *AMusNapoc* 35 (1998), 147–86.

[503] M. Dondin-Payre and M.-Th. Raepsaet-Charlier, *Noms, identités culturelles et romanisation sous le Haute-Empire* (2001); similar approach by Boïadjiev, op. cit. (n. 498), showing the similarity of name-forming patterns across Thrace, Moesia Inferior, and Dacia. Mise au point on the history of the Roman naming system over past two decades: J.-M. Lasserre in Le Bohec and Roman, op. cit. (n. 2), 93–100.

[504] A. Bresson in Rizakis, op. cit. (n. 57), 225–38. The volume contains an index of names (pp. 265–75).

[505] Z. Benzina ben Abdallah, *AntAfr* 32 (1996), 126 no. 30, perhaps from near Limisa, Byzacena.

[506] M. Maischeberger, *Marmor in Rom. Anlieferung, Lager- u. Werkplätze in der Kaiserzeit*, Palilia 1 (1997).

[507] P. Pensabene, *Le vie del marmo* (1994) [1995], cf. idem, *Marmi antichi II* (1998).

[508] S. Paton and R. M. Schneider in A. Chaniotis (ed.), *From Minoan Farmers to Roman Traders*, HABES 29 (1999), 279–304, with a welcome emphasis on the symbolic aspects of its use, the tacit claim to technical achievement and incorporation into an Empire-wide hierarchy of connoisseurship.

went elsewhere than Rome.[509] By contrast with high-quality, exotic marbles, there was virtually no trade in less valuable stone: a study of the inscribed stones in the National Museum of Slovenia shows that the great majority are limestones from quarries adjacent to the various cities: there are only two texts on imported marble, both from Emona.[510]

Those who frequented public baths were among those who could best admire their exotic marbles. G. G. Fagan's study of public bathing contains an important collection of epigraphic texts relating to euergetic gestures by emperors, local magnates and imperial officials, and a list of known public baths in Italy from before A.D. 100. Note the suggestion that bathing was not a leveller, but, as one might expect in a highly stratified society, distinctions between social groups were maintained by informal means.[511] We are familiar with the jostling for status among the intellectuals of the Second Sophistic; and it has been suggested that something similar might be done for the social status of athletes in the Roman Empire.[512] Obvious candidates for such a study would be the pancratiast named 'Helix' who appears on a mosaic in the 'Caupona di Alexander' by the Porta Marina at Ostia, and who is almost certainly the same as the famous athlete Aurelius Helix of the first quarter of the third century A.D. (*PIR*^{2} A1520); another would be his partner on the mosaic, 'Alexander', probably the C. Perelius Aurelios Alexander, *periodonikes*, who obtained from Elagabalus for Thyateira, his home city, the privilege of an isopythia.

Gladiators, charioteers, and the emotions they inspired, were apparently everywhere.[513] A catalogue has appeared of over one hundred (fragmentary) glass vessels found in France decorated with images of them, often named individually or with acclamations.[514] The list from Beroea of gladiators who subscribed to a tomb for Publius, a *summaroudês* (*SEG* 36.595), has been re-edited twice.[515] The meaning of this term has also become clearer: L. Robert's guess that it was calqued on *rudis*, the wooden staff with which gladiators practised, and meant 'senior coach', seems to be confirmed by a new text from Stobi, where the *summaroudês* is also *prostatês tou kollêgiou*. Note also the tombstone of a gladiator at Marcianopolis in Moesia Inferior, whose professional name was 'Polyneikes' — real name Marcianus — which alludes graphically to a severe, but not fatal, wound which caused a wrinkle in his career: ὑπὸ τῆς ἰδίας εἱμαρμένης ἐνοχλήθην, 'I was molested (or perhaps even 'buttonholed') by my doom'.[516] The discovery of a monumental circus of the mid-second century A.D. not far from the forum of Valentia in Spain has prompted a re-evaluation of the significance of *CIL* II^2.14.5 = *IRValent* 5, which records the dedication of a statue of Hercules together with *subsellia*: Hercules is often associated with circuses, and the *subsellia* can now be explained as a group of seats in the circus around the statue.[517] In a display of curious erudition, it has

[509] J. C. Fant, *JRA* 14 (2001), 167–98, on the Portus and Emporium yards. For his earlier position, see e.g. J. C. Fant in R. Francovich (ed.), *Archeologia delle attività estrattive e metallurgiche* (1993), 71–96, at 90–2, with the criticisms of W. V. Harris, in idem, *The Inscribed Economy*, JRA Suppl. 6 (1993), 11–29, at 14–18.

[510] M. Šašel Kos, *Histria Antiqua* 3 (1997), 57–68. There was practically no trade in limestones, except those of the highest freestone quality. A similar pattern in Narbonensis: J.-C. Bessac, *La pierre en Gaule Narbonnaise et les carrières du Bois des Lens (Nîmes)*, JRA Suppl.16 (1996), esp. 60–80 on the extent of diffusion of this limestone, and 266–316 on the organization of production.

[511] G. G. Fagan, *Bathing in Public in the Roman World* (1999).

[512] C. P. Jones, *JRA* 11 (1998), 293–8; Alexander: *TAM* V.1018, cf. Malay, op. cit. (n. 24), 37 no. 20.

[513] M. Fora, Epigrafia anfitheatrale dell'Occidente Romano, IV: Regio Italiae I: Latium, Vetera 11 (1996); M. L. Caldelli and C. Vismara, *Epigrafia anfitheatrale: Gallia Narbonensis, Alpes Maritimae, III Galliae, II Germaniae, Britanniae*, Vetera 14 (2000). Note also M. Fora's useful *I munera gladiatoria in Italia* (1996).

[514] G. Sennequier *et al.*, *Les verres romains à scènes de spectacles trouvés en France* (1998), inspired by B. Rütti, *Die Zirkusbecher der Schweiz* (1988), 135f. No. 85 is to Studiosus, the famous Thracian gladiator of the time of Caius (Pliny, *HN* 11.245); 116f. No.9 depicts four chariots in the circus, with the inscription: *Eutyche va(le), Olympe va(le), [Fare? va(le), P]erix vic(it)*.

[515] See now *IMacedInf., 1: Beroea* (n. 20 above), no. 383; and É. Bouley and N. Proeva in C. Brixhe (ed.), *Poikila epigraphica*, Études d'archéologie classique 9 (1997), 81–7, who, in the new context provided by the text from Stobi, rightly argue that the subscribers at Beroea were the members of a gladiatorial college, and still in service.

[516] A. Angelov *et al.*, *Nikephoros* 9 (1996), 135–44.

[517] A. Ribera i Lacomba, *JRA* 11 (1998), 318–37, at 321. He suggests that the statue may have stood on the *spina*. M. Darder Lisson, *De nominibus equorum circensium: pars occidentis* (1996) is an extraordinarily thorough trawl through all manner of sources, including glass, lead tesserae, and of course the curse tablets (on whose *modus operandi* in the North African and Roman charioteer texts, see: F. Heintz, *JRA* 11 (1998), 337–42).

been noted that Pausanias claims to have seen 'Paeonian bulls' during his stay at Rome (9.21.2) — that is, wisents (*Bos bison*); we know from *AE* 1987: 867 (Montana) that such animals were captured and shipped to Rome in A.D. 147, no doubt for the celebrations of the 900th anniverary of Rome in April 148: which is probably when Pausanias saw them.[518]

We thus pass to less bloody amusements. The first *tibicen* known from Spain is recorded in a first-century A.D. funerary from Emerita, in the unusual form of a herm; these musicians were the lowest-paid members of the privileged entourage of local magistrates (*IIviri* and aediles had one each: *Lex Urson.* §LXII), but were also indispensable performers at sacrifices, funerals, and festivals.[519] The point that Greek festivals existed not merely for high culture but also for simple entertainment has been confirmed by a funerary for a *kinaidologos*, a performer of obscene songs and recitations.[520] Ball-courts, usually constructed within a gymnasium, offered the chance for more or less strenuous exercise: one at Ephesus was donated by a former prytanis.[521]

An unusual funerary from Cyrene records a bachelor *bouleutes* of the city who was also an at least locally-renowned figure painter (*zôgraphos*). He claims not only to have 'added grace to (his) skill by (his) manners' but to have provided Cyrene with the kingly gift of τὰς μακάρων εἰκόνας, images of the gods, or possibly of the high-status dead.[522] Architects too, though they were rarely more than building-site managers, show their good opinion of themselves by their frequent monuments,[523] and, like rhetors, teachers, and doctors, commanded an extensive specialist vocabulary.[524] The absence of the need to command such a vocabulary marked a decisive caesura in social prestige: there are, for example, very few signatures by mosaicists.[525]

Even rhetors and doctors could hardly reckon on beating philosophers at talking, however, and there Diogenes of Oenoanda had the financial resources to make his voice heard above all others. In 1997, eight re-used blocks from his wall were found beneath the surface of the Esplanade, and a further two elsewhere, bringing the total of known

[518] D. Knoepfler, *REG* 112 (1999), 485–509. C. P. Jones in S. E. Alcock *et al.*, *Pausanias. Travels and Memory in Ancient Greece* (2001), 33–9, uses the epigraphy of Olympia to show that the *exegetes* or *periegetes* used by Pausanias were in fact men of high status within the hierarchy of the sacred area. A project for the study of the archaeology of Roman law has begun in Vienna (Austria), led by Prof. P. Pieler, concerned in particular with representations of executions, military and civil, the gesture that accompanied the words *licet antestari* in civil cases (Horace, *Sat.* 1.9.76), and links between Italic and Roman legal institutions: for further information write to peter-pieler@univie.ac.at.

[519] J. C. Saquete Chamizo and A. Velásquez Jiménez, *Anas* 10 (1997), 25–30.

[520] Cabanes, op. cit. (n. 20), no. 226; cf. O. van Nijf, *CR* 49 (1999), 230.

[521] M. Büyükkolancı and H. Engelmann, *ZPE* 120 (1998), 71 no. 8 (*sphair[isterion*) ? first half of first century A.D.; they also note another sun-terrace (*solarion*) on top of a large family tomb, with a staircase and mosaic forecourt, in Ephesos/Colophon (Selçuk), cf. *IEphesos* 1645, 2200b etc.

[522] J. Reynolds and L. Bacchielli, *Libya Antiqua* n.s. 2 (1996), 45–50. See *SEG* 44.1174 for a parallel case of a *grammatikos* who entered the bouleutic class.

[523] M. Donderer, *Die Architekten der späteren Republik und der Kaiserzeit. Epigraphische Zeugnisse*, Erlanger Forschungen, Reihe A: Geisteswissenschaften 69 (1996), with a list of eighty-five Greek and seventy-six Latin texts.

[524] M.-C. Hellmann, *Choix d'inscriptions architecturales grecques traduits et commentées*, TMOM 30 (1999) — an extremely interesting and useful collection, a by-product of her *Recherches sur le vocabulaire de l'architecture grecque. . .* (1992). Another example of the word *concameratio* = vaulting or a room with vaulting, in this case apparently in an Asclepeum at Thurburbo Maius: A. Ben Abed ben Khader in M. Ennaïfer and A. Rebourg (eds), *La mosaïque gréco-romaine, VII.1: VII colloque intern., Tunis, oct. 1994* (1999), 324f. = *AE* 1999: 1825. Words for teachers and rhetoricians in North Africa, mainly from Carthage and the cities of Africa Proconsularis: L. Zerbini, *L'Africa Romana* 11 (1996), 155–62. Doctors: A woman doctor is among some twenty recorded medical personnel, mainly military, in the Germanies: B. Rémy, *REA* 98 (1996), 133–72; a rare *medicus ocularius* in Narbo, with the *cognomen* Aprodisius (sic): M. Christol, *CahiersGlotz* 7 (1996), 313–18; 373.

[525] K. M. D. Dunbabin, *Mosaics of the Greek and Roman World* (1999), also noting how little is known of the organization of workshops. Note also J. Gómez Pallarès, *Edición y comentario de las inscripciones sobre mosaico de Hispania. Inscipciones no cristianas*, Studia archaeologica 87 (1997), covering eighty texts between second and sixth century A.D. (the Cosmogonic mosaic of Mérida is no. BA3 P.59; the Circus mosaic of Barcelona is B4, text p. 50). A good general discussion of the Roman glass-blowing industry by E. M. Stern, *AJA* 103 (1999), 441–84, esp. 454–66 on the structure of the industry; on p. 466, she suggests that Price Edict 16.7–9 (p. 462, table 1) concerns glass for mosaics, with maximum prices per Roman pound for three types, gold leaf: 40d, coloured: 30d, and natural bluish-green: 20d: the prices for utilitarian glass were indeed extremely low.

fragments to 223.[526] The largest new fragment extends our knowledge of the Epicurean view of religion: the wise (*sophoi*) behave morally not because of the gods but because of their own (correct) opinions about pain and death, while ordinary people (*chydaioi*) are induced to act morally not so much by rational understanding as by fear of legal sanction. As for the wicked, they care neither for laws nor for gods. All this is consonant with known Epicurean views, but there follows a startling novelty, the argument that the Jews and the Egyptians provide the clearest indication that the gods cannot prevent wrong-doing, for they are not only the most abominable (or defiled) of mankind (*pantôn . . . miarôtatoi*) but also the most outrageously ritualistic (*pantôn. . . deisidaimonestatoi*) (III.7–IV.2).

Such a view seems to be a late development within Epicurean discourse: the quality of being *miaros* may be linked to circumcision, a custom shared by Jews and Egyptians, which Anaxandrides explicitly opposes to the Greek requirement that priests should be physically entire (ap. Athen., *Deipn.* 7, 299f), but has a wider, moral, connotation, plainly suggested by Apollonius of Tyana's imputed refusal to set foot on Jewish soil because its inhabitants defiled it both by their actions and by their sufferings during the Great Revolt (Philostr., *V.Apoll.* 5.27). It was a double cliché that Egyptian religion — notably the worship of animals — was a form of *dementia* (Cic., *ND* 1.43), and the Egyptians themselves a nation of deceivers (*Div.* 1.132). But in our view Diogenes' choice of Jews and Egyptians as exempla of the futility of religious cult may also be an Epicurean counter to the Stoic, and then Middle Platonist, tendency to regard precisely these two nations as exemplifying the claim that barbarian philosophies contained elements of the true religion of primal times, for the Jews and Egyptians claimed to possess the oldest religions among mankind.[527]

By comparison, the applied learning required to create a sundial may seem insignificant. Two interesting new ones have been published or re-published during the quinquennium. The first is an exceptionally rare eyelet-hole sundial (*skaphè*) of the second to third century A.D., found before the Second World War in a Roman villa at Carthage.[528] This type of sundial is a variant on the spherical type, in that the hours are not indicated by the shadow of a gnomon, but by the movement of a spot of sun-light falling through a small hole in the rim of the 'bowl', which is fixed on its side to a base. The inside of the 'bowl' is marked with twelve hour-lines on one axis and seven declination circles on the other — none of the other twenty-four similar dials have more than three (very occasionally five) such circles, and none is inscribed. Each of the seven circles is marked in Greek with the Latin names of the months, using the Roman calendar. In principle it was possible to read off the day and hour on any sunlit day of the year by peering into the mouth of the 'bowl'. The dial, which resembles a miniaturized version of the Sundial of Augustus but worked on a completely different principle (a shaft of light instead of a gnomon), was evidently constructed empirically by a Greek astronomer for the Latin-speaking owner, which would explain the confusion in the second circle between July and June.

Another extremely rare device from Umbria, comparable only to an example from Prosymna found in 1935 (*SEG* 11.304), served a similar purpose, to give the month and hour, but seems to have worked with a gnomon.[529] It consists of a marble sphere of about 29.3 cm diameter, which was fixed to a base at one 'pole' and oriented in the

[526] M. Ferguson Smith, *AnatSt* 48 (1998), 125–70; cf. idem in M. Erler (ed.), *Epikureismus in der späten Republik und der Kaiserzeit. Akten der 2. Tagung der Abel-Stiftung, Okt. 1998* = Philosophie der Antike 11 (2000), 64–75: three of the Esplanade blocks could not be properly copied. On the debate over the date of Diogenes: idem in K. A. Algra *et al.*, *Lucretius and his Intellectual Background* (1997), 67–78.

[527] cf. G. R. Boys-Stone, *Post-hellenistic Philosophy: a Study of its Development from the Stoics to Origen* (2001), 3–95.

[528] P. Gagnaire, *L'Astronomie* 112 (1998), 179–82, translated in *Bulletin of the British Sundial Society* 11.2 (1999), 87–90, with essential diagrams; cf. S. L. Gibbs, *Greek and Roman Sundials* (1976), using the term 'roofed spherical sundials'. The designers of sundials were called 'architects': cf. M. Donderer, *Epigraphica* 60 (1998), 165–82, on a handful of signatures by such designers and their cutters.

[529] Now in the Museo Piersanti, Matelica. D. Baldini and A. Carusi, 'Il globo di Matelica', *Astronomia* 92 (Oct. 1989), 31–8; F. Azzarita in *Archeologia e Astronomia: Atti del Colloquio intern., Venezia maggio 1989* (= *Rivista di Archeologia*, Suppl. 9) (1991), 96–9 (= *SEG* 42: 908). See now the account, with better readings, by S. M. Marengo, in Paci, op. cit. (n. 28), 161–75. But it is still not wholly clear how it was supposed to work.

proper direction for the latitude of Matilica. The equator is marked round the circumference, with a meridian at right angles to it through the upper 'pole'. Parallel to the equator and somewhat below the pole, runs a line of thirteen equidistant holes each marked with a numeral: its centre-point, where it crosses the meridian, is no. 12; to the left are the numerals 11, 10, 9, 8, 7, 6; to the right 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6. Midway between this sequence and the equator are three concentric circles bisected by the meridian line. This diagram is marked in Greek with the names of the Zodiacal signs, at the top the winter solstice in Capricorn; then the pairs of signs separated by the meridian line; at the bottom the summer solstice in Cancer (this text alone is available at *AE* 1998: 426). Given its small size, it was probably used, like the *skaphè*, in a private house.[530]

A common trope on early-modern sundials is the Senecan thought *mors certa, hora incerta*. Our final topic is death. Accepting Susini's point, with which we began this section, that inscriptions must be understood in the context of the monuments that bear them, how can one move from slogan to practical understanding?[531] In relation to Romano-British funerary monuments, it has been argued that we should read the combined message of text and image as a rhetoric that points up an idealized inversion of actual social situations, just as the tombstone itself is in a sense a defeat of death.[532] Although to erect a votive inscription or a tombstone with an inscription in Latin was to act as a Roman would act, interpretation of their significance as gestures varied in space and time over the Empire. In gross terms, British tombstones are few in number and mainly relate to the military population. This fact, it is suggested, provides a signature: funerary monuments by soldiers in the early years of a unit's residence symbolically assert control over a dominated population; early auxiliary monuments represent the deceased as Roman heroes; later, women's tombstones predominate, asserting in stone relationships that were marginal within the official culture of the army, just as an appeal to stereotyped Roman portrait-types effaced in death all manner of actual differences of culture, status, and attainment. This is interesting and attractive as far as it goes, but one would like to see the idea tested against other, richer, and more numerous groups of monuments — there is no shortage of possible candidates.[533]

The *columbarium* provides a quite different sort of context for funerary texts. Some tentative work has been done on the grouping of the *ollae* (*CIL* VI.6213–6640) in the main chamber of the Sepulcrum Statiliorum in relation to the owners/patrons, particularly M. Statilius Taurus (cos. A.D. 44), and on affective relations within such large slave *familiae* as expressed in funerary epigraphy.[534] Whatever the fate of the majority, some slaves enjoyed close relations with their masters, who saw to their proper obsequies and thus assisted in the social veiling of the institution itself. One recent example is a verse epitaph from Larinum to a youth who died aged sixteen before he

[530] Another new sundial at Sillyon: H.-U. Wiemer, *EpigAnat* 30 (1998), 149–53.

[531] Note here the analysis of the statue of the *archigallus* M. Modius Maximus at Ostia (*ILS* 4162) by M. Beard in C. Auvray-Assayas (ed.), *Images romaines. Actes de la table ronde, École Normale Supérieure, oct. 1996*, Études de littér. ancienne 9 (1998), 3–12, stressing its self-conscious allusiveness.

[532] V. M. Hope, *Britannia* 28 (1997), 245–58.

[533] e.g. D. W. von Moock, *Die figürlichen Grabstelen Attikas in der Kaiserzeit*, Beiträge zur Erschließung hellenist. u. kaiserz. Skulptur 19 (1998) (more than than 570 grave-stelae, some inscribed in Latin); L. Mercando and G. Paci, *Stele romane in Piemonte*, AccadLincei, Mon. ant. 57, Misc. 5 (1998) (splendid); D. Dexheimer, *Oberitalische Grabaltare. Ein Beitrag zur Sepulkralkunst der römischen Kaiserzeit*, BAR Int. ser. 741 (1998); or Y. Freigang, *JRGZ* 44 (1997), 277–440 (eastern Gallia Belgica). Also the numerous contributions to *Antichità altoadriatiche* 43 (1997), devoted to the Atti della XXVI Settimana di Studi Aquileisi edited by M. Mirabella Roberti. Well worth attention is the interesting analysis of the 'Kultur- und Mentalitätsgeschichte' of the class who invested in Muse and philosopher sarcophagi by B. C. Ewald, *Der Philosoph als Leitbild: Ikonographische Untersuchungen an römischen Sarkophagreliefs*, MDAI(R), Ergänzungsheft 34 (1999).

[534] M. L. Caldelli and C. Ricci, *Monumentum familiae Statiliorum. Un riesame*, Libitina 1 (1999). Of the rooms in this monument, only the central chamber N counts as a *columbarium*; chambers O and P were more like family tombs, and burials were also made in the floor; cf. the same authors' earlier study of the marble stoppers for the *loculi*: *Scienze dell'Antichità* 8–9 (1994–5)[1997], 295–322. D. Manacorda in *XI Congresso* (n. 6 above), 2, 249–61, has found suggestive evidence in the State Archives which throws some light on the original state of *columbarium* II of the Vigna Codini (Sepulcrum Familiae Marcellae, in use from A.D. 10 by slaves of the imperial family and related aristocratic houses) before Henzen's rearrangements for *CIL* VI.4414–4880. Affective relations, as expressed in the inscriptions from *columbarium* III of the Vigna (*CIL* VI.5179–5538): L. Parri, *Atene&Roma* 43 (1998), 51–60.

could be freed.[535] It partly takes the form of a series of questions and answers between the grieving *dominus*, Orestinus, and the beloved dead slave, Hymnus:

O.: *Libertas promissa fuit.* H.: *Scio.* O.: *Morte perempta est.* H. *Sentio* . . .

The remainder is interesting for the contrast between the owner's literary allusions (Vergil, Ovid) and the slave's simple, direct verbs of perception and feeling.[536] The condescension here is doubtless unintentional, but it was difficult for an owner to elude the inherent inequality of the master-slave relationship even if he or she wished to; and, as the salute to a *genius patroni* from Turiaso (Hispania Citerior) suggests, slaves and freedmen learned to be obligingly reverent.[537]

If one could afford it, a funerary inscription offered the opportunity to deliver one's own funeral oration to passers-by. Although the puzzles surrounding the well-known inscription of Ptolemaios, also called Agrios, at Panopolis in Egypt will probably never be fully resolved — is there a recognizable sequence between the four poems? — a recent discussion has suggested that it should be understood as a funerary oration in verse (it is on a square stele 1.33 m high, which must have stood on a base, so that it could have plausibly been placed in front of a tomb; and it has a frieze of canopic jars), and that, though no specific date can be proposed, the *terminus post quem* is the end of the Julio-Claudian period.[538] It was however more discreet to express a hope of ending up, with the heroes of yesteryear, in the Isles of the Blessed.[539] For local magnates, the tricky moment might be the funeral itself: in one or two cases in Asia Minor, the crowd actually clashed with the city authorities or prominent families over funerals of the recently deceased; the populace might demand a public funeral — even one within the city walls — as a mark of respect and affection, in one affair even interrupting the procession and snatching the corpse; in others it tried to put pressure on the family to obtain popular gratifications such as gladiatorial games (cf. Suet., *Tib.* 37.3).[540] Lower down the social scale, two garrulous epitaphs for members of the Sulpicii at Sidi Mohammed Lazrag (Africa Proconsularis) convey in a lively manner the affectionate relations of this extended family and the dominant role of its women (late second–early third century A.D.).[541]

We shall end on a double note of bathos. On his estate outside Cyrene a master buried his hunting dog, whose high-sounding name Tyrannos ('Rex') contrasts incongruously with its hard labour, [πο]λλὰ πονήσας. One imagines a handsome animal,

[535] M. Buonocore, *Aufidus* 31 (1997), 72–7 (=*AE* 1997: 362), to be preferred over F. Nasti, *Epigraphica* 60 (1998), 242–53. The catechistic mode is merely a plausible hypothesis, which ignores the lay-out on the stone. The slave Phrixus was luckier, whose master from Arausio, dying at age seventeen in Rome, perhaps as a student, freed him: V. Faure *et al.*, *RANarbonne* 32 (1999), 21–30 (though there are unresolved problems here in relation to the stipulations of the Lex Aelia Sentia, cf. P. R. Weaver in Rawson and Weaver, op. cit. (n. 389), 55–72).

[536] That poets are cited in funerary texts from memory, becoming 'living texts', is affirmed by J. Siat, *Ktema* 21 (1996), 321–42. Note also N. Criniti (ed.), *'Lege nunc viator': Vita e morte nei carmina Latina epigraphica della Padania centrale* (1996), containing commentary on twelve already-known verse epitaphs.

[537] J. A. García Serrano, *Turiaso* 14 (1997/8), 12f. = *AE* 1997: 935; cf. the list of dedications from Italy to the *genius* of living non-imperials in Gradel, op. cit. (n. 311), 372f., which seems to suggest that it is mainly, though by no means exclusively, a North Italian phenomenon. Prestige in death could also be heaped up: the word χωματικόν, familiar in Egypt as the word for the dyke-repair tax and in reference to similar matters, has turned up in a funerary from near Philippopolis in Thrace in the sense 'funeral mound': *IGBulg* V.5475.

[538] *É. Bernand, IMétriques* 114; L. Criscuolo in *Epigraphai: Miscellanea . . . L. Gasperini* (2000), 275–90; cf. idem in A. Egberts *et al.* (eds), *Perspectives on Panopolis: Acts of Symposium, Leiden Dec. 1998*, P.Lug. Bat. 31 (2002), 55–69 (includes list of Panopolite inscriptions).

[539] A grave epigram from Patara, possibly by a member of the family of the sophist Polemon of Laodicaea, the pupil of Dio of Prusa, mentions the Isles of the Blessed: S. Şahin, *EpigAnat* 31 (1999), 49 no. 16, cf. *IGR* IV.1579 (Teos); Kaibel, *EpGr* 648 etc., with M. D. Campanile in B. Virgilio (ed.), *Studi ellenistici* 12 (1999), 269–315.

[540] The theft of the corpse of Tatia Attalis at Aphrodisias (first half of second century A.D.): J. M. Reynolds and C. Roueché, *Ktema* (1992) [1996], 153–60 = Bullép. 1997: 523 (a text originally published by Th. Reinach in 1906, of which a second block has been located), with comments by C. P. Jones, *PAmPhilSoc* 143 (1999), 588–600. Testamentary dispositions might avoid such bother: *IIt* X 5.817 records a testamentary gift of an extensive piece of land near Brixia to finance a festival in the donor's honour at three popular feasts, Rosalia, Vindemiae, and the Parentalia: re-edition by L. Gasperini in C. Stella and A. Valvo (eds), *Studi A. Garzetti*, Comment. dell'Ateneo di Brixia, Suppl. (1996), 183–99.

[541] Z. Benzina ben Abdallah and M. Khanoussi, *Africa Romana* 12 (1998), 1057–66 nos 2f.

an antique Weimeraner perhaps, or a setter. Above the text, however, is a picture of the dog: short-legged and long-bodied — a dachshund.[542] *Eruditio timorem creat.*

Newnham College, Cambridge (J.R.)
Munich (R.G.)

jmr38@cam.ac.uk
michra@gmx.de

This paper is published with the aid of generous grants from the British Academy, the Craven Fund of Oxford University and the Jowett Copyright Trust

CODA

This is to be the last of the epigraphic surveys undertaken by the present small team and in the present format. Several factors contribute to the decision. I can no longer contribute as I would wish; the increase in the volume of publication renders adequate coverage difficult; no individual can now feel competent to judge specialist discussions in many languages in widely divergent fields. This may mean change but it will not mean the end of reviews of the epigraphic contribution to Roman Studies. The Journal remains committed to them; and a new team has been commissioned to consider the period 2001–5.

The first essay in this series was published in 1961 and attempted a survey of epigraphic studies in the fifty years of the Roman Society's life; the first of the approximately quinquennial series appeared in 1966. The letters in which they were commissioned are lost, but in any case it was discussion with the editor, Martin Frederiksen, himself seriously interested in epigraphy, that determined the design. Marcus Tod had been doing something of the kind for the Greek world in *JHS*; we aimed at being a little less formal for *JRS*, to catch the eye of readers responsive to the idea of new documents, both Latin and Greek, that would illuminate Roman studies, but lacking the time to wade through the specialist publications and hunt them out for themselves; and in any case the hunting-grounds of *L'Année Épigraphique* and *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum* gave markedly less coverage then than they do today. Naturally in view of our personal interests we both thought of Roman studies as primarily historical, but social as much as political. I have tried to keep in mind that the term is much broader than that, but have certainly not done justice to the contribution of inscriptions to other aspects, notably the literary and linguistic. The new *Bulletin Épigraphique* and *L'Année Épigraphique* are beginning to provide some remedies here; but there is certainly more to be done to bring out these other aspects.

I do not know if the eyes we aimed at were caught; the readers who have most commonly identified themselves to me have been academics, all over the world, working in universities with limited library facilities; their support, with gifts of offprints, notices of omissions and errors, complaints when the survey has been late, is something for which I have been very grateful.

In the sixties it was possible for one person to read a reasonably full coverage of epigraphic publications as they issued, while engaged in regular teaching commitments – at least if they could visit European libraries in vacations, attend European colloquia and receive from others, as I did, especially from Martin Frederiksen and Sir Ronald Syme, a supply of titbits that they had come upon in their own travels. But the volume of publication has increased. By 1981 it was clear that a team was desirable, and it is now obvious that a larger one is necessary if a fair account of the epigraphic contribution to Roman studies is to be put before readers at regular intervals.

There have been other changes. Epigraphists have become more organized. The first post-War international congress of Greek and Roman Epigraphy held in 1952 was only the second in the whole series. Since then congresses have occurred every five years (more or less), attracting ever increasing numbers. In 1977, on the initiative of the Bulgarian epigraphist Georgi Mihailov, an international society was founded — AIEGL — an increasingly useful sponsor of activity, currently for instance in the development of standard guidelines for electronic records of inscriptions; and it now has a prize to offer for the encouragement of young scholars in the field. After a gap, there followed a series of national societies affiliated to it, which can provide additional opportunities for

[542] C. Dobias-Lalou and R. A. Gwaider, *Libya Antiqua* n.s. 3 (1997), 25–30 at 28 no. 5.

discussion of all inscriptions (not simply, as some have mistakenly supposed, of the inscriptions found within their national borders). The British society was founded in 1996 and enjoys a vigorous life – all the more so (in my opinion) as some of its meetings have introduced speakers working on inscriptions other than Greek and Latin, whose problems — and solutions — can be illuminating; and of course in this connection we should also remember the establishment of the Oxford Centre for the Study of Ancient Documents which has an active epigraphic component.

Partly, but not only, in the context of these organizations it is not surprising that there has been some discussion of how inscriptions on stone were planned and created, of what is the proper range of inscriptions to include in corpora (everything written on comparatively durable material in my view, since *instrumentum domesticum*, masons' and quarry marks, graffiti etc., not to mention fragments of largely lost texts, all have something to add to our understanding of the society from which they came); in addition thought about what epigraphists are. They are, of course, Januses, although the two faces are less often joined than is desirable. Obviously, with one they work in the field, find and confront texts inscribed on comparatively long-lived materials, record them by photography and/or squeezes, transcribe them, interpret them and attempt to restore them when they are damaged; the other they use in libraries where their interest may be essentially in the printed version of an inscription, which they may reinterpret and/or use as new evidence in their own writing on whatever field of classical studies is their speciality. When it comes to joining epigraphic societies and attending epigraphic congresses both are represented – but the second greatly outnumber the first, so that you might often think that you were at a meeting essentially of classical historians with a few 'near archaeologists' thrown in. It is not that I think that this matters at all — but I wish that it could be accepted more fully that those who are going to argue from an inscribed text need to appreciate the techniques used to produce the first published version; also that all of us could be more fully conscious than we sometimes seem to be that a restored text, however well founded on the standard formulae in use in many comparable inscriptions, cannot be 100 per cent certain. These, like the initial techniques used in the field, are things that need teaching; and epigraphic courses are rarer than they were, or deplorably curtailed.

At the same time, I think it is fair to add that the quality of what is seen to be desirable in the publication of a text has risen over the past forty years. In the sixties Latin epigraphists were already looking perceptively for aspects of public life to be seen in the texts, influenced thereto by leading Roman historians (Sir Ronald Syme for instance) and have now taken that habit further and included other matters; Greek epigraphists were increasingly driven by Professor Louis Robert to explore the meaning of a text after consideration of its monumental and geographical context, and its literary and linguistic features as well as its historical ones, drawing for light on as wide a range as possible of ancient writing, including papyrological and numismatic sources. Something of that influence has rubbed off on Latinists too. It set very high standards of classical scholarship, difficult for many to attain even at the time. With the widespread reduction in the reading of Greek and Latin authors as a result of changes in school curricula, it is inevitable that fewer scholars than ever can easily come near to it – though I am clear that it is not none. There are a number of young and promising epigraphists about, giving texts the benefit of keen interest and acute intelligence; and the comparative ease with which epigraphic parallels can be sought and literary usages discovered via the computer is providing, and is going to provide more of, a kind of compensation for the learning of the past. I am computer-illiterate, hate consultation of the screen but am forced to see that it is useful in this way; and I go one further in the matter of the full illustration without exorbitant extra cost that it allows. Here is something that will bring home to the student in the library the possibility of learning important things about an inscription from the way it looks and from its monumental context. It is already beginning to offer the possibility of some precision to the assessment of letter-forms and layout on which we so often rely in order to date texts; I do not think that this will ever be a wholly sure basis for dating – but it can be a better one than we have at present; and often it is all that is available for locating a text in time.

Most of us now take it as axiomatic that it is necessary to publish with as full a commentary as possible all the new texts that come our way, whatever their context (even if we are, too often, slower than is desirable about some of them). Consequently the questions that epigraphists are addressing are in a large measure dictated by what texts are found – so, for instance, there seems to me no reduction in the number of discussions of traditional aspects of prosopography or of administration by Rome or in cities throughout the Roman Empire for example. The emphases may sometimes be shifted for a while when a new interest is aroused by a particular new text (as a new inscription from Aphrodisias concerned with a Jewish community and its 'god-fearing' associates was in part the generator of new interest in the Jewish Diaspora; or just now as the *senatus consultum de Cn. Pisone patre* is affecting the questions we ask); but the main impulses to new approaches come from the historians, as they ask new questions and increasingly discuss such matters as the position of women, the food-supply, life expectancy in the ancient world, or, latterly, the reasons for the epigraphic

habit in the Roman world and the issue of literacy. The epigraphists have then added these themes to those on which they seek evidence in the new inscriptions that they publish.

In conclusion, while finding new inscriptions in the field has always been, for me, one of the highlights of an academic life, trying to find out as much as I can of what a new text means runs it very close; and involvement in these quinquennial surveys, which has brought me into touch with the work and achievements of many other epigraphists, has been a highlight too. I am filled with a renewed sense of gratitude to Martin Frederiksen, to a patient publications committee and to the Roman Society as a whole; and I do not want to forget either how much I – and the readers – owe to the members of the team, to Mary Beard, Richard Gordon, Charlotte Roueché and, briefly, Richard Duncan-Jones; it has been fun to work – and sometimes to disagree – with them; but I expect to continue these connections, if less formally. And I hope that the team which will take over and reshape the enterprise will have as much delight in it as I have had in this series.

JOYCE REYNOLDS