

EDITED BY

CHRISTER

BRUUN

JONATHAN

EDMONDSON



≡ The Oxford Handbook of
ROMAN
EPIGRAPHY

THE OXFORD HANDBOOK OF

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and

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PREFACE

INSCRIPTIONS are important for anyone interested in the Roman world and Roman culture, whether they regard themselves as literary scholars, historians, archaeologists, anthropologists, religious scholars or work in a field that touches on the Roman world from c. 500 BCE to 500 CE and beyond. The two editors of this Handbook and most of the contributors are Roman historians, but the content is intended for a much wider audience than just historians. We have worked on this book inspired by the belief that anyone will benefit in their research or studies from knowing what inscriptions have to offer.

Classicists in the anglophone world study ancient inscriptions to a lesser degree than do scholars working in the other major European traditions. There are many reasons for this situation. To name just one, only in the United Kingdom, among English-speaking countries, are Roman inscriptions part of local and national history. In contrast, all around the Mediterranean and in large parts of Central Europe, Roman inscriptions can be found in the local museum, inscribed potsherds can turn up when digging the foundations for a new school, and a favourite uncle may sport a fragmentary Latin text above the fireplace in his living-room. Inscriptions are physically present in a way that they are not, for instance, in North America outside a few major museum collections such as those in New York, Boston, Los Angeles, San Antonio, Montreal, or Toronto.

A major goal of our endeavour is to show why inscriptions matter. Equally important is a desire to demonstrate to classicists and ancient historians, their graduate students, and advanced undergraduates how scholars can work with epigraphic sources. A number of important principles underpin this entire work:

- The phrase “Roman epigraphy” in the title of this Oxford Handbook was the result of a deliberate choice. We prefer “Roman” over “Latin,” since it is our hope that this volume can serve Roman studies in general. Many inscriptions important for understanding Roman culture are in Greek, and this aspect is neglected if one limits oneself to Latin epigraphy. We have not refrained from including a number of Greek inscriptions, although it has been impossible to dedicate an equal amount of attention to the epigraphy of Greek texts as to the field of Latin inscriptions. For a complete understanding of the traditions and conventions of Greek epigraphy, readers will still need to consult works such as Margherita Guarducci’s masterly four-volume handbook, *Epigrafia greca* (Rome 1967–78) or A.G. Woodhead’s briefer *The Study of Greek Inscriptions* (2nd ed., Cambridge 1981).

- Roman epigraphy is a truly international scholarly field and this is reflected both in the background of our contributors and in the scholarly literature cited in the various chapters. Roman studies is a polyglot enterprise and cutting-edge scholarship continues to be published in several other languages besides English, in particular in French, German, Italian, and Spanish.
- We hope that every reader will benefit from the Handbook, but it is aimed less at the “militant epigrapher” than at Roman students and scholars interested in the Roman world in general. By “militant epigrapher,” we mean someone fortunate enough to be part of a project that has permission to publish a newly discovered text, or someone who is entrusted with the republication of previously found inscriptions. We expect few of our readers to be asking a museum for permission to take a squeeze of one of its inscriptions, although we will be among the first to congratulate anyone who does so. Yet, in order to carry out such hands-on work competently, the militant epigrapher will have taken specialized university courses, will have served an apprenticeship in the field, and will consult the standard epigraphic manuals that provide much more technical detail and specialized discussion than was possible and meaningful to include here.

It was with these goals in mind that we decided to structure the contents as we have done. Many epigraphic manuals place a major emphasis on typology. The classification of inscriptions according to type (such as epitaphs, dedications, or honorific inscriptions) and subtype (for instance, senatorial epitaphs, military epitaphs, verse epitaphs) constitutes a clear and straightforward method, and it is indeed important to be aware of the typology of Roman inscriptions. A chapter on this topic (Ch. 6) is to be found in the first of the three main parts of this Handbook, which are, in general, structured thematically. Part I is devoted to a historiographic overview of the development of epigraphy as a discipline and to broad general methodological questions such as how to edit and date an inscription. It also seeks to provide guidance about the main epigraphic publications, both in print and in digital form (Chs. 1–5). Part II emphasizes that inscriptions should be considered as physical artifacts rather than just texts, and looks at the place of such inscribed monuments and objects—of what has been known since Ramsey MacMullen’s coinage of the term in 1982 as the “epigraphic habit”—within Roman society, including a brief exploration of how texts were carved and could be obtained (Chs. 6–8).

Part III considers the importance of inscriptions for our understanding of many aspects of the Roman world. It begins by considering Roman public life from the early Republic to Late Antiquity (Chs. 9–18). This section focuses in particular on the Roman state, its government, and its hierarchical structures. After a discussion of Republican epigraphy (Ch. 9), it then provides detailed coverage of the imperial period. From an analysis of how Roman emperors and the imperial family can be studied in inscriptions (Ch. 10), the treatment moves via senators and *equites Romani* to the local elites of Italy and the provinces in the West and the East (Chs. 11–13), and then focuses structurally on Roman government, lawgiving and legal matters, and the Roman army before

considering how inscriptions contribute to our knowledge of military and political events in Roman history (Chs. 14–17). The final chapter surveys some of distinctive features of the epigraphy (both Latin and Greek) of the late antique world (Ch. 18).

The next section considers how Roman inscriptions are useful for the study of religious matters, looking separately at Rome and Italy, the Roman provinces, and so-called Christian epigraphy (Chs. 19–21). Inscriptions are just as valuable for throwing light on social and economic history, as chapters on the city of Rome, social life in town and country, euergetism, spectacle, the family, women, slaves, death and burial, travel, and economic life demonstrate (Chs. 22–31). The chapters in the concluding section (Chs. 32–35) explore the spread of some of the many languages spoken and inscribed across the Roman world, the various levels and types of Latin found in these, not least verse inscriptions, and the general issue of what they can reveal about literacy. They demonstrate how our understanding of some key aspects of the culture of the Roman Empire can be enhanced by the use of epigraphic evidence.

Cross-references between chapters abound, and we are much obliged to our contributors, who have gracefully agreed to having their texts, footnotes, and bibliographies abbreviated, sometimes considerably, by the insertion of cross-references to other chapters where the same or similar material is discussed or illustrated. As a result, the volume is intended to be used as an integrated whole, and the various chapters support each other.

For their help in making this Handbook possible, there are many individuals and institutions we wish to thank. Pride of place must go to Oxford University Press, in the persons of the Classics Editor Stefan Vranka and his assistant Sarah Pirovitz, for their unstinting support, wise counsel, and patience, and to Jayanthi Bhaskar and all her team at Newgen Knowledge Works in Chennai for their efficiency in the production phase. For their help in providing illustrations, we are very grateful to all the museums, institutions, and individuals who have provided images. Many other individuals have assisted us in a variety of ways since the inception of the project: Juan Manuel Abascal, José María Álvarez Martínez, Mariarosaria Barbera, Silvia Bartoli, Andreas Bendlin, Fabrizio Bisconti, John Bodel, László Borhy, Marco Buonocore, Antonio Caballos, Giuseppe Camodeca, Angela Carbonara, Teresa Elena Cinquantaquattro, Simon Corcoran, Dóra Csordás, Francesco D’Andria, Nora Dimitrova, Ivan Di Stefano Manzella, Angela Donati, Claude Eilers, Denis Feissel, Luigi Fozzati, Rosanna Friggeri, Filippo Maria Gambari, Michele George, Helena Gimeno, Alessandra Giovenco, Gian Luca Gregori, Jürgen Hammerstaedt, Ortolf Harl, Anne Heller, Lawrence Keppie, Robert Knapp, Michael Kunst, Orsolya Láng, Alma Serena Lucianelli, María Ángeles Magallón, Mario Edoardo Minoja, Stephen Mitchell, Zsolt Mráv, Graham Nisbet, Simo Öрма, Father Justinus Pagnamenta, Antonio Paolucci, Claudio Parisi Presicce, Mauricio Pastor, Andrea Pessina, Ambrogio M. Piazzoni, José Remesal, Tullia Ritti, Charlotte Roueché, Valeria Sampaolo, Robbi Siegel, Thomas Schattner, Manfred Schmidt, Christopher Smith, Heikki Solin, Vassiliki Stamatopoulou, Chris Sutherns, Lyudmil Vagalinski, Juan Valadés Sierra, Alain Vernhet, Agata Villa, Roger Wilson, Michel Zink, and Paula Zsidi. We are also grateful for various research assistants

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Last but not least, in fact most of all, we wish to express our sincere gratitude to all our contributors who worked so hard, assisted in various ways in finding illustrations and in acquiring the required permissions to publish them, and patiently waited for the volume to appear. We have learned much in the editing of this volume and we trust that it will prove useful to readers.

*Christer Bruun
Jonathan Edmondson
Toronto*

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ABAW	Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse
Acta IRF	Acta Instituti Romani Finlandiae
AE	<i>L'Année Epigraphique</i>
AEspA	<i>Archivo español de Arqueología</i>
AHB	<i>The Ancient History Bulletin</i>
AHR	<i>The American Historical Review</i>
AIEGL	Association Internationale d'Epigraphie Grecque et Latine
AIRRS	Acta Instituti Romani Regni Sueciae
AJAH	<i>American Journal of Ancient History</i>
AJPh	<i>American Journal of Philology</i>
ala2004	<i>Aphrodisias in Late Antiquity</i> (digital version: cf. Appendix VII)
AM	<i>Athenische Mitteilungen</i>
AnatStud	<i>Anatolian Studies</i>
AncSoc	<i>Ancient Society</i>
AnnalesESC	<i>Annales: Economies, Sociétés, Civilisations</i>
AnnalesHSS	<i>Annales: Histoire, Sciences Sociales</i>
ANRW	<i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt</i> , eds. H. Temporini and W. Haase. Berlin and New York 1972–
AntAfr	<i>Antiquités Africaines</i>
AntClass	<i>L'Antiquité Classique</i>
AntTard	<i>Antiquité Tardive</i>
ArchClass	<i>Archeologia Classica</i>
ArchLaz	<i>Archeologia Laziale</i>
ARID	<i>Analecta Romana Instituti Danici</i>
ASNP	<i>Annali della Scuola Normale di Pisa</i>
ASRSP	<i>Archivio della Società Romana di Storia Patria</i>
BAR Brit. S.	British Archaeological Reports British Series
BAR Int. S.	British Archaeological Reports International Series
BAV	Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana
BCAR	<i>Bullettino Comunale Archeologico di Roma</i>
BCH	<i>Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique</i>
BEFAR	Bibliothèque des Ecoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome
BICS	<i>Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies</i>

BIFAO	<i>Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale</i>
BJ	<i>Bonner Jahrbücher</i>
BMCR	<i>Bryn Mawr Classical Review</i>
BMCRE	<i>Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum</i> , ed. H. Mattingly et al. London 1923–
BollArch	<i>Bollettino di archeologia</i>
Bull.ép.	<i>Bulletin épigraphique</i> (published annually in REG)
CAH	<i>The Cambridge Ancient History</i>
CCET	<i>Corpus cultus equitis Thracii</i> . 4 vols. Leiden 1978–84
CCGG	<i>Cahiers du Centre Gustave Glotz</i>
CEFR	Collection de l'École française de Rome
CFA	<i>Commentarii fratrum Arvalium</i> , ed. J. Scheid. Rome 1998
CIE	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Etruscarum</i> . Leipzig, Florence, Rome 1893–
CIG	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum</i> , ed. A. Boeckh. 4 vols. Berlin 1828–43
CIIP	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Iudaeae/Palaestinae</i> , eds. H.M. Cotton et al. Berlin 2010–
CIJ	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Judaicarum</i> , ed. J.B. Frey. 2 vols. Vatican City 1936–52
CIL	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i> . Berlin 1863–
CILA	<i>Corpus de inscripciones latinas de Andalucía</i> . Seville 1989–
CIMRM	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum et Monumentorum Religionis Mithriacae</i> , ed. M.J. Vermaseren. 2 vols. The Hague 1956–60
CIRG	<i>Corpus de inscripciones romanas de Galicia</i> . Santiago de Compostela 1991–
CJ	<i>Classical Journal</i>
ClAnt	<i>Classical Antiquity</i>
CLE	<i>Carmina Latina Epigraphica</i>
CommHumLitt	Commentationes Humanarum Litterarum
CPh	<i>Classical Philology</i>
CQ	<i>Classical Quarterly</i>
CR	<i>Classical Review</i>
CRAI	<i>Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres</i>
CRRS	<i>Corpus der römischen Rechtsquellen zur antiken Sklaverei</i> , eds. T.J. Chiussi, J. Filip-Fröschl, and J.M. Rainer. Stuttgart 1999–
CSCA	<i>California Studies in Classical Antiquity</i>
CTh	<i>Codex Theodosianus</i>
DialArch	<i>Dialoghi di Archeologia</i>
DizEpig	<i>Dizionario Epigrafico di antichità romane</i> , ed. E. de Ruggiero. Rome 1895–
EAOR	<i>Epigrafia anfiteatrale dell'Occidente romano</i> , eds. P. Sabbatini Tumolesi, G.L. Gregori. Rome 1988–
EDB	<i>Epigraphic Database Bari</i>

EDCS	<i>Epigraphic Database Clauss-Slaby</i>
EDH	<i>Epigraphische Datenbank Heidelberg</i>
EDR	<i>Epigraphic Database Roma</i>
ELRH	<i>Epigrafía latina republicana de Hispania</i> , ed. B. Díaz Ariño. Barcelona 2008
EOS	<i>Epigrafia e ordine senatorio: Atti del Colloquio internazionale AIEGL</i> . 2 vols. Rome 1982
EphEp	<i>Ephemeris Epigraphica</i>
EpigAnat	<i>Epigraphica Anatolica</i>
EPRO	Etudes préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'empire romain
ERAvila	<i>Epigrafía romana de Ávila</i> , ed. M. Hernando Sobrino. Bordeaux and Madrid 2005
ET	<i>Etruskische Texte: editio minor</i> , eds. H. Rix et al. Tübingen 1991
FaS	Forschungen zur antiken Sklaverei
FD	<i>Fouilles de Delphes III. Epigraphie</i> , Paris 1909–85
FIRA	<i>Fontes iuris Romani anteiustiniani</i> , eds. F. Riccobono and V. Arangio Ruiz. 3 vols. 2nd ed. Florence 1940–43
GDI	<i>Sammlung der griechischen Dialekt-Inschriften</i> , eds. H. Collitz et al. 4 vols. Göttingen 1884–1915
Glad. paria	<i>Gladiatorum paria. Annunci di spettacoli gladiatorii a Pompei</i> , ed. P. Sabbatini Tumolesi. Rome 1980
GLIAnkara	<i>The Greek and Latin Inscriptions of Ankara (Ancyra)</i> , eds. S. Mitchell and D. French. <i>Vestigia</i> 62. Munich 2012–
G&R	<i>Greece and Rome</i>
GRBS	<i>Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies</i>
HAE	<i>Hispania Antiqua Epigraphica</i>
HEp	<i>Hispania Epigraphica</i>
HSCPh	<i>Harvard Studies in Classical Philology</i>
IAM	<i>Inscriptions antiques du Maroc</i> . 2 vols. Paris 1966–2003
I Aph2007	<i>Inscriptions of Aphrodisias</i> (digital version: cf. Appendix VII)
I.Aquileia	<i>Inscriptiones Aquileiae</i> , ed. J.B. Brusin. 3 vols. Udine 1991–93
I.Beroia	<i>Επιγραφές Κάτω Μακεδονίας 1. Επιγραφές Βέροιας</i> , eds. L. Gounaropoulou and M.B. Hatzopoulos. Athens 1998
ICERV	<i>Inscripciones cristianas de la España romana y visigoda</i> , ed. J. Vives. Barcelona 1969
ICI	<i>Inscriptiones Christianae Italiae septimo saeculo antiquiores</i> . Bari 1985–
ICO	<i>Le iscrizioni fenicie e puniche delle colonie in Occidente</i> , ed. M.G. Guzzo Amadasi. Rome 1967
ICUR	<i>Inscriptiones Christianae Urbis Romae. Nova series</i> , eds. A. Silvagni, A. Ferrua, et al. Rome 1922–
I.Didyma	<i>Didyma II. Die Inschriften</i> , ed. A. Rehm. Berlin 1958
IDR	<i>Inscriptiones Daciae Romanae</i> , eds. I.I. Russo et al. Bucarest 1975–

- I.Ephesos* *Die Inschriften von Ephesos*, eds. H. Wankel et al. Bonn 1979–84 (IK 11–17)
- IG* *Inscriptiones Graecae*. Berlin 1903–
- IGBulg* *Inscriptiones Graecae in Bulgaria repertae*, ed. G. Mihailov. Sofia 1958–97
- IGI* *Iscrizioni Greche d'Italia*. Rome 1984–
- IGLNovae* *Inscriptions grecques et latines de Novae (Mésie inférieure)*, eds. J. Kolendo and V. Božilova. Bordeaux 1997
- IGLS* *Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie*. Paris 1929–
- IGRR* *Inscriptiones Graecae ad res romanas pertinentes*, ed. R. Cagnat. 3 vols. Paris 1906–27
- IGUR* *Inscriptiones Graecae Urbis Romae*, ed. L. Moretti. 4 vols. Rome 1968–90
- IHC* *Inscriptiones Hispaniae Christianae*, ed. E. Hübner. Berlin 1871–1900
- I.Iasos* *Die Inschriften von Iasos*, ed. W. Blümel. 2 vols. Bonn 1985 (IK 28.1–2)
- IJO* *Inscriptiones Judaicae Orientis*, ed. W. Ameling. 3 vols. Tübingen 2004
- IK* Inschriften griechischer Städte Kleinasiens
- I.Knidos* *Die Inschriften von Knidos*, ed. W. Blümel. Bonn 1992– (IK 41)
- I.Köln* *Die römischen Steininschriften aus Köln*, eds. B. and H. Galsterer, Cologne 1975
- I.Kyme* *Die Inschriften von Kyme*, ed. H. Engelmann. Bonn 1976 (IK 5)
- ILA* *Inscriptions latines d'Aquitaine*. Bordeaux 1991–
- IL Afr* *Inscriptions latines d'Afrique*, eds. R. Cagnat, A. Merlin, and L. Chatelain. Paris 1923
- ILAlg* *Inscriptions latines d'Algérie*, eds. S. Gsell and H.-G. Pflaum. Paris, Algiers 1922–2003
- ILB²* *Nouveau recueil des inscriptions latines de Belgique*, eds. A. Deman and M.-T. Raepsaet Charlier. Brussels 2002
- ILCV* *Inscriptiones Latinae Christianae Veteres*, ed. E. Diehl. 4 vols. Berlin 1925–67
- ILJug* *Inscriptiones Latinae quae in Iugoslavia . . . repertae et editae sunt*, eds. A. and J. Šašel. 3 vols., Ljubljana 1963–86
- ILLPRON* *Inscriptiones lapidariarum Latinarum provinciae Norici*, ed. M. Hainzmann. Berlin 1986–
- ILLRP* *Inscriptiones Latinae liberae rei publicae*, ed. A. Degrassi. 2 vols. Florence 1957–63
- ILLRP-S* “Inscriptiones Latinae liberae rei publicae” in *Epigrafia. Actes du colloque international d'épigraphie latine en mémoire de Attilio Degrassi*, ed. S. Panciera, 241–491. CEFR 143. Rome 1991
- ILMN* *Catalogo delle Iscrizioni Latine del Museo di Napoli*, eds. G. Camodeca, H. Solin, et al. Naples 2000–
- ILN* *Inscriptions latines de Narbonnaise*. Paris 1985–

- ILPBardo *Catalogue des inscriptions latines païennes du musée du Bardo*, ed. Z.B. Ben Abdallah. CEFR 92. Rome 1986
- ILS *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, ed. H. Dessau. Berlin 1892–1916
- ILTun *Inscriptions latines de la Tunisie*, ed. A. Merlin. Paris 1944
- Imagines *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum. Auctarium. Inscriptiones Latinae liberae rei publicae. Imagines*, ed. A. Degrassi. Berlin 1965
- Imag. It. *Imagines Italicae: A Corpus of Italic Inscriptions*, eds. M.H. Crawford et al. *BICS Suppl.* 110. 3 vols. London 2011
- I.Milet *Milet VI. Inschriften von Milet*, ed. P. Hermann. Berlin 1997–2006
- IMS *Inscriptions de la Mésie Supérieure*, eds. M. Mirkovič et al. Belgrade 1976–
- IMU *Italia medioevale e umanistica*
- Inscr.It. *Inscriptiones Italiae*. Rome 1931–
- I.Olympia *Die Inschriften von Olympia*, eds. W. Dittenberger and K. Purgold. Berlin 1896
- I.Pergamum *Die Inschriften von Pergamon*, eds. M. Fränkel, C. Habicht. Berlin 1890–1969
- IPO *Inscriptions du port d’Ostie*, ed. H. Thylander. Lund 1952
- I.Priene *Inschriften von Priene*, ed. F. Hiller von Gaertringen. Berlin 1906
- IPT *Iscrizioni puniche della Tripolitania*, ed. G. Levi della Vida. Rome 1987
- IRC *Inscriptions romaines de Catalogne*, eds. G. Fabre, M. Mayer, I. Rodà. Bordeaux and Barcelona 1984–2002
- IRCP *Inscrições romanas do Conventus Pacensis*, ed. J. d’Encarnaçãõ. 2 vols. Coimbra 1984
- IRN *Inscriptiones Regni Neapolitani Latinae*, ed. T. Mommsen. Leipzig 1852
- IRT *Inscriptions of Roman Tripolitania*, eds. J.M. Reynolds and J.B. Ward-Perkins. Rome 1952
- IScM *Inscriptiones Scythiae Minoris Graecae et Latinae*, eds. D.M. Pippidi et al. Bucarest 1980–99
- I.Smyrna *Die Inschriften von Smyrna*, ed. G. Petzl. 2 vols. Bonn 1982–90 (IK 23–24)
- ISS *Inscriptiones Sanctae Sedis*
- I.Tralleis *Die Inschriften von Tralleis*, ed. F.B. Poljakov. Bonn 1989 (IK 36)
- I.Tyana *Tyana. Archäologisch-historische Untersuchungen zum südwestlichen Kappadokien* 1.5, ed. J. Nollé. Bonn 2000 (IK 55)
- JIWE *Jewish Inscriptions of Western Europe*, ed. D. Noy. 2 vols. Cambridge 1993–95
- JLA *Journal of Late Antiquity*
- JSJ *Journal for the Study of Judaism*
- KAI *Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften*, eds. H. Donner and W. Röllig. 2nd ed. 3 vols. Wiesbaden 1966–69
- KP *Der Kleine Pauly. Lexicon der Antike*. 5 vols. Stuttgart 1962–75

LICS	<i>Latin Inscriptions from Central Spain</i> , ed. R.C. Knapp. Berkeley 1992
LF	<i>Listy Filologické</i>
JRA	<i>Journal of Roman Archaeology</i>
JRS	<i>Journal of Roman Studies</i>
LTUR	<i>Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae</i> , ed. E.M. Steinby. 6 vols. Rome 1993–2000
MAAR	<i>Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome</i>
MAL	<i>Memorie della Accademia dei Lincei</i>
MAMA	<i>Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua</i> . 1928–
MEFRA	<i>Mélanges de l'École française de Rome: Antiquité</i>
MEFRM	<i>Mélanges de l'École française de Rome: Moyen Age</i>
MinEpPap	<i>Minima Epigraphica et Papyrologica</i>
MiscGrRom	<i>Miscellanea graeca e romana</i>
MLH	<i>Monumenta Linguarum Hispanicarum</i> , ed. J. Untermann. Wiesbaden 1975–2000
MPAA	<i>Memorie della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia</i>
MusHelv	<i>Museum Helveticum</i>
NP	<i>Der Neue Pauly. Enzyklopädie der Antike</i> , eds. H. Cancik and H. Schneider. Stuttgart 1996–2003 (Engl. transl. <i>Brill's New Pauly: Encyclopaedia of the Ancient World</i> . Leiden 2002–11)
NSA	<i>Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità</i>
O.BuNjem	<i>Les ostraca de Bu Njem</i> , ed. R. Marichal. Tripoli 1992
OCD	<i>Oxford Classical Dictionary</i>
OGIS	<i>Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae</i> , ed. W. Dittenberger. 2 vols. Leipzig 1903–5
OLD	<i>Oxford Latin Dictionary</i>
Oliver, Gk. Const.	J.H. Oliver, <i>Greek Constitutions of Early Roman Emperors from Inscriptions and Papyri</i> , ed. K. Clinton. Mem. Amer. Philosoph. Soc. 178, Philadelphia, 1989
OpIRF	<i>Opuscula Instituti Romani Finlandiae</i>
OpRom	<i>Opuscula Romana</i>
PBSR	<i>Papers of the British School at Rome</i>
PCPhS	<i>Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society</i>
PIR	<i>Prosopographia Imperii Romani. Saec. I. II. III</i> . 1st ed. Berlin 1897–98. 2nd ed. Berlin 1933–
PLRE	<i>The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire</i> , eds. A.H.M. Jones, J.R. Martindale, and J. Morris. 3 vols. Cambridge 1971–92
P. Ross.-Georg.	<i>Papyri russischer und georgischer Sammlungen</i>
RAC	<i>Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum</i> . Stuttgart 1950–
RACr	<i>Rivista di Archeologia Cristiana</i>
RAL	<i>Rendiconti dell'Accademia dei Lincei</i>
RAN	<i>Revue archéologique de Narbonnaise</i>

RBPh	<i>Revue Belge de Philologie</i>
RDGE	<i>Roman Documents of the Greek East. Senatus Consulta and Epistulae to the Age of Augustus</i> , ed. R.K. Sherk. Baltimore 1969
RE	<i>Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft</i> , eds. A. Pauly, G. Wissowa, W. Kroll, et al. 2nd ed. Stuttgart 1894–1980
REA	<i>Revue des Etudes Anciennes</i>
REE	<i>Rivista di Epigrafia Etrusca</i> (in the journal <i>Studi Etruschi</i>)
REG	<i>Revue des Etudes Grecques</i>
REL	<i>Revue des Etudes Latines</i>
RG	<i>Res Gestae divi Augusti</i>
RGRW	<i>Religions of the Graeco-Roman World</i>
RHDFE	<i>Revue historique de droit français et étranger</i>
RhM	<i>Rheinisches Museum</i>
RIB	<i>Roman Inscriptions of Britain</i> , eds. R.G. Collingwood, R.P. Wright, et al. 3 vols. Oxford 1965–2009
RICG	<i>Recueil des inscriptions chrétiennes de la Gaule antérieures à la Renaissance carolingienne</i> , ed. H.I. Marrou. Paris 1975–
RIDA	<i>Revue internationale des droits de l'antiquité</i>
RIG	<i>Recueil des inscriptions gauloises</i> . 1985–
RIL	<i>Recueil des inscriptions libyques</i> , ed. J.-B. Chabot. Paris 1940–41
RIU	<i>Die römischen Inschriften Ungarns</i> . Budapest 1972–
RM	<i>Römische Mitteilungen</i>
RMD	<i>Roman Military Diplomas</i> , eds. M.M. Roxan, P.A. Holder. London 1978–
RPAA	<i>Rivista della Pontificia Accademia di Archeologia</i>
RPh	<i>Revue de philologie, de littérature et d'histoire ancienne</i>
RS	<i>Roman Statutes</i> , ed. M.H. Crawford. <i>BICS</i> Suppl. 64. London 1996
Salona IV	<i>Salona IV. Inscriptions de Salone chrétienne, IVe–VIIe siècles</i> , eds. N. Gauthier, E. Marin, and F. Prévot. CEFR 194. Rome 2010
SCI	<i>Scripta Classica Israelica</i>
SCO	<i>Scripta Classica et Orientalia</i>
SDHI	<i>Studia et Documenta Historiae et Iuris</i>
SEG	<i>Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum</i>
SIG ³	<i>Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum</i> , 3rd ed., ed. W. Dittenberger. 4 vols. Leipzig 1915–24
ST	<i>Sabellische Texte. Die Texte des Oskischen, Umbrischen und Südpikenischen</i> , ed. H. Rix. Heidelberg 2002
Suppl.It.	<i>Supplementa Italica</i> . Rome 1981–
Tab. Vindol.	<i>Tabulae Vindolandeses: The Vindolanda Writing-tablets</i> , eds. A.K. Bowman and J.D. Thomas. London 1983–
Tab. Vindon.	<i>Tabulae Vindonissenses</i>
TAM	<i>Tituli Asiae Minoris</i> . Vienna 1901–
TAPA	<i>Transactions of the American Philological Association</i>
TH	<i>Tabulae Herculanaenses</i> (cf. Table 15.4)

<i>ThesCRA</i>	<i>Thesaurus Cultus et Rituum Antiquorum</i> , 8 vols. Los Angeles and Basel 2004–11
<i>TPSulp</i>	<i>Tabulae Pompeianae Sulpiciorum</i> , ed. G. Camodeca. Rome 1999
<i>VetChrist</i>	<i>Vetera Christianorum</i>
Vetter	E. Vetter, <i>Handbuch der italischen Dialekte</i> . Heidelberg 1953
YCS	<i>Yale Classical Studies</i>
ZPE	<i>Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik</i>
ZRG	<i>Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte: Römische Abteilung</i>

Readers should note also the following common abbreviations:

<i>cos.</i>	consul
HS	<i>sestertii</i> (sesterces)
<i>lex col. Gen.</i>	<i>lex coloniae Genitivae Iuliae</i> (often imprecisely called the <i>lex Ursonensis</i>)
<i>lex Flav. mun.</i>	<i>lex Flavia municipalis</i>
SC	<i>senatus consultum</i>
SCPiso	<i>SC de Cn Pisone patre</i>



MAP 1 Italy



MAP 2 The Roman Empire under Marcus Aurelius and Commodus

- Legionary base (normally a single legion)
 - Principal settlement with legionary base adjacent
- Not all legions' bases are known.
Bases and provinces (boundaries, names) around A.D. 200 are shown.



PART I

ROMAN EPIGRAPHY:
EPIGRAPHIC
METHODS AND
HISTORY OF THE
DISCIPLINE

CHAPTER 1

THE EPIGRAPHER AT WORK

CHRISTER BRUUN AND JONATHAN EDMONDSON

FIRST CONTACT

ONE day in 1952 the renowned epigrapher Hans-Georg Pflaum (1902–79) and his French colleague Erwan Marec (1888–1968), director of the excavations at Hippo Regius in Algeria, sent off the proofs of an article to be published in the renowned journal of the *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* in Paris.¹ On the basis of a paper they had presented on 15 January the same year at a meeting of that learned society, they were on the verge of causing quite a commotion among Roman historians and classicists. Who has not heard of Suetonius, the imperial biographer? His scholarly and somewhat sensationalist lives of the twelve Caesars from Julius Caesar to Domitian have influenced later Roman writers, the Middle Ages, and common modern perceptions of these Roman *principes*.²

Like many of the Roman authors we know so well from the literature they wrote, Suetonius used to be completely unknown outside of his own work, except for seven references to him in correspondence of the younger Pliny (*Ep.* 1.18; 1.24.1; 3.8.1; 5.10.3; 9.34; 10.94–95) and a few further remarks in some other later sources (cf. *PIR*² S 959). Imagine the excitement, therefore, when the two French scholars in 1950 came upon a long lost inscription during excavations at Roman Hippo Regius, a coastal town in eastern Algeria (now Annaba, formerly Bone), which seems to give details of the life of the author Suetonius!

To illustrate how epigraphers work with inscriptions, we shall reconstruct the steps that Pflaum and Marec might well have taken before finally sending off their corrected proofs to the journal *CRAI*. The description of their work is followed by an up-to-date checklist for the contemporary epigrapher, in which we outline current best practices

¹ Marec and Pflaum 1952 = *AE* 1953, 73.

² Pflaum 1960–61: 1.219–224 no. 96. In general, Wallace-Hadrill 1983; Gascou 1984.

in the discipline of epigraphy for editing Roman inscriptions, including the use of technological aids such as the internet and digital photography.

When Pflaum and Marec discovered the Suetonius inscription at Hippo in 1950 during excavations of an *exedra* in the portico on the E. side of the forum, lying face down, it was badly damaged. Of the original moulded plaque, just sixteen fragments survived. After a long and thoughtful discussion, Pflaum and Marec restored the text conservatively as follows (*AE* 1953, 73; Fig. 1.1):

*C(aio) Suetoni[o] / [. fil(io)... (tribu)] Tra[nquillo] / [f]lami[ni]-c. 10 letters-] / [adlecto
i]nt[er selectos a di]vo Tra[an]iano Parthico p[ont]if[ic]i Volca[nali] / [-c. 16 letters- a]
studiis a byblio[thecis] / [ab e]pistulis / [Imp(eratoris) Caes(aris) Trai]ani Hadr[i]an[i]
Aug(usti)] / [Hipponenses Re]gii [d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)] p(ecunia) p(ublica)*

To C. Suetonius Tranquillus [son of ?, of the voting-tribe ?], priest of [??], chosen as a jury-panel member (?) by the Deified Trajan, *pontifex* of the cult of Vulcan, *a studiis* (in charge of literary and cultural pursuits), in charge of the libraries, in charge of correspondence of the emperor Hadrian. The inhabitants of Hippo Regius (erected this monument) with public funds by decree of the town council.

Enough survived of the text to stimulate the curiosity of the discoverers: in particular, the name in the first line. Names are always useful in inscriptions for a variety of reasons. In this case, C. SVETONI and TRA must have seemed so fascinating that



FIG. 1.1 Fragmented moulded plaque honouring the biographer Suetonius from Hippo Regius, North Africa.

Marec and Pflaum may well for a minute have neglected the important task of physically recording the stone and its full text. Instead they probably hurried off to consult standard works of reference in order to find out whether they could draw any conclusions from that name. Could it really be . . . *the* Suetonius, who is known from his own transmitted works and from Pliny to have borne the *cognomen* Tranquillus?

Before they could entertain the hypothesis of identifying the honorand with the famous imperial biographer, some background research on Roman naming practices needed to be carried out. In today's North America, there are many men called William Clinton, not just the former U.S. President, and few of the Clintons one might encounter will even be related to the Bill Clinton known the world over. How could they find out about the distinctiveness of the name *Suetonius* in the Roman world?

The various corpora of Latin inscriptions include extensive indices of all the individuals mentioned, with separate lists of family-names (*gentilicia*) and surnames (*cognomina*). Similar indices can be found in the annual volumes of *L'Année Épigraphique* (*AE*) and the *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum* (*SEG*), which register new discoveries and noteworthy discussions of previously found Latin or Greek inscriptions (Ch. 4). Today the various epigraphic databases (Ch. 5) allow for a rapid search of names, with the proviso that a name may appear in various grammatical cases and that such an automated search may not catch variant spellings.

A consultation of the indices of *CIL VIII* (covering North Africa) and *Inscriptions latines d'Algérie I* (1922) showed our scholars that the name Suetonius is indeed rather rare in the region; just three or four Suetonii are attested (*ILAlg* 3374–75, 3843, and possibly 3105). Exhilarated by their discovery, we may presume, Marec and Pflaum then turned to a serious investigation of the fragmentary plaque they had discovered.

AUTOPSY, RECORDING, INTERPRETATION

It is the task of a “militant epigrapher” such as Hans-Georg Pflaum—if we may introduce this term to characterize someone who has the opportunity to work with the actual physical objects that inscriptions are—to study and record carefully the archaeological context of a new discovery and to present an exhaustive description of the text and the object on which it was inscribed. In their attention to the materiality of inscriptions, epigraphers are no different from archaeologists, literary scholars who work with medieval manuscripts, or equally “militant” papyrologists. All future studies involving the text need to rely on the *editio princeps*. This famed “first edition,” therefore, should include as much information as possible for the benefit of future generations of scholars. Marec and Pflaum appropriately included in their initial publication a photograph of the conditions in which the fragmentary plaque was found (Fig. 1.1), as well as a full description of the surviving fragments, including detailed measurements of them and the height of the inscribed letters. To help readers gain a better understanding of the text, they also included a line drawing (Fig. 1.2), which contains a centimetre scale and



FIG. 1.2 Line-drawing by E. Marec and H.-G. Pflaum of the plaque honouring Suetonius from Hippo Regius.

a suggested reconstruction of how the sixteen fragments fit into the overall layout of the text.³ A central principle guiding their reconstruction was their realization that the gap on the stone to the right of the surviving text of line 7, [*ab epistulis*], indicates that this title was centred on the plaque. This discovery and the letters that survived from the other lines allowed them to estimate the approximate width of each line.

In retrospect, it is somewhat disconcerting that the line-drawing does not quite correspond with the edition of the text that the two scholars published in their article (given above) and so it needs to be treated with due caution. In the line-drawing small traces of letters appear that in the edited text Marec and Pflaum preferred, more conservatively, to leave within square brackets: for example, in line 2 the left-hand vertical of the N of *Tranquillo* appears in the line-drawing, whereas in their edition it is within square brackets, to denote that it is no longer survives on the stone and is an editorial restoration. Somewhat surprisingly, the small traces of letters that appear in the line-drawing were taken over in the edition of the text that appeared as *AE* 1953, 73. It is safer, therefore, to use Pflaum's and Marec's original text (given above), which is reproduced in Pflaum's *magnum opus* on equestrian procuratorial careers⁴ (but compare

³ Marec and Pflaum 1952: 76–80.

⁴ Pflaum 1960–61: 220.

our new edition of the text, p. 18). This throws into high relief the relative importance of autopsy, a photograph of an inscription, and an editor's line-drawing (p. 8–9). Since Mommsen, epigraphers accept that the greatest authority should be attributed to readings based on autopsy (Ch. 4).

PUBLISHING AN INSCRIPTION: A CHECK-LIST OF BEST PRACTICES

There are a number of stages that an epigrapher needs to follow when preparing the *editio princeps* of an inscription or undertaking a new edition of a previously published text.⁵ Knowledge of the proper procedure is valuable not only for anyone who has ambitions to be a militant epigrapher, but also for any scholar using inscriptions. It is important to be able to judge whether the publication of an inscription answers all the questions one might reasonably pose and if the presentation of the text corresponds to current standards.

Provenance

A careful description of the physical conditions in which the inscription was discovered is essential. If the text was found in an archaeological context, one needs to determine whether this was its original situation or whether it had been reused and/or moved there either in antiquity or more recently. The epigrapher's task is more straightforward if the text was found in situ and this was its original, primary location. If one encounters an inscription out of context, one needs to ask what information, if any, is available about its original findspot. Were photos taken or drawings made? If the provenance is said to be unknown, as is often the case with objects that form part of museum or private collections, consultation of the museum's inventory or archival documents may reveal some useful data.

Detailed Physical Study: Text and Context

The inscription and the surface on which the text is inscribed need detailed scrutiny, as does the object itself, when one is dealing with a freestanding artifact such as a

⁵ Useful handbooks: Cagnat 1914; Sandys 1919; Gordon 1983; Di Stefano Manzella 1987; Calabi Limentani 1991; Keppie 1991; Schmidt 2004; Cebeillac-Gervasoni, Caldelli, and Zevi 2006; Lassère 2007; Buonopane 2009; Cooley 2012.

votive altar, tombstone, or amphora sherd. This should result in a classification of the inscribed object, i.e., establishing whether the text appears on a building or on a movable object such as an altar (*ara*), *cippus*, base, on a smaller votive object, or on a piece of brick, tile, or pipe (*instrumentum domesticum*). Any particular features pertaining to the process of inscribing should be recorded, such as any guidelines the stonemason used or any erasures in the text (Ch. 7). Furthermore, when studying large monumental building inscriptions, it may sometimes be possible to reconstruct the original text by scrutinizing the surviving holes by means of which bronze letters were once fastened onto the stone, as Géza Alföldy has demonstrated in a series of legendary studies.⁶ The physical features of the inscribed object can also be of value. Clamp-holes on the back of a plaque may reveal how it was originally displayed, as will the fact that an otherwise beautifully carved statue base has an unfinished rear side. The typology of an amphora and the chemical composition of its clay help to provide important data on its origin and date.

Squeezes

There are many ways in which the object and its text may be recorded for its initial publication and for the benefit of future study. Taking a squeeze represents the most faithful means of recording an epigraphic text. The inscribed area is covered with a sheet of dampened squeeze-paper (i.e., chemical filter paper).⁷ A squeeze brush is then used to press the paper into the grooves of the text. Once the paper has dried, the squeeze can be removed from the stone. Its underside preserves an exact impression of the text, though retrograde. This can be read in different lighting conditions and often helps to resolve the reading of poorly preserved letters. For certain types of inscriptions, especially where the letters are in raised relief (such as lead pipes or brick-stamps), rubbings using charcoal or soft pencil on tracing paper can also be helpful. Squeeze collections, such as the substantial one in the *CIL* archives in Berlin, often contain records of many inscriptions that have been lost after they were first studied and a squeeze taken (Fig. 1.3, photograph of the retrograde underside inverted to ease legibility).

Line-drawings

As we have seen in the case of the Suetonius inscription (Fig. 1.2), a good line-drawing can be useful and occasionally this is the only (or the best) way to represent a discovery visually, especially when dealing with fragmentary inscriptions. Line-drawings are helpful for epigraphers but it must be remembered that every drawing involves an element of subjective interpretation.

⁶ Alföldy 1995, 1997, 2012.

⁷ Latex rubber can also be used, but it is more expensive and difficult to handle.



FIG. 1.3 Paper squeeze (retrograde underside inverted) of a Republican dedication to Mercury from Antium (CIL I² 992 = Fig. 9.2). BBAW-CIL archives (EC 0009295).

Photography

Taking photographs is an obvious method of recording a text, and much effort should go into creating the best conditions for this. The text should be evenly lit, and a light source from the side (i.e., raking light) is helpful in creating contrasts that better reveal the grooves of the carved letters. When taking photographs for the *editio princeps*, a metric scale should be fixed to the object so that its size can easily be assessed (as in Figs. 11.2 or 24.5). Photographs can be deceptive, since they sometimes fail to show traces of letters visible to the naked eye and even occasionally give the impression of a letter that is not actually there. The widespread use of digital cameras now allows epigraphers to take an almost infinite number of images from all possible angles, and the results can be processed with software programmes such as Adobe Photoshop. These can considerably enhance photographs taken in poor light, but there is a danger that the results may distort the original text.⁸

The use of computers to help analyze photographs offers a new and sometimes vastly superior way for epigraphers to decipher a poorly preserved text. The photographic process known as Reflectance Transformation Imaging (RTI) captures multiple views of the surface of an object taken from different angles under varying lighting conditions and these can be processed using the Polynomial Texture Mapping (PTM) program to create a “textured” composite image, with the result that traces too faint to see with the naked eye are often revealed.⁹

⁸ Bodel 2012: esp. 287–291.

⁹ Bodel 2012: 289–290. Examples: Bowman, Tomlin, and Worp 2009: 158–159; Earl, Beale, and Keay 2011: 108–111; Bevan, Lehoux, and Talbert 2013.

Publishing the Text: First Steps

In ideal conditions, the first steps towards publishing a text should occur at the same time as the recording process. With more difficult, fragmentary inscriptions, it may be necessary to return to look at the stone a second time, once one has become more aware of the problems it raises. “Could this be a very badly executed T?” “Can we exclude the possibility that the stonecutter could have fitted the letters EI in that space?” Often a scholar may start working in earnest on publishing the text only once she has returned to her home base, which is why it is essential to record every detail in the field with as much precision as possible. On the other hand, even if one has the opportunity to remain at the site of the discovery for a longer period, the scholarly tools an epigrapher needs may not be available, although the growth of the internet has facilitated easier access to some of them.

The first question to ask is whether the text, or one similar to it, has already been published, in which case the previous publication and any ensuing discussion obviously need to be taken into account. This is less straightforward than it may seem. Even for an inscription straight out of the soil there is some work to be done: for instance, if it is a religious dedication, an inscription closely resembling it may already be known from the vicinity, and sometimes multiple copies of the same epitaph were produced in the Roman period. In particular, when dealing with texts on everyday objects such as amphorae, lamps, or lead pipes (*instrumentum domesticum*), many previous examples of the same text or stamp may already be known.

Searching for previously known examples of the same or similar texts is now facilitated thanks to the Epigraphic Database Claus Slaby (EDCS) and other digital databases (Ch. 5; Appendix VII), although one needs to remember that electronic repositories are not devoid of errors and do not include every published text. It will also be necessary to consult local or regional corpora and epigraphic publications, and, if relevant texts are found in a database, to consult the original printed publications for more precise information on them. (For the conundrums that can occur when consulting the electronic entry for a much-debated inscription, see p. 80–81 and Fig. 5.1.)

Support from Epigraphic Manuscripts

When one is publishing a text that has been known for some time, much assistance may be derived from archival sources. As mentioned above, a museum archive may contain information about an inscription’s provenance, while a squeeze may allow an improved reading of the text. Sometimes the inscribed object has been known for centuries, and a record of one or more earlier observations of it may exist, for instance, in an early printed work or Renaissance manuscript (Ch. 2). Details no longer present may thus be revealed, as occurs in the case of a funerary monument from Rome, now in the Louvre (*CIL* VI 20674 = *CLE* 436). A drawing published in 1719 by Bernard de Montfaucon shows that the monument was subsequently recut, which resulted in the

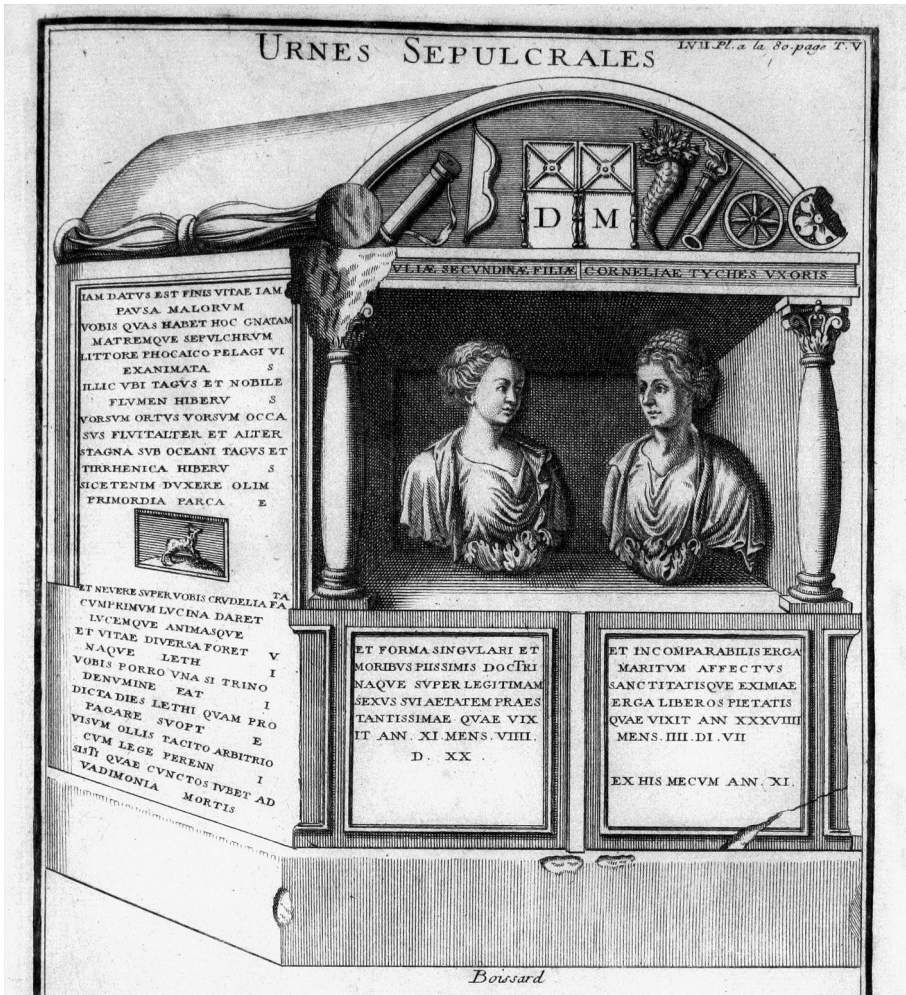


FIG. 1.4 Early eighteenth-century engraving by B. de Montfaucon of a funerary monument from Rome with portraits of Iulia Secunda and Cornelia Tyche (*CIL VI 20674*), showing the complete monument including a section now lost. The original is now in the Louvre.

removal of about three-quarters of the poetic text (*carmen epigraphicum*) on its side (Fig. 1.4).¹⁰ Care must always be taken when using earlier representations, since forgeries were not uncommon during the Renaissance and later (Ch. 3).

Presenting the Inscription

If an inscription is complete and every letter legible, the task of presenting the text is a fairly straightforward one. The scholar needs to follow the international conventions

¹⁰ Montfaucon 1719: 79 and pl. LVII.

for publishing epigraphic texts. During the past century standards have varied, but since the 1980s the so-called Leiden conventions (the “Leiden system”), initially designed for editing papyri, have been adopted by epigraphers (Appendix I).¹¹ The main purpose of this system is to make absolutely clear the layout and state of preservation of the ancient text. Even a photograph cannot necessarily convey all aspects, and in any case a good edition of the text removes the need for spending much time on deciphering an image, which nonetheless should still accompany the *editio princeps*.

In the nineteenth and for much of the twentieth century, the principles for presenting epigraphic texts differed considerably from the modern Leiden system, which needs to be remembered when using older publications. So, for instance, extant letters could be printed in capitals, while missing letters or expansions of abbreviations might appear in lower-case lettering or in italics, whereas under the Leiden system they should appear within square brackets or round parentheses respectively. Recent *CIL* volumes conform to the Leiden system. Originally the *CIL* printed surviving text in capital letters, a natural choice given that Latin inscriptions were predominantly carved in capitals, but all the new fascicles use lower case italics throughout (Fig. 1.5).

Frequently texts are difficult to read or fragmentary, and in such situations adherence to the Leiden convention becomes crucial. Some of main diacritical signs used include:

- all abbreviated words should be expanded within round brackets: *M(arci)f(ilius)*.¹²
- if parts of the text cannot be read because the surface is damaged or missing, restored letters are indicated by using square brackets: *Cic[ero]*.
- in cases where some words were purposely removed in antiquity, such as when a person had suffered *damnatio memoriae* (cf. Ch. 10), and when the letters can nevertheless be read or restored, this is indicated by placing them within double square brackets: *[[Neronis]]*.
- when new text was inscribed where previous text had been erased, as in Figs. 8.1 and 35.4, this is indicated with double pointed brackets: *<<Pup(inia tribu)>>*.
- superfluous words or letters included by mistake by the stonecutter are identified by being placed inside curly brackets: *Cor{r}nelia*.

An epigrapher has to expend much effort before a text is ready to be fully laid out using the Leiden system. When facing a poorly preserved text, he/she must first form an opinion about the type of inscription under consideration. The more one understands about the topic(s) that the text deals with, the more of its content will become clear through a dialectical process in which the identification of patterns that can be recognized in similar texts permits the reconstruction of the Latin in the particular inscription under study. This further enhances the overall understanding of the text.

¹¹ Panciera 2006.

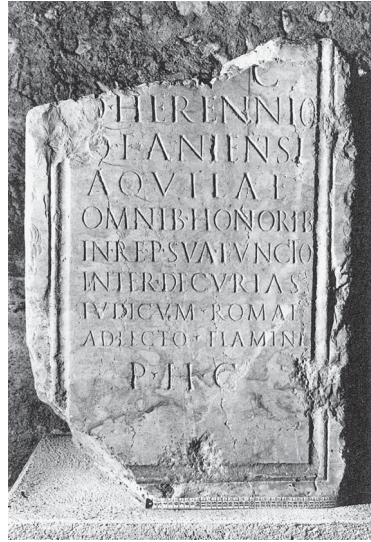
¹² Sometimes editors, for reasons of space, prefer not to expand all abbreviations. In this case, a full-stop (i.e., a period) must be used to avoid any ambiguity.

6096 Tarracoe, in museo n. 84, olim in aedibus Calvet, calle de los Caballeros: basis magna litteris optimis saeculi primi exeuntis.

P. H. C.
 Q. • H E R E N N I O
 Q. • F. A N I E N S I
 A Q V I L A E
 5 O M N I B. • H O N O R I B
 I N R E • P. S V A • F V N C T O
 I N T E R • D E C V R I A S
 I V D I C V M • R O M A E
 A D L E C T O • F L A M I N I
 P. H. C.

Descripti a. 1884 et contuli a. 1886. Hernandez et *indicador arqueológico de T.* p. 400.

Y. 6 Qualis res publica eius fuerit indicare omisit aut is qui titulum concepit aut quadratarius.



[P(rovincia)] H(ispania) ° c(iteior)

Q(uinto) ° Herennio

Q(ui)nti ° f(ilio) ° Aniensi

Aquiliae

5 omnib(us) ° honorib(us)

in re - p(ublica) ° sua ° functo

inter ° decurias

iudicium ° Romae

adlecto ° flamini

p(rovinciae) ° H(ispaniae) ° c(iteioris)

Im. phot. ex neg. D-DAl-MAD-WIT-12-69-12.

Im. del. a B. HERNÁNDEZ SANAHUJA d. 10 m. Aug. a. 1866 Academiae Matritensis missa apud ABASCAL – GIMENO 2000, 236-237 n. 430a; HERNÁNDEZ 1867, 100; HÜBNER II 6096, qui descripti a. 1881 et ectypum sumpsit a. 1886 (VIVES, *ILER* 1632); HERNÁNDEZ – DEL ARCO 1894, 109 n. 779; ALFÖLDY 1975, 283 cum im. phot. (inde et ex HÜBNER sumpsit RODRÍGUEZ NEILA 1978, 37). – Cf. ÉTIENNE 1958, 131. 137; ALFÖLDY 1973, 73–74 n. 31; WIEGELS 1985, 101; DEMOUGIN 1988, 488 n. 67; CURCHIN 1990, 190 n. 506; CABALLOS 1999, 479 et 487 n. T 49; F. BELTRÁN, in: F. BELTRÁN – MARTÍN-BUENO – PINA 2000, 107. 109 cum im. phot.; FISHWICK 2002b, 115 n. 44; MAYER 2006b, 456–457; ORTIZ 2006, 80; GUTIÉRREZ 2009a, 216.

Litt. Q cum cauda longa.

1 [P] H - C HÜBNER, [p(rovincia)] H(ispania) c(iteior) ALFÖLDY 1975; litt. H pars exigua superest.

Virum ex Aniensi tribu veri similime Caesaraugustanum fuisse demonstravi ALFÖLDY II. I; consentiunt AUCTORES posteriores omnes. De Caesaraugusta et de tribu civium eius cf. ad titulum n. 14, 1128.

Saec. I ex. tribuerunt HÜBNER, ÉTIENNE, I. I., sine idonea causa. Ex formula omnibus honoribus in re publica sua functo non ante circ. a. 120 (cf. ad titulum n. 14, 1114), ex litterarum formis non post circ. a. 150. G. A.

14, 1143 (= II 6096) tit. honorarius flaminis provinciae

Parallelepipetum ex lapide calcario (*pedra de Santa Tecla*)

i. e. pars media basis statuae olim ex tribus partibus compositae, superne et in angulis inferioribus sinistro anteriore item in parte postica dextra fracta, ab utroque latere levigata sed adesa, a tergo perquam scabra (84) × 60 × 57. In facie sursum versa a sinistra in usum posteriorem resecta, praeterea ex eodem usu foramen rotundum terebratum. Area titulo inscribendo destinata non excavata expolita fissuris fracturisque laesa cymatio cincta inverso, quod peritit superne. Versus congruenter ac concinne ordinati. Litt. accurate insculptae 5 (v. 1), 4,7 (v. 2–3), 4,2 (v. 4), 3,7 (v. 5), 3,5 (v. 6, litt. T longa 4), 3,2 (v. 7), 3 (c. 8), 2,5 (v. 9), 4–5 (v. 10). Puncta triangularia deorsum directa. Notus inde ab a. 1866, cf. infra. Extabat “in aedibus Calvet, calle de los Caballeros” HÜBNER (i. e. in domo n. 2 vel 4 huius viae, vide ad titulum n. 14, 1118). Servatur in *M.N.A.T.* (inv. n. 779), ubi descripti a. 1969 im. phot. a P. W. sumpta; in horto Musei Palaeochristiani collocatum recognovi a. 1985 et iterum a. 1997.

FIG. 1.5 Statue base honouring a provincial priest of Hispania Citerior found in Tarraco. Editions by Emil Hübner, 1892 (*CIL* II 6096) and Géza Alföldy, 2011 (*CIL* II²/14, 1143), illustrating the editorial principles of the first and second editions of *CIL* II.

Paying attention to epigraphic patterns is of crucial significance, since formulae are very common in Latin inscriptions. For instance, if the text seems to be a building inscription recording the action of an emperor, the first task is to look for elements of imperial titulature and compare them with the manner in which Roman emperors were normally referred to in inscriptions, preferably of the same type. Then again, if the text is carved on a *cippus* of low-quality stone with the letters M S clearly legible in the first line, it is a safe bet that we are dealing with an epitaph introduced by the common formula *[D(is)] M(anibus) s(acrum)*. The next step is to look for the typical elements in such an inscription: the name of the deceased, of the dedicator(s), terms of endearment and personal relationship, and the lifespan of the deceased (*vixit annis . . .*). Access to a good list of Latin epigraphic abbreviations will help to explicate the text (see Appendix II).

In reconstructing a damaged text, it is often useful to bear in mind that better quality Roman inscriptions were laid out in a symmetrical fashion. Lines were often of the same length, while sometimes parts of a text were emphasized by being centred, with gaps left to either side. Editors should indicate these gaps with the term “vac” (for “vacat”). This often allows an editor to estimate with some precision the original number of letters in each line and how many, therefore, need to be restored in gaps in the text, as in the Suetonius text discussed above.

As soon as the general theme of an inscription has been identified, editors then need to consult specialized literature, depending on what needs to be clarified. In the case of the Suetonius inscription, it was a question of consulting onomastic scholarship, in order to evaluate the likelihood that the inscription concerned the imperial biographer. If a text deals with military matters, one needs to read up on the Roman army (legions, cohorts, *alae*, the navy, special units), while if the inscription is a dedication to a deity whose cult originated in the E. Mediterranean, one turns to the appropriate volumes in the series *Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'Empire romain* (EPRO) and *Religions in the Graeco-Roman World* (RGRW).

Sound knowledge of epigraphic Latin and the possibility of referring to comparable elements from other inscriptions of similar type will finally allow the epigrapher to complete lacunae in the text by restoring missing letters or words. To do so in the formula *[D.] M. s.* is a restoration of the most straightforward kind. At other times, supplements can be much more complicated, as we have seen in the Suetonius inscription (cf. the discussion of Fig. 11.2, p. 211–214). The general rule is that any suggested restoration must have an epigraphic parallel to give it authority. Finding textual comparanda is now simplified thanks to the increasing availability of epigraphic databases (Appendix VII).

Dating the Inscription

Epigraphy is, like many disciplines in the humanities, profoundly historical in its overall approach. Epigraphic patterns and practices changed over time and it is important

to establish the date of an inscription for it to be as useful as possible for enhancing our understanding of classical antiquity. Correspondingly, for the restoration of a damaged text and for its interpretation, it is helpful to know to which period it belongs. Hence, every textual edition should be accompanied by at least a tentative attempt at dating, even if no precise chronological indicators can be found.

In a few fortunate cases dating presents little problem, namely when a consular date is given or a reference to a known local era appears (cf. Ch. 18). Sometimes the mention of officials or magistrates either of the Roman state or of local municipalities, for whom the date of their holding of office is known, help date an inscription accurately. The occurrence of an emperor's name and titulature is always useful, as the *tribunicia potestas* and the imperial acclamations may allow us to date the text to a precise year, and at the very least the text's chronology may be narrowed down to the reign of the emperor mentioned (Ch. 10).

In the vast majority of inscriptions such helpful elements are unfortunately lacking. Nevertheless, after much scholarly discussion, which is still ongoing, some generally acknowledged dating principles have been established.¹³ As a result, editors often have to be satisfied with very approximate suggestions for a text's date, such as "second/third century CE" or a *terminus post quem*, indicating that it belongs to the period after a certain event or emperor's reign. Some of the most useful criteria are:

- the formula *D. M.* or *D. M. s.*, which is very common in funerary inscriptions, does not (with exceedingly rare exceptions) appear in Italy before the mid-first century CE and in the western provinces before late in that century.
- the appearance of known historical figures or events help to provide chronological orientation, as do the titles of Roman military units, which evolved over time and the history of which has been reconstructed from other sources.
- the appearance of imperial freedmen is helpful, as the beginning of the reign of the emperor who manumitted them is an obvious *terminus post quem*. However, it needs to be remembered that an *Aug(usti) lib(ertus)* may have lived on for up to fifty years after the death of the emperor in question.
- personal names can provide useful chronological hints (Appendix III). If a common Roman bears no *cognomen*, the text dates to before c. 50 CE, likely to the Republican or perhaps the Augustan period. Filiation started to be omitted with greater frequency as the Principate progressed, while in the Republic it was more common (Ch. 9). The use of *supernomina* or *signa* (marked by the connectives *qui et* or *sive*) is a sign of a late date: second or, more likely, third/fourth century (Ch. 18).
- the massive appearance of individuals bearing an imperial *gentilicium* such as *Flavius*, *Ulpianus*, or *Aelianus* is probably an indication that the text dates to a period after the reign of the emperor(s) in question. These individuals are likely to be

¹³ Di Stefano Manzella 1987: ch. 20.

descendants of manumitted imperial freedmen or newly enfranchised citizens who took the *gentilicium* of the reigning emperor or their descendants. In many parts of the Empire, the name *Aurelius* became particularly common after Caracalla's grant of citizenship to all freeborn inhabitants of the Empire in 212 CE.

- in Rome, Italy, and the Hispanic provinces, the practice of using marble for inscribing a text is Augustan or later. In other regions the use of certain materials may also be a chronological indicator.
- the decorative elements of the monument on which the inscription was carved may help to date the text on archaeological or stylistic grounds: for instance, in the case of funerary monuments with portrait-busts, the hairstyles of those depicted can provide some chronological orientation.¹⁴
- the circumstances of an inscription's discovery may assist with its dating. The archaeological layer in which it was found or the construction to which it belonged may have been dated by the excavators. It is important to be aware of the danger of a vicious circle here. Archaeologists are sometimes keen on using epigraphic evidence for dating sites and archaeological strata, even just in a preliminary, tentative, and hypothetical way. When epigraphers subsequently base their dating on this foundation, little has in reality been achieved.

Lastly, letter-forms (Ch. 7) are often used as a dating criterion. For identifying Republican inscriptions, the older forms of several letters are useful (Ch. 9 with Figs. 9.1–3). The Augustan period was a watershed in the development of monumental Latin letter forms. When comparing certain public inscriptions of the Severan period, which are often written in elongated librarial script (also known as actuarial) (Fig. 10.4), with “classically” elegant Augustan inscriptions from two centuries earlier (Fig. 10.6), it might appear that there was a continuous development of Latin epigraphic script, the phases of which are easily identifiable. Yet scholars are now much more circumspect than before when using letter-forms as a dating criterion, for a variety of reasons.

First, even though some monumental texts of the second and third centuries are written in styles which were not used during the early Principate, Augustan square capitals, with slight modifications, continued in use (Fig. 11.1, reign of Antoninus Pius) and are found as late as under Constantine the Great, as on his arch in Rome (*CIL* VI 1139 = *ILS* 694).¹⁵ Often only a very experienced eye will be able to date accurately a monumental fragment with the text *Imp. Caes.* based solely on the letter-forms. Second, the surface used for inscribing the text may affect the letter-forms, and above all the purpose of the text and the party who commissioned it will have had a major impact on its style (Ch. 7). Third, there are, as always, regional differences, and only profound

¹⁴ Boschung 1987.

¹⁵ This is easily traced in Gordon and Gordon 1958–65.

knowledge of local conditions will enable an epigrapher to offer a well-founded suggestion for the date of an inscription based on the letter-forms.¹⁶

INTERPRETATION

The author of the *editio princeps* of an inscription is duty bound to attempt to provide a historical interpretation of the new text in the initial publication. If the epigrapher is fortunate, the discovery and deciphering of the new text will have immediate consequences for our understanding of some aspect or aspects of Roman society and history, as was the case when the Suetonius inscription was found at Hippo. However, like many newly discovered texts, it raised several problems of historical interpretation: (a) What were the precise priesthoods and equestrian positions that Suetonius held, mentioned in lines 3–6? (b) Why was Suetonius honoured at Hippo? Was he a local man or a visiting dignitary? (c) What impact does the text have on our understanding of the chronology of Suetonius' career? If he was just visiting Hippo, did he come with Hadrian in 128? If so, this would mean that he was still in Hadrian's favour some years after it is usually assumed he had been dismissed from imperial service.¹⁷

Such issues of historical interpretation, always essential in a journal article publishing an epigraphic text, are now even addressed succinctly in entries to the most recent fascicles of the revised edition of the *CIL* (Fig. 1.5). Each entry now contains: (a) a short description of the monument, including its material and dimensions; (b) a description of the inscribed field, together with an indication of the size (in centimetres) and type of the letters and the nature of any interpuncts; (c) details of the findspot and current location of the object, if known; (d) a full text with all abbreviations and lacunae expanded, where possible; (e) an indication of date (precise or approximate); (f) bibliography of previous editions and major discussions of the text; (g) a brief commentary on its significance; (h) a photograph of the inscription, if extant, or if not, an earlier squeeze or drawing, where available.

To illustrate this and the editorial principles of the *CIL* more broadly, we present in Fig. 1.6 a putative entry for the Suetonius inscription, which might appear in a future fascicle of *CIL* VIII covering Hippo Regius. The text of the entry is completely in Latin, as has been traditional since the inception of the *CIL*. (For brevity's sake, we have omitted the full dimensions of each fragment, a full commentary, and comprehensive bibliography.)

¹⁶ Audin and Burnand 1969; Lassère 1973; Stylow 1998: esp. 112–120.

¹⁷ For the debate, Crook 1956–57; Pflaum 1960–61: 221; Gascoü 1978; Syme 1980; Wardle 2002.

Fig. 1.6 Putative *CIL* VIII entry for the inscription from Hippo Regius honouring Suetonius

Tabulae marmoreae magnae cymatio inverso cinctae (diam. 14 cm) fragmenta sedecim cum aliis undecim fragmentis sine litterarum vestigiis. Fragmenta inscripta in quinque partes (a-e) coniungi possunt. In ed. pr. MAREC et PFLAUM a. 1952 proposuerunt tabulam integram altitudine c. 120 et latitudine c. 200 cm esse. Id veri simillime videtur, etsi quantum texti et quot versus inter partes b et c desint incertum est.

Litterae quadratae eleganter insculptae 7 (v. 1), 6 (v. 2), 5 (v. 3), 4,5 (vv. 4–8, litt. T longae vv. 4, 6, et 7; litt. I longae vv. 6, 7; litt. Y longa v. 6), 3,5 (v. 9). Ultimo versu litterae minus elegantes partim ad librarias accedentes. Punctum triangulare in v. 1 post praenomen C(aium) conservatur.

Reperta a. 1950 Hippone Regio qui erat *colonia civium Romanorum* in provincia Africa Proconsulari (hodie *Annaba*, olim *Bone*, nunc in Algeria sita) in effossionibus exedrae in peristylio locatae quod in orientali fori latere situm est. Recentioribus temporibus tabula in pavementum inserta est, latere inscripto ad solum inclinato. Titulum non vidimus. Ubi servetur, nescimus. Descriptionem et im. phot. et exemplum tituli ex MAREC-PFLAUM 1952 transtulimus.

(vac) C(aio) • Suetoni[o] (vac)
 [. fil(io) . . . (tribu)] (vac) Tra[n]quillo
 [f]lami[ni -c.10-]
 5 [adlecto] int[er selectos a di]vo Tra[a]-
 [iano Parthico p]on[t(ifici)] Volca[n]i
 [-c.16- a] studiis • a byblio[thecis]
 [(vac) ab epistulis] (vac)
 [Imp(eratoris) Caes(aris) Trai]ani Hadrian[i Aug(usti)]
 [Hipponenses Re]gii d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) p(ecunia) p(ublica)

APPARATUS CRITICUS

v. 1: Suetoni(o), MAREC; GROSSO. v. 5: Volca[nal]i, MAREC-PFLAUM; MAREC; PFLAUM. Volca[ni], GROSSO. v. 7: [Hipponienses] ex im. del., MAREC-PFLAUM; MAREC

C. Suetonius [- fil.] Tranquillus cum praeclaro vitarum duodecim Caesarum auctore identificari debet. Hic titulus a civibus Hipponensibus *p(ecunia) p(ublica)* donatus testimonia novissima nobis praebet de Suetoni cursu honorum: si accepimus texti restitutionem supra propositam, de eius adlectione inter selectos (i.e. in decurias iudicum) ab Imp. Traiano, qui divus Traianus in titulo (vv. 4–5) post mortem suam appellatus est, de pontificatu dei Volcani, et praesertim de tribus officiis notabilioribus viris equestri ordinis reservatis in Palatio functis—a studiis, a bibliothecis, et ab epistulis—hoc ultimo sine dubio Imp. Hadriani aetate, duobus aliis sub Imp. Traiano vel sub Imp. Hadriano. In lacuna fere 16 litt. v. 6 ad sinistram latet nescimus quid alium officium equestre (fortasse centenarium) a Suetonio habitum initio cursus publici aetate imp. Traiani.

Titulus Imp. Hadriani aetati certe tribuendus est ex officio [*ab epistulis*] [*Imp. Caes. Trai]ani Hadrian[i Aug.]*, ex usu nominis Divi Traiani, formis litterarum consonantibus et haud dubie ante Suetoni dimissionem ab officio ab epistulis, id quod nos certiores facit SHA *Hadr.* 11.3.

MAREC-PFLAUM 1952 cum im. phot. et im. del. (inde *AE* 1953, 73); MAREC 1954: 391–392, no. 7 cum im. phot. (cf. *AE* 1955, 151); CROOK 1956–57; GROSSO 1959 cum. im. del. (*AE* 1960, 275); TOWNEND 1961 (*AE* 1961, 177); PFLAUM 1960–61: 219–224, no. 96; cf. 968; GASCOU 1978 (*AE* 1978, 884); SYME 1980: 126–127; WARDLE 2002 (*AE* 2002, 105).

On other occasions, a text may not lead to a revision of previously held ideas or its significance may become apparent only when considered in conjunction with other inscriptions and other types of evidence. Scholars bring their own interests and knowledge to bear and may discern elements in a text that have been ignored in previous discussions. As a result, it is futile to believe that any one single scholar can answer all questions raised by a particular inscription; there will always be fresh insights to be drawn. What the possibilities are in such cases, how to go about eliciting information from epigraphic texts, and how to write history and study Roman culture with the help of Roman inscriptions, that is the theme of the following chapters.

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CHAPTER 2

EPIGRAPHIC RESEARCH FROM ITS INCEPTION: THE CONTRIBUTION OF MANUSCRIPTS

MARCO BUONOCORE

EPIGRAPHY AND PHILOLOGY: MANUSCRIPT SOURCES

WHEN Theodor Mommsen was planning the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* (*CIL*), he realized that to achieve a level of accuracy beyond that of the existing printed collections of inscriptions, it would be necessary to take account of the entire manuscript tradition which, from the Carolingian age down to the nineteenth century, had collected and preserved important information about epigraphic texts (Ch. 3).¹ He knew that for the many no longer surviving inscriptions the only available source was what could be found in a parchment or paper *codex*. It would not be sufficient, however, merely to record the existence of an inscription in a particular manuscript; one would need to work in exactly the same way as when preparing a philological edition of a literary text; i.e., consider the textual tradition of each inscription, paying attention to textual variants and attempting to explain the differences. Above all, one would need to identify, if possible, the author of the manuscript and to assess his overall reliability by evaluating his *modus operandi*. Mommsen thus found himself facing an unprecedented task, which required a detailed inventory of the manuscript holdings and archives of the most important European libraries. Every *CIL* collaborator was instructed to pay the closest attention to this matter. Giovanni Battista de Rossi (1822–94), who worked

¹ Valuable biographical information on many Italian humanists and epigraphers may be found in the *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* (1960–).

at one of the most renowned libraries in the world, the Vatican Library (Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, BAV), became a cornerstone of this project. Not only was he in daily contact with the formidably rich manuscript holdings of the BAV, but also, because of his long experience, he was often contacted for advice by the many collaborators on the project. So highly was his contribution valued that Mommsen frequently invited him to compile a *Bibliotheca epigraphica manuscriptorum* or a *Bibliographia codicum epigraphicorum*, and de Rossi made a fundamental contribution in 1888 in the *praefatio* to the second volume of his *Inscriptiones Christianae Urbis Romae (ICUR)*.²

An enormous quantity of information relating to the manuscript tradition was included in the various *CIL* volumes both in the introductory chapter of each, dedicated to a *conspectus auctorum*, and in the preface to each single town. At the end of the nineteenth century, then, an impressively varied picture of this fundamental aspect of epigraphic studies was available. The whole project, as devised by Mommsen, was inspired by the German philological methods developed for the editing of the texts of Greek and Latin authors.

Over a century since the first volumes of the *CIL*, new archival discoveries, a better understanding of the manuscript tradition, and improved interpretative methods have much increased our knowledge in this field. We are now in a better position to recover from these manuscripts information about inscriptions that would otherwise remain unknown. A fully rounded epigrapher, therefore, must also be a good philologist and, when editing an inscription, especially if the original text no longer survives for inspection, must consider as closely as possible the manuscript tradition (and even early printed works), attempting to explain the differing readings and renderings of the text that these sources provide. This detailed work is time-consuming, but thanks to the availability of modern library catalogues and inventories (sometimes on the internet), the task is much easier than it was for the nineteenth-century pioneers.

THE EARLIEST COLLECTIONS OF INSCRIPTIONS

In addition to late Classical texts such as descriptions of the city of Rome (as, for instance, in the *Expositio totius mundi et gentium*), regionary catalogues, and *breviaria*, which appeared from the Constantinian period onwards, and later works such as the *Mirabilia Urbis Romae*, prepared for the use of Christian pilgrims, it became common to copy epigraphic documents in the form in which the observer had read and understood them or, more frequently, had copied them from earlier accounts.³

² Rebenich 1995; Buonocore 2003; Gran-Aymerich 2008; Miranda Vallés et al. 2011.

³ Valentini and Zucchetti 1940–53: 1.63–258 (regionary catalogues), 259–265 (*expositio*), 3.1–65, 137–167 (*mirabilia*); cf. Nordh 1949; Accame Lanzillotta 1996; Kritzer 2010.

Currently the oldest known *codex* that contains a collection of inscriptions from Rome is preserved in the library of the Benedictine monastery of Einsiedeln in Switzerland (Stiftsbibliothek, 326). It was written in the third quarter of the ninth century at Fulda, though it preserves traces of a tradition going back to the fifth century.⁴ Even though it takes the form of an itinerary intended as a guide for pilgrims, the text seems to address readers far away from Rome who wanted an image of the city and its main pagan and Christian monuments through epigraphic “captions.” Among these, the reference to Constantine inscribed on his triumphal arch (*CIL* VI 1139 = *ILS* 694) was to have a particular rhetorical impact on all the later descriptions of Rome (Fig. 2.1). Normally following a heading that provides an introduction to a site or monument, the *titulus* (inscription) is given in black lower-case letters, with abbreviations often expanded to

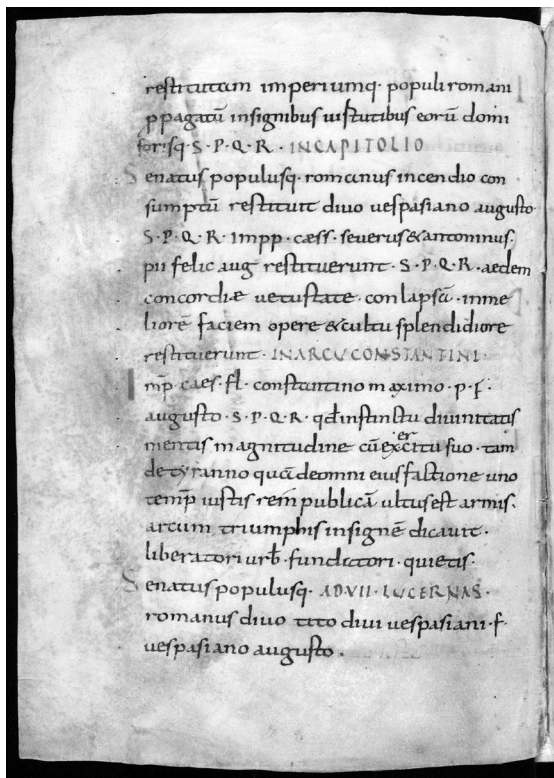


FIG. 2.1 Extract from the epigraphic sylloge in the Codex Einsidlensis (Stiftsbibliothek 326, f. 72v), with various inscriptions from Rome: (a) IN CAPITOLIO (*CIL* VI 937, 938, 89): inscriptions from the temples of Saturn, Divus Vespasianus, and Concordia beneath the Capitol; (b) IN ARCV CONSTANTINI (*CIL* VI 1139): on the Arch of Constantine; (c) AD VII LVCERNAS (*CIL* VI 945): on the Arch of Titus (the toponym refers to the seven-branched menorah on the inside of the arch).

⁴ Walser 1987.

the best of the author's ability rather than faithfully reproduced in the form in which they appear on the monument.

A similar *modus operandi* is found in another product of a Carolingian *scriptorium*, the well-known *Corpus Laureshamense* (the "Sylloge from Lorsch"), transmitted on ff. 26r–82r of the *codex* (now BAV, *Pal. lat.* 833). The name derives from the fact that it was written by hand in the abbey at Lorsch during the first half of the ninth century, although like the *Einsidlensis* it was compiled on the basis of earlier epigraphic collections going back at least to the seventh century. This sylloge is divided into four sections: (1) Christian inscriptions from the basilicas of Rome (ff. 27r–35r); (2) thirteen documents relating to popes buried in the atrium of St. Peter's (ff. 36r–41r); (3) thirty-six inscriptions from cities in northern Italy (ff. 41r–54r); (4) a rich collection of metrical inscriptions, largely Christian, written in a different hand, above all from monuments in Rome, although Ravenna and Spoleto are also represented (ff. 55v–82r).⁵

The fundamental importance of these two manuscripts derives from the fact that many inscriptions described in them have not been seen since, and in such cases the transcriptions provided by the *codices* constitute our only source of knowledge not only for important aspects of the topography and archaeology of Rome, but also for the prosopography of the Late Empire and above all for Latin verse inscriptions (Ch. 35). The number of inscriptions from the Lorsch *codex* included in modern collections of *carmina Latina epigraphica* shows the real importance of this work. This is the case, for instance, with the five distichs (*CIL* VI 41421 = *CLE* 1408) dedicated to Sex. Petronius Probus, perhaps the consul of 371 CE, which include the expressions *sollers ingenio*, *carmine doctiloquus*, and *praeconia falsa*, providing echoes of Tacitus, Ennius, and Lucan.

At least two other collections from the ninth century are important: one manuscript, originally from Corbie, is preserved in St. Petersburg (Rossijskaja Nacional'naja Biblioteka, *F.XIV.1*), while another is in the Bibliothèque Municipale of Verdun (45). In addition, there was once the *membrana vetusta*, dated to between the mid-sixth and the end of the eighth century and containing pagan inscriptions from Rome, Ravenna, Rimini, and Trier, which was available up to the times of Joseph Scaliger (1540–1609), who managed to transcribe part of its contents.⁶ For a certain period, various collections of inscriptions enjoyed a fairly wide circulation. It is not always easy to discern the degree to which they were based on autopsy as opposed to being copied from earlier collections of texts, which was the way in which medieval *florilegia* originated.⁷

In the next phrase, from the eleventh to thirteenth centuries, there was a lack of interest in producing this type of collection, mainly because it was difficult to interpret the many abbreviations and formulas which abound in Roman inscriptions. Contrary to the predominant view, it was not the case that scholars of this period could not read the actual characters used to inscribe the texts.⁸ The poor comprehension of classical

⁵ Vircillo Franklin 1998.

⁶ Other ninth-century collections: Silvagni 1921; Scaliger: Grafton 1983–94.

⁷ Silvagni 1938, 1943.

⁸ Calabi Limentani 1970.

Latin inscriptions was compounded by the state of neglect that the ancient monuments had suffered; the texts were found “*inter virgulta et rubos*” (“among bushes and brambles”), as medieval authors often complained. Famously Boncompagno of Signa, professor at Bologna, referred in 1213 in his *Rhetorica vetus* to the fact that it was common knowledge that his contemporaries were unable to comprehend the “*litterae punctatae*,” while he certainly did not claim that they could not decipher the actual letters: “*olim fiebant sculpturae mirabiles in marmoribus electissimis cum litteris punctatis, quas hodie plenarie legere vel intelligere non valeamus*” (“In the past marvellous sculptures were crafted on the choicest marble with chiseled letters. Today we do not have the skills to read or understand them fully.”). There are also the words of Magister Gregorius (“Master Gregory”), the learned English traveller who came to Rome at the end of the twelfth century and the beginning of the thirteenth: “*in hac tabula plura legi sed pauca intellexi*” (“On this plaque I have read many letters, but could understand few of them.”).⁹

Nevertheless, it is not uncommon to find in the margins of manuscripts from this period transcriptions of epigraphic texts which the author himself or someone who had copied it had inserted, reproducing with care the original layout, to lend an air of authenticity to a particular passage in the work at hand, or simply out of pure antiquarian pleasure. Discoveries of such insertions have multiplied in the recent past. These manuscripts are of fundamental importance when the text is unpublished or when it is known only from a more recent manuscript. Thus, for instance, in a *codex* from the ninth/tenth century now in Leiden (Bibl. der Rijksuniversitet, *Voss. Lat. Q. 101*), in the margins of the text of Justinus on f. 136v there is the transcription, dating to the same period as the main text, of two inscriptions from Rome (*CIL* VI 939 and 3518). In the *Homiliarium* written at Luxueil in the late-ninth century, now in the John Rylands Library in Manchester (*lat. 12*), an eleventh-century hand copied an inscription which is known only thanks to this manuscript (*CIL* XIII 5426 = *ILS* 4680). In a *codex* from the abbey of Farfa (BAV, *Vat. lat. 6808*), dated to the second half of the eleventh century, at f. 113r a later hand has transcribed an inscription from Lucus Feroniae (*CIL* XI 3938 = *ILS* 6589). Finally, an inscription honouring Hadrian, never previously included in any epigraphic corpus, has been discovered in a twelfth-century *codex* in the British Library (*Royal 12 B XXII*), which transmits Calcidius’ Latin translation of Plato’s *Timaeus*.¹⁰

HUMANISM AND THE RENAISSANCE

From the start of the fourteenth century, and inspired first by the humanism that flourished at Padua and then by Petrarch (Francesco Petrarca), the growing interest in the

⁹ Valentini and Zucchetti 1940-53: 3.167 (text); Osborne 1987; Carlettini 2008.

¹⁰ Petoletti 2002; Monti 1979, 1984.

ancient world and its sources encouraged scholars and those interested in antiquity to pay greater attention to inscriptions.¹¹ For example, Giovanni Dondi dall'Orologio (c. 1330–88), a physician and scholar from Padua, included transcriptions of epigraphic texts in his *Iter Romanum*, an account of a journey he made to Rome in 1375, even if they were not always correctly recorded (Biblioteca Marciana, Venice, *Lat. XIV 223* (4340)).

All of this renewed interest occurred in conjunction with a paleographic revolution. Poggio Bracciolini (1380–1459) is considered the inventor of humanist script. Although his mentor Coluccio Salutati (1331–1406) made use of this script already in 1403, inscribed capitals probably did not make their official appearance until after 1430.¹² In the age of humanism, the rejuvenation of inscriptions as a literary accomplishment was more profound than that of any other literary form. Ancient inscriptions also inspired new letter-forms for the Latin alphabet, influenced above all by those of the Augustan period.¹³

From Italy this model spread across Europe. A major figure in these developments was Felice Feliciano (1433–78), who copied the sylloge of Publio Licinio (perhaps to be identified with Lorenzo de Lallis) in *Vat. lat. 3616* and wrote a treatise on the geometric construction of monumental capitals, the well-known *Alphabetum Romanum* preserved in the *codex* BAV, *Vat. lat. 6852*.¹⁴ Poggio was also the author of an important sylloge containing eighty-six inscriptions, written around 1430 but now lost. To some extent that collection can be restored with the help of two copies, both from the fifteenth/sixteenth century (BAV, *Vat. lat. 9152*; Rome, Biblioteca Angelica, 430).

The first large collection of classical inscriptions that has been preserved is the one commonly called the “Sylloge Signoriliana,” because it is attributed to Niccolò Signorili, even though the collection has been connected to no less a figure than Cola di Rienzo (1313/14–54) or even to Poggio himself.¹⁵ Its first redaction, which is anonymous, is dated to 1409, and it appears on ff. 170r–175 of the *codex* BAV, *Barb. lat. 1952* (Fig. 2.2), from which derive ff. 103r–115v of the *codex* lat. XIV 264 (4296) of the Biblioteca Marciana in Venice. Somewhat later Signorili, commissioned by Pope Martin V (1417–31), created a *Descriptio urbis Romae*, in which he inserted a fuller collection of inscriptions. The increase can easily be detected from copies of the second redaction, including the oldest, now at Subiaco (Biblioteca del Monumento Nazionale di Santa Scolastica, *Archivio Colonna II. A. 50*), and at least three in the BAV, namely *Chig. I.VI.204*, from which derives *Chig. I.V.168*, and *Vat. lat. 10687*. This collection then circulated independently, that is without the *Descriptio*, which led to a third redaction (for example, BAV, *Ott. lat. 2970*). It has, however, been suggested that there is a document even older than the first version of the “Sylloge Signoriliana,” namely f. 311rv of the

¹¹ Ziebarth 1905; Weiss 1969; Kajanto 1982; Campana 2005; Guzmán Almagro 2008; Buonocore 2012.

¹² Kajanto 1985; Gionta forthcoming (b); Bianca 2010.

¹³ Campana 2005.

¹⁴ Licinio: Hülsen 1923: 138–157; Feliciano: Contò and Quaquarelli 1993; Benedetti 2004.

¹⁵ Silvagni 1924; Petoletti 2003.

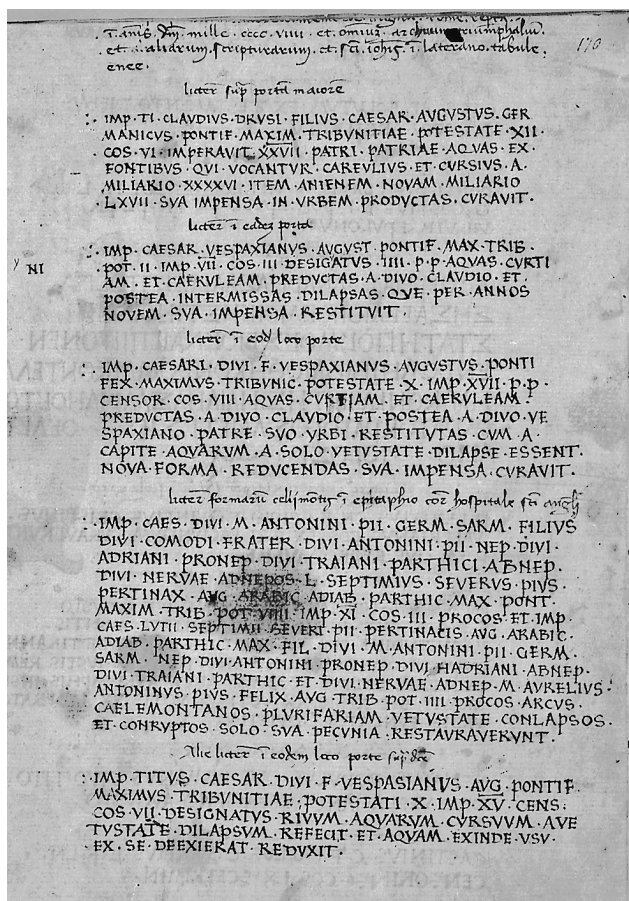


FIG. 2.2 A page from the Sylloge Signoriliana (1409) (BAV, *Barb. lat.* 1952, f. 170r), with five monumental inscriptions attesting improvements in Rome's water supply by several emperors (*CIL* VI 1256–59, 1246 = *ILS* 218a–c, 424, 98c).

codex Add. 34758 in the British Library.¹⁶ On palaeographic grounds it belongs to the late thirteenth/early fourteenth century, and it contains eight inscriptions from Rome (*CIL* VI 882, 945, 984, 985, 991, 992, 1033, 1139 = *ILS* 265, 322, 329, 369, 401, 425, 694) and two from Arezzo (the famous *elogia* of Q. Fabius Maximus and Gaius Marius: *CIL* XI 1828, 1831 = *ILS* 56, 59), which are present also in Signorili's collection. If this document is indeed older than the one made by Signorili, it likely derives from another source that he also used independently.

During the whole of the fifteenth century similar collections continued to be produced, with the primary purpose of promulgating knowledge about Roman antiquities. Among the many that could be cited, one may mention a recently discovered

¹⁶ Petoletti 2003.

manuscript containing a collection of 185 inscriptions, almost all from Rome (written in *scriptio continua*), created in 1465 by the *scriptor apostolicus* Timoteo Balbani (Biblioteca Laurenziana, Florence, *Fondo Martelli* 73).¹⁷ The importance of this sylloge derives from the fact that the author does not seem to have relied on earlier or contemporary collections in any major way. For inscriptions included in other collections he often gives different locations or, in cases where he gives the same location, he differs in the description of the monument. For many inscriptions not mentioned by Signorili or Poggio but present in later collections, the Balbani *codex* is undoubtedly the most important source from the fifteenth century. Moreover, for inscriptions for which he gives a different location compared to other earlier sources he provides important information on their provenance, for instance, regarding medieval churches that have since disappeared. A particularly important detail in this *codex* is the inclusion of fourteen inscriptions from Rome (*AE* 2005, 235–248) which do not seem to have been included in *CIL* VI or in any later edition.¹⁸ The sheer quantity and precision of the epigraphic information it provides make the Balbani sylloge in many ways unique in the context of the mid-fifteenth century.

Another important collection, by Pietro Sabino (*floruit* late 15th/early 16th century), covered ancient Roman pagan and Christian inscriptions. Perhaps the largest corpus of the humanist period, it had a proper editorial program, which for unknown reasons (perhaps the premature death of the author) was never completed. Recent research has allowed six complete copies of his collection of inscriptions to be identified: Carpentras, Bibl. Inguimbertaine, 607; Florence, Bibl. degli Uffizi, V.2.7b, which can be attributed to the hand of Ludovico Regio; Venezia, Bibl. Nazionale Marciana, *lat. X. 195* (3453); BAV, *Chigi I.V.168*, *Ott. lat. 2015*, and *Vat. lat. 6040*. The last of these almost certainly seems to have been written by Sabino himself.¹⁹

Three autograph manuscripts by the Florentine Battista Brunelleschi, a relative of the famous architect Filippo Brunelleschi, are known: one in Florence (Bibl. Marucelliana A. 78.1), another in the BAV (*Vat. lat. 6041*), and a third in Berlin (Staatsbibliothek-Preussischer Kulturbesitz, *lat. fol. 61 a d*).²⁰ Even though he appears to have been a compiler who gathered his material from other sources, occasionally he personally copied some inscriptions from Rome, which he visited from 1511 to 1513. In the Berlin *codex*, in particular, there are transcriptions—carried out in a very elegant way in lower-case letters and respecting line-divisions—of more than a thousand inscriptions (among them about one hundred unpublished ones), although in many cases there is a suspicion that we are dealing with fakes (Ch. 3). Most of them come from Rome, although there are some texts from other Italian cities and from Spain, Gaul, and even from Greece and Asia Minor. Other notable *codices* include: BAV, *Vat. lat. 3311* by Pomponio Leto (1428–97),²¹ the sylloge of Bartolomeo Fonzio now in the Bodleian Library at Oxford

¹⁷ Gionta 2005: 17–105; cf. Buonocore 2007a.

¹⁸ Buonocore 2007a: 463–465.

¹⁹ Gionta 2005: 107–187.

²⁰ Solin 2007.

²¹ Magister 1998, 2003; Cassiani and Chiabò 2007; Stenhouse 2011; Modigliani 2011.

(*Lat. Misc. d. 85*), and the manuscript *Redi 77* in the Biblioteca Nazionale of Florence, attributed to Alessandro Strozzi (“Anonymus Redianus”), in which besides pagan and Christian inscriptions from Rome there are also texts from other cities in Italy and the rest of Europe.²²

Some of the inscriptions recorded in these epigraphic collections, especially metrical ones, enjoyed an extraordinary popularity: for instance, the inscription from the Temple of the Dioscuri at Naples (*IG XIV 714 = IGI Napoli 1*), and the funerary *cippus* of Atimetus and Omonea (*CIL VI 12652 = IGUR III 1250*).²³

CIRIACO D’ANCONA AND FRA GIOCONDO

A decisive change in approach occurred with the epigraphic collection assembled by Ciriaco dei Pizzicolti from Ancona (1391–1452), famously called by Mommsen “homo garrulus et fastosus, scriptor tumidus et ineptus et cum multa doctrinae affectatione parum eruditus” (*CIL III*, p. xxiii: “a garrulous and profligate individual, a bloated and inept writer, and although he made great claims about his learning, not very erudite”). Ciriaco d’Ancona, who came from a family of merchants and was one himself, transcribed an enormous number of inscriptions that he himself had seen not only in Italy, but also during his travels in Sicily, Dalmatia, Epirus, Greece, Asia Minor, and Egypt.²⁴ It was the first attempt to put together an epigraphic corpus of truly vast proportions, and with Ciriaco a new literary genre came into being: the epigraphic antiquarian manuscript. His texts are basically trustworthy. They were honestly copied; he did not let personal interpretations affect his readings; and he completed his work at the place he inspected the inscribed monuments. He also had considerable skills as a draftsman.

Unfortunately this huge mass of documents, which were put together as *Commentarii* in several volumes, in which Ciriaco also recopied the collections of Poggio and Signorili, is believed to have been destroyed in the fire of the Sforza library in Pesaro in 1514. Luckily, before this unfortunate loss these volumes had already circulated among scholars and many future compilers of epigraphic corpora had made much use of them, thus indirectly transmitting material that otherwise would have remained unknown: for instance, BAV, *Vat. lat. 6875* and *Redi 77* (in the Biblioteca Nazionale of Florence), written at Venice in 1474 by the Florentine exile Alessandro Strozzi, as well as the lesser copy BAV, *Vat. lat. 5250* (ff. 87r–171v).

After Ciriaco’s work epigraphic collections began to appear that did not focus solely on Rome but had a wider geographical focus, with an emphasis most of all on Italy. These collections still made much use of earlier works, but also included

²² Hülsen 1923.

²³ Campana 1973–74; Buonocore 2004: 139–144, 195–196.

²⁴ Paci and Sconocchia 1998; Rocchi and Robino 2008.

previously unknown inscriptions, leading to a remarkable growth in antiquarian and archaeological knowledge. Autopsy (personal inspection) of the actual monument was now felt to be indispensable for a proper edition of an inscription, and a drawing was often presented as well, although sometimes fanciful elements were added. This development led to the collections of Giovanni Marcanova (1410/17–67), Michele Fabrizio Ferrarini (c. 1450–92), Felice Feliciano (1433–79), and Hartmann Schedel (1440–1514).²⁵

Marcanova, a physician and intellectual who lived for the most part in Padua, was the author of at least two collections, one dating to the period 1457 to 1460 (Bern, Bürgerbibliothek, *ms. B.42*), another to 1465 (Modena, Biblioteca Estense, *ms. α. L. 515 olim lat. 992*); other copies derive from these two. He included some inscriptions from his own times, a section dedicated to *Urbis quaedam antiquitatum fragmenta* (“Some fragments of antiquities from the city of Rome”), and some texts from other localities, occasionally accompanied by valuable drawings. Ferrarini’s principal manuscript is in the Biblioteca Comunale of Reggio Emilia (*C. 398*); there are copies at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France in Paris (*Lat. 6128*), at the Biblioteca Estense in Modena (*lat. 413*), the Universiteitsbibliotheek in Utrecht (*ms. 57*), and two at the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (*Vat. lat. 5243* and *Cappon. 209*). The epigraphic collection of Feliciano, dedicated to the Renaissance artist Andrea Mantegna, was completed in 1463/64 and was organized geographically. The German humanist Schedel included an epigraphic section in his *Opus de antiquitatibus*, which was written during a visit to Padua and is preserved in a manuscript at Munich (Bayerische Staatsbibliothek *CLM 716*).

In this period of renewed activity, the collection of Latin and Greek inscriptions (*Collectio inscriptionum Latinarum et Graecarum*) by Giovanni Giocondo of Verona, commonly known as Fra Giocondo (1435–1515), enjoyed great success.²⁶ The reason which caused him to complete this work, dedicated to Lorenzo the Magnificent (“il Magnifico”) in 1489, was, as his long introduction explains, the abandoned state of the ancient monuments: “ruinae tamen ipsius urbis multae sunt, ex quibus item novae ruinae in dies fiunt” (“However, there are many ruins in that famous city, from which yet more ruins are created day by day.”). He copied down what still remained of their texts: “tamen praeter quae uidi quaeque accurate exscripsi in hoc volumen nihil con-gessi” (“However, I have included in this volume no texts except those I have observed and accurately copied.”). Three redactions of the text are known, dated to 1475/92, 1497/98, and c. 1502. Of these, the third had the largest circulation in Italy, as can be seen in Table 2.1.

²⁵ Marcanova: Barile, Clarke, and Nordio 2006; Espluga 2012; Gionta forthcoming (a). Ferrarini: Tassono Olivieri 1989; Buonocore 2004: 181–182; Espluga 2008. Feliciano: see n. 14. Schedel: Kikuchi 2010.

²⁶ Ciapponi 1979; de la Mare and Nuvoloni 2009; Buonocore forthcoming.

Table 2.1 The three redactions of Fra Giocondo, *Collectio inscriptionum Latinarum et Graecarum*

First redaction (with additions from 1489/92)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>ms. 270</i>, Bibl. Capitolare, Verona • <i>Borg. lat. 336</i>, BAV (transcribed by the German humanist Jacob Aurelius Questenberg, who moved to Rome in 1485) • <i>Vat. lat. 10228</i>, BAV (written in splendid capitals by Bartolomeo Sanvito, who was active at Rome and had close connections to Giocondo) (Fig. 2.3-4) • <i>Lat. Class. e. 29</i>, Bodleian Library, Oxford (copied by Protasio Crivelli in 1498) • <i>Ashburnham 905</i>, Bibl. Laurenziana, Florence
Second redaction	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>lat. XIV. 171 (4665)</i>, Bibl. Marciana (of which ff. 191–215v are thought to be in Giocondo's hand) • perhaps <i>Magl. 28. 5</i>, Bibl. Nazionale in Florence (hand-written by Sanvito)
Third redaction	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Stowe 1016</i>, British Library (in Sanvito's hand), • Chatsworth House ("Collection of the Duke of Devonshire"), s. n. • <i>ms. 10096</i>, Bibl. Nacional, Madrid (likewise by Sanvito) • <i>ms. 1632</i>, Bibl. Correr, Venice • <i>Magl. 28.34</i>, Bibl. Nazionale in Florence • <i>ms. 6</i>, Bibl. della Sovrintendenza in Florence • <i>Vat. lat. 5326</i>, BAV (written by Sanvito) • <i>Vat. lat. 8494</i>, BAV: the final leaves 309r–354v (which once belonged to Angelo Colocci, 1474–1549) • <i>Reg. lat. 2064</i>, BAV (which seems to be in Sanvito's hand) • <i>Barb. lat. 2098</i>, BAV (dated by the watermark to after 1528)

MANUSCRIPTS AND PRINTED EDITIONS

Other important epigraphic collections were produced during the sixteenth century by illustrious Renaissance figures, but never printed: for example, Mariangelo Accursio (1489–1546);²⁷ Andrea Alciato (1492–1550), author of the first sylloge which contains a comment on every text it presents;²⁸ Antonio Agustín (1517–86);²⁹ Pietro Bembo (1470–1547);³⁰ Konrad Peutinger (1465–1547);³¹ Onofrio Panvinio (1530–86);³² Giovanni Antonio Dosi/Dosio (c. 1533–*post* 1610);³³ and Jean Matal (Metellus, 1520–97).³⁴ Among

²⁷ Campana 1960.

²⁸ De Camilli Soffredi 1974; Ferrua 1990, 1991; Vuilleumier and Laurens 1994; Belloni et al. 1999.

²⁹ Crawford 1993a; Alcina Rovira and Salvadó Recasens 2007.

³⁰ Beltrami, Gasparotto, and Tura 2013

³¹ Ott 2002: 97–116, 2009; Künast and Zäh 2006; Talbert 2010.

³² Ferrary 1996.

³³ Tedeschi Grisanti and Solin 2011.

³⁴ Hobson 1975; Crawford 1993b; Ferrary 1996: 108–110, 238–242; Vagenheim 2006a.

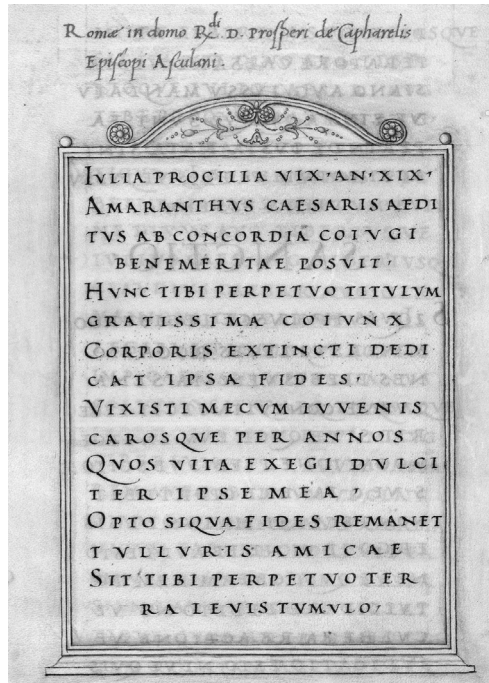


FIG. 2.3 Epitaph of Iulia Procilla from Rome (*CIL* VI 8703 = *CLE* 1028) from a manuscript written in elegant capitals by Bartolomeo Sanvito (BAV, *Vat. lat.* 10228, f. 5v).

the manuscripts of Metellus, a particularly important one is BAV, *Vat. lat.* 6034, since it includes famous epigraphic texts, with drawings, such as the *Fasti Maffeiiani* (*Inscr. It.* XIII.2, no. 10) at ff. 1–2, Claudius’ speech from Lyon on entry to the senate for Gauls (*CIL* XIII 1668 = *ILS* 212; Fig. 17.3) at ff. 3–4, the *lex Antonia de Termessibus* (*CIL* I² 589 = *RS* 19) at f. 5, a *tabula patronatus* from Peltuinum (*CIL* IX 3429 = *ILS* 6110) at ff. 6–7, the *lex Cornelia de XX quaestoribus* (*CIL* I² 587 = *RS* 14) at f. 8, the *sententia Minuciorum* (*CIL* I² 584 = *ILS* 5946 = *ILLRP* 517) at f. 9, and the *ara* of the *vicomagistri* (*CIL* VI 975 = *ILS* 6073) at ff. 10–12. Equally deserving of mention are Étienne Winand (1520–1604) or, in Flemish, Stefan Pigghe (Pighius);³⁵ Maartin de Smet (Smetius; c. 1525–78);³⁶ Pirro Ligorio (1512/3–83), whose often maligned work needs to be scrutinized more closely than has often been the case (Ch. 3);³⁷ Aldo Manuzio the Younger (1547–97);³⁸ Celso Cittadini (1553–1627);³⁹ Alonso Chacón (1530–99), author, among other

³⁵ Roersch 1903.

³⁶ Verbogen 1985; Vagenheim 2006b.

³⁷ Vagenheim 1987, 1994; Solin 1994; Orlandi 2008.

³⁸ Koortbojian 2001.

³⁹ Di Franco Lilli 1970.



FIG. 2.4 Altar of Iulia Procilla from Rome. Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden. Compare the difference in the appearance of the text on the monument and in Sanvito's drawing (Fig. 2.3).

manuscripts, of *Chig. I. V. 167* in the BAV, in *CIL* considered the work of an anonymous Spanish scholar (“Anonymus Hispanus”).⁴⁰

All this enormous productivity was not due solely to a fascination with antiquity. By now it was clear that an epigraphic document, if correctly interpreted, could also be a historical source of great importance. Commentaries on ancient authors from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries show how the philologists of the period were fully aware of the value of Latin inscriptions as historical sources.⁴¹ Since they were direct survivals from antiquity, it was considered possible with their help to correct the spelling of a word that had been corrupted in the manuscript tradition and also to illustrate the cultural context in which such a term was used in antiquity.

The invention of the printing-press soon led to the appearance of epigraphic publications. At the very moment when Fra Giocondo dedicated his epigraphic manuscript to Lorenzo the Magnificent, in Venice on 4 September 1489 Desiderio Spreti published a sylloge of inscriptions from Ravenna entitled *De amplitudine, de vastatione et de instauratione Urbis Ravennae* (“On the size, devastation, and restoration of the city of

⁴⁰ Recio Veganzones 2002.

⁴¹ Vagenheim 2003; Stenhouse 2005.

Ravenna”). It is considered the first printed work in the field of Roman epigraphy, as Bormann observed at *CIL* XI, p. 1. The first anthologies soon followed, for instance, the collection of epigrams by Lorenzo Abstemio, which appeared in three editions between 1505 and 1515. The anthology contains numerous inscriptions from Rome, Rimini, and Fano, and the inscription from the tunnel of Furlo on the Via Flaminia together with humanist epigrams, sundry classical and medieval poetry, and the translation of six Greek epigrams by Giacomo Costanzi.⁴²

The first really focused collection was devoted to inscriptions from the city of Rome. Entitled *Epigrammata antiquae Urbis*, it was published in Rome in 1521 by Jacopus Mazochius (Giacomo Mazzocchi). The work is anonymous, for only the publisher, Mazzocchi, is named.⁴³ Francesco Albertini or Andrea Fulvio have been suggested as authors. The work seems to have been printed thanks to the munificence of Angelo Colocci, as emerges from a note of the archaeologist Emiliano Sarti (1795–1849) in his copy of the *Epigrammata* (now in the BAV), which originally belonged to J.B.L.G. Seroux D’Agincourt (1730–1814). Mazzocchi’s publication included the collection of inscriptions prepared by Albertini in 1510–15 but never published and the fruits of Mazzocchi’s collaboration with the artist Raphael, beginning in 1515, which aimed at producing an inventory of the antiquities of Rome. The work enjoyed enormous success and all the antiquarians of the time aimed to have a copy of their own, in which they often added marginal notes and corrections. A famous example is the copy that belonged to Agustín and afterwards to Metello (now BAV, *Vat. lat.* 8495; Fig. 2.5).

Larger and richer collections soon followed.⁴⁴ Of great historical importance was the volume *Inscriptiones sacrosanctae vetustatis non illae quidem Romanae sed totius fere orbis* by Peter Bienewitz (Apianus) and Bartholomäeus Pelten (Amantius) dating to 1534, since it represents the first printed general collection of classical inscriptions. It is not, however, very trustworthy due to its disorganization, arbitrariness, and the many fake inscriptions it contains. Fifty years later in 1588, the *Inscriptiones Antiquae* by Smetius was posthumously printed by Justus Lipsius (1547–1606).⁴⁵ A major work of this period is the corpus of Gruterus (Jan Gruter, 1560–1627), published in 1601, which likewise included over twelve thousand inscriptions from all over the Roman world. The “Supplements” to Gruterus, i.e., the *Syntagma inscriptionum antiquitatum* by Thomas Reinesius (1587–1667), was published posthumously in Leipzig in 1682. Also worth mentioning are the *Marmora Felsinea* by Count Carlo Cesare Malvasia (1616–93), published in Bologna in 1690; the *Inscriptiones antiquae* by Raffaele Fabretti (1618–1700), published in two volumes between 1699 and 1702; the *Inscriptiones antiquae nunc primae editae* by Giovanni Battista Doni (1593–1647), published posthumously by Antonio Francesco Gori (1691–1757), who in turn also published three volumes of

⁴² Bertalot 1946; Avesani 2001.

⁴³ Buonocore 2006; Vagenheim 2008; Bianca 2009.

⁴⁴ Calabi Limentani 1966, 1996; Stenhouse 2002, 2005; Buonocore 2004.

⁴⁵ Laureys 1998; Vagenheim 2006b.

Inscriptiones antiquae in Etruriae urbibus extantes, which appeared between 1726 and 1743.⁴⁶

The first half of the eighteenth century saw the publication of the *Antiquae inscriptiones* by Marquard Gude (1635–89), published posthumously in 1731 by Joannes Kool, Franz Hessel (c. 1730), and Johann Georg Graevius (1632–1703). The second edition of Gruterus' work appeared in 1707 with a preface by Pieter Burman (1668–1741), while the impressive *Novus thesaurus veterum inscriptionum* by Lodovico Antonio Muratori (1672–1750) was published in four volumes in Milan between 1739 and 1742. The *Museum Veronense* by Marquis Scipione Maffei (1675–1755) was published in Verona in 1749, and the same author also wrote *Ars critica lapidaria*, an important treatise on epigraphy completed in 1749, but published posthumously in 1765. Finally, *De stilo inscriptionum Latinarum* by Stefano Antonio Morcelli (1737–1821) appeared in three volumes in 1781.⁴⁷ Due notice was taken of this impressive tradition of printed epigraphic works in the various volumes of the *CIL*.

THE MODERN PERIOD

Regardless of the fact that printed books made such an impact on antiquarian circles, the tradition of preparing epigraphic manuscripts did not die out. From the seventeenth almost into the twentieth century, handwritten collections of inscriptions, comprising documents from individual cities, or notes on local history and archaeology in which inscriptions feature, continued to be produced. These often contained new information about an ancient town or region. All these handwritten treasures deserve to be part of the history of the epigraphic tradition, and they are slowly being rescued from undeserved oblivion by the efforts of modern scholars. We are dealing with a very large tradition here and this is not the place for a list of even the most important sources; readers will need to consult recently published volumes of the *CIL* and the new series of the *Supplementa Italica*.

One particular collection stands out above all others, not least because it is still regularly consulted by scholars, even though it has never been printed: the *Inscriptiones Christianae Latinae et Graecae aevi milliari* by Gaetano Marini (1742–1815), a work that fills four *codices* in the BAV (*Vat. lat. 9071–74*).⁴⁸ This monumental collection, the richness and importance of which was first underlined by Angelo Mai in the fifth volume of his *Scriptorum veterum nova collectio*, is an irreplaceable source for the study of Latin and Greek inscriptions from the beginnings of epigraphy to the turn of the first millennium CE. If it had been published in its own time, it would have had a major impact both on classical studies and even more on Christian epigraphy.

⁴⁶ Cagianelli 2008; Gambaro 2008; Gialluca 2008.

⁴⁷ Maffei: Romagnini 1998; Marchi and Pál 2010. Morcelli: Calabi Limentani 1987; Morcelli 1990.

⁴⁸ Ferrua 1994: 168–171; Buonocore 2001, 2004: esp. 86–92, 228–238, 256–274, 2007b, 2011.

As Mommsen and De Rossi already emphasized in the nineteenth century, the study of epigraphic manuscripts is a crucial part of classical epigraphy. The enormous number of manuscripts both in libraries and in public and private archives makes it ever more urgent to initiate a global inventory of this irreplaceable source of information for the study of Roman and Christian epigraphy and ancient society in its many dimensions.

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CHAPTER 3

FORGERIES AND FAKES

SILVIA ORLANDI, MARIA LETIZIA CALDELLI, AND
GIAN LUCA GREGORI

THE issue of epigraphic forgeries is closely connected not only to the history of epigraphy, but also to the rediscovery and reuse of antiquity in the Middle Ages.¹ Forgery is a field of study still in its infancy. For example, we lack an electronic database of all forged texts. Forgeries were already produced in the Roman period, as were copies of genuine texts made long after the original had been inscribed: for example, the so-called *elogium* of Gaius Duilius (*CIL* I² 25 = VI 1300 = *ILS* 65 = *ILLRP* 319; see p. 345–348 and Fig. 19.1) or the dedicatory inscription on the Pantheon by Agrippa, re-inscribed during the restoration of the temple under Hadrian (*CIL* VI 896 = *ILS* 129).² A good example of forgery is provided by the fake inscriptions in Latin carved during the Renaissance on the bases of the statues of the Dioscuri (Castor and Pollux) in the Piazza del Quirinale (*CIL* VI 10038 = 33821: *opus Praxitelis // opus Fidiaie*) that attribute them to the famous Greek sculptors Phidias and Praxiteles.³

In the great epigraphic corpora begun in the nineteenth century those inscriptions considered as fakes were given their separate section, usually at the beginning of each *CIL* volume. An asterisk was added to the entry number: for example, *CIL* VI 1200*. Rome was a special case, in that an entire fascicle (*CIL* VI, fasc. 5), containing 3,643 items, was dedicated to the fake inscriptions attributed to the city. The material is arranged chronologically according to the date when the text originated and, wherever possible, the texts are grouped by author.

Fake inscriptions do not form a homogeneous category.⁴ One needs to make distinctions based on a series of considerations:

- modes of transmission: forgeries on paper or stone, the latter inscribed on ancient or only partially ancient materials, but also on more recent objects;

¹ Greenhalgh 1984: 156–164; Paul 1985; Rossi Pinelli 1986.

² Simpson 2009.

³ Gregori 1994.

⁴ Mayer 1998; Carbonell Manils, Gimeno Pascual, and Moralejo Álvarez 2011; Solin 2012.

- motivations: unintentional forgeries (the carving of epigraphic texts from Latin literature onto durable materials; scholarly exercises by humanists as a learned pastime; completions of fragmentary inscriptions) and intentional forgeries (fabrications of documents with the intention of validating an otherwise untenable hypothesis or a statement otherwise not provable, sometimes with commercial intent);
- methods of production: forgeries invented from scratch and complete, partial, or interpolated copies of ancient inscriptions.

In what follows the main focus will be on the modes of transmission. However, given their importance, we shall deal with historical and documentary forgeries in the final section. This chapter focuses almost exclusively on Italy, and especially Rome, because it is the most fertile area of study, the issue has been so well investigated here, and a detailed focus on one particular region allows us to analyze the phenomenon in some depth.

FORGERIES TRANSMITTED IN MANUSCRIPTS OR IN PRINTED WORKS (SILVIA ORLANDI)

The proliferation of forgeries during the Middle Ages primarily involves literary texts falsely attributed to ancient authors or false legal and ecclesiastical documents invented to support various types of legal claims. Epigraphic texts were largely excluded from this process, since there was a progressive loss of the capacity to understand and interpret ancient inscriptions in the period from the eighth to the thirteenth centuries.⁵ This means that the anomalies in the copies of Latin inscriptions contained in the descriptions of Rome for the use of pilgrims are due to errors of reading or fanciful interpretations more than to deliberate interpolations (Ch. 2). It was only the revival of the study of classical literature by the first humanists and the rediscovery of Roman archaeological remains in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries that brought about a renewed interest in epigraphy. This manifested itself in a growing number of collections of texts—both in manuscript and in printed form—and in a progressive refinement of the tools necessary for their understanding. The whole process took place in a period when there was general enthusiasm for the classical past, which was being rediscovered at that time. This enthusiasm stimulated a desire among scholars to gain knowledge about that world, among artists to re-create it, and among collectors to own classical artefacts. The phenomenon of epigraphic forgeries can only be fully understood by taking several factors into account: (a) the re-evaluation during the Renaissance of the historical significance of ancient documents; (b) the prestige that a particular site,

⁵ Grafton 1990: 23–25.

institution, or family derived from its ability to trace its origins back to classical antiquity; and (c) the pride that nobles and cardinals took in their archaeological collections.

Some forgeries were produced for commercial gain, at least a number of the forgeries on stone. Others were manufactured on stone or bronze with the intention of replacing authentic documents as historical sources. The large majority of forgeries, however, were produced only in manuscript or printed works. They were disseminated in epigraphic collections, especially from the start of the sixteenth century, and arose mostly from the sincere and understandable, although philologically unjustified, desire to restore classical antiquity to its original splendour rather than to rely simply on the ruins uncovered through excavation.⁶ This meant carrying out restorations and filling lacunae in the documentation. There was perhaps also the more malicious intent to corroborate through the use of inscriptions, which by this date had an acknowledged value as historical sources, hypotheses and theories on the exact location of a monument, on the identification of a site, or on the origins and ancient pedigree of a family or place. Such issues were often the subject of fiery disputes among scholars.

The title of “supreme producer of epigraphic forgeries” unquestionably belongs to Pirro Ligorio (c. 1512–83).⁷ Born in Naples, he first moved to Rome and later, from 1568 onwards, lived in Ferrara, where he served Duke Alfonso II until his death. His immense work, which for the most part remains in manuscript form, primarily consists of forty books of “Antiquities of Rome” (*Delle Antichità di Roma*), written in Rome and sold to Cardinal Alessandro Farnese before the work had been completed; these books are currently preserved at the National Library in Naples (Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli, *Cod. Neap.* XIII.B.1–10). During the years he spent in Ferrara, Ligorio also composed his *Enciclopedia del mondo antico* (“Encyclopaedia of the Ancient World”), now preserved in the State Archive in Turin (Archivio di Stato di Torino), where the same material is arranged in alphabetical order rather than thematically.⁸ These works, as well as other *codices* preserved in various European libraries, contain a great number of inscriptions skilfully invented by the author alongside accurate copies of existing monuments. These texts are reproduced with much information about the materials, state of preservation, and place of discovery, to lend more credibility to Ligorio’s creations.

Often these fanciful details were not recognized as such by later scholars and were incorporated into many epigraphic collections of the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries. The drastic work of purging carried out by the editors of the *CIL* has systematically marked as fake many hundreds of inscriptions known to us only through Ligorio, following Theodor Mommsen’s principle “probato dolo totum testem infirmari” (*CIL* X, p. xi: “once his deceitful intent has been proven, his entire credibility as a source is invalidated”). This has resulted in the creation of a specific section of *Ligorianae* among the *falsae* in all the volumes of the *Corpus*, some of which have now been rehabilitated

⁶ Grafton 1990: 25–28.

⁷ So Guarducci 1967: 492 (“sovrano creatore dei falsi epigrafici”).

⁸ Orlandi 2008, 2009; cf. Mandowsky and Mitchell 1963: esp. 137–139 (*Enciclopedia*).

by more recent *CIL* editors, as well as by numerous studies on Ligorio in the past few years.⁹ Except for the few texts carved on stone, produced mainly for commercial purposes, his forgeries stemmed from the idea, widespread among Ligorio's contemporaries, that the task of the antiquarian was to present the ancient world in its most complete and "correct" form.

This involved restoring them to the form that they had—or might have had—in the minds of those who created them. Moved by the desire to "give the dead their souls back" ("restituire l'anima agli estinti"), when attempting to fill lacunae in the sources, Ligorio in part gave voice to his own imagination, but he also used all the data drawn from ancient sources that a network of scholars had put at his disposal, working in a variety of ways:

- (a) he presented most of the texts as if they were intact, even when in reality they contained conspicuous lacunae. An example is provided by the inscription from Rome recording the early fifth-century restorations supervised by the urban prefect Anicius Acilius Glabrio Faustus (*CIL* VI 1676). The architrave was broken both on the left and right sides, but Ligorio (*Cod. Neap.* XIII.B.7, p. 142) drew it as if its text was completely preserved.¹⁰
- (b) Ligorio falsely claimed that in addition to the original fragmentary specimen of an inscription there existed another intact copy, which is reproduced along with the former as if both were really extant. This is the case, for instance, with the dedication to Fortuna Primigenia from Praeneste (*CIL* XIV 2865), which is reproduced twice on p. 211 of *Cod. Neap.* XIII.B.7. It is shown once with the damage and loss of text down the right side and once in the form of a completely preserved pedestal with its inscription intact (Fig. 3.1).¹¹
- (c) Ligorio created fake but (at least in part) plausible epigraphic texts, reconstructed on the basis of information from literary sources, coin legends, or authentic inscriptions, and he presented them alongside authentic texts to corroborate various arguments. Apart from the many texts concerning famous monuments in Rome, the exact locations of which were at that time the subject of learned dispute,¹² the case of *CIL* X 1008*, allegedly from South Italy, is of particular interest:

ex auctoritate / Imp. Caesaris divi Nervae fil. / Nervae Traiani Aug. Germa/nici Dacici Parthici pontifi/cis maximi tribunic. potest. V / cos. V p. p. curat. viarum / L. Licinius C. f. Sura IIIIvir II / M. Iulius M. f. Fronto IIIIvir / T. Laelius Q. f. Cocceianus IIIIvir / Sex. Flavius L. f. Falto IIIIvir / cipp. terminaverunt / viam Traianam App. per

⁹ Vagenheim 1987, 2011; Salomies 1986; Solin 1994, 2005.

¹⁰ Orlandi 2008: 120.

¹¹ Vagenheim 1994: 96–102; Orlandi 2008: 197.

¹² For instance, *CIL* VI 105*, 123* (Ludus Matutinus), 743* (Ludus Dacicus), 147* (Temple of Castor and Pollux), 203* (Temple of Diana on the Aventine), 390* (Temple of Jupiter Caelimontanus), 272*, 274* (houses of Pomponius Atticus and Terentius Varro), 276* (the Curia); cf. Schreurs 2000: 96–108.

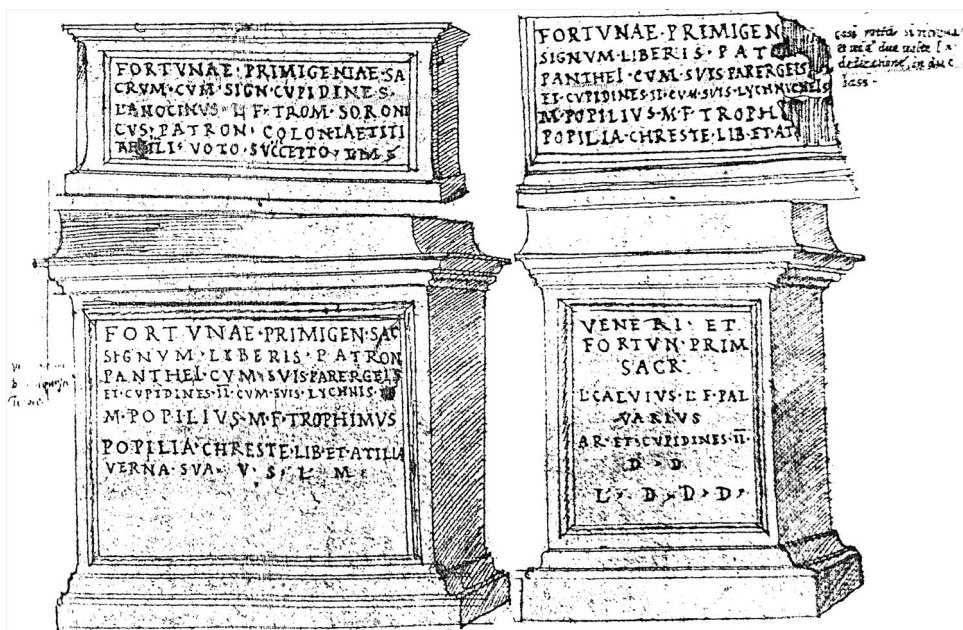


FIG. 3.1 Drawings by Pirro Ligorio of the same dedication to Fortuna Primigenia from Praeneste (CIL XIV 2865) in two different forms. *Cod. Neap.* XIII.B.7, p. 211 (upper right and lower left).

Bruttios / Salentinos publica pec. contulere / Bruttiei Salentinei oppidatim / Napetinei Hipponatei Mamertinei / Rheginei Scyllacei Cauloniatiei / Laometeciei Terinaei Temsa/nei Locren... Thuriat... / cur... mill. p... / ... CC...

This fake inscription is based on a fragment of the Greek historian Antiochus of Syracuse—quoted by Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*Ant. Rom.* 1.35.1)—mentioning the gulf “Napetion” (a corruption of “Lametikon,” the modern Gulf of Sant’Eufemia) to demonstrate the alleged existence of the people known as the “Napetinei.”¹³

The case of inscribed domestic objects (*instrumentum*, such as *fistulae aquariae*, brick-stamps, and quarry marks) is more complex, especially because it has been less studied. Although here too many fakes are encountered, it is often unclear whether a text is wholly invented or contains elements interpolated from genuine inscriptions that have since disappeared.¹⁴

Ligorio’s forgeries are frequently found in the epigraphic *codices* of Onofrio Panvinio (1530–68). In his work on the consular and triumphal *fasti*, *Fasti et triumpho Romanorum a Romulo rege usque ad Carolum V Caes. Aug.*, published in Venice

¹³ Vagenheim 2001.

¹⁴ Bruun 2001: 311–312.

in 1557, Panvinio inserted scattered references to inscriptions with consular dates, which sometimes are forgeries taken over from manuscripts or printed works (*CIL* VI 3094*–3123*). Similarly, Jean-Jacques Boissard appended fake inscriptions to some of the monuments that he elegantly reproduced both in the *codices* written in his own hand preserved in Paris and Stockholm and in the printed edition of the *Antiquitates urbanae Romanae* (Frankfurt, c. 1600).¹⁵ Boissard attributed the false inscription *Soli / sacrum* (*CIL* VI 3152*) to the (actually anepigraphic) obelisk in front of the church of Trinità dei Monti, relying on the conviction of sixteenth-century topographers such as Bartolomeo Marliani, Lucio Fauno, and Gesualdo Bufalini that the Temple of Sol was located there.

The progress of epigraphy as a scholarly discipline, as well as the refinement of analytical techniques for the identification of fakes—of which Scipione Maffei's *Ars critica lapidaria* (published posthumously in 1765) is a milestone—did not prevent the phenomenon of forgeries in written form from continuing in the following centuries.¹⁶ In the seventeenth century we find the forgeries of the otherwise unknown amanuensis Claudius Franciscus Grata, whose inventions (*CIL* VI 3298*–3333*) appear in a manuscript copy of Giovanni Battista Doni's epigraphic collection commissioned by Cardinal Francesco Barberini, currently preserved in the Vatican Library (*Cod. Barb. lat.* 2556).¹⁷ In the eighteenth century the notes and letters of Pier Luigi Galletti contain forgeries (*CIL* VI 3334*–3389*), and he also produced further inventions on stone (p. 53).

Finally, the apographs (i.e., drawings with transcripts) of Count Girolamo Asquini from Udine (1762–1837) concern inscriptions from NE Italy, but they were considered untrustworthy by Mommsen, unless confirmed by the originals or by a different manuscript tradition.¹⁸ In spite of Mommsen's censure, they may deserve at least partial rehabilitation, or the forgeries should be attributed to others, as more recent discoveries and studies have shown.¹⁹ There is also, however, a remarkable group of forged inscriptions created by Asquini out of his own excessive civic pride. He wanted to boost the importance of Iulium Carnicum (modern Zuglio) in Roman times by attributing to it a series of texts providing interesting information on the cults, institutions, and inhabitants of the city (*CIL* V 58*–61*, 63*, 65*, 66*, 69*).²⁰ These forgeries arise from a dispute that set Asquini against another local historian Michele della Torre Valsassina. The latter, insisting on the greater importance of Forum Iulium (modern Cividale), went so far as to transport some inscribed monuments from Zuglio to Cividale, with the intention of elevating the status of Cividale in the Roman period.²¹ Similarly, some antiquarians from Fondi tried to connect to this town the Roman inscription erected

¹⁵ *CIL* VI, *Index auctorum*, p. lix; Callmer 1962.

¹⁶ Buonopane 1998.

¹⁷ Buonocore 2004: 113.

¹⁸ *CIL* V p. 81 no. XXIV; Rebaudo 2007: 129–133.

¹⁹ Panciera 1970: 35–84.

²⁰ Panciera 1970: 169–170; Mainardis 2008: 75–76.

²¹ Donati 1991: 706.

in honour of Sulla by the *vicus laci Fundani* (*CIL* VI 1297).²² This behaviour confirms that the over-zealous patriotic interest inherent in such operations not only led to the creation of inscriptions today relegated to the ranks of *falsae*, but is also to blame for the phenomenon of inscriptions labelled as *alienae* (i.e., displaced from their original municipality).²³

FORGERIES CARVED IN STONE (MARIA LETIZIA CALDELLI)

This category consists of inscriptions on stone and other durable materials that were produced in post-classical times in an effort to imitate Roman epigraphic texts. Forgeries on stone are a complex phenomenon emerging in parallel with the rediscovery of the classical world and with the growing interest in Roman epigraphy among the humanists in Padua in the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The earliest example is perhaps *CIL* VI 6*, already extant in 1303. Over time this activity took on different forms, characteristics, and aims. The question is made thornier by the lack of a precise definition of what exactly is meant by epigraphic forgery today and what was meant by it in the past, since “forgery” is a cultural concept.²⁴

A marble slab, formerly in the Villa Altieri in Rome, now in the Museo Nazionale Romano, is a clear example of the difficulties one faces in establishing an unequivocal definition. The inscription (*CIL* VI 3477*) reads:

D(is) M(anibus) s(acrum) / Iulio Pomponio qui vixit / donicum fata permiserunt / M. Antonius Alterius et / C. Antonius Septumuleius / devoti / b(ene) m(erenti) via Appia posuerunt.

In reality this is a text created by Marco Antonio Altieri and Giannantonio Settimuleio Campano for their master, the famous humanist Giulio Pomponio Leto (1435–98), who on many occasions expressed the wish to be buried in an ancient tomb along the Appian Way. The inscription dates back to before 1471—the likely year of death of young Settimuleio—and was produced as an erudite exercise within the first Accademia Romana; later, it ended up in the house of Altieri, one of the authors of the text. Although this document was included by the editors of the *CIL* in the fascicle devoted to the *falsae*, recent studies have rightly pointed out that it ought to be regarded not as a forgery, but as an example of neo-Latin epigraphy produced in a

²² Di Fazio 1997.

²³ Fabre and Mayer 1984: 181.

²⁴ Eco 1988.

humanistic environment.²⁵ From this perspective, some inscriptions contained in the collection of Ciriaco d’Ancona (Ch. 2) are difficult to classify. Even the stern critic Mommsen recanted his original scepticism about the reliability of texts collected by Ciriaco: “sed fides eius iam non tam incorrupta mihi creditur quam olim iudicabam” (*CIL IX*, p. xxxviii).

An interesting case is an inscription from Ricina, carved on a limestone slab comprising six fragments, now displayed in the Palazzo Comunale, Macerata (*CIL IX* 5747). Mommsen realized that two of the fragments were not ancient, based on the text’s palaeography, the preparation of the inscribed surface, and the partly inauthentic Latin. The inscription—first copied by Ciriaco—was in his version arranged on eight lines and did not have any gaps (*Cod. Vat. lat.* 218, f. 1):

Imp(eratori) Caesari L. Veri Aug(usti) fil(io) divi Pii nep(oti) divi Ha(driani) pron(epoti) divi Traiani Parth(ici) abnep(oti) divi Nervae / adnepoti L. Septimio Severo Pio Pertinaci / Augusto Arabico Adiabenico Parthico / Maximo p(ontifici) m(aximo) tribunic(ia) potest(ate) XIII imp(eratori) XI / co(n)s(uli) III p(atrici) p(atriciae) / colonia Helvia Ricina / conditori suo

What immediately strikes the eye is the incorrect filiation of Septimius Severus, who was normally styled *divi M. Antonini Pii Germ(anici) Sarm(atici) filius, divi Commodi frater* and not *L. Veri Aug(usti) fil(ius)*, as here. While the extant inscription, in which the first lines are no longer preserved, essentially confirms Ciriaco’s version, it is laid out on twelve lines rather than eight and obviously has a different distribution of the text. Mommsen, supported in his judgement by Giovanni Battista de Rossi, identified Ciriaco as the author of the later supplements and as the (perhaps unintentional) accomplice in the resulting forgery on stone (*CIL IX*, p. xxxviii; cf. *ICUR II* 1, p. 380). Whether Ciriaco was indeed the original author must remain an open question, but in any case an attempt has recently been made to exonerate him.²⁶ Arguably, the humanist was at most responsible for the false restoration of the text and he only operated on a less central part of the inscription—the emperor’s genealogy—without actually compromising the overall historical value of the document. If anything, he showed the limits of his own antiquarian culture. The inclusion of fakes or texts deriving from literary sources in Ciriaco’s manuscripts should be seen either as an ingenious game by a man of letters or the result of a lack of critical judgement rather than as an act of bad faith.²⁷ The inscription at issue ought not to be placed among the *falsae*.

In parallel with the growing interest in Latin epigraphy at the beginning of the fifteenth century and with the spread of the first collections of actual inscriptions and anthologies of epigraphic texts, there was also a substantial increase in the number of forgeries (especially in manuscripts and in printed works). These should be considered

²⁵ Petrucci 1994: 19–33; Magister 2003: 77–78 no. 2.

²⁶ Marengo 1998.

²⁷ Thus Campana 2005: 10–11, 21; cf. Espluga 2011.

separately from inscriptions produced by humanists, as we have seen. Some motives for this activity were highlighted earlier in this chapter, and already in the fifteenth century purportedly ancient inscriptions on stone must have been composed in the same humanist circles for reasons of political opportunism.²⁸

The motives that led Pirro Ligorio to create forgeries are complex and defy precise definition. Although his forgeries are mostly found in his written works, there are numerous cases in which he carved or, more probably, had someone else carve inscriptions that are now considered inauthentic.²⁹ In Rome, for example, out of the 2,993 epigraphic texts included among the *falsae ligoriana*e, about seventy were produced on stone (i.e., a little over 2 percent of the total). About one-fifth of these have now been rehabilitated as genuine (for example, *ILMNI* 86, 359).³⁰ Certainly false, however, is an inscription reported by Ligorio (*CIL* VI 937*) and inscribed on a carefully cut marble slab, now in the Museo Nazionale Romano (Fig. 3.2):

*Lucrinae Iucundae / P. Lucrinus P. l. Thalamus / a corinthis faber / loc(us) enp(tus) (!) est
((denariis)) ((decem milibus)) m(onetae) argent(eae) / sibi et su(is) pos(terisque)*

For Lucrina Iucunda. P. Lucrinus Thalamus, freedman of Publius, smith producing Corinthian vessels, set this up for himself, his family, and descendants. The burial site was bought for 10,000 *denarii* of silver coin.

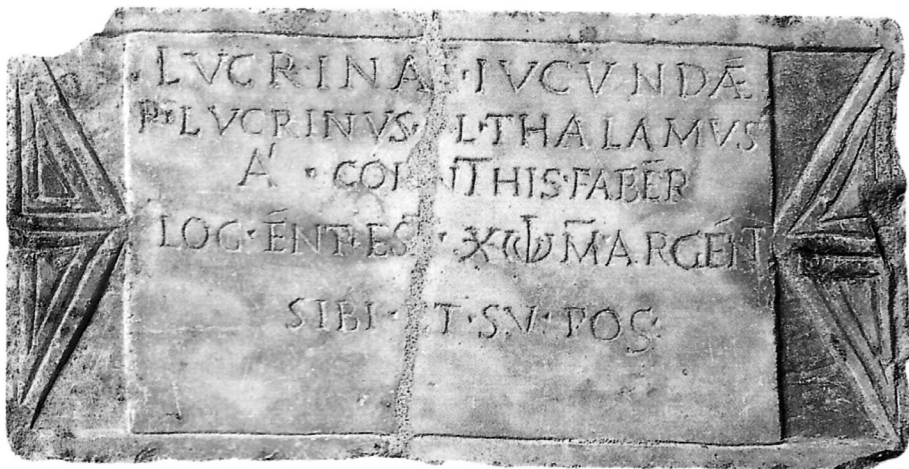


FIG. 3.2 Fake funerary inscription from Rome (*CIL* VI 937*), reported by Pirro Ligorio. Museo Nazionale Romano.

²⁸ Weiss 1969: 164–165.

²⁹ Henzen 1877; Hülsen 1895, 1901.

³⁰ Solin 1994.

While the slab and the writing stand out for their high quality that imitates ancient models, the text itself reveals the forgery, despite the correct phrasing, for a variety of reasons. There is the otherwise unattested family name *Lucrinus/-a*³¹ and the expression *a corinthis faber*, perhaps intended by the author as a reference to a craftsman-producer of Corinthian bronze vessels. There is also the exaggerated sum of money for the purchase of a funerary *locus*,³² and the very formulation of the sum in question, *((denariis))... m(onetae) argent(eae)*, is unparalleled. That part was perhaps inspired by the office of *flaturarius auri et argenti monetae* mentioned in *CIL VI 8456* or of *offinator monetae aurariae argentariae* in *CIL VI 43*, both of which were transcribed by Ligorio himself. After all, interpolations are one of the methods that he used to create his forgeries, as we have seen. Other forgeries on stone by Ligorio, which passed from the collection of Cardinal Rodolfo Pio da Carpi to that of the House of Este in Ferrara, are currently preserved in the Museo Lapidario Estense in Modena.³³

Surveying the sections devoted to epigraphic fakes in *CIL*, it appears that in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries forgeries in written works were preferred to forgeries on stone, although there was an increase in the number of the latter as well.³⁴ Forgeries on stone no longer seem to arise from a desire to compete with the past or reconstruct the past in an ideal form. Rather, we seem to be dealing with the then current phenomenon of historical forgery, i.e., a forgery that was relevant to local history or to the fortunes of some illustrious family. Forgery for commercial purposes represented another variety.³⁵

It is only in the eighteenth century that the tide appears to turn, when the industry of forgeries on stone gained the upper hand, in parallel with the increase in public and private collections of antiquities. Rome became the production centre par excellence: in the workshops of sculptors and restorers, texts of ancient inscriptions (copied in full or in part) or texts invented along the lines of ancient inscriptions were carved on to ancient objects that were originally anepigraphic. Such objects were unearthed in copious numbers in the numerous excavations undertaken in the city and its surroundings. If no ancient objects were available, inscriptions were carved on a modern artefact produced in one of the ateliers that specialized in creating supposed antiquities.

Several of these epigraphic forgeries were manufactured in some of the most renowned workshops of the time, such as those of Bartolomeo Cavaceppi and Giovanni Battista Piranesi.³⁶ Along with other genuine products, they entered important collections in Russia, Sweden, and above all Great Britain,³⁷ as well as in Italy. In these cases the quality of the forgery is high, reflecting the status of the client or

³¹ It does not appear in the list of *nomina* at Solin and Salomies 1994: 107.

³² Crea 2004.

³³ Gregori and Petrucci 1986: 273–279. On the epigraphic collection, Solin 2009: esp. 138–139.

³⁴ Stenhouse 2005: 89–98.

³⁵ Capoferro 2008: esp. 1400.

³⁶ Cavaceppi: Howard 1982: 193–195; Gasparri and Ghiandoni 1993. Piranesi: Gasparri 1982; Neverov 1982; Teatini 2003: 121–123.

³⁷ Davies 2000.



FIG. 3.3 Richly decorated funerary urn, produced in the eighteenth century, with a fake inscription supposedly attesting Catullus' mistress Lesbia. Palazzo del Rettorato, University of Rome "La Sapienza."

recipient, who may or may not have been aware that they were acquiring fakes. One of the above-mentioned workshops or a similar one must have produced the richly decorated urn, formerly in the collection of Cardinal de Zelada at Rome, now in the Rectorate (Palazzo del Rettorato) of the University of Rome "La Sapienza" (Fig. 3.3):³⁸

D(is) M(anibus) / Lesbiâe suâe / quam unice ama/vit Q. Catullus me/rens posuit vix(it) / an(nis) XVII obiit q(uinto die) / calendas Iulii (!)

To the Departed Spirits of his very own Lesbia, which Q. Catullus loved in a unique way.
He deservedly set this up. She lived seventeen years and died on 27 June.

It is a fictitious text, inspired by Catullus (*Carm.* 58.2–3). The names of the dedicatee and the dedicator are those of two major figures of Latin literature: Lesbia, who here appears dying as a seventeen-year-old, and Q. (Valerius) Catullus. On the basis of the formulae used, the text is anachronistic. The consecration to the Manes was not used until at least a century after Catullus' time, nor is the indication of the date of death authentic. (The term *obit*, the day expressed with the first letter of the ordinal, *calendas* written in full, and the month-name in the genitive case *Iulii* instead of the accusative

³⁸ Caldelli 2008.

Iulias are all inauthentic features.) Other copies of the same text existed, but on different objects (cf. *CIL* X 344* = *ILMNI* 657).

The pressing demand for inscriptions to bolster more modest private collections must have led some antiquarians to become procurers or even creators of fakes. The case of Pier Luigi Galletti, a Benedictine friar from the Monte Cassino monastery, is typical.³⁹ From 1754 onwards, when he settled in Rome in the monastery of San Paolo fuori le Mura, he organized a complex system of production and distribution of fake inscriptions. Galletti would transcribe published and sometimes unpublished inscriptions from the collections he happened to visit. He then had them carved on stone by skilled craftsmen. Sometimes several copies were made of one original, generally with minor variations, so as to obscure the fact that they were mass produced or to distinguish the forgery from the original. These products ended up in various collections, especially in Sicily, thanks to the fortuitous meeting of Galletti and the two Sicilians, Placido Maria Scammacca and Gabriele Di Blasi. Thus entire lots of fake inscriptions made their way into the Abbey of San Martino delle Scale in Palermo, where the librarian Salvatore Maria Di Blasi (Gabriele's brother) set up a museum to enhance the glory of the monastery. From Palermo, part of the material was sent on to Catania, to satisfy requests from among others Ignazio Paternò Castello, the Prince of Biscari, who was in the process of forming a museum in his own palace.⁴⁰ Some of the materials also arrived in Messina, where the antiquarian Andrea Gallo was creating a small museum with the help of his friends Salvatore and Gabriele Di Blasi. The latter, as well as being a resident in Rome in San Paolo fuori le Mura, was also a member of the Benedictine monastery of San Placido Calonerò in Messina. Later on a few of the fakes from Messina reached France.⁴¹

Two examples, both now in the Museo Civico in Catania, give a good impression of the products of this "forgery factory."⁴² The first is a marble slab, formerly in the Benedictine monastery of San Nicolò l'Arena:

I. OM. Soli Sarapidi / Scipio Oreitus (?) v(ir) c(larissimus) / augur / voti compos reditus

The second is also a slab, entirely reassembled from two fragments, formerly in the museum of the Prince of Biscari:

C. O. M. Soli Sarapidi / Scipio Oreitus (?) / aucur (?) / voti com[p]os redius (?)

Both texts are copies of an original found along the Via Appia in 1745, now in the Capitoline Museum in Rome. The original is a marble altar; on its sides and back it has complex relief scenes, while on the front an oak crown frames the epigraphic field (*CIL* VI 402 = 30755 = *ILS* 4396):⁴³

³⁹ Billanovich 1967; Preto 2006: 19–24.

⁴⁰ Pafumi 2006: 117–119.

⁴¹ Gasco 1988: 211–217.

⁴² *CIL* X 1089*. 6; Korhonen 2004: 352 nos. 369–370.

⁴³ Gregori and Mattei 1999: no. 18 (photograph).

*I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) Soli Sarapidi / Scipio Orfitus v(ir) c(larissimus) / aucur (?) / voti
compos redditus*

The altar was replaced with simple slabs, but the text was preserved in full, preserving the line divisions and abbreviations. *Oreitus* for *Orfitus*, which appears on both copies, is possibly due to a misunderstanding. Some intentional variants were, however, also introduced: the different initial abbreviation (*I. OM.* vs *C. O. M.*), the different forms *reditus* / *redius*, the omission in the second copy of the indication of rank *v(ir) c(larissimus)*, and the correction *augur* for *aucur* in the first text.

The production of forgeries on stone did not end with the eighteenth century. It continued into the nineteenth century, and Rome remained its principal centre.⁴⁴ Collectors, scholars, antiquarians, and forgers were behind this activity, and sometimes all of these functions coalesced in a single individual, as in the well-known cases of Wolfgang Helbig, the Marquis Giovanni Pietro Campana, and Duke Michelangelo Caetani.⁴⁵ Their motivations were manifold, as were their methods and techniques, which must be examined case by case. The same phenomenon continued in the twentieth century. A sarcophagus from the Via Ostiense bears the false epitaph of *Albius Graptus*, cut in the early twentieth century. The inscription that inspired the forgery was found in excavations in 1897–98 and published only in 1938.⁴⁶ Copies of authentic military diplomas were produced for commercial purposes and ended up on the antiquities market, while other diplomas (equally authentic) inspired actual forgeries which contain some variants and have even ended up in museums. The most spectacular recent example of epigraphic forgery comes from Spain and concerns about 270 graffiti related to different aspects of Roman everyday life.⁴⁷

HISTORICAL AND DOCUMENTARY FORGERIES (GIAN LUCA GREGORI)

An important number of forgeries took their inspiration from various characters in Roman history known from literary sources. One of the earliest examples is the alleged epitaph of the poet *Lucan*, copied by the Paduan humanist *Rolando da Piazzola* in 1303 in Rome near *San Paolo fuori le Mura* (*CIL VI 6**):

⁴⁴ Guarducci 1980; Morandi 2002. On the great number of false *glandes missiles*, widespread primarily in the nineteenth century, Benedetti 2012: 36–38.

⁴⁵ Helbig; Guarducci 1980; Franchi De Bellis 2011; Solin 2011. Campana: Sarti 2001. Caetani: Taglietti 2008.

⁴⁶ Ahrens, Pomeroy, and Deuling 2008.

⁴⁷ Diplomas: Panciera 2006: 1823–28; Pangerl 2006. Spain: Gorrochategui Churruca 2011.

M(arco) A(nnaeo) / Lucano Cordubensi / poete beneficio / Neronis Caesaris / fama servata

To M. Annaeus Lucanus, from Corduba, poet, whose reputation was preserved thanks to the good offices of the emperor Nero.

The Dominican Giovanni Nanni, better known as Annio da Viterbo (1432–1502), is certainly among the best known forgers of the fifteenth century, and he was recognized as such shortly after his death because of the unusual nature of his creations.⁴⁸ In an effort to ennoble his own city, he filled his *Commentaria* with invented classical quotations and fanciful epigraphic texts, such as the one in which Janus and his son appear as the founders of Viterbo, or a decree of the Lombard king Desiderius, inscribed on stone, which is preserved in the Museo Civico in Viterbo (*CIL* XI 339*). His work enjoyed a certain success and his forgeries circulated, so much so that in 1540 Jean Matal (better known as Metellus) still felt bound to reaffirm that such texts were fraudulent.⁴⁹

Historical and documentary forgeries were also transmitted by learned antiquarians, who in the humanistic and Renaissance periods compiled collections in which authentic texts stood next to others that are clearly fictitious, whether they realized it or even cared. In some cases, the inspiration came from the events connected to the founding of Rome and the regal period. Thus one finds references to Romulus and Numa Pompilius: for the former, a relief of the she-wolf with the twins and the corresponding inscription (*CIL* VI 48*, from M.F. Ferrarini, who died c. 1488) and a set of laws attributed to him (*CIL* VI 3036*, from Ligorio); for the latter, an *elogium* praising his actions as legislator and creator of key Roman institutions (*CIL* VI 93*, “found on a bronze chest” according to Jan Gruter, who died in 1627) and a dedication by him to the nymph Egeria, referred to in Ovidian terms as *Numae coniunx* (*CIL* VI 3455*, seen by Bernard de Montfaucon, who died in 1741; cf. Ovid *Fasti* 3.275–276). However, the great generals and politicians of the early Republic were more popular. Their names appear in texts that enjoyed a wide circulation: the dedication of the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus by M. Horatius Pulvillus (*CIL* VI 1a*, from F. Feliciano, who died in 1480; cf. Liv. 7.3.8), the establishment of the cult of Dis Pater at Tarentum by P. Valerius Publicola (*CIL* VI 1b*, from O. Panvinio, who died 1658; cf. Zos. 2.3), the deeds of Siccus Dentatus (*CIL* VI 1c*, from F. Feliciano; cf. Plin. *NH* 7.28.101), the *elogia* of the dictator Cincinnatus (*CIL* VI 1d*, from Fra Giocondo, who died 1515; cf. Liv. 6.29) and P. Decius Mus, commemorating his triumph over the Samnites and consecration of the enemy spoils to Ceres (*CIL* VI 1e*, from G. Marcanova, who died 1406/7; cf. *De Vir. Ill.* 27).

The spurious epitaph composed in honour of Lucretia by her husband L. Tarquinius Collatinus (*CIL* VI 13* = X 197*) falls into this second group. Handed down by Ciriaco d’Ancona and Feliciano, it has been in turn attributed to Crete, Rome, Viterbo, and

⁴⁸ Baffioni and Mattiangeli 1981; Doni Garfagnini 1990; De Caprio 1991: 189–220; Rowland 1998: 53–59; Stenhouse 2005: 75–77, 162.

⁴⁹ Stenhouse 2005: 77–78, 168.



FIG. 3.4 Invented epitaph of Lucretia allegedly set up by her husband L. Tarquinius Collatinus (CIL VI 13* = X 197*), probably from Cumae. Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Naples.

Fiesole. It is also known from a copy on stone, allegedly from Cumae, now in the Museo Archeologico Nazionale in Naples (Fig. 3.4; the letters once seen, but now lost are here underlined):

Colatinus Tar(quinus) / dulcissim(a)e me(a)e / coniugi et inco/mparabili Lucre(tia)e / pudoris et / mulierum glori(a)e / qu(a)e vixit annis / XXII m(ensibus) V d(iebus) XVI

Tarquinius Colatinus to my sweetest and incomparable spouse, Lucretia, glory of chastity and of women, who lived 22 years, 5 months, and 16 days.

Thanks to Livy (1.57–59) and Ovid (*Fasti* 2.741–852), the story of Lucretia was extremely well-known. This episode caused the overthrow of the monarchy and the establishment of the Republic. Based on the linguistic aspects (the recurrent monophthongs) and the formulas used—typical, if anything, of a text of the imperial period—it was already easy for Fra Giovanni Giocondo in the early sixteenth century to recognize this as a forgery (*Cod. Veron.* f. 153: “epigramma istud ubi sit ignoro et fictum puto.”). Lucretia is only one of the cases of Roman *mulierum gloria* inspiring forgeries; others include the epitaph for Marcia, the wife of Cato the Younger (CIL VI 1*1, from Marcanova, created along the lines of Lucan’s *Pharsalia* 2.343), and that for Tullia, Cicero’s daughter (CIL VI 3593*, an epitaph discovered in Rome in 1485, copied by Giorgio Spalatino, the chaplain of the elector of Saxony, who died in 1545).

Figures from the distant past were also used to boost the prestige of ruling houses and to satisfy a number of noble families in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. They desired to demonstrate that they traced their origins back to individual ancient Romans, especially of the Republican period, if not to mythological heroes.⁵⁰ There is an interesting continuity here; for already in the Roman period *gentes* boasted of mythical or legendary ancestors.⁵¹ This phenomenon was quite widespread in the early modern era, fuelling both the forging and collecting of epigraphic items.⁵² For example, the inscription *Valer(io) Publ(icolae) con[suli]* (CIL VI 1776 = 31928), incised on the plinth of a togate statue in the palace of the Santacroce family in Rome (today the Palazzo Pasolini dell'Onda), is most likely to be dated to the fifteenth century rather than to Late Antiquity, as was long believed. The inscription was meant to validate the claim of the family who were patrons of the church of Santa Maria in Publicolis that they were descended from the illustrious *gens Valeria*, to whom the great Publicola also belonged.⁵³

A case only recently discovered is that of the sixteenth-century forgeries, both in written works and on stone, which can be attributed to the antiquarian Girolamo Falletti. They mention members of the *gens Atia* as alleged ancestors of the House of Este, in which the name Azzo had been recurrent.⁵⁴ In a similar way, during the sixteenth century the Cesi family collected forgeries referring to members of the *gens Caesia*, copied by Martin Smet, Pirro Ligorio, and Giovanni Battista Fontei (CIL VI 3440*–3442*, 3612*). Furthermore, Fontei authored, among other things, a work *de gente Caesia*.⁵⁵ The Orsini behaved similarly: in their palace in the Campo de' Fiori they exhibited the long funerary inscription, in large letters, of *Ursus Aulus*, commander and saviour of his country (a completely fictitious character), and his spouse *Vituria, Augusti Caesaris neptis* (!), who had composed a poem on chastity (CIL VI 4*d, from Ferrarini).⁵⁶ The Roman family of the Porcari had the following distich above the door of their house, copied by Antonio Belloni around the middle of the sixteenth century (CIL VI 3*g):

ille ego sum nostrae sobolis Cato Porcius auctor / nobile quoi nomen os dedit arma toga

I am that famous Porcius Cato, originator of our line; my physical appearance, military accomplishments, and political career gave me my noble name.

The learned connection between the surname Porcari and the Roman family name *Porcius* was cleverly devised, and no doubt the alleged descent from Cato must have

⁵⁰ Bizzocchi 1991: 374–393, 2009: 183–211.

⁵¹ Wiseman 1979: 57–103, 1987: 207–218, 1994: 23–36; Bizzocchi 1991: 359–365.

⁵² On the Gonzaga of Sabbioneta, Gregori 2008.

⁵³ Bombardi 1994.

⁵⁴ Bizzocchi 1991: 390–391, 2009: 190–191; Gregori 1995; Giordani and Paolozzi Strozzi 2005: 224–226 no. 88.

⁵⁵ Pietrangeli 1989; Rausa 2007: esp. 209–210.

⁵⁶ Bizzocchi 1991: 390.

brought great lustre to the family, who in the second half of the fifteenth century had a prominent figure in Francesco Porcari, a friend of Feliciano, who was his guest in Rome.⁵⁷ For the epitaph of this Roman noble, who was buried in 1482 in the Basilica of Santa Maria sopra Minerva, the medieval form of the family surname (*de Porcariis*) was abandoned in favour of *Portius*, which was better suited to trace the family's origins to the ancient *gens Porcia*. The fame that Cato the Elder continued to enjoy is confirmed by the dedication, known since the early eighteenth century, on the base of a statue of him, which celebrated his restoration of decaying Roman morals through his customs, laws, and precepts (*CIL VI 3428**, copied by Lodovico Antonio Muratori from the work of D.B. Mattei).

Finally, the princely family of the Massimo claimed to be descended from the *gens Fabia*, in particular from the celebrated Q. Fabius Maximus Cunctator. In addition to adopting Ennius' famous phrase *cunctando restituit rem* (*Ann.* 363 Skutsch: "by delaying he restored the state", quoted by Livy 30.26.9) as the family's motto, in the first half of the sixteenth century the Palazzo Massimo di Pirro was decorated with painted scenes of the life of their alleged distinguished ancestor. Meanwhile, in 1556 Onofrio Panvinio composed the *de gente Maxima*, in which he gave an official stamp to a view that was then widespread, listing as many as eighteen generations of ancient members of the family of that name.⁵⁸

Famous historical or legendary figures inspired the production of other forgeries, which were used to ennoble the origins of some cities, often in the context of heated local rivalries such as among Catania, Messina, and Palermo in the seventeenth century.⁵⁹ Mantua attributed the construction of its fortifications to Mantes, daughter of the Theban seer Tiresias (*CIL V 432**). Fermo claimed to have received from Augustus himself the imperial eagle, which was then incorporated into the municipal coat of arms (*CIL IX 540**).⁶⁰ In the eighteenth century Francesco Antonio Zaccaria attributed to the territory between Alba and Lavinio (in the Alban hills near Rome) the epitaph of Pallas, son of Evander, killed by Turnus' spear (*Verg. Aen.* 10.479–489), but this was in fact a Renaissance forgery (*CIL VI 90**, first copied by G. Choler, who died in 1534). In the eighteenth century the epitaph of the Numidian king Syphax was carved on an ancient funerary altar and displayed in Tivoli, where according to Livy (30.45.4) and Valerius Maximus (5.1.1b) he had lived as a prisoner until his death (*CIL XIV 405* = Inscr.It. IV.1 33**). Similar cases of excessive civic pride can also be found outside Italy. For example, in Austria Wolfgang Lazius (1546) forged a text to support the municipal rights of Vindobona (Vienna); it was mistaken for an authentic text by Mommsen (*CIL III 4557*).⁶¹

Prominent personalities linked to places and historic events of particular significance prompted other forgeries. One example is the so-called *suggestum Caesaris*, still on

⁵⁷ Modigliani 1994 (esp. 445–477 on the genealogical memoirs); Minasi 2007.

⁵⁸ Guerrini 1985: 86–90, pls. 65–74; cf. Bizzocchi 1991: 385.

⁵⁹ Preto 2006: 11–24.

⁶⁰ Ferracuti 2005.

⁶¹ Weber 2003: 339–341.

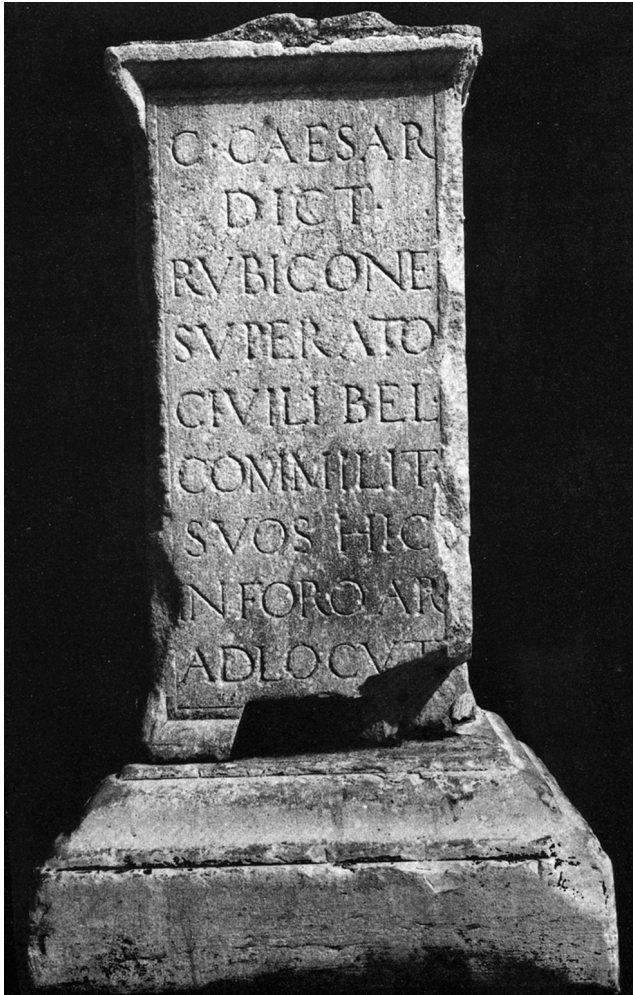


FIG. 3.5 False inscription (*CIL* XI 34*) on a statue base commemorating Caesar's crossing of the Rubicon in 49 BCE. Rimini, Piazza Tre Martiri.

display in Rimini, a monument erected to commemorate the spot where Caesar, after crossing the Rubicon, in 49 BCE allegedly harangued his troops (*CIL* XI 34*; Fig. 3.5):

C. Caesar / dict(ator) / Rubicone / superato / civili bel(lo) / commilit(ones) / suos hic / in foro Ar(iminensi) / adlocut(us)

Gaius Caesar, dictator, after crossing the Rubicon during the civil war, addressed his fellow soldiers here in the forum of Ariminum.

Caesar's deed also inspired another better known forgery, the so-called Rubicon decree, which began circulating in texts from 1475 and which was later also carved on the back of an authentic funerary stele of a Roman soldier (*CIL* XI 30*, deriving from

Marcanova, Ciriaco, and Giocondo).⁶² The text prohibited anyone from crossing the river under arms and military standards, at the risk of being considered an enemy of the state. It was seen and already deemed false by Antonio Agustín (1517–86), who composed a work in which he, following Matal, illustrated the criteria for recognizing a forgery and drew up a list of noted forgers. The list included, among others, Ciriaco d’Ancona, but surprisingly omitted Pirro Ligorio. Agustín thought he could identify a forgery based on language, formulas, and literary comparisons, and he was especially suspicious of documents containing references to famous episodes. For this reason he was unable to recognize Ligorio’s forgeries, since they would often take their inspiration from authentic inscriptions, which did not deal with important historical figures or events.⁶³

Legal forgeries appear among the earliest examples of epigraphic *falsae*. In addition to the Rubicon decree and the already mentioned decree of King Desiderius, some other examples may be mentioned. Ligorio’s *lex Romuli* (CIL VI 3036*) contains a whole range of measures. There is also the plebiscite concerning the name of the month of August (CIL VI 1*n, derived from Macrobius, *Sat.* 1.12). Ligorio forged the text of a *senatus consultum* on the establishment of the *curatores aquarum* (CIL VI 1043*), deriving its content from Frontinus (*Aq.* 99–101). One can also find the text of passages of the *acta diurna* purporting to be excerpts from the *libri lintei* of the *pontifices* (CIL VI 3403*). A brief passage regarding the events of 62 BCE is in reality a sort of epigraphic summary of Cicero’s *Pro Sulla*, with which there are several points of contact:

IX. *a(nte) d(iem) V kal(endas) Septemb(res) M. Tullius causam dicit pro Corn(elio) Sylla apud iudices de coniuratione. accusante Torquato filio quinque sententiis optinuit. trib(uni) aerar(i) condemnarunt: fasces penes Syllanum. trib(uni) pl(ebis) intercesserunt...*

IX. On August 28, M. Tullius defended Cornelius Sulla before a jury on the charge of conspiracy. The younger Torquatus was the prosecutor. Cicero won the verdict by five votes. The *tribuni aerarii* (i.e., who provided a third of the jurors) condemned him. The *fasces* were held by Sullanus (i.e., he presided over the court). The tribunes of the plebs interposed their veto...

At other times one gets the impression that one is dealing with a playful composition of a learned forger. This seems to be the case with the so-called *lex ex tabellis divum de re futuaria* (“the law deriving from the tablets of the gods on the business of sexual intercourse”), a complex and absurd piece containing a series of authorizations and prohibitions about love, opposed in spirit to Augustus’ *lex Iulia de adulteriis*. Allegedly it was once displayed in the Temple of Venus (CIL VI 17*). This text, possibly a *cento* inspired by Ovid’s *Ars amatoria*, was included in the collections of Ciriaco, Feliciano, Marcanova, Alciato, and others, enjoying an undeserved, although perhaps understandable, popularity.

⁶² On this and the previous text, Campana 1933.

⁶³ Stenhouse 2005: 78–80; cf. Vagenheim 2003.

Legal or at any rate official documents were still invented during the nineteenth century and certainly also later. Suffice it to mention the modern replica of a fragment containing lines 1–10 of chapter 66 of the *lex coloniae Iuliae Genetivae* (RS 25), which was purchased by Johns Hopkins University for its archaeological collection several decades ago.⁶⁴

CONCLUSION

It is difficult to identify a common type of behaviour among the various forgers. While in some cases their products appear rather sloppy and easy to detect, in other instances they managed to deceive even experts, though palaeography, onomastics, and the formulas used should have raised at least some doubts.⁶⁵ As seen above, some alleged fakes have, on the other hand, recently been rehabilitated, since it has become clear that in reality they derive from the simple misunderstanding of an authentic text.⁶⁶ For other documents, however, the debate continues between scholars taking opposing views, some favouring authenticity, and further research is needed.⁶⁷ The most famous case is certainly the so-called fibula Praenestina (see n. 45).

This fascinating and still largely under-investigated chapter in the history of epigraphy would be worth a much more extensive survey. In particular, for several reasons this contribution has focused on Italy, but the phenomenon of forgeries and fakes was widespread in other places too. Some work has been done, but more is needed.⁶⁸

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⁶⁴ D'Ors 1972: 60.

⁶⁵ For example, *CIL* XI 848 (Modena); cf. Gregori 1995: 155–178.

⁶⁶ Fabre and Mayer 1984: 184–188 (Hispania); Buonopane 2006–7: 317–322 (Grumentum); Korhonen 2007 (Syracuse).

⁶⁷ Weber 2001: 463–465 (on *CLE* 52, 427); Solin 2008 (on *CIL* VI 3623*).

⁶⁸ Ternes 1969 (Luxembourg); Fabre and Mayer 1984: 181–184; Le Roux 1984 (Spain); Weber 2001: 465–473 (the former Yugoslavia).

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CHAPTER 4

THE MAJOR CORPORA AND EPIGRAPHIC PUBLICATIONS

CHRISTER BRUUN

THE Greek epigraphers were first. A comprehensive corpus of ancient Greek inscriptions, funded and supported by the Königlich Preussische Akademie der Wissenschaften in Berlin and edited by August Boeckh, appeared as early as in 1828 under the name *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum* (CIG). As often is the case, this pioneering work, which appeared in four volumes in 1828–77, was soon found to be wanting in some respects, and the project to publish all ancient Greek inscriptions was restarted under the new title *Inscriptiones Graecae* (IG), of which the first volume appeared in 1903.¹ The subsequent development of this project is, however, not relevant to this chapter. Instead, it aims to present briefly the history of modern Roman (primarily Latin) epigraphic corpora. The purpose is not so much to chronicle the progress of this field as it is to provide a roadmap for those who need to find their way through the sometimes bewildering collection of primary source publications. As is made clear below (Ch. 5), regardless of the convenient electronic epigraphic databases available on the internet, it is today, and will for the foreseeable future remain, indispensable to consult the readings and commentaries to be found in the standard printed epigraphic publications.

MOMMSEN, THE *CIL*, AND THE PRINCIPLE OF AUTOPSY

The establishment of a Greek corpus project within the Berlin Akademie undoubtedly acted as an inspiration for scholars working on Latin inscriptions, but the idea to

¹ Hallof 2009.

produce a comprehensive corpus was not an innovation of the nineteenth century. As we have already seen (Ch. 2), from the Renaissance to the eighteenth century learned scholars such as Ciriaco d'Ancona (1391–1455), Jan Gruter (1560–1627), or Lodovico Muratori (1672–1750) engaged in publishing collections of Roman inscriptions. This endeavour was raised to a new level thanks to the efforts of Theodor Mommsen (1817–1903). In the history of Graeco-Roman epigraphy, this son of a Lutheran minister from the border region of Schleswig, who received his degree in Roman law from the University of Kiel in northernmost Germany in 1843, towers above all other scholars (Fig. 4.1).²

Mommsen was a “militant epigrapher” in the highest degree, but he was also one of the foremost Roman historians of all times, with literary gifts that earned him a Nobel Prize in literature in 1902, and he was a marvellous organizer of the world-wide scholarly community. In today’s world, when international cooperation is a fundamental aspect of all academic life, and, for instance, epigraphers on six continents have since 1938 met at quinquennial congresses (cf. Table 4.1) and in 1972 founded the Association Internationale d’Épigraphie Grecque et Latine (AIEGL), it may seem odd that in the nineteenth century such cooperation was not a given.



FIG. 4.1 Theodor Mommsen in 1863. Engraving by L. Jacobi.

² Wickert 1959–80.

Table 4.1 The international congresses of Greek and Latin Epigraphy, since 1977 organized by the AIEGL

1938	1952	1957	1962	1967	1972	1977	1982
Amsterdam	Paris	Rome	Paris	Cambridge	Munich	Constanza	Athens
1987	1992	1997	2002	2007	2012	2017	2022
Sofia	Nîmes	Rome	Barcelona	Oxford	Berlin	Vienna	?

However, in 1847 when Mommsen first proposed the creation of a comprehensive corpus of Latin inscriptions, the world was a very different place.³ The nations that covered the territory of the Roman Empire were occasionally at war with each other, and communications between citizens of different nations or empires were complicated by a number of factors.⁴ It is all the more remarkable that an international agreement, under the leadership of the Berlin Akademie, was reached to publish all known ancient Latin inscriptions, wherever they were discovered or had previously been published, in one great multi-volume corpus. It is generally acknowledged that it was mainly due to Mommsen's energy, as well as to his enormous authority and the general respect for his scholarly accomplishments that made the creation of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* (*CIL*) project possible. Mommsen had already shown how it could be done by publishing in 1852, as a conclusion to his apprenticeship, as it were, in the profession, a corpus of the Latin inscriptions of south-central Italy (the former Kingdom of Naples), the *Inscriptiones regni Neapolitani Latinae* (*IRN*). In its editorial principles and layout, it set the model for the *CIL*.

The work on the *IRN* was the beginning of a lifetime of close contacts with Italy and Italian epigraphers (cf. Ch. 2, p. 21–22), and it led Mommsen to develop a scholarly principle which since has dominated the epigraphic profession: the centrality of autopsy, of having personally seen the inscription. This principle became the golden rule for the many scholars who over the past century and a half have contributed to the *CIL*, and, as emphasized above (cf. Ch. 1), it is still of paramount importance, regardless of the advent of additional modern methods for recording ancient texts.

The requirement to inspect personally every extant text to be published created an enormous amount of work for the *CIL* collaborators. No longer was it sufficient to cite a printed work from a previous century, or even a work that had appeared just a few years before. If someone reported having seen the epitaph of a Roman freedman affixed to the wall in the garden of a local parish priest near Assisi (Assisium), it meant that the editor of the appropriate *CIL* volume (*CIL* XI), Eugen Bormann, had to travel there or send one of his most trusted collaborators to study and record the inscribed object,

³ Schmidt 2007: 10.

⁴ Dondin-Payre 1988, esp. 23, 32–33 (“épigraphie et nationalisme”).

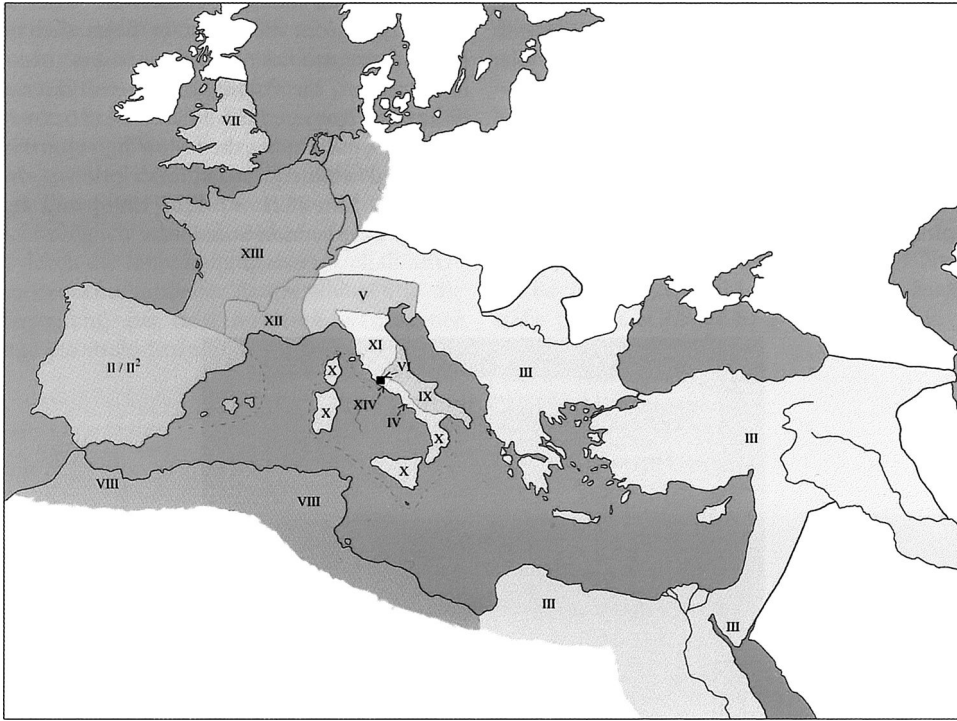


FIG. 4.2 Map of the Roman Empire, showing the areas covered by each regional *CIL* volume.

if it could still be located and if the owner granted permission to the visiting inquisitive intellectual, probably speaking with an unfamiliar accent (whether Italian or not), to view the ancient treasure. Innumerable anecdotes from the lives of militant epigraphers hunting inscriptions colour the pages of Roman epigraphy, some of them worthy of being inserted into an epic Indiana Jones story.

Following the launch of the project in 1853, it was difficult to predict how and when each volume would be completed, and so the apparently haphazard numbering of the *CIL* volumes follows a simple principle: it was based on expected publication date (Table 4.2). Volume I collects all Latin inscriptions from Italy and the provinces that date to the Republican period. Volumes II–XIV are organized geographically, according to an original estimate of how many inscriptions each region would yield (cf. Fig. 4.2). Thus the city of Rome, by far the richest site epigraphically, was rightly given a volume of its own (VI) and the rest of modern Italy was split into five volumes (IV, V, IX, X, and XI). On the other hand, the whole of the eastern Mediterranean, from the Alps as far south as Egypt, is included in *CIL* III, since most of the ancient inscriptions in this vast region are in Greek. They had already been reserved for the *IG* project and so could not also be included in the *CIL*. Within each volume, the inscriptions were arranged according to Roman municipalities, with prefatory material at the start of each section.

The decision to split off military diplomas (*CIL XVI*) and milestones (*CIL XVII*) from the geographically organized volumes was only taken much later and the first fascicules appeared in 1936 and 1986 respectively (cf. Chs. 16, 30). Still more recently, it was decided to publish a separate volume collecting all verse inscriptions (*CIL XVIII*), and the first fascicules covering Hispania and Rome will soon appear (cf. Ch. 35).⁵

CIL II, the first volume of the regional *CIL* corpora, appeared in 1869. Edited by Emil Hübner, it covered the Iberian Peninsula. This did not include Christian inscriptions of the Roman period, which were reserved for the *Inscriptiones Hispaniae Christianae (IHC)*, also edited by Hübner (cf. Ch. 21). This was the principle adopted by the *CIL* for other parts of the Roman world. Soon after, the first of several fascicules collecting inscriptions from Pompeii and other towns in the Vesuvian area appeared (*CIL IV*, 1871), published by Karl Zangemeister and Richard Schöne, followed by Mommsen's edition of inscriptions from N Italy (*CIL V.1–2*, 1872, 1877) and the first part of the material collected from the eastern provinces (*CIL III.1*, 1873), again edited by Mommsen himself. In the same year, Hübner published the inscriptions from Roman Britain (*CIL VII*). The 1870s were productive years indeed for the *CIL* project, and by the early 1880s scholars had access to the first volumes or fascicules of *CIL I* to X. The Berlin Akademie relied totally on German scholars as volume-editors, who were in regular contact with numerous local collaborators by letter and in person during their frequent expeditions in the field. Even *CIL XII* which covers southern France was edited by Otto Hirschfeld (1888). Only with the participation of René Cagnat in the first supplement (1891) to the North African corpus, *CIL VIII*, did a non-German scholar appear as a *CIL* editor.

CIL: SUPPLEMENTS AND INDICES

The work on the *CIL* project increased appreciation of the classical past in many places, energizing the scholarly community and the wider public, which led to ever more inscriptions being found and recorded. While *CIL VI* continued its original plan by publishing the inscriptions of Rome by category, with further installments appearing in 1882 (part 2), 1886 (part 3), and 1894 (part 4.1) (cf. Table 22.1), it soon became necessary to complement some already published volumes. Thus the late nineteenth and the first decades of the twentieth century saw several supplement volumes which occasionally covered new regions and sometimes added material to towns which had already been covered for the first time a few decades earlier (cf. Table. 4.2). It is thus the case that some inscriptions received multiple entries in the same *CIL* volume, and sometimes

⁵ Full publication details of all *CIL* volumes: Bodel 2001: 159–165; Schmidt 2004: 134–137; Bérard *et al.* 2010: 91–156; Cooley 2012: 336–342.

Table 4.2 The end-dates of the first fifteen *CIL* volumes and their supplements and indices

<i>CIL</i> volume	Latest supplement	Indices
I (Republican inscriptions)	1863 second edition 1893–1986	Yes Yes (1943, 1986)
II (Iberian Peninsula)	1892 second edition 1995–	Yes Yes (for parts once completed)
III (Danubian provinces, Balkans, the East)	1902	Yes, and new indices for Noricum in <i>ILLPRON</i>
IV (Vesuvian towns)	2011	Yes (1909; supplementary Indices, 1969)
V (Northern Italy)	1877	Yes
VI (Rome)	1933 new series as parts 8.2–3	personal names only (1926, 1980), but cf. <i>CIL</i> VI part 7
VII (Britain)	1873 replaced by <i>RIB</i> (1965–)	Yes
VIII (North Africa)	1916	Yes, see Suppl. V.1–3 (1942–59)
IX (Southern Italy)	1883	Yes
X (Campania and environs; Sicily, Sardinia)	1883	Yes
XI (North-central Italy)	1926	partial only (1926) ¹
XII (Gallia Narbonensis)	1888	Yes
XIII (Tres Galliae and Germanic provinces)	1916	Yes (1943)
XIV (Latium)	1930	Yes (with particular index volume for Ostia, 1933)
XV (<i>instrumentum domesticum</i>)	no supplements	No ²

¹Bodel 2001: 164: a detailed list of studies containing indices for *CIL* XI on specific topics²Brick-stamp indices: Bloch 1948; Steinby 1987

the new entry merely adds bibliography or presents minor clarifications of the text, without quoting it in full (for example, *CIL* VI 31889 supplementing VI 1670). Only a consultation of the respective entries in the *CIL* will reveal the situation in each case. This practice also means that while, for instance, the last entry in *CIL* VI currently carries the number 41434, it is not the case that the corpus contains 41,434 inscriptions. The true number is lower, although it is not possible (without a major effort) to say by how much.

Between 1871 and 1913, the series *Ephemeris Epigraphica* (*EphEp*), which carries the subtitle *Corporis Inscriptionum Latinarum supplementum*, appeared in nine volumes. It was intended as a temporary venue for publishing new inscriptions and commentary on already published editions, which eventually would appear in the appropriate supplements of the *CIL*. This did not always occur and in some situations *EphEp* is still of value.

OTHER AUTHORITATIVE EPIGRAPHIC SOURCE PUBLICATIONS

While the individual *CIL* projects advanced at varying speed during the final decades of the nineteenth century, it was felt that there needed to be a forum that would quickly alert the scholarly community to the many new epigraphic discoveries that continued to be made. In 1888 the first issue of *L'Année épigraphique* (“The epigraphic yearbook”) appeared. As the name suggests, it was (and still is) a project led by French scholars in Paris, although it relies on the collaboration of every editor of new epigraphic texts and for many years it has been assisted by an international editorial team. The inscriptions that appear in the *AE* have been published somewhere else first; its annual volumes summarize but do not publish original research or *editiones principes*. It is therefore always advisable, when dealing with an important text, to retrieve the original edition; this is absolutely essential when consulting older issues of the *AE*.

From its inception until the year 1964, the *AE* was published as an appendix to the *Revue archéologique*, but then gained full independence; it has undergone many other changes over the years. In its early phase, the *AE* was a slim publication that did not aim at comprehensiveness and only intended to capture the most significant new Latin inscriptions published in a particular year. The editorial principles did not follow the now familiar “Leiden system” (cf. Ch. 1; Appendix I), and, frustratingly for the modern user, sometimes the editors merely reported that “an inscription citing a Roman emperor” has been edited in a given publication without citing it. Remarkably, the *AE* continued to be published almost without interruption through World Wars I and II, although on a reduced scale. Until the 1966 volume, which has over six hundred entries, the annual content never much exceeded three hundred, the yearly volumes failed to include many new texts, and the indices are incomplete.

In recent years, the situation has changed dramatically, and each annual volume is now a thick tome, normally comprising well over seventeen hundred entries and extensive indices. The intention is not only to include newly published inscriptions, but also to cover any discussion of previously published texts, as well as to give a summary report on every publication that concerns inscriptions in some particular way. New inscriptions now make up only a small part of the annual entries, also because the editorial committee since 1994 normally follows the principle of not excerpting inscriptions from new Latin corpora (*AE* 1994, p. 9).

The Italian epigraphic encyclopedia *Dizionario Epigrafico di antichità classiche* (*DizEpig*, sometimes *DE*), initiated in 1886 by Ettore De Ruggiero, focusing on Latin inscriptions, remains unfinished. By 1997 it had reached the letter M and is still useful for what it covers.⁶ Many entries provide a rich discussion of the significance of Latin words, both common and obscure ones, as they appear in inscriptions, and the authors of the

⁶ Panciera 2006.

individual entries have often done extensive word searches. This provides important additions to, and sometimes even corrections of, what the otherwise authoritative *OLD* offers, since the Oxford dictionary pays little attention to inscriptions and Latin after c. 200 CE. The *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* aims to be comprehensive, but the *DizEpig* is still often helpful and the publication of further installments would be welcome.

NATIONAL CORPORA

As the various *CIL* projects slowed down after World War I, a new development on the international scene began to take shape: the creation of national corpora. For understandable reasons the resources of the Berlin Akademie were much depleted after 1918, and there was no one with the authority of Mommsen to lead the work on the *CIL* project. In most countries that in whole or part had belonged to the Roman Empire, epigraphers were eager to collect and edit the epigraphic patrimony of the region. It was normally much easier to gather the necessary financial resources when the project aimed at illuminating an early period of one's "storia patria," to borrow an evocative Italian term. Thus over two dozen epigraphic projects were born, already before and especially after World War II (see Table 4.3).⁷ The resulting editions, some of which are still in progress, normally represented clear progress compared to the first edition of the *CIL*, and above all the new volumes published many new texts. Yet from the point of view of the historical context, the situation was not always ideal, as the territories of Roman provinces were now divided among modern states, while the *CIL* scrupulously followed Roman administrative divisions when establishing the borders for its geographic volumes and their subdivisions.

The existence of these new corpora means that whenever a scholar refers to an inscription published in the *CIL* which derives from a territory covered by a new "national" corpus, it will be necessary to consult this new resource, which may well deliver an improved reading and other vital information. In contrast to the *CIL*'s use of Latin, the commentary in these new corpora is normally written in one of the modern scholarly languages.

THE NEW RUN OF THE *CIL*: 1972, 1995, AND ONWARDS

While national corpora continued to be favoured by the funding agencies of many countries and scholars brought numerous such endeavours to completion in the

⁷ Also A. Degrassi's *ILLRP*, collecting some thirteen hundred Republican inscriptions down to 31 BCE, belongs in this context. Its content does not go beyond that of *CIL* I².

Table 4.3 Some important national or local Latin epigraphic corpora

Country	Corpus of Latin inscriptions (whole region or part thereof)
Albania	<i>Corpus des inscriptions latines d'Albanie</i> (2009)
Algeria	<i>Inscriptions latines d'Algerie (ILAlg, 1922–2003)</i>
Belgium	<i>Nouveau recueil des inscriptions latines de Belgique (ILB², 2002)</i>
Britain	<i>Roman Inscriptions of Britain (RIB, 1965–)</i>
Bulgaria	<i>Inscriptiones Latinae in Bulgaria repertae</i> (1989)
Egypt	<i>Recueil des inscriptions grecques et latines, non funéraires, d'Alexandrie impériale</i> (1994)
	<i>Mons Claudianus: ostraka graeca et latina</i> (1992–)
France	<i>Inscriptions latines d'Aquitaine (ILA, 1991–)</i> <i>Inscriptions latines de Narbonnaise (ILN, 1985–)</i>
Greece	<i>Inscriptiones Latinae in Graecia repertae. Additamentum ad CIL III</i> (1979)
Hungary	<i>Die römischen Inschriften Ungarns (RIU, 1972–)</i>
Israel	<i>Corpus inscriptionum Iudaeae/Palaestinae (CIIP, 2010–)</i> (cf. below n. 14)
Italy	<i>Inscriptiones Italiae (Inscr.It., 1931–85)</i> <i>Supplementa Italica, nova series (Suppl.It., 1981–)</i>
Jugoslavia (former)	<i>Inscriptiones Latinae quae in Iugoslavia... repertae et editae sunt (ILJug, 1963–86)</i> <i>Inscriptions de la Mésie Supérieure (IMS, 1976–82)</i>
Libya	<i>The Inscriptions of Roman Tripolitania (IRT, 1952; http://irt.kcl.ac.uk/irt2009/)</i>
Morocco	<i>Inscriptions antiques du Maroc (IAM, 1982–2003)</i>
Portugal	<i>Inscrições romanas do Conventus Pacensis (IRCP, 1984)</i>
Romania	<i>Inscriptiones Daciae Romanae (IDR, 1975–)</i> <i>Inscriptiones Scythiae Minoris Graecae et Latinae (IScM, 1980–99)</i>
Spain	<i>Corpus de inscripciones latinas de Andalucía (CILA, 1989–)</i> <i>Inscriptions romaines de Catalogne (IRC, 1984–2002)</i> <i>Inscripcions romanes del País Valencià</i> (2002–)
Syria	<i>Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie (IGLS, 1929–)</i>
Tunisia	<i>Inscriptions latines de la Tunisie (ILTun, 1944)</i>

decades after World War II (Table 4.3), the updating of the *CIL* began to seem an ever more pressing task. At the Sixth International Congress of Greek and Latin Epigraphy in Munich in 1972 leading scholars from many countries agreed to work towards publishing supplements or second editions of most of the existing *CIL* volumes, overseen by the Berlin Akademie, which in the divided city was located on the eastern side. The published proceedings of the Munich congress relates how the various *CIL* volumes were assigned to specific teams.⁸ Besides *CIL I*², of which the final installment was published in 1986 by Attilio Degraasi (†) and Hans Krummrey, most progress has occurred in the case of *CIL II* and *VI*. The first new fascicles covering the Iberian Peninsula appeared in 1995, edited by teams led by Géza Alföldy and Armin Stylow, while two new fascicles of *CIL VI* appeared in 1996 and 2000, covering imperial inscriptions and senators and Roman knights, respectively, again edited by Alföldy and a team of

⁸ Krummrey 1979: 399–401.

collaborators. Further fascicles of *CIL* II, IV, VI, IX, X, XIV, XVII, and XVIII are currently in an advanced state of preparation and publication is expected according to a plan stretching to 2030.⁹

One of the great merits of the *CIL* is that nowhere is the scholarly bar set higher than for editors of a *CIL* fascicle, but this can slow down such a project. Editing an epigraphic corpus is part of what is known as fundamental or basic research. It is meant to assist current and future generations, but its pages can accommodate only the most essential commentary. Thus, while editing a group of text for the *CIL* requires the highest level of scholarly preparation, and while the results represent an essential step without which progress cannot be achieved, in the fierce competition of the modern academic world an epigraphic edition is often and unfairly belittled as a mere “technical” product, lacking theoretical sophistication, intellectual content, and scholarly analysis. One is probably not wide of the mark when suggesting that the demands placed on scholars to maintain a certain kind of productivity is a significant reason for the fact that some of the *CIL* projects set up in 1972 appear to have stalled. To be sure, epigraphy is not the only scholarly field suffering from this basic lack of understanding about the significance of fundamental research. An epigrapher is perhaps unlikely to rewrite the history of the fall of the Roman Empire,¹⁰ but neither can, for instance, every biochemist be expected to discover a cure for cancer through her research, nor should this expectation of an “immediate breakthrough achievement” be a criterion when funding research.

THE ROMAN WORLD AND GREEK EPIGRAPHY

As mentioned in the Preface, the purpose of this Handbook is not to focus exclusively on Latin inscriptions, since in order to understand Roman society and culture fully, inscriptions in Greek and several other languages are essential. However, in the editing of epigraphic corpora, a clear divide between Latin and Greek epigraphy has been firmly in place since the inception of the *IG* and *CIL* projects. Roman historians have obviously always been aware of the need to include Greek inscriptions, in particular when writing on Roman relations with the Greek East, on most of the provinces covered by *CIL* III, as well as on south-central Italy including Rome and Sicily, where important Greek inscriptions are also found. Three older corpora covering the period of Roman influence in the East have been much used by historians and still retain their value: the *Inscriptiones Graecae ad res Romanas pertinentes* (*IGRR* or *IGR*, vols. I, II, and IV, 1906–27), the *Orientalis Graeci inscriptiones selectae* (*OGIS*, 2 vols., 1903–5), and W. Dittenberger’s *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum* (3rd ed., 4 vols., 1915–24, abbreviated as *SIG*³, *Syll.*³, or, more rarely, *Ditt.*).¹¹

⁹ Schmidt 2007: 32–43.

¹⁰ But see Alföldy 1989.

¹¹ For details, Bodet 2001: 168–174.

An opening-up towards Greek inscriptions is already found in Hermann Dessau's *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae* (*ILS*, 3 vols. in five parts, 1892–1916). Towards the end of this collection of over nine thousand inscriptions, chosen with an uncannily precise feeling for what is relevant, typical, and interesting in Latin epigraphy, the editor added some recent Greek discoveries, especially texts detailing senatorial careers. *ILS* remains a marvelously rich and essential tool both for beginners and experienced epigraphers.

Anyone interested in the Roman world will derive benefit from consulting the annual volumes of the *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum* (*SEG*, 1923–71, 1979–), which provides summaries of publications of or about Greek inscriptions from the archaic period to Late Antiquity. Since 1994 *AE* also includes significant Greek inscriptions that throw light on a range of topics relevant to Roman history and culture.

More recently, a number of bilingual corpora that cover parts of the territory of *CIL* III have been published. For understandable reasons Greek inscriptions are normally in the majority, not least because many of these stem from periods prior to the Roman presence in the region, but Latin ones can also be found. Pride of place must go to the now vast series of corpora from Asia Minor, the *Inschriften griechischer Städte Kleinasiens*, usually abbreviated *IK*. Separate volumes, of a much smaller format than that used by the *CIL*, are devoted to individual sites. Sometimes a city requires more than one volume, so that, for instance, the inscriptions from Ephesus are found in *IK* 11–16 and 17.1–4 (1979–84), ten volumes in total, with indices, containing 5,115 inscriptions. The *IK* series currently comprises over sixty published volumes, and more are under way. Some other enterprises which include inscriptions in both Greek and Latin are the *IScM* (coastal Romania), the Syrian corpus *IGLS*, the collection of inscriptions from Egyptian Alexandria (above, Table 4.3), and the recent corpora of inscriptions from Roman Macedonia (*I.Beroia*, 1998) and Ancyra in Galatia (*GLIANkara*).¹² The *IAM* corpus combines one volume of Semitic inscriptions (vol. I, 1966) with a second of Latin (vol. II, 1982).

CIIP is an international project on an even more inclusive scale, as it aims to publish all ancient inscriptions from the territory of Roman Iudaea or Palestine from the time of Alexander the Great to that of Muhammed. Due to the multifaceted history of the region, this means that besides the Greek texts, and a smaller number of Latin ones, the corpus also includes inscriptions in Aramaic, Hebrew, Phoenician, and other Semitic languages.¹³ This ambitious goal requires even greater efforts and more cooperation between scholars from multiple disciplines than any *CIL* or *IK* undertaking. The first two volumes appeared in 2010–12¹⁴ and show the way into the future, demonstrating that epigraphy is fundamentally a historical discipline which brings an essential contribution to the holistic understanding of any region, culture, or society.

¹² Mitchell and French 2012.

¹³ Corpora of inscriptions in other languages: Ch. 32.

¹⁴ The editors were W. Ameling, H.M. Cotton, W. Eck, B. Isaac, and A. Kushnir-Stein.

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CHAPTER 5

EPIGRAPHY AND DIGITAL RESOURCES

TOM ELLIOTT

IN the last fifteen years digital resources have become essential to a number of key tasks in the realm of epigraphy. Digital epigraphic publications are proliferating, and online publication via the World-Wide Web has superseded CD-ROM as the preferred method of dissemination. Whether one needs comparanda for a new text one is editing, images and translations for the classroom, or evidence to consider for a broad-ranging thematic or historical study, digital resources can significantly speed up research and improve completeness. Thanks to the digital revolution, scholars and students without direct access to a research library with a good epigraphic collection are better equipped than they have ever been to access and produce epigraphic publications, although it remains essential to consult printed works for many tasks. Any study that draws upon a significant body of epigraphic material or that aims to prepare and publish texts will often benefit from the use of a spreadsheet, database, or digital text editing with the eXtensible Markup Language (XML) in the collection and analysis of data. Digital techniques for imaging and non-destructive recording of text-bearing objects such as laser interferometry or Polynomial Texture Mapping (PTM) are also on the increase, reducing the reliance on taking squeezes or rubbings (Ch. 1), although such new technologies remain experimental for most practitioners. This chapter introduces the range of online resources now available for epigraphic study and provides guidance on locating and using such resources that are likely to survive the passage of time. (For URLs of all digital resources discussed, see Appendix VII.) No attempt is made here to grapple with the history of digital epigraphy or to list pre-web resources that are no longer available.¹

There is as yet no uniform way to search, access, download, or annotate digital information about all known inscriptions from the Roman world, nor is it clear that there

¹ For this history, Bodel 2012.

will ever be a single mechanism for doing so. Major commercial search engines return links to many of the active, well-established online epigraphic resources, but the complete contents of most of these resources remain largely unindexed by Google, Bing, and their competitors due to the limitations inherent in the technological and intellectual property regimes of the individual websites. Newly formed projects and niche resources may be missed by the search engines entirely. More attention on the part of academic web developers and scholars to proven technical patterns for exposing content to search engines and equipping it with stable identifiers and web views would significantly improve this state of affairs. Widespread adoption of open licenses would further improve the situation.

Because of the limitations of web search with regard to epigraphic resources, other finding aids may be necessary. Several older “link lists” that began in the days before Google revolutionized web search are still useful.² These lists can now be supplemented by reference to the “Epigraphy” category on the *Digital Classicist Wiki* and the newly created *EpiDig Zotero Group*.³ The fourth edition of the bibliographic *Guide de l'épigraphiste* was the first printed work to address online resources, and its “liste des sites internet” has continued to be available online, with a promise of future updates, as a portable document format (PDF) file posted on the book’s website.⁴ The *Current Epigraphy* blog reports news and events in Greek and Latin epigraphy and is often the locus of first notice for new digital projects. *AWOL: The Ancient World Online* is an especially good and regularly updated resource to consult for recently digitized materials and resources treating epigraphies other than Greek and Latin.

Most humanists will be familiar with the frustrating disappearance of older websites, and epigraphy is no stranger to the underlying phenomena of “link rot,” technological obsolescence, and lack of institutional commitment to sustainability. In some cases, a desired resource has merely been moved or a site reorganized without an automatic forwarding arrangement, a best practice in web publication that remains all too often overlooked. So, on encountering a “404 Not Found” error message, one should always be prepared to use a major search engine to look for a site’s new address. Yet, some older resources, like the *Infimae Aetatis Page*, are indeed just gone.⁵ Entering the old uniform resource locator (URL)—the web address—into the *Internet Archive Wayback Machine* will often retrieve a copy of a now-defunct resource that was originally posted online as plain web pages, but web databases that did not provide browseable links to stable views of database content could not be copied in this way. Consequently, when these types of sites disappear, they are generally gone for good unless rescued and reposted or refashioned by someone with access to the original data.

² Cristofori 1995–2007; Elliott 1998–2007; Schmitzer 1995–.

³ Feraudi-Gruénais 2010b.

⁴ Bérard et al. 2010.

⁵ Mansfield 1996.

EPIGRAPHIC DATABASES

There are at present several reliable scholarly databases that support study of Roman inscriptions. These are supplemented by a variety of other web resources ranging from born-digital epigraphic editions to online journals and retrospectively digitized print works to a heterogeneous “grey literature” that treats epigraphic matters in myriad ways, including blogs, photo-sharing services, websites created for courses or by enthusiasts, departmental and personal pages, and in social media venues and online discussion fora. The databases were created, like their older cousins for literary and papyrological texts, with search and discovery in mind. It was generally assumed by their creators that for any item of interest identified through a database the user would then follow up by consulting the original publications in order to get access to the full apparatus, commentary, analysis, and so forth. This assumption also assuaged the concerns of many in early days that intellectual property rights might be trampled by wholesale digitization of print resources. Accordingly, most early database efforts focused on transcribing published texts into the database along with whatever additional descriptive information, such as bibliography, date, or genre, a project team deemed valuable and economically feasible. Generally this did not extend to including the text’s edition in its entirety. In light of this history, much epigraphic database content is not complete or definitive, so recourse must still be had to print volumes and journal articles (or their digitized copies) in order to command all the information about a given inscription.

The *Epigraphik-Datenbank Clauss/Slaby* (*Epigraphic Database Clauss-Slaby*, *EDCS*) is the most extensive digital resource for Latin inscriptions. It presently contains over 400,000 texts, constituting almost all published Latin texts.⁶ It is built for searching, and generally provides only raw text with basic supplements and a lemma citing the corresponding editions in major corpora and handbooks. An increasing number of photographs continue to be added to the database. Yet users need to be vigilant, since there are still transcription errors that have not been corrected and sometimes controversial, speculative supplements are included and alternative readings not taken into account.

Fig. 5.1 gives a sense of what one finds on *EDCS*, in this case an honorific text for the equestrian prefect of the Germanic fleet from the region of the *Colonia Agrippinensis* (Cologne). This very fragmentary inscription requires a number of supplements, and it has been treated by a number of scholars, as can be seen from the reference line (*Belegstelle*). Scholars do not necessarily agree on the best restoration of the text, but it is not clear which specific version, if any, has been adopted by *EDCS*. Some technical issues may also cause uncertainty: for instance, *[pr]aef(ecto) / [a]lae [3 p]rocura[tori in*

⁶ For difficulties in assessing the precise number of inscriptions in *EDCS*, see Ch. 8.

Epigraphik-Datenbank Claus / Slaby EDCS

Belegstelle: [Schillinger 00171](#) = [IDRE-01, 00197](#) = [IKoeln 00274](#) = [AE 1963, 00052](#) = [AE](#)

[1964, +00224](#) = [AE 1988, 00894](#) 

EDCS-ID: EDCS-12800734

Provinz: *Germania inferior*

Ort: [Bruhl](#)

[P(ublio)] Helv[io Pertin]aci / [e]q(uo) p(ublico) p[raef(ecto)] coh(ortis) IIII(?) G]al/[I]or(um)
e[q(uitatae) trib(uno) leg(ionis) VI(?) Vi]ct(ricis) / [p]rae[f(ecto) coh(ortis) I Tung(rorum)
pr]aef(ecto) / [a]lae [3 p]ro/cura[tori ad alime]nt(a) / [p]rae[f(ecto) class(is) Ger(manicae)
pr]oc(uratori) / [A]ug(usti) a[d ducen(a) III Dac(iarum) i]d(em) / M[oesiae super(ioris)] /
Agr[ippinense]s / [publice]

FIG. 5.1 Sample entry from the *Epigraphic Database Claus-Slaby* (consulted 19 June 2014).

lines 4–5 uses the unorthodox symbol “3” to denote an uncertain number of missing letters. Scholars also need to remain aware that a reference such as “AE 1964, +00224” means that there is no discussion of the actual text in the *Année Epigraphique* entry, but just bibliographic information.

For more detail and accuracy, one needs to turn to the Latin databases of the Electronic Archive of Greek and Latin Epigraphy (EAGLE), a consortium formed from several formerly independent projects in the late 1990s by the Association Internationale d’Epigraphie Grecque et Latine (AIEGL). Now five in number, the EAGLE databases collaborate and share data with EDCS, but they provide more extensive information, including descriptive data, updated geographic references, texts corrected on the basis of photographs or autopsy, more wide-ranging bibliography, and images. The *Epigraphic Database Roma (EDR)* treats the inscriptions of ancient Rome and Italy (currently *c.* 49,000 texts), but leaves Rome’s Christian inscriptions (Greek and Latin) to the *Epigraphic Database Bari (EDB)*; *c.* 26,000 texts). *Hispania Epigraphica (HEp)* documents the Roman inscriptions of the Iberian Peninsula (*c.* 24,000 texts). The *Epigraphische Datenbank Heidelberg (EDH)* has responsibility for the Latin epigraphy of the rest of the Roman world (*c.* 66,000 texts and 26,000 photos) and also includes some Greek and bilingual inscriptions. All EAGLE databases are actively adding content, and most of them provide a convenient page or web feed of the latest additions.⁷ In 2013, EAGLE was awarded a major grant by the ICT Policy Support Programme of the European Commission to establish a “best practice network” aimed at producing a single user-friendly portal to the inscriptions of the Greco-Roman world. Up-to-date information about this important initiative is best found through the *EAGLE Europeana Project* website, where a cross-database search capability is scheduled to go online in September 2014.

The *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum (CIL)* project of the Berlin Academy provides a number of electronic resources that should also be consulted for Latin inscriptions.

⁷ Daley 2013.

These include a database of bibliography, squeezes, and photographs (the *Archivum Corporis Electronicum*); several concordances in PDF form that link entries in different fascicles of *CIL* and in other collections and editions; and word indices to a few *CIL* volumes. All are conveniently available from the German-language “Ressourcen” section of the project’s website. (The corresponding English-language “Resources” section does not seem to be updated as frequently and currently leaves out links to some resources.)

For inscribed documents in Greek from the Classical, Hellenistic, and Roman periods, *The Packard Humanities Institute (PHI) Searchable Greek Inscriptions* remains the primary digital resource, providing access to approximately 210,000 texts that follow published print and digital editions. The collection added over 2,500 new texts in 2012. Searches on the PHI site should be supplemented, as appropriate, by recourse to the searchable *Inscriptiones Graecae Digitale Edition* and the *Epigraphische Datenbank zum antiken Kleinasien*. The recently launched *Attic Inscriptions Online (AIO)* site constitutes an important step in bringing translations of Greek inscriptions to the web.

Many languages other than Greek and Latin were spoken and inscribed in the Roman world. The *Etruscan Texts Project (ETP)*, which has been offline for a number of years, can be accessed in an incomplete way (without its search engine) through the *Wayback Machine*. With the notable exception of documents from Egypt cataloged by the *Trismegistos* project (usually without online texts) and the contents of the venerable *Fontes Epigraphici Religionum Celticarum Antiquarum (FERCAN)*, inscriptions in such languages as Celtic, Coptic, Punic, and Syriac are represented online primarily by retroactively digitized print works and works-in-progress that have yet to be published.

DIGITAL EPIGRAPHIC EDITIONS

Two different approaches to the production of born-digital editions of epigraphic materials (i.e., editions created specifically for digital dissemination) have emerged. Whether derivative in nature (*editiones minores, repertoria*, collections of texts for teaching purposes, and the like) or authoritative and exhaustive editions, these works all seek to exploit the advantages of the digital medium. One approach is aimed at the individual user, essentially imitating the appearance and structure of traditional print editions, but augmenting these to some degree with interactive features such as a search engine. The other, exemplified by the so-called EpiDoc methodology, uses XML to encode and manipulate the underlying semantics of the epigraphic editorial process. Both approaches yield websites tailored to use by individual scholars, but the latter attempts also to lay the groundwork for future computational analysis and automated reuse.⁸

Born-digital epigraphic publications now include *Aphrodisias in Late Antiquity (alaz004)*, *Inscriptions of Aphrodisias (IAph2007)*, *Inscriptions of Roman Tripolitania*

⁸ Bodard 2008, 2010; Cayless et al. 2009.

(IRT2009), *Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua* (MAMA) XI, and *Vindolanda Tablets Online*. The *U.S. Epigraphy Project*, which also uses the EpiDoc approach, is enhancing its catalogue of Greek and Roman inscriptions held in U.S. collections to include texts and photographs.

IMAGES

Both scholarly databases and born-digital epigraphic projects increasingly take advantage of the flexibility and economic advantages of web publication to provide photographic illustration alongside texts and other content. There are also several image-rich resources that stand alone. These include scholarly collections like *Ubi Erat Lupa*, which concentrates on inscriptions on stone, especially from the Alpine and Danubian provinces, with excellent photos, *Mysteries at Eleusis: Images of Inscriptions*, the growing output of the *Imaging Projects* of the Centre for the Study of Ancient Documents at Oxford (photos and squeezes from a variety of regions and periods), and *Images from the Squeeze Collection* of The Ohio State University (scanned images of squeezes of Attic inscriptions from the Center for Epigraphical and Palaeographical Studies). The latter resource is replicated, along with images of squeezes of other Greek and Latin inscriptions from outside Attica, in the *OhioLINK Greek & Latin Inscriptions* collection, which is not presently discoverable from the Center's website. The *Inscriptiones Graecae* project's "Abklatsche" page provides a comprehensive list of the squeezes in its collection, but it is not illustrated.

Inscriptions are also the frequent subjects of touristic and professional travel photographers, and this is reflected in many online photo-sharing websites. Indeed, the best (or often only) photographs of many ancient inscriptions available anywhere are to be found in such contexts, although they are not always accompanied by publication information. *Flickr.com*, for example, plays host to a number of active epigraphic pools to which users contribute their images (Latin, Greek, Runic, Medieval, Sanskrit, and more). These are best discovered by searching *Flickr's* group listings for the word "inscription." *Wikimedia Commons* also maintains pages with images of a good selection of images of inscriptions arranged by each separate *CIL* volume. The image search functions of the major search engines are also good at turning up images of inscriptions from a range of websites, although their coverage of the major photo-sharing websites tends to be incomplete.

JOURNALS AND REFERENCE WORKS

A growing number of epigraphic journals and reference works have gone online. Digitization of back issues and printed monographs is increasingly complemented by digital archiving of new issues. These works are generally made available on the web via

publishers' websites or through brokers of various types, including big aggregators like Europeana, Google, Internet Archive, and Persée as well as subscription services like JSTOR and EBSCO. Niche academic efforts sponsored by individual institutions and scholarly societies are beginning to address gaps in the coverage of these larger enterprises. Because the libraries that subscribe to other such journals and reference works generally list them in their digital catalogues, the *Worldcat.org* service of the Online Computer Library Center (OCLC) is the best place to find out whether a particular work is available digitally. If a *Worldcat* search produces no results, a search of *AWOL* may be helpful in identifying titles that have been published digitally outside the bulk aggregators.

A few key resources are noteworthy as examples. *L'Année Epigraphique* is available via JSTOR with a five-year delay, whereas a digital version of the standard annual bibliographic review for Greek inscriptions, the *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*, is republished online behind a paywall by Brill. *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* and many other relevant epigraphic journals are also available via JSTOR. Both the Internet Archive and Google Books have scanned copies of Hermann Dessau's *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*. The German Archaeological Institute and the University of Cologne are digitizing and publishing the out-of-copyright volumes of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* via the online *Arachne* database using the rubric "CIL Open Access." *Antiquités africaines*, *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*, and many other French journals are covered by Persée, whereas *Chiron*, the flagship journal of the Kommission für Alte Geschichte und Epigraphik of the German Archaeological Institute, at present has no online avatar.

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PART II

INSCRIPTIONS IN
THE ROMAN WORLD

CHAPTER 6

LATIN EPIGRAPHY: THE MAIN TYPES OF INSCRIPTIONS

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TOWARDS A TYPOLOGY OF LATIN INSCRIPTIONS

THE difference between public and private inscriptions is the most significant distinction to be drawn when categorizing the enormous mass of surviving documents from the Roman world. The former had a commemorative function and so were found on monuments set up in public (or semi-public) spaces. They were crafted by professional artisans on stone or bronze, normally in careful and good-size lettering, i.e., *litterae lapidariae* (“lapidary letters,” Petr. Sat. 58). Private inscriptions, on the other hand, bore ephemeral messages aimed at a very restricted audience and they were usually inscribed by the individuals directly concerned on objects in everyday use or on walls, often in small letters written in a more cursive style. Unlike public inscriptions, which were designed to be long-lasting, private inscriptions have been preserved not intentionally, but simply because of the resistant material used for the inscription—ceramic, bone, or metal. Alternatively, they have survived in extraordinary circumstances, such as the domestic wall-paintings of the cities buried following the eruption of Vesuvius or the products of everyday writing such the wax or ink tablets of Pompeii or Vindolanda. Traditionally such texts are considered part of the discipline of epigraphy since they are written on durable surfaces, which is the precise definition of an epigraphic text. Nevertheless, although public inscriptions form the hard core of Roman epigraphic culture during the Principate, private inscriptions allow us to appreciate more routine uses of writing and so throw light on different questions including literacy (Ch. 34).

Although the distinction between public and private inscriptions may not be explicitly reflected in classifications found in other epigraphic handbooks, in reality it underlies them. While public inscriptions tend to be grouped according to different types defined by function (sacred, honorific, funerary, building, or “official” inscriptions, i.e., texts issued by state or local authorities), private inscriptions tend to be classified

under the miscellaneous heading of *instrumentum domesticum*, with, at most, a distinction drawn between them and graffiti, *tituli picti*, and writing-tablets.¹

In this chapter, the following classification is adopted:

A. PUBLIC INSCRIPTIONS

A.1. Honorific Inscriptions

- A.1.1. Standard honorific inscriptions
- A.1.2. Building inscriptions
- A.1.2.1. Milestones and boundary-markers

A.2. Funerary inscriptions

- A.2.1. Standard epitaphs
- A.2.2. *Carmina Latina epigraphica*

A.3. Inscriptions with religious content

- A.3.1. Sacred laws and votive inscriptions (*tituli sacri*)
- A.3.2. Acts of the Arval Brethren (*acta fratrum Arvalium*)
- A.3.3. Inscriptions on rock

A.4. Official inscriptions (texts issued by state or local authorities)

- A.4.1. Laws, decrees, *senatus consulta*
- A.4.2. Tablets recording military discharge, *hospitium* and patronage agreements
- A.4.3. Calendars and *fasti*

A.5. Various *dipinti*

B. PRIVATE AND DOMESTIC INSCRIPTIONS

- B.1. Domestic inscriptions in mosaics and wall-paintings
- B.2. Graffiti
- B.3. Texts on everyday objects (*instrumentum domesticum*)
- B.4. Writing-tablets
- B.5. Curse-tablets

¹ Cagnat 1914; Calabi Limentani 1974; Schmidt 2004; Andreu et al. 2009; cf. Lassère 2007.



FIG. 6.1 Mosaic from the House of the Tragic Poet, Pompeii.

This classification combines the criterion of public/private with the functional uses of the text. Its aim is not primarily to provide an exhaustive categorization of Latin inscriptions, but rather to serve as a guide to the main types of inscriptions, especially public ones. In reality, some types straddle the divide between public and private: for instance, graffiti, normally considered “private,” were sometimes written on the walls of public buildings or in frequented areas; although small in size, they could be seen and read by many people. Domestic inscriptions, depending on their location within the *domus*, were often aimed at visitors and thus members of the public: for instance, inscriptions on mosaic, the most famous being the *cave canem* (“Beware of the dog!”) mosaics from Pompeii (*CIL* X 877; Fig. 6.1) and elsewhere (*AE* 1978, 444; *RIB* 2447.24, Isca Dumnoniorum, Britannia; *AE* 1997, 930, Celsa, Hispania Citerior).

A. PUBLIC INSCRIPTIONS

A.1. Honorific Inscriptions

A.1.1. Standard Honorific Inscriptions

Honorific inscriptions, carved mainly on statue bases, constitute, along with epitaphs, the most common form of inscribed product created out of that “most civilized form of rivalry” (*humanissima ambitio*) (Plin. *NH* 34.17, discussed further below, Ch. 8). This form of commemoration was Greek in origin and was eventually introduced in Rome,

but became widespread only in the second century BCE,² so much so that the censors of 159 BCE decided to remove from the forum, now packed with statues, all those which had not been decreed by the senate or the Roman people (Plin. *NH* 34. 20–32, esp. 30); similar measures were reintroduced, for instance, by the emperor Claudius (Dio 60.25.2–3). Dedications could also be inscribed on objects such as columns, of which various examples survive from the Republican period, on large monuments such as arches, a more recent innovation according to Pliny (*NH* 34.20, 27), or on simple plaques.

In honorific inscriptions the main elements were the name of the person honoured and the outline of the *honores* he had achieved; usually the name of the dedicator was included, since this allowed him to be associated with the commemorative act. Until the end of the Republic, those honoured were normally senators, and their names appeared along with their current office or the one most important for the dedicators to mention. From Augustus onwards, however, it became normal to provide details of the honorand's career (his *cursus honorum*), which up till then had been exclusively the preserve of the *elogia* that accompanied ancestor masks (*imagines maiorum*) and which occasionally were included in epitaphs, as in the case of the tomb of the Scipios (*CIL* I² 6–11 = *ILLRP* 309–312 = *ILS* 1–4, 7; cover image; Fig. 35.2) (cf. Chs. 11, 35). One of the earliest known examples of what looks like a complete *cursus honorum* is that of L. Aquilius Florus Turcianus Gallus in 3 BCE (*CIL* III 551 = *ILS* 928, Corinth), although the model only started to circulate under Augustus, perhaps influenced by the *princeps* himself.³ The various elements of Augustus' name reflected in his titles his main offices. Honours for emperors are a particularly noteworthy category (Ch. 10).

Both in Rome and local municipalities across the Empire the setting up of statues with the honorand's name and positions was controlled by the authorities, who acted as arbiters of such competitiveness and regulated it. In provincial cities it was controlled by the local council, as expressed in the formula *l(oco) d(ato) d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)*, and in Rome first by the Senate and then later by the emperor, although in practice it was the *curatores operum publicorum* and other officials who were responsible for assignation of space for these statues.⁴ From Augustus onwards certain forms of honours, such as triumphal arches, were specifically reserved for the emperor.⁵ In this way forums became a stage for civic competition, whereby pre-eminent families reinforced their position by emphasizing their service to their community in full view of their peers and the local citizen-body (the *populus*). A good example is provided by the local senate-house (*curia*) of the small city of Labitosa (La Puebla de Castro, Huesca) in Hispania Citerior. In the *curia* stood a series of pedestals honouring various distinguished local figures (Fig. 6.2), including the equestrian M. Clodius Flaccus, described as “an outstanding man” (*vir praestantissimus*) and “the best citizen” (*civis optimus*) on

² Panciera 1995: 329; cf. Ch. 9.

³ Eck 1984: 151; Panciera 2006: 90–92. On the term “*cursus* inscriptions,” Ch. 11.

⁴ Statue base inscriptions: Lahusen 1983; Eck 1984. Administrative issues: Kolb 1993: esp. 33–43. The formula *l.d.d.d.*: Zimmer 1989.

⁵ Eck 1984: 138–152.



FIG. 6.2 Pedestals in the *curia* at Labitosa, Hispania Citerior.

two pedestals dedicated by the decurions and their fellow-citizens (*CIL* II 5837; *AE* 1995, 890), who acknowledged the pre-eminence and civic virtue of this individual.⁶

A.1.2. *Building Inscriptions*

Inscriptions regarding the construction, repair, and embellishment of public buildings are a sub-category of honorific inscriptions. Civic authorities allowed benefactors to inscribe their name upon the respective building (*Dio* 60.25.3), which thus gave these inscriptions a supplementary commemorative function. From the Republic over five hundred of these survive mainly from Italy, where the commonest forms of building inscription were those set up by local magistrates charged to construct town walls, gates, and towers.⁷ In Rome, victorious generals are known mainly from literary sources to have funded the construction of buildings to celebrate their successful military campaigns, and a tiny handful of commemorative inscriptions of such acts survive (*CIL* I² 615 = *ILLRP* 124, M. Fulvius Nobilior, *cos.* 189 BCE; *CIL* I² 626 = *ILS* 20 = *ILLRP* 122, L. Mummius, *cos.* 146 BCE, cited in Ch. 22, p. 474).⁸ In smaller buildings, such texts could be incorporated into *opus signinum* floors, as in the shrine of Diana Tifatina in Campania (*CIL* I² 2948 = *ILLRP* 721) or at El Burgo de Ebro in Spain (*AE* 2001, 1237).⁹

⁶ Beltrán, Martín-Bueno, and Pina Polo 2000: 125–126; Sillières et al. 1995.

⁷ Panciera 1997.

⁸ Victory monuments in general: Pietilä-Castrén 1987; see further Ch. 22.

⁹ Pobjoy 1997; Ferreruella Gonzalvo and Mínguez Morales 2001.

During the Principate, however, euergetism on the part of local elites led to the erection of all types of buildings and embellishments, a phenomenon which can be linked directly to the wealth and political status of the cities. In Rome, on the other hand, the emperor monopolized public building work, sometimes without leaving any trace of his name, as when Augustus reconstructed the old Capitoline temple or the theatre of Pompey “without putting up any inscription with my name” (*sine ulla inscriptione nominis mei*, *RG* 20), or when Hadrian rebuilt Agrippa’s Pantheon and preserved the original dedicatory inscription on the temple’s epistyle: *M(arcus) Agrippa L(uci) f(ilius) co(n)s(ul) tertium fecit* (*CIL* VI 896 = *ILS* 129). Normally, however, the emperor did inscribe his name on such buildings, even in restorations, as occurred when Septimius Severus and Caracalla repaired the Pantheon (cf. *CIL* VI 896 = *ILS* 129) and in many other cases too (Dio 77.16).¹⁰

A.1.2.1. Milestones and Boundary-markers

Milestones constitute a specific sub-category of building inscriptions and are included in a separate *CIL* volume (*CIL* XVII). They were originally simple markers set up along roads with distance indications, but they came to commemorate the person responsible for constructing or repairing the road. This type of inscription is attested between the third century and the 120s BCE in Italy, and also in Gallia Narbonensis and Hispania Citerior. After a hiatus, the practice was reintroduced and developed by Augustus from 20 BCE onwards as a propaganda instrument reserved for the emperor. With the Severans the commemorative function of milestones was emphasized by the fact that the emperor’s name was now presented in the dative rather than the nominative case and from the lack of any correspondence between the number of milestones per emperor and their actual interventions in road-building or road-repair (cf. Ch. 30).¹¹

Boundary-markers (*termini*) are in many ways similar (*ILS* 5922–45; *CIL* VI 40652–889). In addition to their practical function of marking limits for the assignation of land or the establishment of boundaries, they also played a commemorative role in presenting the name of the magistrate, official(s), or emperor responsible for the setting of the limits. This is particularly clear on the so-called Gracchan *cippi* of the later second century BCE (*ILLRP* 467–475) and becomes the norm under the Empire. In addition to such official boundary-markers arising from the intervention of a magistrate in a boundary-dispute, private boundary-markers were also set up that simply marked the limits of private or public property (for example, *CIL* VIII 26415 = *ILS* 6024).¹² Milestones and boundary-markers are usually found in the countryside in stark contrast to the overwhelmingly urban character of almost all other types of inscriptions.

¹⁰ Horster 2001; Simpson 2009.

¹¹ Alföldy 1991: 299–302 (Augustus’ role). Milestones: Kolb 2004. Roads: Pékary 1968; Laurence 1999; Kolb 2000.

¹² Burton 2000. See also Ch. 14.

A.2. Funerary Inscriptions

A.2.1. *Standard Epitaphs*

While honorific dedications comprise the most prestigious category of Roman inscription, epitaphs are the most numerous (Ch. 29). In contrast to Greek epigraphy, where funerary inscriptions have been estimated to represent just over a half of all surviving inscriptions, Latin epitaphs are thought to amount to at least 75 percent.¹³ Because so many of them have survived, funerary inscriptions are the only category that can to be treated diachronically, either according to their place of discovery or more regionally.

In Rome funerary monuments went through several stages of development, which are well documented and well understood. The earliest types were erected in subterranean tombs that made little impact on the landscape. From the second century BCE they started to be constructed in the open and reached a notable monumentality by the end of the Republic with the appearance of “streets lined with tombs” (*Gräberstraßen*).¹⁴ There was then a progressive tendency, first, towards homogenization during the first century CE and then towards internalization, with a rejection of public display from the second century onwards, before there was a return, finally, to subterranean burials with the catacombs of Late Antiquity.¹⁵ In the provinces, on the other hand, the developments that can be observed in Rome—and to a certain extent in Italy—also took place in some cities in the west, while in the east local traditions and Hellenistic practices seem to have persisted, and the phenomenon of internalization, so typical of Rome, did not take strong root either in the west or in the east.¹⁶

The emergence and monumentalization of tombs from the second century BCE onwards were accompanied by a multiplication of epitaphs. Funerary inscriptions did not always seek the publicity that Trimalchio, for instance, aimed to achieve by placing his epitaph beneath a sundial to attract the unavoidable gaze of passers-by (Petr. *Sat.* 71: *velit, nolit*) or of the enormous monuments from the start of the Principate such as the cylindrical tomb of Caecilia Metella on the Via Appia (*CIL* VI 1274 = *ILS* 881, c. 30 BCE) or the pyramidal tomb of the praetor C. Cestius Epulo at the start of the Via Ostiense (*CIL* VI 1374 = *ILS* 917, 12 BCE). Funerary monuments often just presented the names of the tomb-owners on the exterior, while their epitaphs and those of members of their *familia* were inscribed on plaques or slabs found inside the tomb, only visible to family members when they entered to carry out funerary rituals. Alternatively, they might be set up not at the entry-points to towns, but at more remote rural villas, as occurred with the monument of the Lucretii Valentes from Pompeii, dating to the reign of Claudius (*AE* 1994, 398).¹⁷ These epitaphs were only accessible to relatives, a practice already familiar during the Republic, for instance, in the case of the tomb

¹³ Bodel 2001: 30, 182 n. 13 (Greek funerary inscriptions); Saller and Shaw 1984: 124 n. 1 (Latin epitaphs).

¹⁴ Hesberg and Zanker 1987.

¹⁵ For a challenge to the supposed rejection of public display in the second century, Borg 2013.

¹⁶ Hesberg 1992: 19–54; Kolb and Fugmann 2008: 16–23.

¹⁷ Camodeca 2004; cf. Ch. 12.

of the Scipios, but one that grew incrementally during the imperial period, especially from the second century CE onwards, when most efforts to decorate a tomb tended to concentrate on the interior.¹⁸ Necropoleis such as the one on the Via Triumphalis in the Vatican allow us to appreciate the scant publicity of many epitaphs, which were often hidden away on small monuments without even any illumination from outside; numerous burials accumulated, many anonymous, such as in Columbarium 8 of the “Autoparco Vaticano,” in use between the reign of Nero and the start of the second century CE.¹⁹ An extreme case is that of P. Paquius Scaeva, who had inscribed at Histonium in the Augustan period his entire senatorial *cursus honorum* on the inside wall of his sarcophagus (*CIL IX 2845–2846 = ILS 915*).

As a result, epitaphs did not all share the same level of publicity, a factor of considerable importance when considering the “epigraphic habit.” Although the practice of erecting epitaphs was a characteristic feature of Roman society from the second century BCE until the end of antiquity, during this long period there were notable fluctuations in the extent to which it was taken up by different social groups, marked regional variations, and differing levels of eagerness in terms of publicity. For these reasons it cannot be treated as a homogeneous habit across the entire period: both in the Republic and from the fifth century CE onwards it was a phenomenon first and foremost characteristic of the elite minority; it was only during the Principate that it spread more widely throughout many sectors of the population; it became rarer in the third century and then a marginal practice in the fifth century CE.²⁰

A.2.2. *Carmina Latina Epigraphica*

Inscriptions composed in verse comprise a special category of epitaphs, although there are also some literary graffiti, many inspired by the first line of Virgil’s *Aeneid* (*arma virumque cano*) (*CIL II 4967.31; IV 2361, 3198, 3337, 4757, 4832* [Fig. 6.3]), and, in later antiquity, building inscriptions in verse (cf. Ch. 35). These are often lengthy texts, as, for example, the epitaph from the mausoleum of the Flavii at Cillium, which extends to more than one hundred lines (*CIL VIII 212*). They tend to emphasize thoughts about life and death, albeit in a rather stereotypical manner, which normal epitaphs usually do not reveal. Originally employed by senators, as with the *elogia* of the Scipios, they

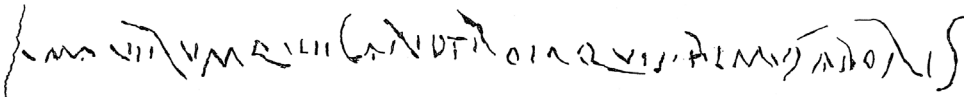


FIG. 6.3 Graffito of the first line of Virgil’s *Aeneid* from Pompeii (Regio VII.xv.8): [*a*]rma virumque cano Troia(e) qui primus ab oris.

¹⁸ Hesberg 1992: 41–45; *contra* Borg 2013.

¹⁹ Steinby 2003: 90–95; Liverani and Spinola 2006: 44–47, fig. 41.

²⁰ Regional variation: Saller and Shaw 1984; Martin 1996; for the “epigraphic habit,” Ch. 8.

spread to broad sectors of the population by the late Republic and remained in use during the Principate until Late Antiquity, even among Christians.²¹

A.3. Inscriptions with Religious Content

A.3.1. Sacred Laws and Votive Inscriptions (*Tituli Sacri*)

In a society such as Rome's in which religion occupied a central place, many types of inscriptions reflect various aspects of cult practices, including funerary inscriptions, which were often dedicated to the *Di Manes* (the spirits of the dead) from the end of the first century CE, and honorific and building inscriptions, in which priesthoods are quite frequently recorded and which often commemorate the dedication of temples (cf. Chs. 19–20). However, there are some specific types particularly important for our understanding of Roman religion. Among the oldest surviving monumental Latin inscriptions are some examples of sacred laws (*leges sacrae*), i.e., cult regulations, a category to which belong the *Lapis Niger* (literally the “black stone”) (*CIL* I² 1 = *VI* 36840 = *ILS* 4913 = *ILLRP* 3; Fig. 6.4), the altar from Corcolle (*CIL* I² 2833a = *ILLRP* 1271a), both dated to the sixth century BCE, or the later texts from Spolegium (*CIL* I² 366 = *ILS* 4911 = *ILLRP* 506, third century BCE) or Furfo (*CIL* I² 756 = *ILS* 4906 = *ILLRP* 508, 58 BCE).

This category is quite common in the Greek world, but much rarer in Latin epigraphy, especially from the end of the Republic, with certain exceptions such as the altar from Narbo (Narbonne), which contains regulations for local imperial cult celebrations (*CIL* XII 4333 = *ILS* 112). Nevertheless, the most typical religious inscription is a dedication of a building, altar, plaque, or other type of object to a divinity, including



FIG. 6.4 *Lapis Niger*, Forum Romanum.

²¹ Late Republican expansion: Massaro 1992; Christian use: Sanders 1991. Mausoleum of the Flavii: *Flavii* 1993, with Hitchner 1995.

deified emperors.²² In the Republican period religious inscriptions were proportionally commoner than during the Empire, largely because epitaphs and honorific inscriptions are quite rare until the second century BCE.²³ They constitute one of the commonest types of public inscription; in some Roman provinces such as Britannia they are the most abundant category of all in absolute terms.²⁴

Although religious dedications also fulfilled commemorative functions when they named the person responsible for making the offering, their essential element is the mention of the divinity, so much so that occasionally the name of the dedicator is omitted, as occurs in the roughly one hundred dedications from the sanctuary of Lar Berobreus in Galicia in the far north-west of Hispania Citerior (*CIRG* II 1–9; *AE* 1994, 943–949).²⁵ A good portion of them were set up *ex voto*, i.e., in fulfilment of a promise made to the divinity in exchange for the granting of a specific favour, a practice extraordinarily well represented in the provinces, also in cults involving local divinities.²⁶ These often employ standard formulas that did not change much over time such as *V·S·L·M* (*votum solvit libens merito*), already widespread under Augustus.²⁷ This type of inscription was most commonly carved on altars and predominated in public sanctuaries—although miniature altars (*arulae*) were also set up in private houses—until well into the fourth century CE, when the practice declined following the spread of Christianity, which did not adopt either votive or dedicatory epigraphy (cf. Ch. 21).

In addition to these main categories, calendars (*fasti*) and curse-tablets are two other types of document with religious content, which are traditionally treated separately (A.4.3 and B.5).

A.3.2. *Acts of the Arval Brethren (Acta Fratrum Arvalium)*

The Acts of the Arval Brethren include important religious content.²⁸ More than a hundred smaller or larger sections—many fragmentary—are known of the annual records of this priestly college, covering the period 21 BCE to 304 CE. They record, among other things, the determining of the date of the festivals honouring the Dea Dia, and the inscribing of these records on stone formed part of the ritual, though it is doubtful whether their value was only symbolic,²⁹ since the grove at La Magliana in which the festivities were celebrated welcomed for this purpose crowds of worshippers as can be inferred from the existence here of a circus.

²² Fishwick 1987–2004; Price 1984; Gradel 2002.

²³ Panciera 1995: 326–328; cf. Ch. 9.

²⁴ Biró 1975.

²⁵ Koch 2005; Schattner, Suárez, and Koch 2006.

²⁶ Africa: Le Glay 1961–1966; Cadotte 2007; Portugal: Encarnação 1975; Caria in Asia Minor: Laumonier 1958.

²⁷ Alföldy 1991: 319.

²⁸ Scheid 1998 (the most authoritative edition).

²⁹ As argued by Beard 1985.

A.3.3. *Inscriptions on Rock*

When suitable conditions occurred, natural rock-faces were also used for inscribing various types of text (funerary, religious, road inscriptions, simple graffiti, etc.), especially in Italy, where, for instance, in the area around Rome the local soft tufa was used to construct rock-cut tombs and catacombs.³⁰ Religious inscriptions on rock are particularly striking, especially in the Iberian peninsula: for example, the Celtiberian and Latin graffiti from Peñalba de Villastar in the Ebro valley or the *tituli picti* from the Cueva Negra near Murcia (Fig. 35.6).³¹

A.4. Official Inscriptions (Texts Issued by State or Local Authorities)

A.4.1. *Laws, Senatus Consulta, and Decrees*

In contrast to the commemorative functions of honorific and funerary texts, inscriptions that might be described as “official” (sometimes known by the term *instrumenta publica*) aim to provide a permanent record of various actions connected to the Roman state or local civic communities. Given their contents and their sheer extent, they are of great importance for the historian. They are usually legal in character and hence sometimes categorized under the heading of “juridical epigraphy” (Ch. 15).

The preferred material for such documents was bronze. As Pliny put it (*NH* 34.99): “the use of bronze was a long time ago applied to ensuring the perpetuity of monuments by means of bronze tablets on which public decisions were inscribed” (*usus aeris ad perpetuitatem monumentorum iam pridem tralatus est tabulis aereis, in quibus publicae constitutiones inciduntur*). The association of this metal with actions of Roman state authorities is very characteristic in comparison with Greek or Italic epigraphy, in which bronze inscriptions frequently contained *leges sacrae*, while laws tended to be inscribed on stone stelae or on the walls of buildings.³² That explains why texts which in Rome were engraved on metal were in the Greek East copied on stone, as in the case of the *Res Gestae divi Augusti*, which was “inscribed on two bronze pillars set up in Rome” (*in duabus aheneis pilis qui sunt Romae positae, RG praef.*), but which was inscribed on stone in the copies that have survived in the province of Galatia (Figs. 10.2–3). According to Roman tradition, the use of bronze for such purposes went back to the laws of the Twelve Tables, traditionally dated to 450 BCE, although it only became common from the second century BCE onwards. The aim was probably to make public regulations more accessible and hence controllable, an aim that fit well with the political methods introduced by the *populares*.³³

³⁰ Gasperini 1992; Rodríguez Colmenero and Gasperini 1996. Italy: Gasperini 1996.

³¹ Beltrán, Jordán, and Marco 2005 (Peñalba de Villastar); González Blanco, Mayer, and Stylow 1987 (Cueva Negra).

³² Beltrán 1999; Caballos 2008.

³³ Crawford 1996: 33–34.

Inscriptions on bronze, like honorific inscriptions, formed part of the epigraphic landscape of the most prestigious urban public spaces and were hence monuments of great symbolic value, as can be inferred from the anecdote attributed to Vespasian, who had the three thousand bronze plaques destroyed in the fire on the Capitol in 69 CE re-inscribed since they were “a very beautiful and very ancient instrument of empire, containing the resolutions of the senate and the plebiscites regarding alliances, treaties, and special privileges granted to individuals going back almost to the foundation of the city” (*instrumentum imperii pulcherrimum ac vetustissimum, quo continebantur paene ab exordio urbis senatus consulta, plebi scita de societate et foedere ac privilegio cuicumque concessis*, Suet. *Vesp.* 8). It is, however, inappropriate to exaggerate the importance of their symbolic value to the point of forgetting that these documents were designed to be read, as ch. 95 of the *lex Irnitana* attests:³⁴

in aes incidatur et in loco celeberrimo eius municipii figatur ut d(e) p(lano) r(ecte) l(egi) p(ossit)

Let (this law) be inscribed on bronze and affixed in the most frequented place in that *municipium* so that it may be properly read from ground level.

The historical value of such documents is further exemplified by such inscriptions as the *SC de Bacchanalibus* (*CIL* I² 581 = *ILS* 18 = *ILLRP* 511), the *Tabula Hebana* (*RS* 37), the speech of Claudius on the admittance of Gauls to the Senate (*CIL* XIII 1668 = *ILS* 212; Fig. 173), or the *lex de imperio Vespasiani* (*CIL* VI 930 = *ILS* 244 = *RS* 39).³⁵ Furthermore, epigraphy on bronze was quickly adopted in the Roman provinces for its clear association with being distinctively Roman, as for instance in the Hispanic provinces, from where a hundred or so inscriptions on bronze survive, including Republican decrees such as that of L. Aemilius Paullus (*CIL* I² 614 = II 5041 = *ILS* 15 = *ILLRP* 514, dated to 190/189 BCE), the surrender document (*deditio*) from Alcántara (*AE* 1984, 495, 104 BCE; Fig. 17.2), or the *Tabula Contrebiensis* (*CIL* I² 2951a, 87 BCE), and many others dating to the Principate: the *senatus consultum* regarding Cn. Calpurnius Piso senior (*AE* 1996, 885; *CIL* II²/5, 900; Fig. 15.2), the *Tabula Siarensis* (*AE* 1984, 508 = *RS* 37), the laws of the *colonia Genetiva Iulia* (*RS* 25 = *CIL* II²/5, 1022 + *AE* 2006, 645; Fig. 15.1) and of various Flavian *municipia* (*AE* 1986, 333), and the *lex rivi Hiberiensis* (*AE* 2006, 676).³⁶ A very important group of official inscriptions comprises enactments of Roman magistrates and emperors, including edicts, decrees, and responses to requests, most of which survive as inscribed copies on stone (Ch. 14).

A.4.2. Tablets Recording Military Discharge, Hospitium and Patronage Agreements

Among inscriptions on bronze, two specific categories should be highlighted: (1) the more than one thousand military diplomas with a strong geographical concentration in

³⁴ D’Ors 1986; González 1986; cf. Williamson 1987, exaggerating their symbolic value.

³⁵ *SC de Bacchanalibus*: Ch. 19; Claudius’ speech: Ch. 17; *lex de imperio Vespasiani*: Ch. 10.

³⁶ In general Beltrán 1999: 33–35; cf. Chs. 15, 17.



FIG. 6.5 *Tabula patronatus* contracted between the community of Baetulo, Hispania Citerior, and the local-born Roman senator, Q. Licinius Silvanus Granianus, 8 June 98 CE, from Baetulo, Hispania Citerior (AE 1936, 66 = IRC I 139). Museu de Badalona.

the frontier provinces (*CIL XVI*; *RMD I-V*), which, though they were not, strictly speaking, public documents, provided a partial copy for the personal use of demobilized soldiers of the original imperial constitutions displayed in Rome;³⁷ and (2) the hundred or so inscriptions relating to *hospitium* (official guest-friendship) and patronage (for an example, see Fig. 6.5). These shared the characteristic of being produced in duplicate, so that one copy could be displayed in the home of the *hospes* or *patronus* and the other in the city which had nominated him to such a position. These documents, often referred to by epigraphers as *tabulae hospitales* and *tabulae patronatus*, are found for the most part in Hispania and North Africa during the Principate and in Italy in the fourth century CE.³⁸

A.4.3. *Calendars and Fasti*

Two types of inscriptions provide evidence for Roman means of structuring time. Calendars of the Roman year, divided into months and days, were displayed publicly

³⁷ Eck and Wolf 1986; Corbier 2006: 131–146; Speidel and Lieb 2007; cf. Ch. 16.

³⁸ Nicols 1980; Beltrán 2003, 2010, 2012; Beltrán and Díaz forthcoming.

at Rome inscribed on a whitened board (*in albo*) from 304 BCE (Liv. 9.46.5), but only one example survives from the period prior to Julius Caesar, the *fasti Antiates maiores* (*Inscr.It.* XIII.2, no. 1 = *ILLRP* 9), painted on the walls of a private villa at Antium, and several from the time of Julius Caesar and Augustus from Rome and environs: for example, from Praeneste (*Inscr.It.* XIII.2, no. 17) and Amiternum (*CIL* IX 4192 = *Inscr.It.* XIII.2, no. 25).³⁹ In addition, there are summary versions for private use such as the *menologium rusticum Colotianum* (*CIL* VI 2305 = *ILS* 8745 = *Inscr.It.* XIII.2, no. 47). On the other hand, fragments are preserved of the consular and triumphal *fasti* (chronological lists of consuls and generals who were granted triumphs: see Fig. 6.6)—known as the *Fasti Capitolini*, since they are preserved in the Musei Capitolini. Many scholars have argued that they were carved on the arch that stood in the Roman Forum to commemorate Octavian's victory at the battle of Actium.⁴⁰ In addition to providing important information, such as the names of the eponymous consuls used for the dating of years, they also played a commemorative role, especially in the case of the *Fasti Triumphales*, which provided lists of triumphant Roman magistrates and conquered peoples.



FIG. 6.6 Final section of the *Fasti Triumphales*, Rome, recording inter alia the triumphs of M. Licinius Crassus for victories in Thrace, 27 BCE, and L. Cornelius Balbus for victories in Africa, 19 BCE. Musei Capitolini, Rome.

³⁹ *Inscr.It.* XIII.1–2. Discussion: Rüpke 1995: 39–164; more briefly Rüpke 2011; cf. Ch. 19.

⁴⁰ Nedergaard 1994–95; cf. Simpson 1993; Rich 1998: 106–109.

These inscriptions, however, derive from antiquarian reconstructions of Republican history. In contrast, the *Fasti Ostienses* from Ostia (*Inscr.It.* XIII.1, no. 5), of which a number of fragments are preserved for the period 49 BCE to 175 CE, record select current events from Roman and local history on an annual basis.⁴¹

A.5. Various *Dipinti*

Also public in nature, but with a more ephemeral purpose are the various notices painted on the façades of houses or tombs, only preserved in exceptional circumstances as at Pompeii, where the house of A. Trebius Valens, for example, displays on its façade announcements about games and various election posters (*candidatorum programmata*, *CIL* IV 7610–33, 7991–93; cf. Fig. 12.2), but there are also some commercial signs and even notices with rewards offered for the recovery of stolen property. More than 2,500 electoral *programmata* have survived from Pompeii, covering the period from 63 to 79 CE.⁴²

B. PRIVATE AND DOMESTIC INSCRIPTIONS

B.1. Domestic Inscriptions in Mosaics and Wall-paintings

A reading of Petronius' *Satyricon* provides a vivid image of the proliferation of notices in domestic spaces—wall-paintings with warnings such as *cave canem* (“Beware of the dog!”; *Sat.* 29; cf. Fig. 6.1), dedications on objects (*Sat.* 30), orders and instructions from the master to his slaves (*Sat.* 28, 30). All these items are also documented archaeologically: in particular, the notices painted on walls or the texts on mosaics with warnings, maxims, or explications of the images with which they are associated.⁴³ Some domestic spaces such as reception-halls (*atria*) or gardens were semi-public and so served as display spaces, in which it was quite appropriate to erect honorific inscriptions, not to mention the small altars to be found in domestic shrines (*sacella*) and the funerary monuments of rural villas, already discussed earlier in this chapter. Baths, which could be public or private, sometimes had mosaics with inscriptions such as ΚΑΛΩΣ ΛΟΥΣΑΙ, *bene lava* (“Wash well!” in Greek and Latin), or *salvum lotum* (“Nice and clean!”).⁴⁴

⁴¹ Vidman 1982; Bargagli and Grosso 1997.

⁴² Announcements about games: Sabbatini Tumolesi 1980, with Ch. 25. Electoral *programmata*: Mouritsen 1988; Chiavia 2002; cf. Ch. 12.

⁴³ Wall inscriptions from Pompeii: *CIL* IV; mosaics with inscriptions: for example, Dunbabin 1999 (*passim*); from the Hispanic provinces: Gómez Pallarès 1997, 2002. Inscriptions in general in the Roman house: Corbier and Guilhembet 2012.

⁴⁴ Dunbabin 1989: esp. 18–19; cf. Ch. 23.

B.2. Graffiti

The Campanian cities buried by the eruption of Vesuvius attest to the ubiquity of wall graffiti in both domestic and public spaces. It is nicely summed up in one graffito from the amphitheatre at Pompeii that states (*CIL* IV 2487):

*admiror te, paries, non cecidisse
qui tot scriptorum taedia sustineas*

I'm amazed that you, wall, have not collapsed, since you have to support the tedious products of so many writers.

These notices contain a huge variety of contents: for instance, literary references, accounts, erotic messages, or references to gladiators.⁴⁵ Occasionally more specific themes are found, as in the *paedagogium* on the Palatine or in the *excubitorium* of the Seventh Cohort of *vigiles* in Trastevere in Rome.⁴⁶ Even more numerous are the graffiti of all kinds found on ceramics, especially those scratched by the owners of these items.⁴⁷

B.3. Texts on Everyday Objects (*Instrumentum Domesticum*)

Artisanal production and professional activities produced an enormous quantity of incised, stamped, cast, or painted texts.⁴⁸ Particularly numerous examples survive on objects made of bronze, glass, and, most of all, ceramics—such as lamps, bricks (Fig. 31.2), *dolia*—thanks to the durability of such materials.⁴⁹ The stamps on red-slip fineware (*terra sigillata*) and the painted, incised, or stamped marks on certain types of amphora, like those found at Monte Testaccio in Rome (Figs. 31.3–4), provide important evidence for economic activity.⁵⁰ There are, however, many other types of stamps on objects such as money-changers' tokens (*tesserae nummulariae*), lead pipes (*fistulae aquariae*), gemstones, rings, oculist's stamps, and lead ingots (Fig. 31.5).⁵¹ Although these inscriptions are very numerous, we are often dealing with identical texts appearing in many hundreds of examples. Topics which have engaged scholars are the

⁴⁵ Graffiti from Roman Italy, esp. Pompeii: Canali and Cavallo 1991; Gigante 1979; from Gaul: Barbet and Fuchs 2008.

⁴⁶ *Paedagogium*: Solin and Itkonen-Kaila 1966; *excubitorium*: *CIL* VI 2998–3091, with Sablayrolles 1996: 251–257.

⁴⁷ See, for example, Marichal 1988.

⁴⁸ Hainzmann and Visy 1991a and 1991b; Harris 1993; Nicolet and Panciera 1994. For *instrumentum domesticum* from Rome and environs, see *CIL* XV. See further Ch. 31.

⁴⁹ Ostrow 1979; Sternini 1993 (glass); Harris 1980 (lamps); Bruun 2005 (bricks from Rome); Zaccaria 1993 (bricks from the N Adriatic).

⁵⁰ *Terra sigillata*: Oxé, Comfort, and Kenrick 2000. Amphorae: Remesal Rodríguez 1998; the CEIPAC website: <http://ceipac.gh.ub.es/>; cf. Ch. 31.

⁵¹ For example, Rostovzeff 1903; Bruun 1991 (*fistulae aquariae*); Éspanandieu 1893; Voinot 1999 (oculists' stamps); Domergue 1994 (ingots).

chronology and geographical distribution of these texts, and the light that they throw on the organization of production and distribution of the finished products.

B.4. Writing Tablets

A few samples of private writing survive in the form of wooden documents preserved in exceptional circumstances such as wax-tablets (*tabellae ceratae*) with texts of school exercises, contracts, and sales. These come most of all from Pompeii and the cities of Campania (cf. *CIL* IV), such as the so-called archive of the Sulpicii (Figs. 15.3–4), but also from places such as Alburnus Maior in Dacia (*CIL* III p. 940), Vindonissa, a legionary camp in modern Switzerland, Vindolanda in Roman Britain near Hadrian's Wall, with its valuable collection of military and private documents including an invitation to a lady's birthday party (Fig. 27.1), or North Africa, whence the tablets (the so-called "Tablettes Albertini") from the Vandal period.⁵²

B.5. Curse-tablets

Magical texts, Greek in origin, were copied on thin lead sheets—a material used for letters in the Greek world—and addressed to a divinity who was invoked to harm the persons named. Usually they were then folded and placed in tombs or dropped into bodies of water, especially wells, as at Aquae Sulis (Bath), with the hope that these texts would reach the divinities of the underworld. More than five hundred of them are known, of which more than two hundred come from Britain. These curse-tablets (*tabellae defixionum*) are an extreme case, since their contents did not have a mortal addressee and were, as a result, read only by their authors . . . and the gods.⁵³

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⁵² Pompeian wax-tablets: Andreau 1974; Camodeca 1999. Vindonissa: Speidel 1996. Vindolanda: Bowman and Thomas 1983–2003. Vandal North Africa: Courtois et al. 1952.

⁵³ Audollent 1904; more recent work: Kropp 2008; Brodersen and Kropp 2004; Gordon and Marco 2010. Aquae Sulis: Tomlin 1988. See further Ch. 19–20; cf. Figs. 20.4, 22.3.

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CHAPTER 7

INSCRIBING ROMAN TEXTS

Officinae, *Layout,* *and Carving Techniques*

JONATHAN EDMONDSON

IN the later first century BCE, anybody walking the crowded back-streets of downtown Panormus (Palermo) in Sicily might have noticed a small bilingual shop-sign (15.5 cm tall by 14.5 cm wide), which announced in far from impeccable Greek and Latin: “INSCRIPTIONS HERE LAID OUT AND CARVED FOR SACRED BUILDINGS AS WELL AS FOR PUBLIC WORKS” (*CIL* X 7296 = *IG* XIV 297 = *ILS* 7680; Fig. 34.2; the Latin text in the right-hand column reads: *tituli / heic / ordinantur et / sculpuntur / aidibus sacreis / qum operum / publicorum*; cf. Ch. 34). The much taller letters of the phrase “INSCRIPTIONS HERE” in the first two lines of both Greek and Latin versions (ΣΤΗΛΛΑΙ ΕΝΘΑΔΕ; TITVLI HEIC) make it stand out, attracting the attention of passers-by and inviting them to enter the shop and purchase an inscription. A similar street-sign survives from the city of Rome (*CIL* VI 9556 = *ILS* 7679; Fig. 7.1):

5 *D(is) M(anibus)*
titulos scri-
bendos vel
si quid o[pe]-
ris marmor-
ari opus fu-
erit hic ha-
bes

For the Departed Spirits! You can get inscriptions written here or any other sort of marble work you need done!

Although far from perfect in layout and letter-carving (and grammatical accuracy in the Panormus case), these two texts show that inscriptions (*tituli*) were ordinary artefacts rather like ceramic tableware, lamps, or furniture that could be purchased from the appropriate craftsmen. This chapter will consider how a Roman, whether a consul

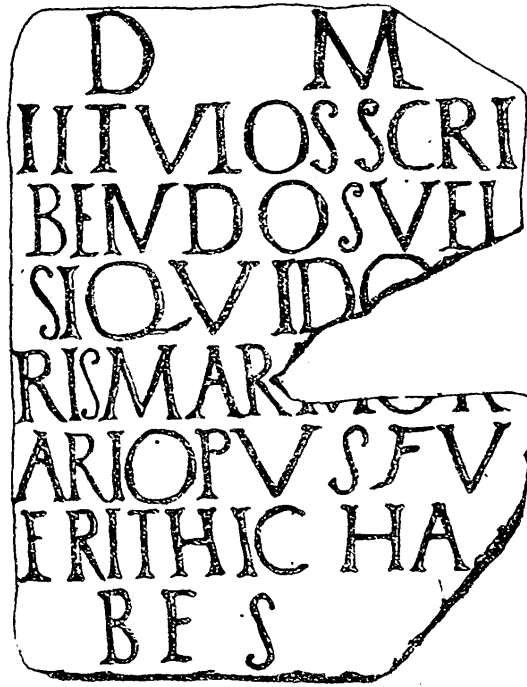


FIG. 7.1 Small street-sign from Rome advertising a stonecutter's workshop that produced inscriptions. Original in the Galleria lapidaria, Musei Vaticani.

or a poor butcher, who wanted an inscription cut, could go about acquiring one and how Roman stonecutters went about producing the inscriptions that met this demand.

A number of epigraphers have significantly advanced our understanding of this topic—most notably Giancarlo Susini and Ivan Di Stefano Manzella—and this chapter relies heavily on their work.¹ On letter-forms, much insightful work was carried out in the nineteenth century, most notably by Friedrich Ritschl on republican letter-forms and by Emil Hübner on the varieties produced from Caesar's death to the reign of Justinian, but our understanding of Roman letter-forms was put on an entirely new footing through the observations of the palaeographer Jean Mallon, even if not all his conclusions are now accepted, and of Arthur and Joyce Gordon, who painstakingly studied, photographed, and took squeezes of 365 dated Latin inscriptions, mostly from the city of Rome, ranging in date from *c.* 83 BCE to 525 CE.² In addition, much can still be gleaned from repeated, careful viewing of scores of surviving inscriptions, since they often contain tell-tale signs of how they were produced.

¹ Susini 1973, 1997; Di Stefano Manzella 1987.

² Ritschl 1862; Hübner 1885; Mallon 1952, 1982; Gordon and Gordon 1957, 1958–65; cf. Solin 1995; esp. 94; Di Stefano Manzella 1995.

CHOOSING AN *OFFICINA*, SELECTING A TEXT

When a Roman wanted to set up an inscription, how did he or she go about doing this? This depended in part on the type of inscription required. A stonecutter's *officina* such as those advertised in Panormus and Rome could supply many kinds of stone inscriptions, but most of their work would involve the production of epitaphs, by far the largest proportion of inscriptions to have survived from across the Roman world (Chs. 8, 29). A stonecutter learned by experience that each type of stone required a slightly different approach to carving and sometimes different chisels—a more robust chisel with a thicker point, for instance, was needed to carve granite, a much harder stone than marble—but he could do an effective job whatever the stone involved. The engraving of inscriptions on bronze plaques, however, and, still more, the casting of inscribed bronze stamps (*signacula*) took place in a very different setting: the workshop of a bronzesmith (*aerarius*), where an engraver (*caelator*) cut the letters onto the bronze when it was still pliable after forging (cf. Quint. *Inst. Or.* 2.21.8; *CIL* VI 9221 = *ILS* 7694, a freedman *caelator* who plied his trade on the Via Sacra; VI 37750a, a *caelator* in the *familia Caesaris*).³ A mosaicist needed to master the art of integrating inscriptions into mosaic floors (Figs. 6.1, 25.3).⁴ Painting inscriptions on stuccoed walls (Figs. 12.2, 21.3, 25.2) or stone (*AE* 1986, 46) required yet another set of skills and, again, a different type of artisan.⁵

Lapidarii, fabri lapidarii, marmorarii, lapicidae, lapidicidae, or quadratarii—all terms used to denote stonecutters⁶—were readily available to two groups in Roman society: the army and the imperial household. Army units had stonecutters among their staff, who as part of their duties would carve any official inscription a unit commander required: for instance, the many dedications that military units or individual personnel set up to honour the emperor and members of the *domus Augusta* (Fig. 10.4) or more specific texts such as boundary-stones marking the limits of a legion's pastureland (*CIL* II 2916a–e = *ILS* 2454).⁷ The emperor could turn to skilled stonecutters within the substantial imperial household, whenever he ordered inscriptions to be set up in public (*CIL* VI 1016a–c = *ILS* 375; Fig. 14.2: *hos lapides constitui iusserunt*; cf. *CIL* XI 4638, Tuder, attesting an imperial freedman's *officina* that produced boundary-markers). The absolute similarity in layout and script of the seven *termini* relating to Claudius' extension of the sacred boundary (*pomerium*) of the city of Rome in 49/50 (*CIL* VI 31537a–d, 37022b, 37023, 40852; cf. *ILS* 213) is just one example of a set of

³ Caballos, Eck, and Fernández 1996: 107–121.

⁴ Russell 1987; Gómez Pallarès 1997.

⁵ Mayer 1995; Donati 1998b. For *scriptores* of painted electoral notices at Pompeii, Franklin 1978. Painted on stone: Di Stefano Manzella 1987: 142–143, with fig. 162.

⁶ Susini 1973: 14–18; 1997: 19–22; Di Stefano Manzella 1987: 52–53.

⁷ Wesch-Klein 2012.

inscriptions ordered by an emperor that were clearly executed within the same *officina*, all using the “Claudian” letter Δ to render the semi-vocalic V in the words *ampliauit* and *terminavitque*. Most individuals, however, would have to avail themselves of the services of a commercial stoneworker’s *officina*. Although we are not well informed about their internal organization, they were usually located in urban settings. Itinerant *lapicidae* probably also plied their trade, serving locations where the need for inscriptions were just occasional, such as at rural sanctuaries.⁸

The shop-sign from Rome (Fig. 7.1) suggests that this particular shop was no specialist operation. It could carve inscriptions, but it could just as easily produce other kinds of marble-work (sculptures, portrait-busts, reliefs), for which the same basic tools were used (p. 116–117).⁹ This is clearly suggested by the stonemason’s *officina* that has been located in one of the *tabernae* in the portico behind the theatre at Ostia, to judge from the discovery there of pieces of sculpture, including unfinished portrait-busts, two fragments of inscriptions (*CIL* XIV 5260–61), and a slab on which the stonecutters had practised their lettering.¹⁰

How much choice a customer would have had when visiting a basic *officina* is not altogether clear. In the case of funerary monuments, would an individual workshop produce all kinds of such texts—simple plaques for insertion beneath a *columbarium* niche, more elaborate moulded plaques for a mausoleum façade, decorated stelae, ash-chests, and funerary altars? Or would customers need to go to a different *officina* for each of these products? This may have depended on the size of community in which they lived. Larger cities, with a greater number of potential customers, would permit more specialized *officinae* to operate, but smaller towns could not sustain such differentiation; a single *officina* would have had to produce all types of inscriptions. If a customer wanted to make a real impact with an inscription, she might choose a rare, imported type of stone, for which the costs were substantially higher. In several locations in Italy and the western provinces, luxury imported marbles were used just for dedications to the *domus Augusta*, to emphasize their importance visually and ideologically within the town’s epigraphic landscape.¹¹

Unfortunately there is no surviving evidence for the costs of inscriptions, but it is safe to assume that the more letters an inscription contained, the higher the cost. Larger monuments required more stone; and decorative elements increased the cost significantly. Even funerary plaques range from the absolutely basic, where the text was simply inscribed on a cut piece of stone, to ones with incised decorative frames, to examples with a fully moulded edge (*cymatium inversum*) to those with more complex egg-and-dart or vegetal mouldings. Funerary altars and ash-chests could vary still more in the exuberance of their decoration, and altars and reliefs which incorporated

⁸ Susini 1997: 99–122; Manacorda 1979; Panciera 1995. Itinerant *lapicidae*: Mayer 2012: 97.

⁹ Susini 1973: 19–20.

¹⁰ Buonopane 2012. Other plaques on which stonecutters practised their chiseling technique and letter-cutting, Di Stefano Manzella 1981.

¹¹ Mayer 2012: esp. 98–100.

portrait-busts of the deceased must have increased the costs of funerary commemoration quite substantially.¹²

Officinae normally kept a number of funerary monuments in stock, with altars and ash-urns in more or less finished form except for the epitaph, which could then be cut according to the customer's instructions. An elegant ash-chest from the *columbarium* of the Volusii Saturnini on the Via Appia, for instance, has its elaborate decoration fully finished, but the moulded panel for the epitaph contains just a first line of text, *D(is) M(anibus)* (*CIL* VI 7393a), with the name of the deceased and other details left to be inscribed later, but this never occurred.¹³ Another type of ash-chest had twin moulded panels for double commemorations, but often only one of the panels was inscribed, while occasionally neither bears a text. These suggest that such funerary monuments were acquired from an *officina* with the idea that the epitaph(s) would be added later by a more or less skilled craftsman within the household.¹⁴

Such a scenario would help to explain why some simple funerary plaques or small altars are so irregularly organized and badly carved, with a number of errors of Latinity. A small marble altar, found along the Via Salaria just outside Rome, was set up in the late first/early second century to commemorate M. Sentius Felicissimus (*CIL* VI 22479).¹⁵ The altar itself is well enough crafted and was presumably bought from a marble-worker's shop, but the epitaph gives the impression of being a clumsy, home-made effort. The lines meander up and down; the letters vary quite drastically in height and slope sometimes to the left, sometimes to the right; Es are inscribed as Fs, suggesting that the stonecutter misread cursive Es on the draft he was using (see p. 118 and n. 22); and in the word *aram* the first A is carved as a regular capital, whereas the second appears in cursive form. One almost wonders if it was the amateur effort of the dedicator, L. Mettius Eros, who gave himself more prominence in the text than the deceased.

Opisthographic inscriptions, i.e., monuments, usually plaques, on which there is a text inscribed on both sides of the stone, throw some further light on this issue. In the case of smaller plaques, people could take them to a stonemason's *officina* and request a new text be cut on the reverse side, or they might try to carve a new text by themselves. Even senatorial families were not immune from reusing inscriptions, such as the Aradii in the fourth century (*CIL* VI 41179, third century; cf. *AE* 1987, 102, mid-fourth). Stonemasons may have collected discarded inscriptions, to reuse them for new texts. Bronze plaques were frequently recommissioned to bear new inscriptions on their reverse sides, as a number of opisthographic examples reveal (*RS* 1+2, 3+4, 5+6, 7+13, 9, 10+17, 11+23, 24; *AE* 1978, 145 + 1992, 301).

¹² Mrozek 1975: 52–56. In Roman Africa costs of funerals varied quite appreciably: from HS 96 to 26,000 (a variability factor of 1:270): Duncan-Jones 1982: 70.

¹³ Buonocore 1984: no. 186; Sinn 1991: no. 93. In general, Susini 1973: 34–37; 1997: 38–41.

¹⁴ One panel inscribed: *CIL* VI 23314, Rome, XIV 413, Ostia = Sinn 1991: nos. 91, 127. Neither panel inscribed: *ibid.*, no. 96, Ostia.

¹⁵ Kleiner 1987: no. 31; Sinn 1991: no. 38.

THE TOOLS OF THE STONECUTTER'S TRADE

To understand how inscriptions were cut, it is important to understand the tools available to the Roman stonecutter. Three sources of information throw light on this: (a) iconographic representations of such implements on sculpted reliefs, especially on funerary monuments of *marmorarii*; (b) a few actual surviving examples; and (c) what can be inferred about the tools from the traces they left behind on the stone. One of the clearest depictions of a stonecutter's toolkit occurs on the side of the late-first-century CE funerary altar for Cossutia Arescusa and Cn. Cossutius Cladus,



FIG. 7.2 Funerary altar for Cossutia Arescusa and Cn. Cossutius Cladus, late first century CE, from Rome. Musei Capitolini, Rome.

dedicated at Rome by Cn. Cossutius Agathangelus, Arescusa's husband and Cladus' brother (*CIL* VI 16534). The Cossutii were a well-known family of builders, sculptors, and stoneworkers over several generations,¹⁶ and so it is quite appropriate that the main tools of their trade were depicted on this funerary monument (Fig. 7.2).

The following can be identified (from top to bottom and left to right): a plumb-level (*libella*), in this case without a line and lead-weight attached, a ruler (*regula*), a carpenter's square (*norma*), a compass (*circinus rectus*), a chisel (*scalprum*), a mallet (*malleus*), and a pair of callipers (*circinus arcuatus*).¹⁷ A level, square, ruler, and compasses were important for measuring and laying out a text. A mallet and chisel were the main implements used to carve the letters, though, as we shall see, a number of different chisels might be used for different aspects of the text. A number of actual examples of such tools made of bronze survive from around the Roman world, mostly from Pompeii and the Vesuvian area.¹⁸ Chisel-marks that were not removed by polishing on surviving inscriptions also provide some orientation about the size and nature of the chisels used and about the angle of the chisel-strokes.¹⁹

LAYING OUT A TEXT (*ORDINATIO*)

The shop-sign from Panormus (Fig. 34.2) reveals that two key stages were involved in the production of inscriptions: first, the arranging of the text on the stone's surface (the *ordinatio*) and, second, the actual carving of the text (*sculptio*). A customer might come to the *officina* with a rough copy (*forma*) of the text to be inscribed already prepared on wax-tablets or papyrus, or this could be developed in consultation with the stonecutter. If the text were of an official nature, the very precise form of words would have been laid down by the authorities responsible for the regulation. Thus the decree that the decurions of Herculaneum passed in the first decade of the first century CE regarding posthumous honours for the local notable M. Nonius Balbus included the exact wording of two texts to be inscribed in his honour, one on the equestrian statue voted him, the other on a marble altar to be erected on the spot "where his ashes were collected up," i.e., at the site of his cremation (*AE* 1976, 144, revising 1947, 53).²⁰

Some customers knew precisely what text they wanted inscribed. This is clear from a letter that Sidonius Apollinaris wrote to his grandnephew Secundus in 467 CE, reporting how Secundus' grandfather's tomb had been desecrated (*Epist.* 3.12). He asks

¹⁶ Rawson 1975.

¹⁷ Zimmer 1982: no. 92; La Rocca and Parisi Presicce 2010: 326–327, with photos. Similar tools on *CIL* XI 961 (Regium Lepidum, now Reggio Emilia); Zimmer 1982: no. 91. Others: Zimmer 1982: nos. 75–111. Discussion: Rockwell 1993: 31–68.

¹⁸ Donati 1998a: 302, nos. 96–100, with pls. 96–100; Friggeri, Granino Cecere, and Gregori 2012: 85–87. In general, Di Stefano Manzella 1987: 54–56, with figs. 13.1–28.

¹⁹ Susini 1973: 26; 1997: 31.

²⁰ Schumacher 1976; Di Stefano Manzella 1987: 124–125.

Secundus to oversee its repair and mentions that he will be sending him the text of a verse-epitaph (*carmen epigraphicum*), which he wants carved on a marble slab and set up at the tomb. He asks Secundus to ensure the stonecutter (*lapidicida*, also called a *quadratararius* elsewhere in the letter) makes no mistakes in executing the task (*Epist.* 3.12.5). Customers were clearly aware of the errors that such craftsmen might commit in transferring a text from a written draft to the inscribed version on the stone.²¹ As a result, scholars have often explained bizarre elements in surviving inscriptions on the grounds that the stonecutter had simply misunderstood the draft text from which he was working. For instance, the stonecutter responsible for carving a metrical inscription from the region of the Pomptine marshes in Latium inscribed all the Es in the text as Fs. Silvio Panciera has argued persuasively that he misunderstood the draft, mixing up the cursive forms of the letters E and F.²²

When laying out an inscription, a stonemason would first make sure that the stone's surface was cleanly finished for the carving of the text and that the edges of the section to be inscribed—the *titulus* proper or “inscribed field”—were clearly defined. A rock-cut text from a sanctuary of Silvanus near Philippi in Macedonia mentions this phase when it states that “P. Hostilius Philadelphus... polished the inscription on his own and then inscribed the names of the members of the cult-group” (*CIL* III 633a = *ILS* 5466a: ... *titulum polivit de suo et nomina sodal(ium) inscripsit*). If the monument was meant to be set into a wall or displayed standing up against a wall, its rear-side would not need to be smoothly finished but could be left rough. Ideally the stonecutter would take care positioning the text symmetrically on the monument as a whole.²³ He would then use an L-shaped carpenter's square and measuring stick to ensure that the inscribed field was as near to a true rectangle as possible. They were also vital in preparing horizontal guidelines, which defined where the tops and bottoms of the letters of each line should be carved.²⁴ Ideally these guidelines would be polished away after the inscription had been cut, but sometimes traces of them survive (cf. Figs. 18.2, 33.4, 34.2). A few inscriptions even betray the use of vertical guidelines, usually marking out the left and right edges of the inscribed field, but sometimes the central axis as well.²⁵ It is rare, but not unprecedented, to find a grid-pattern of horizontal and vertical lines, as on a funerary stele from Rudiae in Apulia (*AE* 1988, 375).²⁶ However, it is quite clear that many texts, especially epitaphs, were cut without the aid of guidelines. A skilled craftsman could execute his work “freehand” and still produce impressive results.

A stonecutter might sketch a preliminary draft version of the text onto the stone, using charcoal or paint, or incise it lightly using a *stilus* or a small pointed chisel. He could either do this directly onto that part of the stone where he intended to cut the

²¹ Di Stefano Manzella 1987: 123–124; Solin 1995.

²² Panciera 1967 (the text was never registered by *AE*); cf. Alföldy 1991a, explaining the oddities of *AE* 1983, 487 (Emerita), especially *stipendioron, posuin, viro virginio*; cf. *AE* 1991, 952.

²³ Sartori 1995; Di Stefano Manzella 2007.

²⁴ Susini 1973: 37–38; Di Stefano Manzella 1987: 128–131.

²⁵ Granino Cecere 2012: 196–197, figs. 11–12.

²⁶ Susini 1973: 38 and pl. VI.

inscription, removing the draft text as he carved the actual lettering. Alternatively, he might prefer to incise a rough version of the text elsewhere on the stone and then erase this once the final text was complete.²⁷ An interesting example occurs on a small marble plaque from Rome, dated *c.* 50–150 CE, where a rough draft of the epitaph was hastily scratched onto the back of the plaque in cursive script with a *stilus* or small pointed chisel, which was then picked out in chalk or charcoal to aid legibility (Fig. 7.3).²⁸ It was clearly prepared before the slab was fully finished, since part of the draft was lost at the right end when the plaque was cut to give it handles (*ansae*), making it into a *tabula ansata*, presumably after the main text had been carved. The draft text was incised upside-down in relation to the main text, presumably so that the stonemason could flip the plaque over in one single motion when cutting the inscription to read the draft the correct way up. The draft text reads (*AE* 1985, 70a):

D(is) M(anibus)
Claudiae Florentiae
Secundinae
Iulia Secundina
5 filiae dulci[ssimae]
fec[it]

To the Gods and Departed Spirits. For Claudia Florentia Secundina. Iulia Secundina set this up for her sweetest daughter.

On the front the same text was inscribed in quite carefully executed square capitals with traces of librarial visible in the style of As and the upwards slope of the upper cross-bars of the Fs. The stonemason preferred to cut all the As without cross-bars and the forms of the Ss in line 5 are not exactly equivalent. The bowls of the Ds are somewhat clumsily cut (*AE* 1985, 70b; Fig. 7.4).

D(is) M(anibus)
Claudiae Fl[oren]-
tiaae Secundinae
Iulia Secundina
5 filiae dulcissimae
fecit

The final text does not quite follow the layout of the draft, since *Florentiae*, which appears in full on line 2 on the draft, had to be split between lines 2 and 3 of the definitive version because of a lack of space at the right end of line 2. In the first line the stonemason

²⁷ On a funerary plaque from Rome (*CIL* VI 14179) traces of a lightly incised rendition of the final line survive immediately above it: Di Stefano Manzella 1980; 1987: 138 and n. 323, fig. 171a. Examples from Hispania in Tantimonaco 2013.

²⁸ Priuli 1984 (with parallels); Di Stefano Manzella 1987: 122 and figs. 153–154; Friggeri, Granino Cecere, and Gregori 2012: 82–83 with photos (C. Caruso).

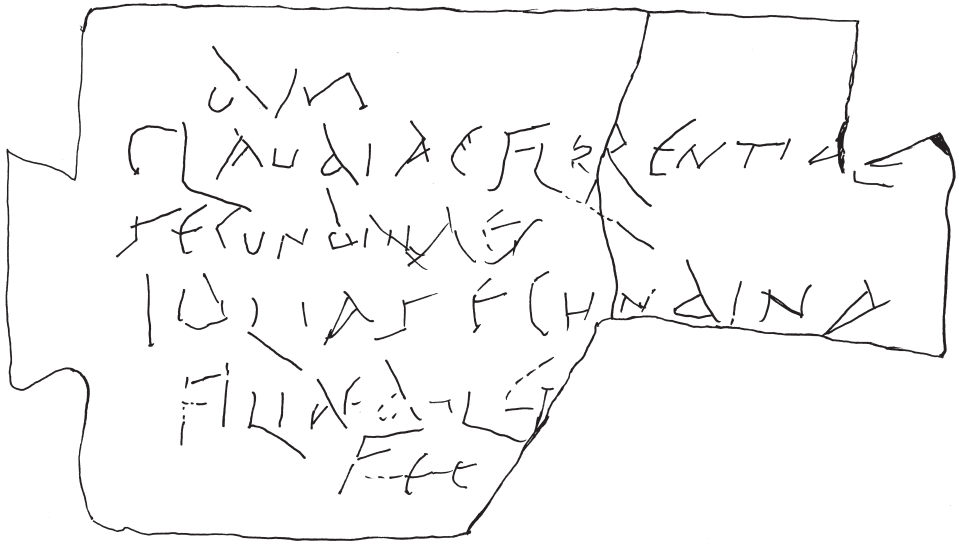


FIG. 7.3 Rough draft in cursive lettering of an epitaph on the reverse of a plaque with the epitaph of Claudia Florentia Secundina, Rome, first/second century CE. Museo Nazionale Romano.



FIG. 7.4 Marble plaque (*tabula ansata*) with the epitaph of Claudia Florentia Secundina, Rome. Museo Nazionale Romano.

also failed to centre the letters D M; he was perhaps led astray by the draft, which places them too far to the left. The stonemason adorned the epitaph with triangular interpuncts, though he accidentally omitted one of them between FLORENTIAE and SECVNDINAE in line 3, and by incising decorative ivy-leaves (*hederae*) in the plaque's lower corners.

For large public inscriptions in monumental square capitals (p. 123–124), the *ordinatio* was crucial to achieving an impressive effect. After very careful scrutiny of several monumental inscriptions from Rome, Ostia, and Roman Britain, Richard Grasby has argued that the *ordinatio* involved a detailed geometrical understanding of the text. The stonemason took pains to ensure that individual letters had a consistent height, width, and shape, each based on a proportional system based on unit values. Crucial to all this was a geometric grid that was applied to each inscription. Unlike in smaller, private texts where a stonemason might simply use his eye to form the more complex letters such as Bs, Ps, and Rs, in monumental inscriptions traces of compass points in the centre of these features show that some of the measurement instruments described above most definitely were pressed into service.²⁹ In each inscription that he studied, Grasby took precise measurements of the letters' heights and widths, as well as rubbings, squeezes, and multiple digital images shot through a 10 mm grid. He then processed this information with a customized computer programme to establish the "controlling grid" that, he argued, lay behind the *ordinatio* and carving of the inscription. Finally, he deployed these insights to produce life-size replicas of the inscriptions, a good example of the value of what might be termed "experiential epigraphy."

Despite the technical differences involved in their actual execution, texts inscribed on bronze plaques or painted on walls involved many of the same steps in their *ordinatio*: especially the use of guidelines, which are visible, for example, in a fragment of Virgilian verse painted onto a wall in the villa at Otford in Kent³⁰ and on bronze inscriptions such as Copy A of the senatorial decree of 20 CE about Cn. Piso, where the text is arranged in four columns (Fig. 15.2). Guidelines were used for engraving the first two columns, but not for the third or fourth. This would suggest that two separate engravers worked on this text, and a number of features show that the person responsible for the left two columns was the more careful worker.³¹

CARVING A TEXT

The basic technique for inscribing a text on stone involved the use of a wooden-headed mallet (*malleus*) and an iron chisel (*scalprum*), or usually a variety of chisels. The angle at which the stonemason held the chisel was crucial for achieving the best effects,

²⁹ Grasby 1996, 2002; Grasby and Tomlin 2002. Since 2009 Grasby has also self-published eleven booklets studying further inscriptions: *CIL* VI 960, 941, 40310, 36908, 37077 (= nos. 1, 4, 9, 10, 11); XII 3261 (no. 6); XIV 86 (no. 3); *RIB* 330, 288, 2110 (nos. 2, 5, 8).

³⁰ Davey and Ling 1982: 146–148 no. 30, fig. LXIII.

³¹ Caballos, Eck, and Fernández 1996: 19–23.

as was an even and rhythmic strike of the mallet. The stonemason would use a basic straight-edged chisel to cut the triangular grooves that made up the main parts of the letters and then use a much more finely “nib-pointed” chisel to carve serifs at the head and foot of vertical, horizontal, or diagonal strokes or at the culmination of curved strokes in letters such as Cs, Gs, or Ss.³² For large public inscriptions in which bronze or gilded bronze letters (*litterae auratae*) were to be inserted such as those on the arches of Titus and Septimius Severus in Rome (Figs. 10.1, 10.5), the grooves had to be cut much deeper with a broader chisel, so that lead could be inserted to fix the bronze letters into place.³³ From the second half of the second century CE onwards a small hand-drill turned by a bow-string (hence still known as a “violin-drill”) came into use, especially for small plaques destined for use in *columbaria* and for the carving of circular interpuncts.³⁴

For trying to work out how Roman texts were carved, errors can sometimes be revealing, even if scholars have debated how an “error” should be identified.³⁵ So on the large *tumulus*-tomb of the equestrian M. Lucilius M.f. Paetus, constructed c. 20 BCE and still surviving 300m outside the Porta Salaria in Rome, his sister’s name, Lucilia M.f. Polla, has its *gentilicium* inscribed as LVOILIA rather than LVCILIA (*CIL* VI 32932). This suggests that the stonemason was using a compass to inscribe the C but, by mistake, cut an entire circle rather than just the three-quarters of the circle that was needed for a C.³⁶

Letter-forms

In their choice of letter-forms, Roman stonemasons followed Greek practice in using capitals to inscribe all varieties of texts on stone, whether for honorific texts on statue bases and other commemorative monuments, monumental building inscriptions, votive dedications, or epitaphs.³⁷ The earliest public inscriptions from Rome and Latium date to the sixth century BCE (Chs. 6, 8, 9), and the script on the Lapis Niger from Rome (Fig. 6.4), for example, clearly shows the debt that early Latin epigraphic script owed to the Greek alphabet. As the Republic progressed, the irregular capitals took on a more unified and standardized appearance. All the strokes of the letters were carved at the same thickness, a feature that distinguishes republican from later imperial lettering. The development of republican letter-forms is discussed further in Chapter 9, and it is possible to gain a sense of the evolution of the scripts used by

³² Susini 1973: 26. On the practicalities of letter-carving, Grasby 1989 is clear and well-illustrated.

³³ Di Stefano Manzella 1987: 139–141.

³⁴ Susini 1973: 27; Di Stefano Manzella 1987: 55–56, with fig. 13.28.

³⁵ Susini 1973: 39–49; Mallon 1982: 227–260; Solin 1995.

³⁶ Susini 1973: 27; Kolb and Fugmann 2008: 71–73, no. 13 (with photos).

³⁷ For what follows Ritschl 1862; Hübner 1885; Mallon, Marichal, and Perrat 1939; Gordon and Gordon 1957.

Table 7.1 Some republican inscriptions illustrated in this volume (in chronological order)

Sixth century BCE	Figs. 6.4 (Rome), 34.3 (Satricum)
Third century BCE	Cover Image (Rome); Figs.14.1 (Caere), 35.2 (Rome), 9.1 (Rome)
Late third/early second century BCE	Fig. 33.1 (Rome)
Second century BCE	Figs. 9.2 (Rome), 30.3 (Polla), 17.2 (Alcántara, Hispania Ulterior)
First century BCE	Fig. 9.3 (Rome), 26.3 (Rome)

comparing the styles of lettering used for the republican inscriptions illustrated in this volume (Table 7.1).³⁸

During the reign of Augustus, monumental inscriptions developed into what we might term their “classical” form. Marble was now much more availability at Rome thanks to the expansion of the Carrara marble quarries near Luna, and this softer stone started to replace tufa, peperino, and travertine for public inscriptions, allowing for much more elegant carving. This was when the lettering that is known as “monumental square capitals” (*scriptura monumentalis* or *capitales quadratae*) started to become widespread in Rome, Italy, and the major centres in the western provinces.³⁹ The large bronze letters set into the paving of the Forum by the praetor L. Naevius Surdinus (Fig. 22.1) show a regularity and elegance that were imitated by stonecutters inscribing texts on marble. The re-inscription in the Augustan period of the *elogium* of C. Duilius (Fig. 17.1) or the copy from Arelate in Gallia Narbonensis of the shield of the virtues (*clipeus virtutum*) awarded Augustus (Fig. 10.6) both demonstrate the stylishness of these capitals. The letters are more evenly spaced on the stone than in republican inscriptions, suggesting a more widespread use of rulers and compasses in laying out texts. An Augustan statue base from Segobriga in Hispania Citerior (Fig. 8.1) still shows some republican features such as the wide Ms, Ns, and Os and very open Cs, which may hint that the latest styles used in the imperial centre took some time to percolate throughout the provinces.

As the Principate progressed, the square capitals became even more refined, with an important development in carving techniques that saw contrasting thicker and thinner sections within the same letter to give the effect of shading (see Table 7.2). This is clearly visible in the lettering (especially the A, R, O, and D in the first line) on the inscription commemorating Nero’s influential freedman, Epaphroditus (Fig. 28.2). Square capitals remained the basic form of lettering used for public inscriptions throughout the first and second centuries, as the Hadrianic inscription honouring Suetonius from Hippo

³⁸ For photos of many inscriptions of Republican date, Degraasi 1965.

³⁹ Alföldy 1991b.

Table 7.2 Letter-forms of the imperial period on inscriptions illustrated in this volume

	<i>Square capitals</i>	<i>Librarial script</i>
Augustus	Figs. 8.1 (Segobriga), 10.6 (Arelate), 16.1 (Xanten), 17.1 (Rome), 22.1 (Rome), 24.1 (Lepcis Magna)	Figs. 6.6 (Rome), 10.2 (Ancyra)
Tiberius	Figs. 11.4 (Caesarea), 30.1 (Salona)	Fig. 15.2 (Irnî, bronze)
Claudius–Nero	Figs. 19.2 (Caere), 26.1 (Emerita), 31.5 (Britannia, lead ingot)	Figs. 15.1 (Urso, bronze), 17.3 (Lugdunum, bronze), 25.2 (Pompeii, painted)
Vespasian, Titus, Domitian	Figs. 24.2 (Brixia), 10.1 (Rome), 11.2 (Forum Popilii), 28.2 (Rome)	Figs. 12.2 (Pompeii, painted), 27.3 (Emerita), 27.4 (Rome)
c. 50–150 CE		Fig. 7.4 (Rome), 35.3 (Carsulae)
Trajan, Hadrian	Figs. 1.1–2 (Hippo)	Figs. 23.4 (Aesernia), 6.5 (Baetulo, bronze)
Antoninus Pius, M. Aurelius, L. Verus, Commodus	Figs. 11.1 (Rome), 12.4 (Petuaria), 23.1 (Puteoli), 14.3 (Rome)	Figs. 16.5 (Brigetio, bronze), 33.2 (Emerita)
Septimius Severus–Severus Alexander	Figs. 10.5 (Rome), 17.4 (Tarraco), 20.5 (Intercisa)	Figs. 10.4 (Alexandria), 12.1 (Canusium, bronze), 24.5 (Corduba), 25.5 (Lepcis Magna), 35.4 (Lambaesis)

Regius (Fig. 1.1) or the statue base from Rome for the senator M. Valerius Quadratus (Fig. 11.1) from the second half of the second century demonstrate.

During the first century CE, the script first developed for inscribing laws and other regulations on bronze (Figs. 15.1–2, 17.3)—“librarial script” (*capitalis libraria*)—started to be used for stone inscriptions as well. It is often referred to, less correctly, as “actuarial” as the script used for documents (*acta*) including military diplomas (Fig. 16.5). It was also employed for notices painted on the walls of Roman towns, such as in the surviving electoral *programmata* (Fig. 12.2) or spectacle announcements (Fig. 25.2) from Pompeii. Its letters are generally much narrower, and some of them, especially Es, Fs and Ts, have more undulating horizontal bars than their equivalents in the more rigid system of square capitals. Vs tend to have a slightly curved left diagonal. Its use for carving longer texts on marble can be seen already in the Augustan period in the *Fasti Triumphales* (Fig. 6.6) or the so-called *Laudatio Turiae* (Fig. 27.2) from Rome or in the *Res Gestae* from Ancyra (Fig. 10.2). By the mid- to later first century CE librarial script was also quite commonly being used for shorter texts such as epitaphs (Fig. 27.3). It is important, however, not to impose too rigid a taxonomy on Roman letter-forms.⁴⁰ In

⁴⁰ Note the critique of Hübner 1885 by Gordon and Gordon 1957.

the first and second centuries CE stonecutters often produced letters that were basically square capitals, but with some influences from librarial (cf. Fig. 16.4, 27.4, 29.3), and elements of cursive script were even sometimes deployed: for instance, in the forms of the Ms, Ns, and Vs (Figs. 26.4, 29.4).

As the second century advanced, a form of “elongated capitals” came into vogue. A form of librarial, but with higher and even narrower letters, so much so that Is and Ls are sometimes difficult to distinguish apart. Os are increasingly oval-shaped, the lower right sections of the Gs are rolled inwards, and some letters—notably As, Ms, and Fs—betray the influence of cursive script. These features are all clearly visible in the dedication set up at Alexandria by veterans of the Legio II Augusta to Septimius Severus in 194 (Fig. 10.4; cf. Fig. 24.5, Corduba).

In North Africa during the later third century a rounded form of lettering known as “uncial” (or “semi-uncial”) script developed and this spread elsewhere during the fourth and fifth centuries. With its distinctively rounded letters, it was developed from cursive script used for writing on papyrus. It was used for epitaphs and also for some monumental texts such as the statue base for the senator P. Flavius Pudens Pomponianus *signo* Vocontius (*PIR*² F 346) from Thamugadi (*CIL* VIII 2391 = *ILS* 2937). It also appears on the famous Mactar harvester inscription from Mactaris, and this had led to a reopening of the question of the date of this text. Formerly attributed to the third century, it may now belong to mid- to later fourth century or even later.⁴¹ (Later Roman scripts are discussed further in Chapter 18.)

This volume also provides a number of examples of cursive scripts used for writing personal letters (Fig. 27.1), poetry on scrolls (Fig. 33.3), records of legal disputes on wax-tablets (Figs. 15.3–4), curse-tablets (Fig. 20.4), receipts on red-slip pottery (Fig. 32.3), or for graffiti of all kinds scratched on plaster walls (Figs. 6.3, 19.4, 23.2, 34.1, 35.5), but these are not relevant for a consideration of the carving of inscriptions on stone.

Errors and modifications

Stonecutters devised techniques for rectifying carving errors. They might try to squeeze in omitted letters if there was room on the stone (Fig. 35.3, line 1: *Lucrío*). A more radical option was to chisel away the originally inscribed surface and re-inscribe the text. This patently occurred in the Augustan period at Segobriga in Hispania Citerior on the pedestal honouring M. Porcius M.f., *scriba Aug(usti)*, a patron of the town (Fig. 8.1). In line 2 the stonecutter seems to have made a mistake over Porcius’ voting-tribe and so erased the whole line before re-inscribing his correct tribal assignment, *Pup(inia tribu)*.

Stonecutters often miscalculated the amount of space needed for inscribing the commissioned text and might have to resort to the use of miniscule letters, even sometimes inscribing small Os and Is within the rounded bowl of a C, D, or Q (Fig. 17.4, line 1 in the

⁴¹ Shaw 2013: 59–64.

word *co(n)s(ul)*) or they might unite two letters in a *nexus* (i.e., two or more letters combined to form an overlapping single character, also termed a ligature); some of the commoner combinations include AE, AM, AN, AV, HE, MA, MV, NA, NE, NN, NT, VM, XV and ANT, MAE, VNT (for instance, Figs. 25.5, 33.2, 35.3). The *nexus* of IB, IR, and TI were executed by simply extending the vertical stroke of the B, P, R, or T above the line to incorporate the I (Fig. 17.4, line 1: the IB in TIB.; cf. Fig. 35.3).⁴² Tall letters might provide another solution, since elongating the vertical stroke of a T and inscribing its horizontal cross-bar well above the line saved space (Fig. 24.4, with eleven T *longae* in lines 1–4, fourteen in all six lines).⁴³ However, such letters combined in a *nexus* and tall letters, especially when stylishly executed, became an aesthetic feature in their own right and so were often carved deliberately and not just to correct an oversight.

Another common, though far from elegant, solution to an unforeseen lack of space was to carve letters outside the prepared “epigraphic field” by carving extra text in the marginal mouldings. This is visible, for instance, in the first and last lines of the dedication to Deus Sol Elagabalus from Intercisa in Pannonia (Fig. 20.5). An epitaph from Carsulae in Umbria (Fig. 35.3) combines a number of these features. In its first line it deploys no fewer than five ligatures in the first line and two diminutive Is in the words *lib(ertus)* and *Lucrío*, while the last abbreviated word of the line, *ux(ori)*, is carved in a slot specially cut away on the plaque’s right-hand moulding.

Sometimes it was necessary to modify a text for reasons other than maladroit work on the part of the stonemason. Another death in the family might require the addition of the name of another family member on an existing epitaph. To detect this, we need to look carefully for changes in letter-forms and slight alterations in alignments (Fig. 26.1 provides a possible example: see p. 559–560). Conversely, text might need to be erased, if a family member had fallen into disgrace and needed to be excluded from the tomb (for example, *AE* 1984, 494, *Emerita*).⁴⁴ On public inscriptions, text was sometimes erased for political reasons. On the statue base set up at Tarraco (Fig. 17.4) for Ti. Claudius Candidus, one of Septimius Severus’ leading generals, his name in line 1 was initially erased after he was put to death on the orders of the praetorian prefect Plautianus. When the latter was himself executed in 205, Severus saw to the rehabilitation of Candidus’ memory and his name was re-inscribed in the erasure (cf. Fig. 35.4, line 2, where the initial erasure had expunged *Alexandrianae*, a reference to Severus Alexander, after his fall from power in 235, but it was later restored to the text).

Aids to visibility and legibility

After carving a text, the stonemason might add certain features to aid its legibility or, at the very least, its visibility. Interpuncts helped indicate where one word ended and the

⁴² Di Stefano Manzella 1987: 149–151; Panciera 2012.

⁴³ Ricci 1992.

⁴⁴ Edmondson 2000: 323–324 and fig. 10.

next one began. Triangles were the most common form, but small squares or rectangles were used in the republican period (Ch. 9), arrow-heads, commas, ivy-leaves (*hederae*), circles, and, occasionally, tildes during the Principate. Some *officinae* developed even more elaborate designs such as stylized anchors, lilies, or even pomegranate flowers.⁴⁵ That interpuncts were normally added after the text was inscribed is suggested by texts in which they had to be squeezed in between words and/or when they are omitted through lack of space. When the stonemason was working on the funerary monument for the soldier M. Caelius who died in the Varian disaster in 9 CE (Fig. 16.1), he found that he had no space in line 1 to carve his ivy-leaf (*hedera*) interpunct in the normal central position between *M(arco)* and *Caelio*; so he squeezed it in where there was room alongside the top-right corner of the M. There was also no space after *Caelio* and so he decided to inscribe the *hedera* inside the O, a feature he repeated in lines 2–3, where interpuncts appear within the G of *leg(ionis)* and the Os of both *bello* and *Variano*.

The other major aid to visibility was the application of cinnabar (*minium*) to pick out the letters in red, which as a result came to be known as *litterae rubricatae* (Plin. *NH* 33.122). Often faint traces of this original coloration have survived on inscribed monuments, which encouraged certain modern museum curators to apply red paint to a number of Roman inscriptions to produce this same effect. Thus the clear rubricated lettering on the republican funerary relief for L. Aurelius Hermia and Aurelia Philematio (Fig. 26.3) and the ossuary for Ti. Claudius Chryseros, Iulia Theonoe, and Claudia Dorcas (Fig. 29.4) may result from modern retouching of these inscriptions rather than constitute an original feature. This use of red to emphasize lettering led to the coinage of the term *rubrica* (“rubric”) to denote a short label summarizing the contents of a section of a longer text. It provided a visual encapsulation, as though in red letters, of the subject matter. Such rubrics are found throughout the surviving copies of the Flavian Municipal Law: for example, *r(ubrica). de servis apud Ilviro manumittendis (lex Flav. mun. 28: “Rubric. Concerning the manumission of slaves in front of the Ilviri”)*.

Other less dramatic features helped to make texts more intelligible. Long vowels were sometimes marked with *apices*. These are clearly visible, for example, on the word TIBERIÉVM on the inscription set up by Pontius Pilate in the harbour at Caesarea Maritima (Fig. 11.4) or on the so-called *Laudatio Turiae*, praising the virtues of a senatorial wife (Fig. 27.2), for instance, in the words *órnamentis* or *domús* in lines 2 and 9. Spacing could also aid legibility and also emphasize important parts of a text. So on the patronage agreement (*tabula patronatus*) from Baetulo in Hispania Citerior (Fig. 6.5) the names of the consuls in lines 1–3, one of whom was the emperor Trajan, are inscribed in much larger letters than rest of the text, while the name of the envoy of Baetulo who completed the agreement stands out thanks to the spacing of the text and the slightly larger letters of the final two lines, where his name appears.

In longer texts, paragraphing and layout helped readers or viewers make better sense of the overall architecture of the text. On the bronze plaque that displayed in

⁴⁵ Edmondson 2009.

Lugdunum a copy of Claudius' speech in 48 CE granting the local elite of central Gaul the right to enter the Roman Senate (Fig. 173), the text of each new paragraph starts slightly to the left of the subsequent lines of that paragraph, while the paragraph breaks are reinforced by the substantial empty space left at the end of each section of the text. Similarly, indenting of new sections and the use of chapter numbers helped to break up long detailed texts such as the municipal law of the Colonia Genetiva Iulia (Fig. 15.1, where the first lines of each chapter and, in the line immediately below, the chapter number were inscribed in the left margin; the chapter numbers XVIII and XVIIIII are clearly visible to the left of the main text of the right-hand column).

Finally, for many important public inscriptions on public buildings and triumphal arches, bronze letters (*litterae aerae*) or even gilded bronze letters (*litterae auratae*) were fixed into the grooves cut onto the stone, to make these texts dazzle their viewers in the bright Mediterranean sun, as, for instance, in Rome with the dedicatory inscriptions on the Pantheon (*CIL* VI 896 = *ILS* 129), the Arch of Titus on the Via Sacra (Fig. 10.1), the Flavian amphitheatre (Fig. 25.4), or the triumphal Arch of Septimius Severus in the Forum (Fig. 10.5). The notion that texts with *litterae auratae* were deemed the most noble inscriptions of all is wistfully evoked in a *carmen epigraphicum* that rounds off a simple epitaph for a freedwoman at Celti (Peñaflor) in Baetica (*CILA* II 1, 175 = *AE* 1975, 503):

*si quantum pietas potu/it, tantum fortuna / dedisset
litteris au/ratis scribere hunc / titulum.*

As much as my respect (for the deceased) enabled it, would that fortune had allowed me to write this inscription in gilded letters.

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CHAPTER 8

THE “EPIGRAPHIC HABIT” IN THE ROMAN WORLD

FRANCISCO BELTRÁN LLORIS

SINCE the 1980s scholars have ceased considering Roman inscriptions simply in functional terms—as sources of historical information—and started to treat them as a cultural phenomenon worthy of serious consideration in its own right. This change in perspective, as well as the realization that there was an indissoluble bond between text and monument, represents the most productive shift in approach in recent epigraphic scholarship.¹ It stems from a recognition that Roman inscriptions are not distributed evenly in chronological terms over more than a millennium. They are clustered in the first three centuries of the imperial period, when there developed a real habit of setting up inscriptions, a cultural practice worthy of study as a specific type of social communication.² This shift in our understanding of Roman inscriptions was well captured by Ramsay MacMullen in a stimulating essay from 1982, which, although scholars do not accept all its conclusions, emphasizes the period when what he defined as the “epigraphic habit” was most intense. He also posed the question, to which he could find no adequate response, but which has remained ever since at the heart of such investigations: Why did people write texts on stone across Italy and throughout the Roman provinces?

“A MOST CIVILIZED FORM OF RIVALRY” (*HUMANISSIMA AMBITIO*)

The growth in the practice of setting up inscriptions during the Principate was so significant that modern historians have characterized it as a “*furor epigraphicus*.” Even

¹ For example, Eck 1984, 1999.

² Susini 1982; Corbier 2006.

though surviving epigraphic texts do not represent all inscriptions ever produced, the relative balance between surviving republican and imperial examples (4,500 from the Republic, 300,000 from the Empire) is likely to be indicative of Roman epigraphic production.³ This phenomenon did not go unnoticed by contemporary witnesses, as a parenthetical remark of Pliny the Elder when discussing the custom that originated in Greece of honouring people with bronze statues explicitly reveals (*NH* 34.17):

This practice was adopted thereafter by the whole world out of a most civilized sense of rivalry (*humanissima ambitione*). The result was that statues started to decorate the public squares of every municipality and to perpetuate the memory of individuals, while distinctive honours started to be inscribed on their bases so that posterity might read them here and not just in tombs. Soon even private houses and particularly their reception halls (*atria*) were converted into a kind of public forum, once clients instituted the practice of honouring their patrons in this way.

The driving-force behind this process, according to Pliny, was “a most civilized form of rivalry” (*humanissima ambitio*), which spurred the elite, to which he himself belonged, to leave behind a permanent record of their own social prominence, so that not only their contemporaries but posterity as well might continue to remember them.

To achieve this, they erected stone and bronze monuments in well frequented places, as also did members of their family, friends, clients, and others, which guaranteed publicity and permanency for the epigraphic message that each of these monuments carried. For such commemorative purposes the ideal place in terms of prestige and publicity was the forum, the centre of civic life par excellence; for example, the statue set up by the people of Segobriga (Saelices el Chico) in Hispania Citerior in their forum for the town’s patron, M. Porcius M.f., scribe of Augustus (*AE* 2003, 986; Fig. 8.1):

M(arco) Porcio M(arci) f(ilio)
 <<*Pup(inia tribu)*>>
Caesaris Augusti
scribae
 5 *Segobrigenses*
patrono

A forum had several advantages over other types of public space in which the epigraphy was used, such as sanctuaries, primarily designed to express piety towards the gods, or burial areas, which occupied a more marginal position in the urban landscape, as can indeed be inferred from the passage of Pliny cited above.⁴ Necropoleis such as those of the Via Triumphalis in Rome or Isola Sacra near Ostia⁵ and forums such as those at Segobriga or Thamugadi in Africa Proconsularis allow us, thanks to their excellent

³ Eck 2007; cf. Alföldy 1991: 292. For the Republic, Ch. 9.

⁴ Mouritsen 2005: 52.

⁵ Via Triumphalis: Väänänen 1973; Liverani and Spinola 2010; Isola Sacra: Thylander 1952; Baldassarre et al. 1996; Helttula 2007; in general, von Hesberg and Zanker 1987; Ch. 29.

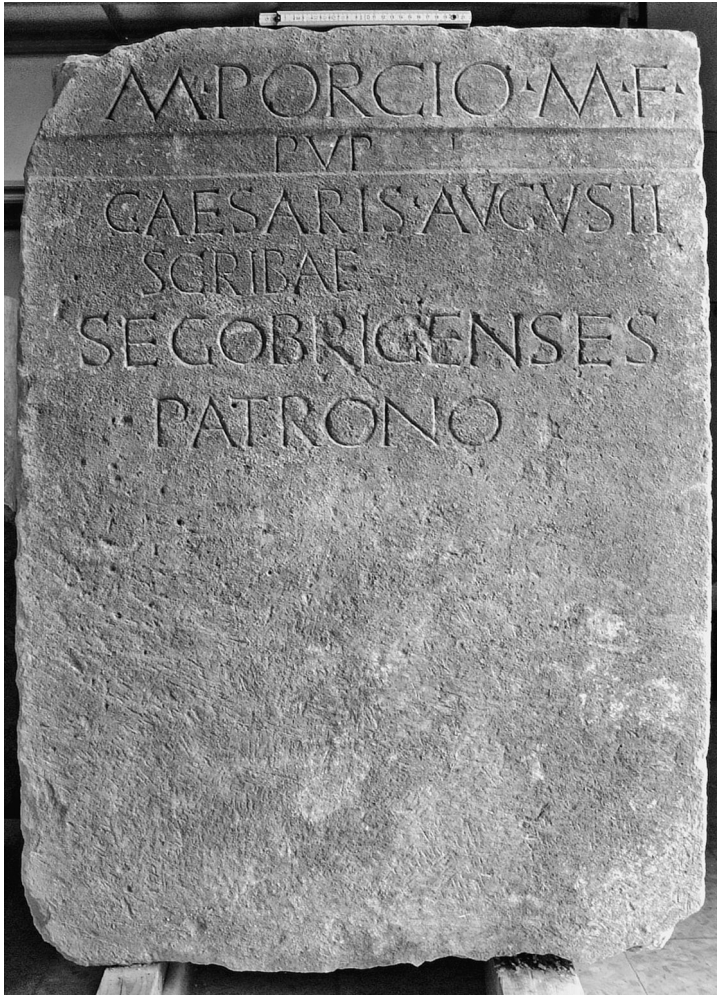


FIG. 8.1 Equestrian statue base for M. Porcius M.f., *scriba* of Augustus, from the forum of Segobriga (Hispania Citerior). Museum, Archaeological Park of Segobriga.

state of preservation, to form a good impression of the original appearance of these physical settings filled with inscriptions (Fig. 8.2).⁶

This passion for epigraphy penetrated even the private abodes of the aristocracy, whose reception-halls (*atria*)—display spaces at the domestic level—were transformed into sites for individual and family commemoration.⁷ This may be observed, for example, even as late as the fourth century CE in the house of the Aradii on the Caelian in the city of Rome, in which various cities and corporations erected pedestals and attached bronze plaques honouring their senatorial patrons (*CIL* VI 1688–94).⁸

⁶ Abascal, Alföldy, and Cebrián 2003, 2011: 25–117, nos. 1–122 (Segobriga); Zimmer 1989 (Thamugadi); cf. Alföldy 1984 (N. Italy).

⁷ Eck 1984: 133–134, 1992.

⁸ Guidobaldi 1995; Corbier 1998: 140–153.

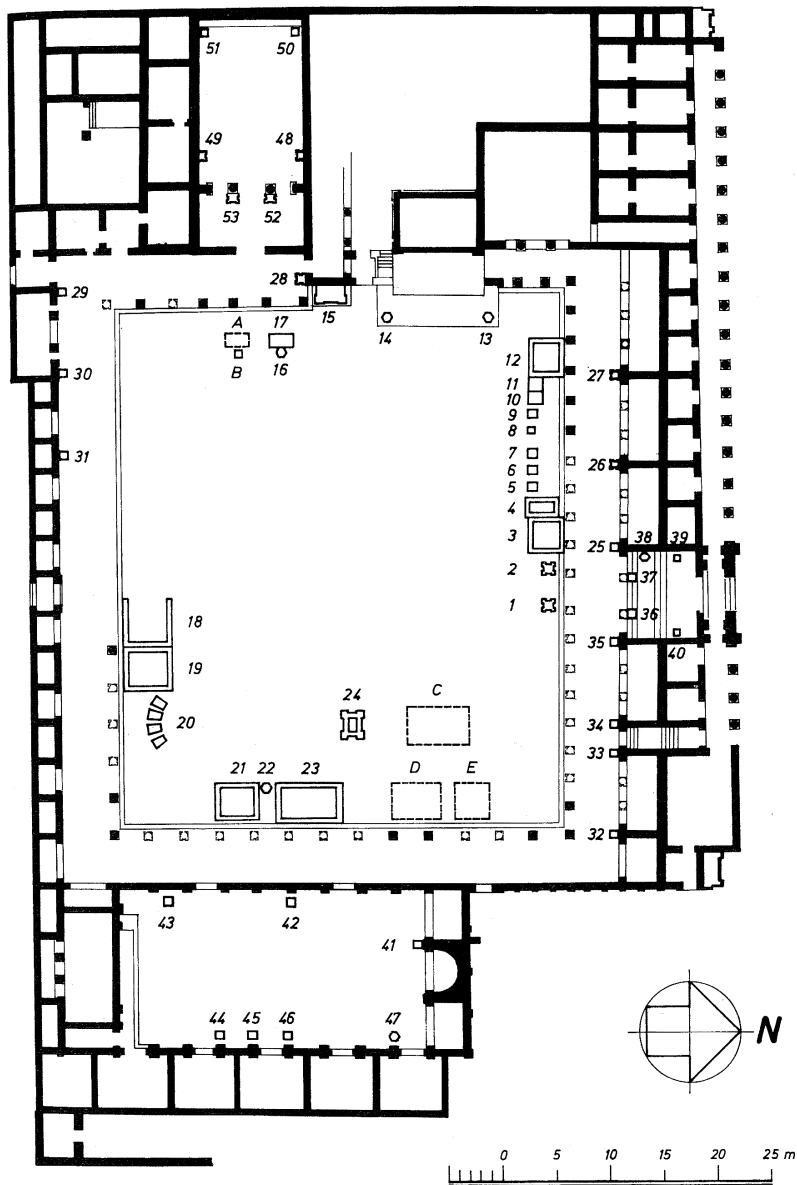


FIG. 8.2 Plan of the forum at Thamugadi, indicating the findspots of inscriptions.

The key moment when this process took off occurred at the end of the first century BCE. This was when the practice, hitherto confined to the elite, spread to other groups of the population—the urban plebs, freedmen, soldiers, foreigners, and others—which, though excluded from commemorations in the forum, found cemeteries to be ideal spaces for self-display, even if commemoration there was generally limited to the name of the deceased and his or her relatives and on many occasions the expression

of sentiments took priority over the desire for self-display. Many will be familiar with the obviously fictional epitaph of Trimalchio, whereby Petronius (*Sat.* 71) satirized the *nouveaux riches* of servile origin in the Neronian period by focusing at great length on his epitaph and funerary monument:⁹

Here lies Gaius Pompeius Trimalchio Maecenatianus. He was granted the sevirate *in absentia*. Although he could have entered all the *decuriae* in the city of Rome, he declined to do so. Respectful, brave, and faithful, he started out from little. He left thirty million sesterces, but never listened to a philosopher. Farewell! And you too!

The satire displayed in this passage reveals the elite’s unease as they faced the spread of a habit that had previously been their sole preserve. It is precisely the broad social dimensions of the practice of erecting inscriptions, targeted at posterity, from Augustus onwards that explain not only the reflection of the phenomenon in contemporary Roman literature, as we have seen in the passage of Pliny discussed above,¹⁰ but also why such a large number of monumental Latin inscriptions have survived to this day to an extent unparalleled in most other urban civilizations. A large number of ephemeral inscriptions were also set up: *tabulae dealbatae* (whitened boards), for instance, which carried announcements of administrative and political interest. Scholars now estimate that their number far exceeded that of inscriptions on stone and other durable materials.¹¹

The traditional definition of the Graeco-Roman world as an “epigraphic civilization” (“une civilisation de l’*épigraphie*”)¹² is justified by the enormous importance of inscriptions as historical sources. Thanks to their large number—according to estimates that are approximate and potentially problematic, as we shall see (p. 136–141), more than 600,000 Greek and Latin inscriptions¹³—and to the great variety of their content, they can to a certain degree make up for the almost total loss of ancient archives and the inevitable bias of literary sources. Nevertheless, this does not apply in equal measure to all periods of classical antiquity. Inscriptions on stone were in use from the eighth century BCE onwards, but it was only in the first three centuries CE that people resorted to their use on a massive scale.

The *humanissima ambitio* that drove people to leave behind a personal memorial for subsequent generations hardly began with the advent of the Principate. In the *Symposion*, Plato had already defined eagerness for immortal fame—*philotimia*—as an obsession of the Greeks (*Symp.* 208c–209e). What was novel from the first to third centuries CE was that this desire for lasting commemoration led to the use of inscribed monuments as the instrument of choice and that the practice spread across many

⁹ C. Pompeius Trimalchio Maecenatianus hic requiescit. huic seviratus absenti decretus est. cum posset in omnibus decuriis Romae esse, tamen noluit. pius, fortis, fidelis ex parvo crevit; sestertium reliquit trecenties, nec umquam philosophum audivit. vale: et tu. See further Bodel 1999: 41–43.

¹⁰ Stein 1931.

¹¹ Eck 1998, 1999.

¹² Robert 1961: 454.

¹³ Alföldy 1998: 289; Bodel 2001: 4.

sectors of society. How to explain the flowering of this epigraphic culture during the Principate and its subsequent decay from the third century CE onwards is a matter of great debate, crucial questions to which we shall return later (p. 141–145).

CHRONOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENT AND REGIONAL SPREAD OF ROMAN INSCRIPTIONS

According to its main editors, the seventeen volumes of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* currently include around 180,000 inscriptions.¹⁴ Digital epigraphic databases (Ch. 5; Appendix VII) are now more extensive, since they include inscriptions not yet published in the *CIL*. They allow us to form a very rough, but somewhat misleading impression of the total number of surviving Latin inscriptions. Today there seems to be general agreement that the total exceeds 300,000. In October 2011 the *Epigraphic Database Claus-Slaby* (*EDCS*) included 404,465 inscriptions from a total of 19,500 different locations. By April 2014 this had increased to 458,178 from more than 21,300 locations, numbers which, even if they are neither exact nor exhaustive, provide for the moment the most complete quantitative estimate available. To these must be added an uncertain but not negligible portion of the 300,000 or so known Greek inscriptions, which date to the Roman period, as well as several thousands more written in languages such as Iberian, Celtiberian, Gallic, Libyan, Punic, Etruscan, Oscan, Safaitic, and Palmyrene.¹⁵ But what do these numbers actually mean?

Some inscriptions are reported more than once in the Claus-Slaby database, and short texts on everyday objects (*instrumentum domesticum*) pose a particular problem, since although in each separate *CIL* volume multiple examples of the same text are given just one entry number, in *EDCS* each example of the same stamp is counted individually. So, for example, the text *op(us) dol(iare) ex pr(aediis) M(arci) Aureli Anto/nini Aug(usti) n(ostri) port(u) Lic(ini)* (*CIL* XV 408) counts as one inscription in the *CIL*, but it is listed 132 times in *EDCS*. It is, therefore, difficult to come up with any precise estimate of the total number of surviving inscriptions. Furthermore, a significant number of texts are quite short or fragmentary and therefore not very revealing. While even a brief text may contain crucial information, the longer a text is, the more useful it will be for any type of historical or cultural study involving inscriptions. Table 8.1 shows the length of Latin inscriptions from a few randomly selected towns and four Roman provinces. There is no reason to suspect that the distribution illustrated here differs substantially from what is found across the entire Roman world.

One thus needs to be circumspect when told that the number of Roman inscriptions from a particular site or region runs into the thousands. Not every town provides

¹⁴ See http://cil.bbaw.de/cil_en/dateien/forschung.html#bestand.

¹⁵ Neumann and Untermann 1980; cf. Ch. 32.

Table 8.1 Number of words per inscription (excluding *instrumentum domesticum* and Greek inscriptions)

City/Province	1-2 words	3-5 words	6-10 words	11 or more	probable <i>instrumentum</i>	TOTAL
Tusculum	70	71	92	143	2	378
Ariminum	68	51	71	110	15	315
Concordia	61	65	96	169	2	393
Arausio	40	28	36	29	1	134
Creta and Cyrenaica	42	32	48	87	5	214
Cappadocia	32	20	32	114	0	198
Lycia and Pamphylia	65	20	38	88	4	215
Mesopotamia	8	10	9	30	5	62

Source: *EDCS* (March 2012).

enough epigraphic material for a doctoral dissertation, whatever the bare numbers seem to indicate.

Even if we disregard the various factors that determined their chance of survival,¹⁶ such as the availability of stone, longevity of settlements, intensity of epigraphic and archaeological research, or exceptional cases such as Pompeii, the geographical distribution of Latin inscriptions, according to the data collected in *EDCS* (Table 8.2), shows a marked concentration in Italy. Rome and the cities of Italy provide half the surviving public inscriptions from the Roman world, while almost another half comes from the western provinces and barely three percent from the East. However, in the eastern Mediterranean there are approximately an additional 100,000 inscriptions written in Greek and other local languages. Within Italy, Latium, the northern Adriatic coast, and Campania, including the numerous finds from Pompeii, are the strongest represented. As for the western Empire, the following regions are particularly striking (in descending order of magnitude): (a) Africa Proconsularis and Numidia (here the discontinuity of settlement caused by the Arab invasions was a factor that favoured their preservation), the Hispanic provinces, Gallia Narbonensis, and Dalmatia; and (b) certain provinces in the Rhine-Danube region such as the Germanies, the Pannonias, and Dacia. On the other hand, the rest of the Latin-speaking regions—Britannia, the three Gauls, Moesia Superior and Inferior, Mauretania Caesariensis and Tingitana, the Alpine provinces, and the islands—have much smaller totals.

Table 8.2 also illustrates that in some regions of Italy and in several provinces, the huge quantity of *instrumentum domesticum* misleadingly inflates the totals in *EDCS*. So in Britannia, of the 15,298 inscriptions recorded, 11,038 (or 72 percent) are *instrumentum domesticum*; in Gallia Narbonensis, *instrumentum domesticum* represents 45.3 percent of surviving texts, in Etruria 41.6 percent.

¹⁶ Eck 2007.

Table 8.2 Number of Latin inscriptions in Rome, Italian regions, and Roman provinces

Region/Province	Total number of inscriptions (without <i>instrumentum domesticum</i>)	Total number of inscriptions (with <i>instrumentum domesticum</i>)
Roma	94,474	116,115
Regio I: Latium et Campania	32,465	37,999
Regio II: Apulia et Calabria	4,959	5,161
Regio III: Bruttium et Lucania	1,825	1,984
Regio IV: Samnium	5,818	6,062
Regio V: Picenum	1,899	2,252
Regio VI: Umbria	3,996	4,846
Regio VII: Etruria	5,601	9,586
Regio VIII: Aemilia	2,173	4,396
Regio IX: Liguria	1,480	1,718
Regio X: Venetia et Histria	12,560	15,386
Regio XI: Transpadana	3,358	3,954
Sicilia	2,663	3,247
Sardinia and Corsica	1,479	2,187
Lusitania	6,472	6,636
Baetica	6,434	7,017
Hispania Citerior	15,224	18,701
Gallia Narbonensis	9,496	17,370
Aquitania	3,657	7,818
Gallia Lugudunensis	3,024	6,890
Gallia Belgica	4,006	9,558
Britannia	4,260	15,298
Germania Inferior	3,042	6,410
Germania Superior	5,395	11,569
Alpes Maritimae	466	517
Alpes Cottiae	193	199
Alpes Graiae	85	87
Alpes Poeninae	179	187
Raetia	902	2,409
Noricum	3,117	4,043
Dalmatia	8,461	8,972
Pannonia Inferior	3,189	4,477
Pannonia Superior	5,103	6,402
Moesia	4,764	4,976
Dacia	5,364	5,919
Thracia	427	449
Macedonia	1,495	1,530
Achaea	1,686	1,721
Asia	1,322	1,334
Pontus and Bithynia	289	289
Galatia	706	708
Lycia and Pamphylia	230	230
Cappadocia	210	221

(Continued)

Table 8.2 (Continued)

Region/Province	Total number of inscriptions (without <i>instrumentum domesticum</i>)	Total number of inscriptions (with <i>instrumentum domesticum</i>)
Cilicia	80	81
Cyprus	85	97
Syria	1,134	1,154
Palaestina	490	562
Mesopotamia	85	86
Armenia	7	7
Arabia	567	567
Aegyptus	490	515
Creta and Cyrenaica	221	224
Africa Proconsularis	27,861	31,441
Numidia	16,536	16,798
Mauretania Caesariensis	4,840	5,380
Mauretania Tingitana	1,102	1,202
"barbaricum"	234	701

Source: EDCS (March 2012).

Epigraphic densities diminish the further one moves away from Rome. The data gathered in Table 8.3 confirm, in general terms, estimates based on the *CIL*. Around two thirds of the total of all public Latin inscriptions come from the Italian peninsula, Dalmatia, Gallia Narbonensis, the coastal part of Hispania Citerior (Tarraconensis), Numidia, and Africa Proconsularis, including all the cities with epigraphic samples of above two thousand inscriptions and the majority of sites from where more than five hundred inscriptions are known.

As for changes over time, it is even more difficult to make an accurate estimate, since no tools exist, either in digital or in print form, to allow a precise quantification by period. In any case, there is a general scholarly consensus in placing the greatest concentration of inscriptions in the first three centuries of the Principate and, most of all, in the second century CE. For the republican period, *CIL I*² lists 3,709 inscriptions. Currently, this number is approaching 4,500 (Ch. 9). Of these, a huge majority come from the city of Rome and Italy, while for obvious reasons they are much less numerous in the provinces. Thus, a recent collection of republican inscriptions from the Hispanic provinces (*ELRH*) includes just 175 entries, if we discount the numerous lead sling-bullets and lead ingots, a number we need to set alongside the approximately 1,500 inscriptions of the same period produced in Greek, Celtiberian, and, especially, Iberian: mostly private documents, although some are monumental in nature.¹⁷

There was a perceptible increase from the second century BCE onwards in the Roman west. This developed into an authentic "epigraphic boom" from Augustus

¹⁷ Beltrán 1995, 2005.

Table 8.3 Number of inscriptions per city in Italy and the Latin-speaking provinces (excluding *instrumentum domesticum*)

	Italia	Hispania	Gallia	Africa	Dalmatia	Limes
90,000+	Roma					
13,000+	Pompeii					
6,000+				Carthago		
5,000+	Ostia					
4,000+	Aquileia				Salona	
2,000+	Puteoli			Lambaesis Thugga		
1,000+	Brixia Capua	Emerita Tarraco	Aug.Treverorum Lugdunum Narbo Nemausus	Cirta Iol Caesarea		Apulum Aquincum Carnuntum Moguntiacum
750+	Mediolanum Praeneste Pola Verona (984)	Gades		Ammaedara Lepcis Magna Madauros Sicca Veneria Theveste Thubursicum		col. Agrippi- nensium Sarmizegetusa
500+	Amiternum Ateste Beneventum Brundisium Clusium Neapolis Tibur Venusia	Corduba Conimbriga Emporiae Saguntum	Arelate Vienna	Cuicul Hadrumetum Mactar Sitifis Uchi Maius Thamugadi		

Source: EDCS (March 2012).

onwards and continued throughout the Principate until it reached its maximum intensity, or so it is thought, in the mid-second century CE. A clear decline set in from the third century CE onwards, despite a certain recovery in the fourth. The practice of setting up inscriptions persisted to the end of Late Antiquity, but on a much reduced scale. In this period elements of continuity with the past blend with new features to reveal a shift in mentality, permitting us to identify “late-Roman epigraphy” with its distinct characteristics.¹⁸ It is by no means easy to calculate the overall volume of inscriptions from this last period. To provide some orientation, the *Epigraphic Database Bari (EDB)* had by October 2011 included more than 26,000 Christian inscriptions from the city of Rome dated to before the seventh century, although the number may well eventually exceed 30,000; i.e., about thirty percent of inscriptions of all periods from the city of

¹⁸ Increase from second century BCE: Beltrán 1995; Augustan boom: Alföldy 1991; Panciera 2007. Decline from third century: Mrozek 1973, 1988; MacMullen 1982. Late-Roman: Donati 1988; Ch. 18.

Rome, although this percentage cannot be extrapolated to the rest of the Roman world (Ch. 21).

EXPLAINING THE "EPIGRAPHIC HABIT": ROMAN EPIGRAPHIC CULTURE

To understand Roman epigraphic culture, it is necessary to explain the fundamental reasons why between the first and third centuries CE the desire to leave behind a public and lasting record of one's fame or mere personal existence in the form of an inscribed monument extended to so many sectors of the population of Rome, Italy, and the rest of the Empire. A combination of factors (economic, political, social, and cultural) permits us to understand the growth of this phenomenon in general terms, even if it is more difficult to explain certain specific aspects.

The concept of the "epigraphic habit" came to the forefront after the publication of an influential article by Ramsey MacMullen in 1982. His general approach was adopted and developed by other scholars, for instance, Elizabeth Meyer and Greg Woolf, but all of these studies were affected by the difficulties of dating inscriptions accurately.¹⁹ The conclusion that Roman epigraphic culture as a practice reached its maximum extent under Septimius Severus and then declined immediately afterwards in a very abrupt fashion is problematic. MacMullen arrived at this conclusion on the basis of graphs produced by Stanislaw Mrozek and others that he himself developed using a series of North African epitaphs as dated by Jean-Marie Lassère.²⁰ The supposed Severan peak (clearly visible in Fig. 8.3), however, and the subsequent abrupt decline are interpretations that derive from three questionable assumptions.

First, one should not confuse the growth in the number of inscriptions dedicated to the imperial house in the time of Septimius Severus with a parallel rise in epigraphic activity in general,²¹ since the coming to power of the Severan dynasty, which constituted a very sudden rupture after a century of dynastic continuity, involved rebellions and civil wars. This provided an incentive for communities around the Empire to multiply demonstrations of loyalty towards the new emperor and his family. This was also doubtless encouraged by the emperor's inclination to inscribe his own name on epigraphic monuments and on the many buildings that he restored (Dio 76.16.3).²²

Second, MacMullen's reworking of the chronology proposed by Lassère in 1973 for the epitaphs of various African cities (including Carthage, Theveste, Lambaesis, Cirta, and Thugga), which he used to produce his graph, was based on some datings that were

¹⁹ MacMullen 1982; Meyer 1990; Woolf 1996.

²⁰ Mrozek 1973; Lassère 1973.

²¹ Mrozek 1988: 62.

²² Corbier 1987: 48.

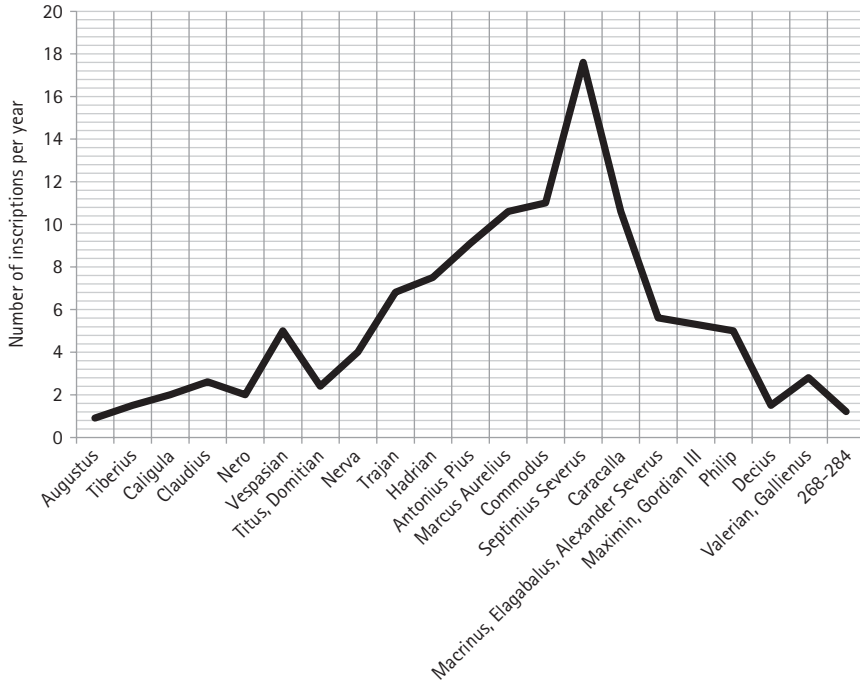


FIG. 8.3 Graph of S. Mrozek showing the supposed frequency of Latin inscriptions from all over the Roman Empire from Augustus to Diocletian, based on 1,680 inscriptions.

relatively precise alongside others that were much more approximate. Lassère was only able to date some inscriptions to a particular century, whereas MacMullen chose to distribute these equally across twenty-year periods in his graphs (Fig. 8.4).

This process, however, is clearly arbitrary, since there is no good reason to suppose that inscriptions dated to the period between Caesar and Trajan should be distributed evenly between the years 50 BCE and 117 CE. Furthermore, the Severan peak is self-determined by the dating criteria employed by Lassère, in particular by the manner in which he dates the numerous funerary monuments with the formula *D(is) M(anibus) s(acrum)* to the period 175 to 200 CE.²³ As a result, the graphs of MacMullen and his followers in the end simply reflect Lassère's dating methods and not necessarily any real trends in epigraphic activity.²⁴ Finally, some of the epigraphic data used in these calculations come from African towns that were promoted in civic status at a relatively late date: Ammaedara, Lambaesis, Thugga, Theveste, and Mactaris. As a result, these towns experienced a rather later growth in epigraphic activity than that

²³ Lassère 1973: 122–128. For the chronological distribution of inscriptions in Roman Lydia, see MacMullen 1986.

²⁴ Cherry 1995.

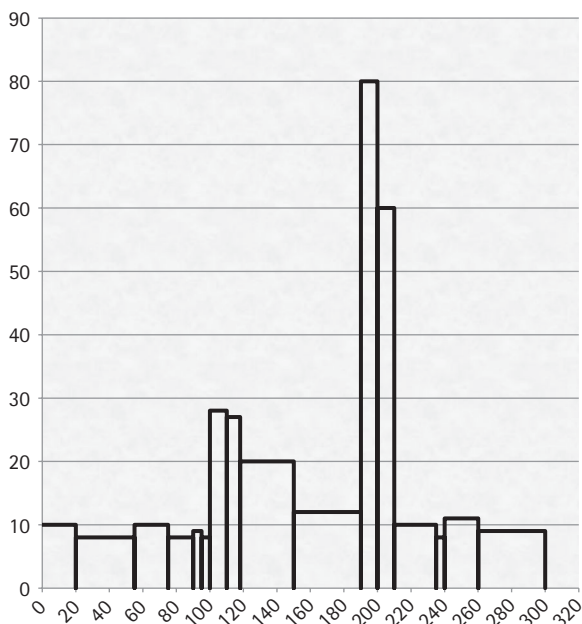


FIG. 8.4 Graph of R. MacMullen showing the supposed average number of epitaphs per year from 1 to 300 CE, based on about 4,000 inscriptions from seven towns in North Africa collected by J.-M. Lassère.

experienced in other provinces such as in Hispania. From this perspective, it is clear that “piling up gross statistics of dated inscriptions is of limited value,”²⁵ especially if the datings are approximate and the “sample” not a sample in the true historical sense.

More recently, Meyer has argued that the increase in the number of epitaphs must be linked to the spread of Roman citizenship and in particular to the obligation on heirs of Roman citizens to take responsibility for their burials. Conversely, the sharp decrease in epitaphs in the third century was allegedly caused by the universal grant of citizenship that came with the *constitutio Antoniniana* of 212 CE, which reduced the value of Roman citizenship as a status symbol.²⁶ There are methodological problems with this interpretation. First, the emphasis on the exhibition of status is not compatible with the fact that many epitaphs were not publicly visible; second, funerary inscriptions were not restricted to Roman citizens, nor were they always set up by heirs;²⁷ and, finally, it does not appear to be the case that Caracalla’s grant in 212 CE led to a dramatic devaluation of citizenship.²⁸

²⁵ Gordon et al. 1993: 154. Previously Duncan-Jones 1982: 350–357 (Appendix 11), 360–362 (Appendix 13); cf. Mrozek 1988.

²⁶ Meyer 1990, with a series of graphs showing the “epigraphic curve” of several Roman regions and cities.

²⁷ Cherry 1995: 150–156.

²⁸ Woolf 1996: 23, 38.

Roman epigraphic culture is a complex phenomenon. To understand it, one needs to look at it from many angles and not just take account of the simple use of inscriptions. The Principate created the necessary conditions for the development across the entire Empire of an epigraphic culture—Augustus himself played a key role in this process²⁹—that was Roman, urban, and monumental. It ushered in a period of peace and prosperity in which the number of colonies, municipalities, and fixed military camps multiplied, literacy spread, and a frenetic period of urbanization and public building ensued. Certain Roman forms of life became widespread that entailed loyalty to the emperor, a process of social competition among elites played out in full view of the populace, as well as a culture that did not believe in an afterlife, which meant that commemoration was the means for overcoming oblivion, which was viewed as the starkest form of death. As a result, resources were devoted to this form of self-representation. Monumental urban settings were created in which such inscribed monuments could be erected; workshops sprang up that were capable of producing them; and there was an audience that was responsive to such messages.

Conversely, the economic difficulties that the Roman world encountered from the third century onwards, the reduction in the pace of construction of buildings and monuments, the decline of traditional civic institutions based on public competition within the elite, and the triumph of a religion—Christianity—that involved a firm belief in an afterlife, which meant that the overcoming of death was no longer associated with public memory but with paradise, all contributed to the decline in epigraphic activity in the third century CE.

However, in addition to these general factors and the obvious linkage between public epigraphy and Romanization in the west,³⁰ one needs to try and uncover the precise reasons that stimulated so many people to leave behind a lasting public record of themselves. Two conditions were essential to this: on the one hand, social cohesion, which made the publicizing of fame or one's very existence meaningful to the rest of the community; on the other, confidence in the durability of society itself, since without this the desire to erect monuments aimed at posterity would never have arisen.

The expansion of citizenship and the Roman municipal model, accompanied by energetic civic pride, and the establishment of a new political regime that ushered in a long period of peace and stability were factors that favoured social cohesion as well as a feeling of confidence in the future. This, however, declined from the third century CE onwards. Moreover, society during the Principate was marked by an unusual degree of mobility, both geographical and social.³¹ Hence it is not surprising that certain social groups were especially receptive to epigraphic self-display, such as the elite, members of the administration, new citizens, foreigners, traders, soldiers, or freedmen. They shared the possibility of achieving honours, rising in rank, or obtaining freedom and

²⁹ Alföldy 1991.

³⁰ Mócsy 1966: 407, 419–421; MacMullen 1982: 238.

³¹ Woolf 1996.

shared the need to emphasize their relationship to the community or social group to which they belonged.

Once one shifts from this general picture towards more specific examples of epigraphic practice, the question becomes even more complicated, since a great variety of different responses to the same general stimuli may be observed. On a regional scale, this is the case with the predominance of votive inscriptions in Britain, which seems to be linked to the significant presence of soldiers of foreign origin;³² or with the concentration of specific types of inscriptions in certain areas, such as municipal laws in Baetica,³³ military diplomas in frontier provinces, *hospitium* inscriptions in Africa, Spain, and, later, Italy, calendars in Rome and central Italy. On the other hand, there is the general lack of interest in publicity displayed by many epitaphs from Rome from the second century CE onwards.

It is also clear that certain social groups such as freedmen—even in the late Republic—were markedly more inclined to engage in epigraphic self-display.³⁴ This last point has been underlined by Henrik Mouritsen, who has shown that freedmen were involved in about 75 percent of epitaphs surviving from Rome, Ostia, Puteoli, Canusium, and Pompeii and has further emphasized that the limited accessibility of many of their epitaphs makes it very difficult to explain this phenomenon in terms of social competition or affirmation of status, as Meyer or Woolf would like to do.³⁵ For Mouritsen the key was the important need for freedmen to validate their family relations, since the acquisition of a family was the principal benefit gained by slaves after manumission.³⁶ Nevertheless, this explanation raises further questions, since it does not seem possible to conclude that such relations were not also important for citizens and other freeborn individuals.³⁷

Finally, the question needs to be posed at the level of the individual. This is not only because the growth of individualism, which can be traced back to the late Republic, was an important factor in stimulating people to engage in acts of personal commemoration,³⁸ but also because individuals at any moment could set up an inscription because they were moved by feelings that were strictly personal, as, for instance, those who decided to inscribe the name of a young wife or child who had died in infancy on a small plaque to be placed in the interior of a dark tomb. Put another way, Roman epigraphic culture, although marked by strong general tendencies, was at the same time driven by a very varied range of private emotions. If we could unravel these emotions in chronological, regional, local, social, and even personal terms, we would understand Roman epigraphic culture more fully in all its varied manifestations.

³² Biró 1975; Mann 1985.

³³ Beltrán 1999: 28–29.

³⁴ Beltrán 2004.

³⁵ Mouritsen 2005.

³⁶ cf. Eck 2007: 60–62.

³⁷ Saller and Shaw 1984.

³⁸ Woolf 1996: 33; Beltrán 2005: 47–49.

EPILOGUE

At the end of antiquity this “most civilized form of rivalry,” which had prompted many sectors of Roman society to take up the use of inscriptions as a means for inserting themselves into the collective memory of their community, found itself at a critical moment; it was on the brink of disappearing. This finds clear expression in a poem of Ausonius with a marked epigraphic flavour, in which the famous rhetorician from Burdigala (Bordeaux) emphasizes his lack of confidence in epitaphs as lasting instruments, since “monuments crumble and death also affects stones and names”:

DE NOMINE CVIVSDAM LVCHII SCVLPTO IN MARMORE

una quidem, geminis fulget set dissita punctis

littera: prae-nomen sic [L.] nota sola facit.

post .M. incisum est: puto sic: [A\] non tota videtur:

dissiluit saxi fragmine laesus apex.

nec quisquam, MARIVS seu MARCIVS anne METELLVS

hic iaceat, certis noverit indiciis.

truncatis convulsa iacent elementa figuris,

omnia confusis interiere notis.

miremur periisse homines? monumenta fatiscunt:

mors etiam saxis nominibusque venit.

(*Epitaphia* 32)

ON THE NAME OF SOMEONE CALLED LUCIUS SCULPTED IN MARBLE

One letter shows up clearly, marked off with two interpuncts, and that single sign thus forms the *prae-nomen* L(ucius). (The letter) .M. is inscribed next, I think, in this way. The whole of the A cannot be seen: for its apex is chipped off where the stone is cracked. No one can know for certain whether a Marius, a Marcius, or a Metellus lies here. With their forms damaged, their elements are confused; all meaning is lost when their characters are jumbled. Should we be surprised that men have perished? Their monuments crumble, and death also affects stones and the names inscribed thereon.

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PART III

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THE VALUE OF
INSCRIPTIONS FOR
RECONSTRUCTING
THE ROMAN WORLD

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Inscriptions and Roman Public Life
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CHAPTER 9

THE ROMAN REPUBLIC*

OLLI SALOMIES

WITHIN the field of Latin epigraphy, texts from the republican period have always been the object of special interest. This is illustrated by the fact that volume I of the *CIL*, edited by Theodor Mommsen and Wilhelm Henzen and published in 1863, was dedicated not to a certain region, as most other volumes of the series would be, but to inscriptions of the republican period, i.e., earlier than 44, regardless of provenance. In the preface to the volume (p. ii), two motivations were given for this separate publication of republican inscriptions: it would serve those interested in the early phases of the Latin language and republican history and institutions. This decision proved beneficial, since *CIL* I provides a useful tool for those in search of archaic forms of Latin.¹ It is also very convenient to find republican inscriptions of historical interest, such as the few monuments honouring Sulla or Caesar (p. 165), separated from the overwhelming number of later texts, including thousands of honorific inscriptions for Roman emperors.²

CIL I remains the basic corpus of Latin republican inscriptions. A second edition appeared in 1918, with supplements in 1931 and 1943, gathering a total of 2,828 texts. A new supplement was published in 1986, which adds almost nine hundred new inscriptions and furnishes addenda to many previously published texts. It is, therefore, always advisable to consult this supplement when referring to inscriptions that appear in the earlier fascicles. The 1986 supplement unfortunately lacks an index, but has 144 large pages of photographs. Photographs of over four hundred republican inscriptions published in the earlier fascicles had been issued by Degraasi in 1965 (quoted as *Imagines* below); this was conceived as a supplement not to *CIL* I but to the

* All dates in this chapter are BCE, unless otherwise indicated. All references to *CIL* I are to the second edition.

¹ Collections of archaic texts: Diehl 1930; Ernout 1957; Pisani 1960; De Rosalia 1972. Discussions of archaic Latin based on inscriptions: Wachter 1987; Vine 1993; Baldi 1999; Hartmann 2005; Clackson and Horrocks 2007.

² cf. Panciera 1995.

same author's highly useful selection *Inscriptiones Latinae liberae rei publicae* (*ILLRP*), which contains thirteen hundred republican inscriptions.³ In 1988 a colloquium was held in Rome to honour the centenary of Degrassi's birth. Its proceedings include a section publishing 154 republican inscriptions not included in *CIL I*², as well as numerous references to already published inscriptions for which a republican date is now suggested.⁴ Overall this volume adds around three hundred inscriptions to our corpus of republican texts. Several inventories of more recent discoveries are also useful, and the publication of new texts continues (*AE* 2008, 199, 346, 413, 446; cf. *ELRH*).⁵ According to one calculation, more than four thousand republican inscriptions were known in 1999 (see Table 9.2).

The purpose of this chapter is to illustrate the range and distinctive features of Latin republican inscriptions. It will focus on inscriptions from the last century or so of the Republic, i.e., from about 150 onwards. Earlier inscriptions are not ignored, but it is comparatively rare that they will engage non-specialists. The serious analysis of fourth- and third-century inscriptions requires the expertise not only of epigraphers, but also of specialists in linguistics and palaeography. A good example is the lively discussion generated by the discovery, on the outskirts of Rome, of the probably late-fourth-century sarcophagus of the senator P. Cornelius P. f. Scapula, bearing the inscription *P. Cornelio(s) P(ubli) f(ilius) Scapola / pont(i)fex max(imus)* (*CIL I*² 2835 = VI 40892).⁶

As mentioned above, *CIL I* is limited to inscriptions prior to 44. However, another way of defining "republican" is to draw the line in 31, the year of the battle of Actium. Degrassi adopted this solution in *ILLRP*, and this is the terminal date advocated by other prominent epigraphers.⁷ However, this divergence of opinion is not very important, as only few inscriptions of this period can be precisely dated and the difference between late-republican and the earliest imperial texts is slight. In any case, Degrassi's collection has the advantage of including a number of interesting inscriptions of the triumviral period (44 to 31): for instance, an honorific inscription set up by the town councillors of a town in Samnium for their patron, the *triumvir* Octavian, gives his official contemporary title (*ILLRP* 416 = *ILS* 76 = *CIL IX* 2142, Saticula):

*C(aio) Iulio C(ai) f(ilio) Caesari
imp(eratori) triumviro r(ei) p(ublicae) c(onstituendae)
patrono
d(ecurionum) d(ecreto)*

More important is the question of whether epigraphers and/or historians are justified in seeing a clear divide at this juncture. Some argue for the continuity of Latin

³ For omissions in *ILLRP*, Syme 1967; on Degrassi 1965, Badian 1968. For a selection of archaic Latin inscriptions with translations (somewhat outdated, but still useful), Warmington 1940.

⁴ Panciera 1991; some skepticism about the date and interpretation of some of these texts in Solin 1991a.

⁵ Gasperini 1999; Gordon *et al.* 1997: 206–210; Gordon and Reynolds 2003: 219–229.

⁶ Solin 1970: 110–112; Avetta 1985: 94 no. 64.

⁷ Zucca 1994: 127. *CIL I*² and *ILLRP* also include some imperial texts illustrating the republican period.

epigraphy between Republic and Empire.⁸ Other scholars, while admitting that one cannot talk of a “rupture” between the two periods, stress the importance of new developments that took place in the Augustan period and hold that there is some foundation for speaking of “republican” as distinct from “imperial” Latin epigraphy.⁹ This is the point of view adopted here.

TYPICAL FEATURES OF REPUBLICAN INSCRIPTIONS

Some inscriptions are clearly identifiable as republican because of distinguishing features such as the inclusion of a famous individual’s name, as with the statue base erected at Clusium to honour the dictator Sulla in the period 81 to 79 (*CIL* I² 723 = *ILLRP* 356 = *ILS* 873, with archaic spellings in line 2):

*L(ucio) Cornelio L(uci) [f(ilio)]
Sullai Feelic[i]
dic(tatori)*

Usually, however, dating is less straightforward. In most cases, a proposed republican date is based on palaeography, but in some cases there are further crucial criteria:¹⁰

- the type of the monument
- the material (often travertine rather than marble, which becomes common later on)
- interpunctuation in the form of a small square
- a difference between the *praenomen* of patron and freedman (*ILLRP-S* 25 = *AE* 1991, 104)
- absence of a *cognomen*
- the use of the nominative case (or, as in *ILLRP-S* 51–53, 59–60; cf. *AE* 1991, 129, 134, the genitive) for the names of the deceased
- a nominative in *-ius* abbreviated as *-i(us)*
- wording reduced to the bare essentials (as in *ILLRP-S* 38 = *AE* 1991, 115)
- archaic orthography (as in *vobeis* instead of *vobis* in *CIL* I² 586 = *ILLRP* 512 = *ILS* 19, or *Alexsander* with *xs* in *ILLRP-S* 64 = *AE* 1991, 136).

⁸ cf. Solin 1999: 382, 396.

⁹ Alföldy 1991; Panciera 2007: 1093–94.

¹⁰ Panciera 1991.

Two or more of these features often appear together in the same inscription, which adds strength to the proposed dating, as in a dedication from Rome (*ILLRP-S* 36 = *AE* 1991, 113):

[- -]
 For[tunae]
 Opsequ[ent(i)]
 C(aius) Genuci(us) C(ai) [f(ilius)]
 5 ae{i}ditumus
 probavit

[- -] to Fortuna Obsequens, C. Genucius son of Gaius, temple servant, approved (the dedication).

The editor, Silvio Panciera, justifiably considered it republican because of the material (peperino), the palaeography, the orthography (*Opsequens*, etc.), the nominative *-ius* abbreviated as *-i(us)*, and Genucius' lack of a *cognomen*.

Onomastic criteria are particularly revealing, since between the late Republic and the early Empire Roman nomenclature underwent significant changes (cf. Appendix III). Slaves are commonly identified by the fact that their name is accompanied by their owner's name in the genitive, often followed by *servus* ("slave"), abbreviated as *ser.* or more often *s.* (cf. *CIL* I², Index, p. 786). One method of naming slaves is found practically only during the Republic and, therefore, is a particularly useful dating criterion, namely the formula whereby the owner's names are given in an inverted order, *nomen* + *praenomen*, as in *Hilarus Clodi M(arci) s(ervus)* (*CIL* I² 1593 = *ILLRP* 933 = *ILS* 8411, Capua: "Hilarus, slave of Marcus Clodius").¹¹

Freedmen, who appear much more frequently than slaves in inscriptions, are identified by a *praenomen*, *nomen* (identical with that of the patron), and the mention of their patron's *praenomen* in the genitive followed by *libertus*, as in *M(arci) l(ibertus)* "freedman of Marcus." From about the time of Sulla onwards, freedmen practically always have a *cognomen* (identical with their earlier slave-name) and from about the time of Augustus the *praenomen* is almost always identical with that of their patron.¹² Therefore, inscriptions mentioning freedmen/women who do not have a *cognomen*, such as *P(ublius) Rutili(us) L(uci) l(ibertus)* (*CIL* I² 1376, Rome), are almost certainly republican.¹³ Furthermore, freedmen with a *cognomen* but whose *praenomen* differs from that of their patron (as in *CIL* I² 1351 = *ILLRP* 951, Rome) are most probably republican. (As freedwomen do not normally have *praenomina*, their nomenclature is not useful in the same way.)

In the case of the freeborn, onomastic patterns are not that clear-cut. A *cognomen* was rare among freeborn individuals other than senators until the end of the second century BCE. Women, on the other hand, did not start bearing *cognomina* until

¹¹ Oxé 1904.

¹² Salomies 1987: 230–238.

¹³ For some exceptions, Panciera 1977.

Augustus. It was only around the reigns of Claudius and Nero that it became practically a rule for all men and women to have a *cognomen*.¹⁴ As for *praenomina*, from about the time of Augustus it became more and more common for every son to inherit his father's *praenomen*; hence we find onomastic formulae in which the son's *praenomen* is the same as his father's, as in *M(arcus) Valerius M(arcus) f(ilius)*. Thus, inscriptions that mention freeborn men and women without *cognomina* must be fairly early, and the same goes for inscriptions mentioning freeborn men with a *praenomen* different from that of their father. There are, however, exceptions during the early Empire.¹⁵ Therefore, these features have limited value as proof that an inscription is of a republican date.

A number of non-Roman *praenomina* such as *Sal(vius)* or *St(atius)* are found in republican inscriptions, although some also occur in early imperial ones.¹⁶ *Nomina* that appear in the nominative are often abbreviated during the Republic by leaving out the ending *-us*: for example, *Aeli(us)* or *Minuci(us)* (cf. Fig. 9.1).¹⁷ Such abbreviations



FIG. 9.1 Dedication set up to Hercules by M. Minuci(us) C.f., dictator 217 BCE, Rome (*CIL* I² 607 = *ILLRP* 118 = *ILS* 11). Musei Capitolini, Rome.

¹⁴ Salomies 1987: 277–284; Solin 1991b.

¹⁵ Evolution of the inheritance of *praenomina*: Salomies 1987: 362–389.

¹⁶ Salomies 1987: 65–97.

¹⁷ Kaimio 1969. An even earlier abbreviation was of the type *Aelio(s)*, which is based on the archaic ending of the nominative in *-ios*.

do not seem to be attested after the mid-first century BCE and are thus a fairly certain indication that the inscription is republican.

Thus, in order to establish a secure republican dating, it is best to combine these onomastic features with other evidence pointing to a similarly early period.

THE QUANTITY AND GEOGRAPHIC SPREAD OF REPUBLICAN INSCRIPTIONS

In 1999 the total number of known republican inscriptions was given as 4,327, including many that are no longer preserved but known only from the manuscript tradition.¹⁸ More specifically, the number of inscriptions on stone (excluding inscriptions on other types of objects) from Rome has been calculated as 627, of which only 376 survive, the rest being permanently or temporarily lost (Table 9.1).¹⁹ The chronological distribution of all republican inscriptions, including very brief ones on *instrumentum domesticum* such as pottery, has been calculated by Heikki Solin as shown in Table 9.2.²⁰

The growth in the number of Latin inscriptions was remarkable. By the end of the Republic there was clearly an established Latin “epigraphic culture.” Yet this was only the beginning, since from the time of Augustus onwards the number of Latin inscriptions grew even faster, and scholars speak of an “epigraphic revolution”²¹ (Ch. 8). This

Table 9.1 The chronological distribution of republican inscriptions on stone from Rome

<i>Period</i>	<i>Number of Latin inscriptions</i>
Sixth–fifth centuries	1
Fourth–third centuries	22 (or 36) ^a
Second–first centuries	590 (or 604)
Total	627

^a14 are third/second century: hence the uncertainty here and in the following entry.

Source: Panciera 1995.

¹⁸ Solin 1999: 394.

¹⁹ Panciera 1995: 321; cf. Panciera 2007: 1094–95. Subsequent discoveries have not altered the chronological pattern in any significant way.

²⁰ Solin 1999: 391–393.

²¹ Alföldy 1991; Panciera 2007: esp. 1094–96.

Table 9.2 The chronological division of all republican Latin inscriptions

Period	Total number of Latin inscriptions	Inscriptions on stone
Sixth–fifth centuries	42	5
Fourth–third centuries	576	345
Second–first centuries	3,660	3,217
Total	4,327	3,571

Note: About two hundred third-century funerary inscriptions from a cemetery near Praeneste are included, which may inflate the proportion of stone inscriptions in that period.

Source: Solin 1999.

transformation manifested itself not only in terms of numbers but also in terms of the quality and types of inscriptions erected.

As for the geographical distribution of republican Latin texts, in the early phase the inscriptions come from Rome and Latium Vetus, while texts from the rest of Italy are in other languages such as Etruscan and Oscan (Ch. 32).²² With Roman expansion, Latin inscriptions began to be set up in more remote places. Their diffusion runs fairly parallel to the establishment of *coloniae* in Italy, the earliest example from outside Latium being a text of c. 300 from Luceria in Apulia (*CIL* I² 401 = *ILLRP* 504 = *ILS* 4912), where a colony had been founded only a few years earlier:²³

5 *in hoc loucarid stircus
ne [qu]is fundatid neve cadaver
proiecita(ti)d neve parentatid
sei quis arvorsu(m) hac faxit [in] ium
quis volet pro ioudicatod n(ummu) [L]
manum iniect<i>o estod seive
mac[i]steratus volet moltare
[li]cetod*

In this grove let no-one tip dung or cast a corpse or celebrate rituals honouring dead relatives. If any shall have acted against these prohibitions, let anybody who so shall desire lay hands upon him as if judgment of 50 *nummi* had been delivered or if a magistrate shall desire to fine him, let him be permitted (so to do).

Latin inscriptions are found not only in areas subject to Rome, but also in areas of Italy that were at least nominally “independent,” especially in cities in and around Latium in which Latin had been the standard language for centuries, as at Cora (*CIL* I² 1513 = *ILLRP* 573 = *ILS* 6131) and Aletrium (*CIL* I² 1529 = *ILLRP* 528 = *ILS* 5348; cf.

²² Solin 1999: 391–396.

²³ Solin 1999: 395–396; cf. Bodel 1986 [1994].

Suppl.It. 16, *Aletrium* p. 36–38, a famous inscription listing the civic benefactions of L. Betilienus Vaarus), both from these cities’ “independent” phase before 90. Similarly, the bronze plaque with the text of the *SC de Bacchanalibus* of 186 CE (*CIL I*² 581 = *ILLRP* 511 = *ILS* 18) was found in allied territory in the *Ager Teuranus* in S. Italy (see further Ch. 19).

By the end of the Republic, Latin inscriptions were set up not only all over Italy, where inscriptions in other languages such as Oscan and Etruscan had by then mostly disappeared, but also in the provinces. The Iberian peninsula, with the earliest overseas provinces after Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica, offers a respectable number of republican Latin inscriptions.²⁴ In the eastern Mediterranean, where Greek was the standard language, there are a number of early Latin inscriptions (as well as bilingual ones: p. 168), most often related to the presence of Italians with business interests in commercial centres such as the island of Delos (for example, *ILLRP* 344–345, 349–350, 358–363).²⁵

TYPES OF REPUBLICAN INSCRIPTIONS

The standard collections of republican inscriptions, *CIL I*² and *ILLRP*, strive to be comprehensive in that they include not just inscriptions on stone but also texts on everyday objects (i.e., *instrumentum domesticum*). In *CIL I*² the content is arranged geographically, but the clearest picture of republican Latin epigraphy is presented in *ILLRP*, which divides its main contents according to the following thematic categories:

- dedications to various deities and inscriptions concerning priests
- inscriptions naming Roman magistrates
- milestones (most of them mentioning the magistrates who set them up)
- *termini*, i.e., boundary-stones
- soldiers (mainly epitaphs)
- legal enactments such as laws and resolutions of the Senate
- local magistrates (most often in building inscriptions)
- *collegia*: inscriptions concerning associations, including building inscriptions, since associations often commemorated such activities
- various occupations: mainly epitaphs mentioning occupations of the deceased
- *privati* (“private persons”), consisting of epitaphs lacking the mention of an occupation.

²⁴ Díaz Ariño 2008; cf. Beltrán Lloris 1995.

²⁵ Hatzfeld 1919; Ferrary 2002.

There are yet other types in *ILLRP*, some of which are very rare:

- *tesserae nummulariae*: “(tokens) of bone or ivory... attached to bags of silver coins by bankers to indicate that they had tested their genuineness”²⁶
- *tesserae hospitales*: mainly bronze animal figurines containing guest-friendship agreements
- *sortes*: mostly small bronze tablets recording prophecies or general maxims
- *glandes*: sling-bullets, with inscribed threats or insults addressed to an enemy²⁷
- “*tituli picti vel graphio scripti*”: painted inscriptions and graffiti, mainly from Pompeii
- “*tabellae defixionum*”: bronze or lead curse tablets normally directed against individuals
- “*instrumentum domesticum*”: inscriptions on objects such as amphorae, mirrors, or pottery.

Some examples will illustrate the range of types. A round peperino altar, reused as a *puteal* (well-head) from Antium, is a typical example of a republican religious dedication (*CIL* I² 992 = *ILLRP* 229 = *ILS* 3190; Fig. 9.2):²⁸

Mercurio
M(anius) Rustius M(arci) f(ilius) M(ani) n(epos)
duum vir dat.

Manius Rustius, son of Marcus, grandson of Manius, *duumvir* (one of the two chief magistrates of the city of Antium), offers (this) to Mercury.

As for boundary-stones, a number of those connected to the work of the Gracchan agrarian commissioners in the 130s and 120s have survived from southern Italy, as well as one from the territory of Carthage in North Africa (*ILLRP* 467–475; cf. Chs. 14, 31). A rather different example is represented by a travertine slab found in Rome on the Esquiline Hill (*CIL* I² 839 = *ILLRP* 485 = *ILS* 8208; see Fig. 9.3):²⁹

L(ucius) Sentius C(ai) f(ilius) pr(aetor)
de sen(atus) sent(entia) loca
terminanda coer(avit)
b(onum) f(actum) nei quis intra
 5 *terminos propius*
urbem ustrinam
fecisse velit neve
stercus cadaver
iniecisse velit

²⁶ This definition is by D.W. Rathbone in *OCD*³ (1996) 1488 s.v. *tessera*.

²⁷ Hallett 1977; Benedetti 2012.

²⁸ Dated to the early first century BCE by Solin 2003: 95–97.

²⁹ Bodel 1986 [1994]: 38–54.



FIG. 9.2 Altar dedicated to Mercury, Antium (*CIL* I² 992). Musei Capitolini, Rome.

L. Sentius, son of Gaius, praetor, in accordance with a motion of the senate supervised the marking off of this area with boundary-stones. A deed well done! Let no-one be minded to make a cremation-place or cast dung or a carcass within the boundary-stones on the side nearer to the city.

This is one of three identical *cippi* (cf. *CIL* I² 838, 2981) containing an edict of the praetor L. Sentius, in office in the 90s or 80s.³⁰ Besides the important content, the text contains several interesting linguistic features.³¹

Building inscriptions, although numerous and prominent in republican epigraphy,³² do not form a separate category in *ILLRP* as they do, for instance, in Dessau's *ILS*. An inscription on a limestone slab from Capua (*CIL* I² 675 = *ILLRP* 709 = *ILS* 3185; photo: *Imagines* 263) belongs to a series of texts from around the year 100, mentioning various *magistri*, either freeborn or freed, who were often engaged in public building activities:³³

³⁰ Bodel 1986 [1994]: 44.

³¹ Early Latin forms (classical Latin in parentheses): *coer(avit)* (= *curavit*): see p. 172; *nei, neive*, or *nive* in *CIL* I² 838 (= *ne, neve*), cf. Vine 1993: 255–257. For *fecisse, iniecisse* (or *iniecise* in *CIL* I² 838) *velit*, Bortolussi 2002; the perfect (rather than the present) infinitive is often used in such prohibitions.

³² Pobjoy 2000.

³³ For these inscriptions, Frederiksen 1959; Solin 1990; Chioffi 2000: 76–82. Thanks to Professor H. Solin (Helsinki) for further information.

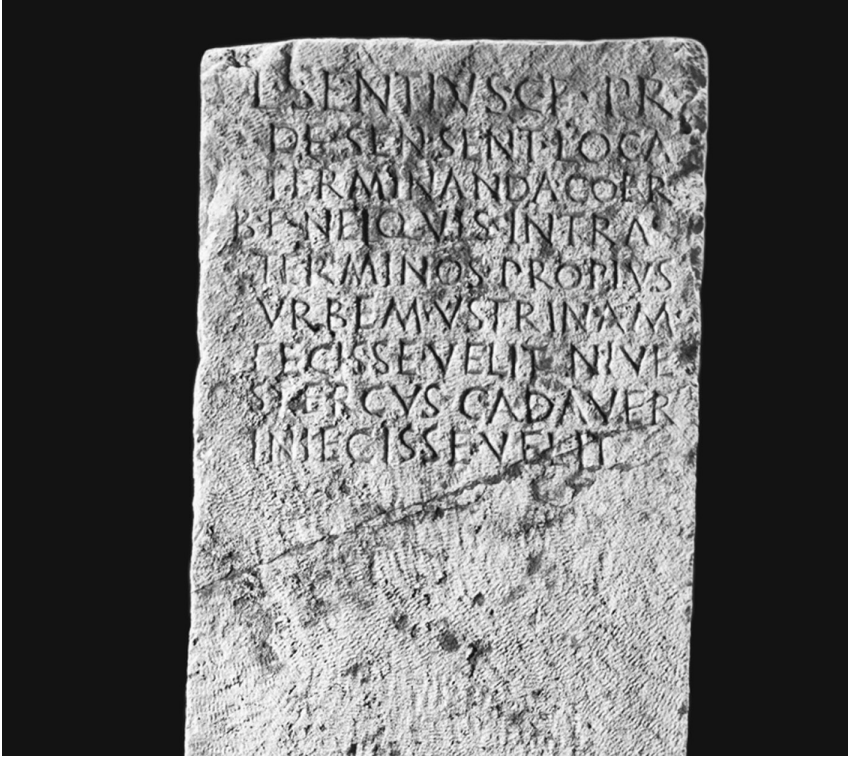


FIG. 9.3 Travertine *cippus* containing an edict of the praetor L. Sentius marking off part of the *campus Esquilinus* to prevent its use for cremations or as a rubbish dump, Rome, 90s or 80s BCE. Museo Nazionale Romano.

column I:

N(umerius) Pumidius Q(uinti) f(ilius) / M(arcus) Cottius M(arci) f(ilius) / M(arcus) Eppilius M(arci) f(ilius) / C(aius) Antracius C(ai) f(ilius) / L(ucius) Sempronius L(uci) f(ilius) / P(ublius) Cicereius C(ai) f(ilius)

column II:

M(arcus) Raecius Q(uinti) f(ilius) / N(umerius) Arrius M(arci) f(ilius) / L(ucius) Heioleius P(ubli) f(ilius) / C(aius) Tuccius C(ai) f(ilius) / Q(uintus) Vibius M(arci) f(ilius) / M(arcus) Valerius L(uci) f(ilius)

text below the two columns:

heisce magistris Venerus Ioviae murum / aedificandum coiraverunt ped(es) CCLXX et / loidos fecerunt Ser(vio) Sulpicio M(arco) Aurelio co(n)s(ulibus)

Numerius Pumidius, Quintus' son, M. Cottius, Marcus' son, M. Eppilius, Marcus' son, C. Antracius, Gaius' son, L. Sempronius, Lucius' son, P. Cicereius, Gaius' son, M. Raecius, Quintus' son, Numerius Arrius, Marcus' son, L. Heioleius, Publius' son, C. Tuccius, Gaius' son, Q. Vibius, Marcus' son, M. Valerius, Lucius' son: these *magistri* of Venus Iovia saw to the building of the wall to a length of 270 feet and put on shows, in the consulship of Servius Sulpicius and M. Aurelius (108 BCE).

This text contains various instances of early Latin morphology and orthography: *heisce magistreis* (= *hi magistri*), *Venerus* (= *Veneris*), *coiraverunt*, *loidos* (= *curaverunt*, *ludos*), *ped(es)*, i.e., (*longum pedes* (cf. *CIL I*² 770, where *pedes* is written out in full).

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN REPUBLICAN AND LATER ROMAN EPIGRAPHY

As we have seen, the concept “republican epigraphy” covers a wide range of different types of texts. Although most of the categories familiar from imperial epigraphy already existed during the Republic, the distribution of different kinds of inscriptions across the towns of Italy presents some interesting features. During the Empire funerary inscriptions make up the majority of all texts. However, in *CIL I*² epitaphs are often outnumbered by other types. For instance, among the texts from Praeneste ascribed to the later Republic, excluding the older epitaphs from an extra-mural cemetery (*CIL I*² 64–357), there are twenty-seven building inscriptions, but only four funerary ones.³⁴ The situation is similar at nearby Tibur (votive: *CIL I*² 1480–86, 1489; building: 1491–94, 1496–98, 3093–95, 3097; epitaphs: 1487 [?], 1490, 3098–3100). This distribution may indicate that in many areas of Italy the practice of erecting funerary inscriptions (on durable material, in any case) set in later than commissioning building inscriptions.³⁵ Perhaps not coincidentally, funerary inscriptions are almost absent in Oscan epigraphy, which does not continue past the late Republic (cf. Ch. 32).

Furthermore, some epigraphic categories (inscriptions dedicated to emperors, inscriptions from areas not yet conquered by Rome, and so-called “military diplomas”) did not exist in the republican period, while others had not fully developed by the end of the Republic, such as “honorific” inscriptions; i.e., inscriptions on statue bases honouring living persons (cf. Ch. 6).³⁶ This category was well known in the Greek world, where the earliest monuments honouring a Roman may be said to be those using Greek set up to honour the consul T. Quinctius Flamininus in the early second century BCE (*IG V* 1, 1165; *SIG*³ 616; *SEG* 22, 214; 23, 412; 52, 791).³⁷ The earliest monuments with honorific inscriptions in Latin also come from the eastern parts of the Empire and use the accusative, the case used in Greek honorific inscriptions. Here one finds, for instance, a text from Delphi set up by the *populus Delphius* in honour of M. Minucius Rufus, consul in 110 (*CIL I*² 692 = *ILLRP* 337 = *ILS* 8887, with a Greek text following on the Latin version) and a monument set up on Delos (*CIL I*² 845 = *ILLRP* 343) by “Italians in

³⁴ Some of the building inscriptions are fragmentary and may belong together: *CIL I*² fasc. IV p. xi. Because of the shrine of Fortuna Primigenia, the number of votive inscriptions is considerable.

³⁵ Paci 1995: 36–37.

³⁶ Panciera 2007: 1095–1102.

³⁷ Pfeilschifter 2005.

Alexandria” probably in honour of C. Marius. The earliest inscription in honour of a living person using the dative, which later became the norm, seems to be another text from Delos (*CIL* I² 705 = *ILLRP* 344 = *ILS* 7272), set up c. 102 by the *olearei* (“olive-oil merchants”) in honour of the proconsul C. Iulius Caesar, the father of the dictator. The dative is also found on a limestone slab used near Argos in the Peloponnese (*CIL* I² 746 = *ILLRP* 374 = *ILS* 867; photo: *Imagines* 166):

Q(uinto) Caecilio (Gai) f(ilio) Metelo
imperator*i* Italici
quei Argeis negotia(ntur)

To Quintus Caecilius Metel(l)us, son of Gaius, *imperator*, the Italians who are in business at Argos (have set up this statue).

The honorand is the consul of 69, who in 68 carried out successful operations against pirates in the eastern Mediterranean, also conquering Crete. The text exhibits a number of features of Republican Latin: *Metelo* instead of *Metello*, a late instance of the omission of gemination; *quei* for *qui*; *Argeis* for *Argis*, the ablative of *Argi*, the normal form of the name of the city in Latin, used here as a locative.

At Rome, there is some evidence for honorific statues from earlier times,³⁸ some of which may instead relate to “commemorative” monuments in honour of persons already deceased. It is only from c. 100 that physical evidence (as opposed to literary references) survives for monuments set up in honour of living persons. At this same moment the earliest instances of the use of the dative for the name of the honorand appear: for example, on a monument from Rome apparently honouring several Domitii Ahenobarbi, perhaps the consuls of 162, 122, and 96 (*CIL* VI 40898).³⁹

From about the time of Sulla honorific inscriptions in honour of living persons start to be set up by public bodies, but only outside Rome. Examples come from Clusium (see p. 155), Suessa (*CIL* I² 720 = *ILLRP* 351 = *ILS* 870, a text set up *publice* in honour of Sulla, designated as *imperator*), and from Ferentinum (*CIL* I² 1526 = *ILLRP* 583, a statue base set up *poplice* in honour of a local dignitary). There are quite a few such monuments from the end of the Republic, including some honouring Julius Caesar (for example, *CIL* I² 787, 789 = *ILLRP* 406, 407 = *ILS* 70, 71, Bovianum, Brundisium). Yet honorific inscriptions from the city of Rome do not seem to be attested before the triumviral period in the 30s or the time of Augustus. Nor can one find honorific (as opposed to funerary) inscriptions that list an individual’s whole career rather than citing just the highest office held, a type very popular during the Empire, commonly referred to as “*cursus* inscriptions” (cf. Ch. 11). An inscription from Anagnia in honour of a local magistrate and mentioning all his offices (*CIL* I² 1521 = *ILLRP* 533 = *ILS* 6258) may date to the 30s and could be the earliest known example of this kind.⁴⁰

³⁸ Panciera 2007: 1096–97.

³⁹ cf. Sehlmyer 1999: 191–192.

⁴⁰ Panciera 2007: 1099.

Finally, the difference between republican and imperial Latin epigraphy is also well illustrated by the fact that *CIL* I² contains about six hundred “sacred” inscriptions (i.e., inscriptions dedicated or referring to gods), or around 15 percent of the total, whereas in *CIL* VI, covering the city of Rome during the imperial period, similar inscriptions amount to only around 4 percent of the total.⁴¹

EPITAPHS

Funerary inscriptions of the imperial period tend to be introduced by the phrase *D(is) M(anibus) s(acrum)*, after which the name(s) of the deceased follow in the dative or, perhaps somewhat more rarely, in the genitive case. The age of the deceased is also very often mentioned, the size of the burial plot may be given, as well as other information (Ch. 29). By contrast, republican epitaphs, especially the earlier ones, are not normally introduced by any formulae and the name of the deceased is usually in the nominative, with nothing else added: for example, *M(arcus) Pinari(us) P(ubli) l(ibertus) / Marpor* (*CIL* I² 1358 = *ILLRP* 913 = *ILS* 7833, Rome). The genitive is also used, often dependent on *ossa* (“the bones of...”) (*CIL* I² 1406, 1419 = *ILLRP* 930, 936 = *ILS* 8397, 8405, Rome; *CIL* I² 1591, 1593, 1596 = *ILLRP* 929, 933, 938 = *ILS* 8411, 7999, Capua). More variation and additional information appear during the late republican period, when the dative is introduced (*CIL* I² 1236, 1332 = *ILLRP* 940, 928, Rome; *CIL* I² 1571 = *ILLRP* 926 = *ILS* 8071, Minturnae).

Other details familiar from imperial funerary inscriptions sometimes occur during the late Republic. The age-at-death appears in epitaphs from Rome (*CIL* I² 1419 = *ILLRP* 936 = *ILS* 8405) and Volaterrae in Etruria (*CIL* I² 2088–91), but is practically unknown elsewhere. The dimensions of the burial plot are mentioned a few times (*CIL* I² 1292, 1351 = *ILLRP* 941, 951, Rome; *CIL* I² 3000 = *ILLRP* 927a, Tusculum; *CIL* I² 1596 = *ILLRP* 938 = *ILS* 7999, Capua), while formulae such as *hic* (most often spelled *heic*) *situs/sita est* or *sepulcr(um) heredes ne sequatur* (*CIL* I² 2527a = *ILLRP* 795, Rome) are also found. Descriptions of the deceased make their appearance, sometimes in verse form or in something resembling poetry, as in the last three lines of an epitaph, dated to the period from Sulla to Caesar, commemorating a freedman, his son, and the freedman’s wife on a travertine slab found at the road to Ostia (*CIL* I² 1349 = *CLE* 15 = *ILLRP* 943 = *ILS* 8395):⁴²

D(ecimus) Octavi(us) D(ecimi) l(ibertus) Modiari(us)
D(ecimus) Octavi(us) D(ecimi) f(ilius) Col(lina)
Pontia uxor
fruge bona pudica
 5 *ave*

Decimus Octavius Modiarius, freedman of Decimus, Decimus Octavius son of Decimus (of the tribe) Collina, Pontia, wife, frugal, good and chaste; goodbye.

⁴¹ Panciera 2007: 1103.

⁴² Onomastic peculiarities: Salomies 1987: 295–299. The structure implies that Pontia is the wife of the freedman rather than of his son.

METRICAL INSCRIPTIONS

There are a number of metrical texts surviving from the Republic, though often only part of the inscription is written in verse (Ch. 35). Funerary inscriptions are most likely to be metrical or to include metrical sections, but other inscriptions could also be formulated as poems, as a votive inscription from Reate, addressing Hercules (*CIL* I² 632 = *ILLRP* 149 = *ILS* 3410 = *CLE* 248).⁴³ As in metrical inscriptions from the Principate, the metre is often faulty. The earliest inscriptions are composed in Saturnians, which is attested later, for instance, on the monument of the baker Eurysaces at the Porta Maggiore in Rome (*CIL* I² 1203–5 = *ILLRP* 805 = *ILS* 7460a–c = *CLE* 13). Later, the metre is normally either iambic *senarii* or, perhaps somewhat less commonly, hexameters.⁴⁴ The following inscription on a travertine slab is still in situ near Rome on the Via Appia (*CIL* I² 1202 = *ILLRP* 970 = *ILS* 8121 = *CLE* 11).⁴⁵

hoc est factum monumentum
Maarco Caicilio
hospes gratum est quom apud
meas restitistei seedes
 5 *bene rem geras et valeas*
 dormias sine qura

This monument was made for Marcus Caecilius. Dear guest, I am pleased that you have stopped at my abode. Good luck and good health to you! Sleep without a care!

The inscription consists of three Saturnians, each of them occupying two lines. The exigencies of the metre explain the fact that the *praenomen* is written out in full and no filiation appears. According to Peter Kruschwitz, this inscription should be dated to c. 150–125; however, the text is surrounded by a moulded frame, which according to Panciera is a phenomenon attested only in inscriptions apparently not earlier than the first century.⁴⁶ In any case, the text contains some instances of archaic orthography: *Maarco*, *seedes*; *quom*, *qura* (for *cum*, *cura*); *restitistei* (for *restitisti*) (see further, p. 171–172).

⁴³ cf. Buonocore 2007: 216–218.

⁴⁴ Massaro 1992, 2007; Kruschwitz 2007.

⁴⁵ Kruschwitz 2002: 161–169 no. 12, with further bibliography.

⁴⁶ Kruschwitz 2002: 162; Panciera 1995: 330.

BILINGUAL INSCRIPTIONS

Especially in the Sabellic regions in the Abruzzi mountains some inscriptions have been published as Latin but could equally well be classified as Oscan or Paelignian texts: for example, *Ob(ellius?) Oviedis L(uci)* (*CIL* I² 3245 = *Imag. It.* Corfinium 23). Some inscriptions seem to use both Latin and “dialectic” expressions (*CIL* I² 1614 = *ILLRP* 1146).⁴⁷ These texts could be described as “bilingual,” although the term is normally applied to inscriptions in two different languages (Ch. 32). Various languages other than Latin were still spoken in Italy up to roughly the time of Augustus. It is, therefore, no surprise that there are republican Latin inscriptions which also have some part of their text in a local Italic language (for example, *CIL* I² 3556a, discussed in Ch. 32), even though (or perhaps because) the position of Latin as the dominant language of Italy was constantly on the rise. Etrusco-Latin bilingual inscriptions from Etruria are much more common.⁴⁸ The town of Clusium is rich in such texts as *C(aius) Treboni(us) Q(uinti) f(ilius) / Gellia natus // cae trepu* (*CIL* I² 2767 = *ILLRP* 905);⁴⁹ here the mention of the mother Gellia is characteristic of Etruscan society.⁵⁰

As for bilingual inscriptions in Greek and Latin, there is a convenient list in *ILLRP* (p. 517). Overall, there are some special cases such as the dedications to Rome on the Capitol by some Greek communities (*CIL* I² 725, 728, 730 = *ILLRP* 174, 177, 180 = *ILS* 31, 33, 30 = *IGUR* I 5, 6, 9),⁵¹ but also more ordinary ones from places such as Naples (*CIL* I² 1624 = *ILLRP* 208 = *ILS* 3858 = *IG* XIV 893) or Tarentum (*CIL* I² 1696 = *ILLRP* 86 = *ILS* 3237 = *IGRR* I 467), both Greek cities by origin. The bulk of republican bilingual inscriptions come from the Greek East, especially from the island of Delos.⁵²

THE PHYSICAL FORM OF REPUBLICAN INSCRIPTIONS

Contemporary epigraphy pays much attention to the material context in which inscriptions appear. An important study by Silvio Panciera focuses on republican epigraphy in the city of Rome, from where one quarter of all republican inscriptions originate.⁵³

⁴⁷ Adams 2003: 127–144.

⁴⁸ Benelli 1994; Adams 2003: 166–184.

⁴⁹ Benelli 1994: no. 15.

⁵⁰ Other examples include *CIL* I² 2013, 2641, 3359, 3364 = *ILLRP* 904, 814e, 570, 638. Catalogue of Latin texts containing metronymics, largely from Etruria: Gasperini 1989: 191–211.

⁵¹ Lintott 1978; Mellor 1978.

⁵² Adams 2002, 2003: 642–686; Bauzon 2008; Hasenohr 2008.

⁵³ Panciera 1995; cf. Panciera 2012a, 2012b.

With the very early exception of the archaic Lapis Niger from the Roman Forum (*CIL* I² 1 = VI 36840 = *ILLRP* 3 = *ILS* 4913; Fig. 6.4), inscriptions on stone are attested only from the fourth century onwards.⁵⁴ In the early period various materials were used for inscribing, such as soft volcanic tufa. From the late third century BCE, travertine from the quarries at Tibur (Tivoli) came into use. Marble was introduced in the later second century.⁵⁵ As for the form of the inscribed monuments, the earlier ones, whatever their purpose, tend to be simple rectangular blocks. From the second century onwards, new forms appear, the most common type being the funerary *cippus* or stele, often with a rounded top, which appears in the early first century.⁵⁶

In the Principate, the inscribed surface of a stone was often surrounded by a moulded frame. During the Republic, framed inscriptions are still rare and tend to belong to the last decades of that period.⁵⁷ All such inscriptions are epitaphs and normally slabs (rather than blocks) to be inserted in larger monuments. Statue bases with a moulded cornice and framed inscription, a type particularly common during the Principate, did not exist during the Republic.

PALAEOGRAPHY AND INTERPUNCTION

For the identification of inscriptions as republican, the letter-forms (palaeography) play a considerable role, and so, to a lesser degree, do the marks used as word-dividers (interpuncts). Letter-forms in republican inscriptions from 150 onwards, especially simple funerary ones, generally seem crude and plain.⁵⁸ It is only from the Augustan period that one commonly finds the elegant letters that are normally taken to represent “classical” Latin epigraphic capitals. Although some examples of very elegant letters in the “classical” style are known from the late Republic (*CIL* I² 2961, with photo at *CIL* I² fasc. IV, tab. 24.2), crude and unadorned lettering is often an indication of a republican date. Yet this lettering must be accompanied by other features confirming an early date, as crude and unadorned letters are also typical of later Latin inscriptions dating from the second century CE onwards. As for individual letters, republican inscriptions display the following features:⁵⁹

- the P tends to be open; i.e., the curved bowl does not touch the vertical bar (*hasta*) (cf. Figs. 17.2, 33.1)
- the tail of the Q tends to be long and almost straight, normally extending underneath the next letter (cf. Figs. 9.2, 17.2)

⁵⁴ Inscriptions on other material, such as pottery, are not considered here.

⁵⁵ cf. Panciera 1995: 322–325, suggesting that Greek marble may have been introduced in the earlier second century.

⁵⁶ Panciera 1995: 325–329.

⁵⁷ Panciera 1995: 330–331, with just thirty cases of framed inscriptions.

⁵⁸ For archaic inscriptions, Urbanová 1999.

⁵⁹ Gordon and Gordon 1957: 106–113.

- the foot of the L tends to point diagonally upwards (cf. Figs. 9.1, 35.2)
- the letter M tends to be wider than its imperial versions, with all three angles of the letter often about the same size (cf. Figs. 9.1–2, 17.2)
- the letter E is sometimes rendered as II (as in *CIL* I² 1851, Amiternum).⁶⁰

In addition, various signs indicating that a vowel is long, such the *apices* (Á, etc.) or *I longae* (the letter I elongated above the other letters), familiar from imperial inscriptions, are attested already in the Republic, although *apices* are still fairly uncommon (cf. *CIL* I² 813, 814 = *ILLRP* 436 = *ILS* 906).⁶¹

Interpunction in republican texts has been exhaustively studied by Raimondo Zucca, who reached the following conclusions:⁶²

- In archaic inscriptions two or three points placed vertically above each other were used to separate words, but this seems to disappear by the turn of the third century.⁶³ The single round point is attested throughout the republican period.
- Triangular interpuncts are found with the tip pointing either downwards, as in the epitaph of the Octavii and Pontia (cited on p. 166), or, more often, upwards, as in the round altar dedicated to Mercury (Fig. 9.2). Either the triangle is a complete cavity or just its edge is outlined. The earliest certain instance of the former dates to 187.⁶⁴ Later, this type became very popular and it is also common during the Empire. The outlined triangle is less common but attested in a third-century inscription probably from Rome (*CIL* I² 361 = *ILLRP* 161 = *ILS* 3101; *Imagines* 79) and remains in use at least till the end of the Republic, as on the altar to Mercury (Fig. 9.2).
- Square interpuncts also appear, again in two varieties: (a) a quadrangular cavity and (b) a quadrangle in outline only. The former is attested for the first time on the monument of L. Aemilius Paullus at Delphi (*CIL* I² 622 = *ILLRP* 323 = *ILS* 8884; *Imagines* 142) and soon afterwards in Italy (for example, in the inscription from Capua on p. 162–164). The latter, less common, is attested from the late second century. Square interpuncts become rare at the end of the Republic and are thus useful as a dating criterion.
- A rarer type of republican interpunct takes the form of a leaf, often referred to as a *hedera*. It became common during the Empire, especially from the Flavian period onwards, but there are also a handful of instances from the first century BCE, though not, it seems, from Rome itself. There are also a few instances of interpuncts in the form of a dash (*CIL* I² 1517 = *ILLRP* 663 = *ILS* 6130, Setia) or a small “X” (in the metrical epitaph of M. Caecilius (p. 167)).⁶⁵

⁶⁰ Vine 1993: 345–350; see *Suppl.It.* 9, Amiternum 13 for a photo.

⁶¹ Gordon and Gordon 1957: 148–149, 186–187.

⁶² Zucca 1994; cf. Vine 1993: 351–381.

⁶³ Zucca 1994: 137.

⁶⁴ Zucca 1994: 144–145.

⁶⁵ *Hedera*: Zucca 1994: 136, 150. Dash: Vine 1993: 353 n. 8, 354.

LANGUAGE AND ORTHOGRAPHY

Only from about the time of Augustus do Latin inscriptions use a kind of Latin that seems familiar to modern readers, although still under the first emperor, and even later, inscriptions sometimes use older forms (such as *caussa* for *causa*). During the Republic the language used in inscriptions reflects the evolution of Latin itself, with the earliest inscriptions written in an archaic form, which is often difficult to interpret. They are a major source for the study of early Latin and of interest to linguists (see n. 1; cf. Ch. 33). However, traces of such archaic forms and orthography remain a feature of Latin epigraphy till the end of the Republic.⁶⁶ Since their presence in an inscription is an important dating criterion, a number of the most important archaic or pre-classical features are worth noting. Especially in longer texts, there is a lack of consistency, with a word or phoneme written in different ways. For instance, *dico* (“I say”) may be written both *deico* et *dico* within the same text, as on a curse inscription from Rome (*CIL* I² 2520).

A. Vowels and diphthongs

(Note: classical forms are given first, followed by archaic or pre-classical ones)

- (1) *ae* = *ai* (*aidilis*, *praida*, *Aimilius*; attested also in early imperial inscriptions, especially in the reign of the antiquarian emperor Claudius). But *ai/ae* is sometimes represented by *a* (*Menerva* = *Minervae*, *CIL* I² 2909 = *ILLRP* 237, Veii) or *e* (*Fortune*, *CIL* I² 48 = *ILLRP* 100, Tusculum).⁶⁷
- (2) Short *i* is often rendered as *u* (*Maxumus*; this orthography is also found in early imperial inscriptions) and sometimes as *e* (*Minerva*, *dedit* are written as *Menerva*, *dedet*).⁶⁸
- (3) Long *i* = *ei* (*deico*, *meiles*, *quei*; this last form in the dedication to Metellus, above p. 165),⁶⁹ or, less commonly, *e* (*fruge* = *frugi*, as in the epitaph of Pontia, above p. 166, *Iunone* = *Iunoni*).⁷⁰
- (4) short *u* = *o* especially before an *l* (*consol*, *pocolum*, *Folvius*)⁷¹ and in *-us* = *-os* and *-um* = *-om* in second-declension nouns [*sacrom* in Fig. 9.1].

⁶⁶ Clackson and Horrocks 2007: 131 on the earliest epigraphic attestations of “classical orthography.”

⁶⁷ Adams 2007: 46–62, 78–88.

⁶⁸ Adams 2007: 70–71.

⁶⁹ Clackson and Horrocks 2007: 94–95.

⁷⁰ Leumann 1977: 62–65; Adams 2007: 52–64.

⁷¹ Leumann 1977: 48.

- (5) long *u* = *oi* or *oe* (*coirare*, *coerare*, *loidi*: Fig. 9.3 and the building inscription from Capua, p. 162–164)⁷² or *ou* (*douco*, *Loucilius*; in these cases the *ou* is normally considered to represent an earlier diphthong *eu*).⁷³ The Greek letter *upsilon* was normally rendered as *u* (as in *Numphae*, *Erucina*), and the use of the letter *y* became common only during the first century BCE.
- (6) In roughly the period 135–75 long vowels, mainly, but not exclusively, in initial syllables, were sometimes written as double vowels⁷⁴ (*Maarcus*, *seedes*, both in the epitaph on p. 167, *Roomanus* [see Fig. 17.2], *iuus*⁷⁵). Isolated instances of “non-classical” orthography occur (*Mircurius* or *Mirqurius* for *Mercurius*);⁷⁶ and “syllabic notation” is found in some inscriptions mainly from Praeneste; i.e., the presence of a syllable in which the consonant is pronounced as the combination of itself and a vowel, as in *Dcumius* = *Decumius*, *d* being pronounced *de*.⁷⁷

B. Consonants

- (7) In early inscriptions, a final *d* appears after long vowels in ablative singular case endings (*meretod* = *merito*, *CIL* I² 360 = *ILLRP* 163 = *ILS* 9230a), in some pronouns (*med* = *me*) and adverbs (*rected* = *recte*), and in imperatives ending in *-to(d)* (*violatod* = *violato*). This feature disappears *c.* 125.⁷⁸
- (8) *m* is often left out at the end of a word (*faciundu*, *pocolo*).⁷⁹
- (9) *n* is often omitted before an *s* (examples: *cesor*, *cosol*, *libes*).⁸⁰
- (10) *q* or *qu* is often used instead of *c* before *u* (often represented as an *o*), as in *quom* (= *quum* = *cum*), *qura* (epitaph of M. Caecilius, p. 167), *Merqurius* (Fig. 9.2), *pequnia*.⁸¹
- (11) final *s* is often omitted, especially in names ending in *-ius/-ios* (*Fourio* for *Furius*; similarly *Saufeio*, *Terentio*).⁸² The abbreviation *-i(os)/-i(us)*, as in *L. Corneli(os) L. f. P. [n.] Scipio* (*CIL* I² 12 = *ILLRP* 313 = *ILS* 5), the quaestor of 167, is in general a later phenomenon than the omission of just the *s*, which occurs in the earliest epitaphs of the Scipios: for example, *Cornelio(s)* (cf. Ch. 11). It is attested frequently until the early first century BCE (cf. the epitaph of the Octavii and

⁷² Leumann 1977: 60–61, 65; Adams 2007: 44–46; Clackson and Horrocks 2007: 94.

⁷³ Leumann 1977: 64, 69–70; Clackson and Horrocks 2007: 95.

⁷⁴ Leumann 1977: 12; Clackson and Horrocks 2007: 95.

⁷⁵ Cf. Vine 1993: 267–286.

⁷⁶ Vine 1993: 163–166; Adams 2007: 89–91.

⁷⁷ Vine 1993: 323–344.

⁷⁸ Clackson and Horrocks 2007: 97, 101–102.

⁷⁹ Clackson and Horrocks 2007: 96–97.

⁸⁰ Leumann 1977: 144–146, a phenomenon often attested in imperial Latin inscriptions in the vernacular (cf. Ch. 33).

⁸¹ Cf. Leumann 1977: 10.

⁸² Leumann 1997: 227; Clackson and Horrocks 2007: 96; cf. above n. 17.

- Pontia, p. 166, and Fig. 9.1), and occasionally even later, making it a fairly certain indication of a republican date.⁸³
- (12) $x = xs$ (*exs*, *uxsor*, as in the epitaph of Pontia, p. 166, *Sexstianus*; *uxsor* is also found during the early Empire).
 - (13) The Greek aspirates *ch*, *ph*, and *th* (χ , ϕ , θ) were rendered as *c*, *p*, and *t* (*arcitectus*, *Pilipus*, *teatrum*) until the introduction of the spelling with the aspiration during the later Republic.⁸⁴
 - (14) Double consonants began to be written as such only from about 200 onwards,⁸⁵ as can be seen by comparing the *SC de Bacchanalibus* of 186 (*CIL* I² 581 = *ILLRP* 511 = *ILS* 18), containing forms such as *esent* and *habuise*, and the letter of the praetor to the people of Tibur c. 160 (*CIL* I² 586 = *ILLRP* 512 = *ILS* 19), in which double consonants are always written as such. Although the new spelling was apparently introduced in the first part of the second century, the spelling with just one letter remained common afterwards (*ese* for *esse*, *velet* for *vellet*, *Metelus*, p. 165, *opidum*, *Pilipus*).
 - (15) Among inflected forms, one finds a first-declension dative singular in *-a*: *Menerva* (= *Minervae*) *sacru(m)*.⁸⁶
 - (16) A second-declension nominative plural in *-es*, *-eis*, or *-is* is not uncommon, for instance in *magistreis* (= *magistri*), or in pronouns such as *heis(ce)* (the nominative plural *hi*).⁸⁷
 - (17) A third-declension genitive singular in *-us* instead of *-is* is sometimes used (*Venerus*, p. 163, *nominus Latini*, *CIL* I² 581 = *ILLRP* 511 = *ILS* 18).⁸⁸

Finally, in regard to verbs, republican inscriptions often use the ending *-ere* (instead of *-erunt*) in the perfect third person plural. This can be seen particularly in building inscriptions: *coiravere* (*CIL* I² 674 = *ILLRP* 707 = *ILS* 3770), while *probavere* and *coeraverunt* appear together in the same inscription (*CIL* I² 1525 = *ILLRP* 586 = *ILS* 5344). Syncopated third person plural forms of the type *locarunt*, *curarunt*, *probarunt* (instead of *locaverunt*, *curaverunt*, *probaverunt*) are also much more common in the Republic than later (cf. *ILLRP*, index p. 512).

TEXTUAL STYLE

There is a clear contrast in the textual style of republican inscriptions as compared to later ones. Republican texts tend to be concise. Later inscriptions are often more wordy

⁸³ Kaimio 1969.

⁸⁴ Leumann 1977: 159–162.

⁸⁵ Leumann 1977: 14; cf. Priuli 1987: 118.

⁸⁶ Leumann 1977: 419–420; Hartmann 2005: 182.

⁸⁷ Leumann 1977: 427; Vine 1993: 215–239; Meiser 1998: 138; Dupraz 2004; see the building inscription from Capua, p. 162–164.

⁸⁸ Leumann 1977: 435; Adams 2007: 40–43; Clackson and Horrocks 2007: 103.

and add information: for instance, subjective epithets of the deceased in epitaphs such as *dulcissimus* (cf. Chs. 26, 27, 29). As a result, inscriptions of the Principate, and especially those of Late Antiquity, are normally much longer. A comparison of a republican building inscription (*CIL I² 1633 = ILLRP 646 = ILS 5636, Pompeii*) and one from the fourth century CE (*CIL VIII 2388 = ILS 5554, Thamugadi*) makes the difference self-evident:

C(aius) Quinctius C(ai) f(ilius) Valg(us) / M(arcus) Porcius M(arci) f(ilius) / duovir(i) dec(urionum) decr(eto) / theatrum tectum / fac(iundum) locar(unt) eidemq(ue) prob(arunt)

C. Quinctius Valgus son of Gaius (and) M. Porcius son of Marcus, *duoviri*, by decision of the town council put out to tender the construction of a covered theatre and the same men approved the work.

pro magnificentia saeculi dd(ominorum) nn(ostrorum) Valentiniani et Valentis semper Augustorum quattuor / porticus Capitoli seri{a}e vetustatis absumptas et usque ad ima fundamenta collapsas / novo opere perfectas exornatasque dedicavit Publilius Caeionius Caecina Albi/nus vir clarissimus consularis, curantibus Aelio Iuliano...

In accordance with the magnificence of the times of our Lords Valentinian and Valens, perpetually emperors, Publilius Caeionius Caecina Albinus, of senatorial rank and consular, dedicated the four porticoes of the Capitol, which had been consumed by old age and which had collapsed to their foundations, but which have completely been rebuilt to perfection and embellished. Aelius Iulianus (and others...) supervised the work.

In the first of these building inscriptions not only the down-to-earth style⁸⁹ but also the reference to a *probatio* (an inspection leading to an approval) of a building are common in republican texts but rare during the Empire. In the late antique building inscription of 364/367 CE the praise of the emperors and the detailed description of the work can only be characterized as “florid” (cf. *ILS 5520*). However, these patterns do not always apply and there are also republican inscriptions that are wordy: for instance, epitaphs in verse. On the other hand, some inscriptions commonly dated to the Republic, which present features of “wordiness,” such as a statue base from Interamna Nahars (*CIL I² 2510 = ILLRP 364 = ILS 6629*) and the inscription of P. Lucilius Gamala the Elder from Ostia (*CIL I² 3031a = ILS 6147*), may in fact belong to a later period.⁹⁰

⁸⁹ Gast 1965.

⁹⁰ For *CIL I² 2510*, cf. the addenda in *CIL I² fasc. 2.4*, p. 941 and *Suppl.It. 19*, p. 68–70 (M. Fora); for *CIL I² 3031a*, cf. Panciera 2004.

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CHAPTER 10

THE ROMAN EMPEROR AND THE IMPERIAL FAMILY

FRÉDÉRIC HURLET

THE foundation of the Principate under Augustus coincided with the expansion of Roman epigraphic culture (Ch. 8). Given the sheer number of surviving inscriptions, imperial epigraphy provides all sorts of information about the power of the Roman emperor: its nature, its juridical basis, its modes of self-representation, and the means whereby the emperor controlled the Empire and communicated with its communities. These texts also provide evidence for the central place that the imperial family occupied in Roman society and the consensus of support that the emperors enjoyed in Rome and throughout the Empire.

The central place occupied by the emperor and accepted by his subjects explains why his name and the names of members of his family occur on so many different types of inscribed monuments: imperial statue bases; plaques affixed to public monuments of all kinds (temples, altars, basilicas, *curiae*, baths, theatres, amphitheatres, arches, bridges, etc.); calendars (*fasti*); milestones and various types of boundary-marker; dedications offered to divinities for the well-being (*pro salute*) of the emperor; epitaphs found in emperors' mausolea; laws; resolutions of the Senate (*senatus consulta*); imperial edicts and letters. The centrality of the emperor is also reflected in the organization of the standard epigraphic corpora such as the *CIL*, which after treating religious dedications (*tituli sacri*) include a section on the imperial family (*tituli imperatorum domusque eorum*), though relevant texts can be found in other sections too.

The grammatical case in which the name of the emperor or member of the imperial family appears is crucial for determining the inscription's function. If the name appears in the nominative, this means that the emperor was responsible for the act described: for example, the construction of a building, such as the city gate of Laus Pompeia (Lodi) paid for by the emperor Tiberius and his son Drusus Caesar (*CIL V 6358*): *Ti. Caesar Aug(usti) f(ilius) / Augustus / Drusus Caesar Aug(usti) f(ilius) / portam f(aciendam) c(uraverunt)*.¹ If

¹ Horster 2001; Saastamoinen 2010: 137–142.

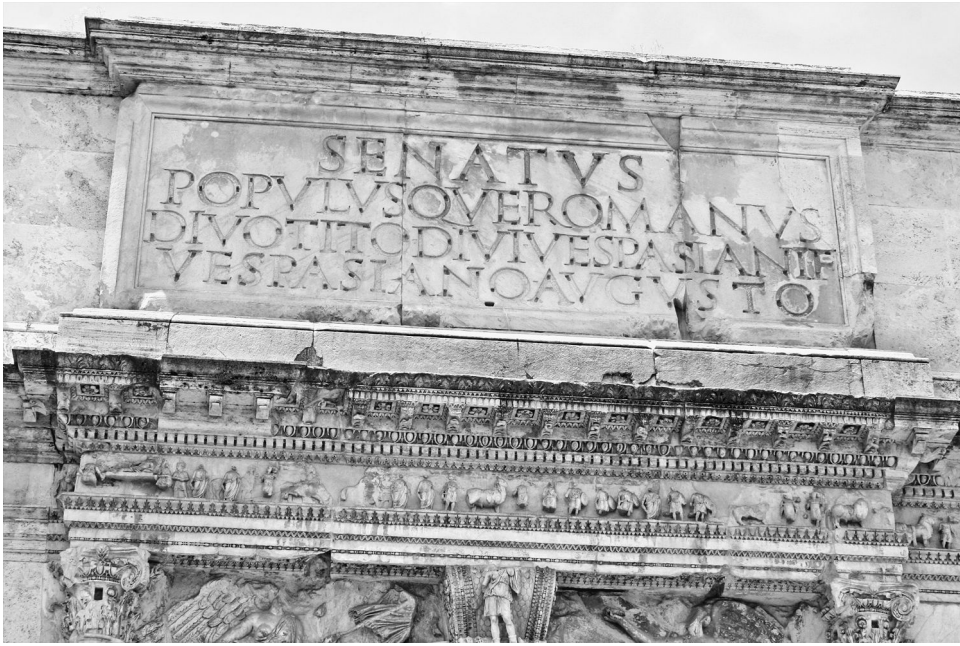


FIG. 10.1 Dedicatory inscription from the Arch of Titus, Rome.

the name appears in the dative, he is being honoured by an individual, institution, or community on the monument on which the inscription was cut, such as on the famous Arch of Titus in Rome, set up by the Senate and People of Rome to honour Titus after his deification in 81 CE: *senatus / populusque Romanus / divo Tito divi Vespasiani f(ilio) / Vespasiano Augusto* (CIL VI 945 + 31211 = ILS 265; Fig. 10.1).

Occasionally an emperor's name appears in the ablative, which means that it is being used as a dating mechanism, but there is also an honorific element present in the text, as in a dedication from Augusta Emerita (Mérida) in Lusitania set up by two brothers in 58 to a local divinity (EphEp VIII 23): *Nerone Claudio Cesare III co(n)s(ule) / Vitulus et Proculus Valeri fratres / Tarmest(ini) Lacipaea<e> votum solver(unt) l(ibentes) m(erito)*. When necessary, the genitive was used in an honorific sense in phrases such as *in honorem* (CIL XIII 6800 = ILS 419, Mogontiacum; CIL III 321 = ILS 5883, Amastris) or *pro salute* (CIL VI 36775 = ILS 484, Rome; CIL X 1562 = ILS 344, Puteoli) or more actively in expressions such as *iussu Imp(eratoris) Caesaris Augusti* (AE 1927, 139 from Samnium), *ex permissu* (ILS 345, Carthage), or *ex indulgentia* (AE 1903, 94, Mauretania Caesariensis).

One key inscription, the *Res Gestae Divi Augusti* ("The Accomplishments of the Deified Augustus")—described by Theodor Mommsen as the "queen of inscriptions"—defies easy categorization.² It is neither a funerary inscription nor an account

² Mommsen 1887: 385. Main editions: Gagé 1935; Brunt and Moore 1967; Scheid 2007; Cooley 2009; Mitchell and French 2012: 66–138 no. 1 (GLIAnkara I 1).



FIG. 10.2 Section of the Latin version of the *Res Gestae*, from the interior wall of the Temple of Roma and Augustus, Ancyra (Ankara), showing chapter 1 and part of chapter 2.

justifying Augustus' actions. Rather, it is a *sui generis* document, a type of autobiography that takes the form of a “political balance-sheet of a constitutional nature.”³ Augustus wrote with a view to posterity both to justify the changes that had occurred and to impose a new type of political regime on his own successors and the Roman people. On his death in 14 CE, the *Res Gestae* were engraved on bronze plaques and set up in Rome in front of his own mausoleum. The original has disappeared, but the text was distributed across the Empire and is known thanks to three copies that all come from the province of Galatia. The best preserved is that from Ancyra (Ankara), inscribed on the walls of the Temple of Roma and Augustus in a bilingual Greek

³ Thus Scheid 2007: liiii–lxii (“un bilan politique à portée constitutionnelle”).



FIG. 10.3 Part of the Greek version of the *Res Gestae* from the exterior wall of the Temple of Roma and Augustus, Ancyra, showing chapter 34 and the Appendix.

and Latin version (see Figs. 10.2-3); the two other copies were discovered in Pisidia at Antioch and Apollonia respectively.⁴

The text opens by describing his rise to power (RG 1–2; cf. 34–35):

annos undeviginti natus exercitum privato consilio et privata impensa / comparavi per quem rem publicam [a do]minatione factionis oppressam / in libertatem vindic[avi] ob quae sen]atus decretis honori[fi]cis in // ordinem suum [me adlegit C(aio) Pansa et A(ulo) Hirti]o consulib[us] c[on]sul[ar]i[um] rem locum [sententiae dicendae] tribuens et imp[er]ium mihi dedit. (RG 1.1–2)

⁴ For *Sardis* VII.1, 201 as a possible fragment of the Greek version of the *Res Gestae* from Sardis (province of Asia), Thonemann 2012.

At the age of 19 on my own responsibility and at my own expense, I raised an army with which I successfully championed the liberty of the Republic when it was oppressed by the tyranny of a faction. For that reason, the Senate passed decrees in my honour, enrolling me in its order in the consulship of Gaius Pansa and Aulus Hirtius [43 BCE], assigning me the right to give my opinion among the former consuls and giving me imperium.

The inscription then develops three main themes, outlining all political and religious positions and honours Augustus accepted or declined (*RG* 4–14); the expenditures incurred to assist the Roman state and the Roman people (*RG* 15–24); his achievements as pacifier and conqueror (*RG* 3; 25–33). Twice in the text Augustus refers to himself as *princeps* (*RG* 13 and 32.3: *me principe*), a title that served to describe his position and that of his successors.

IMPERIAL TITULATURE: THE EMPEROR'S NAME AND POWERS

The emperor was designated by a formula that combined his names, titles, and powers according to various criteria determined by the nature of the inscription, its date, and the place where it was carved.⁵ His name followed the rules that applied to the standard onomastics of any Roman citizen (Appendix III). It comprised four main elements: *praenomen*, *nomen* (*gentilicium*), *cognomen*, and filiation. Augustus played a decisive role in establishing the naming system used by all subsequent emperors (see Table 10.1). After a long evolution, from 27 BCE onwards he was known officially as *Imperator Caesar Divi filius Augustus*, often abbreviated as *Imp(erator) Caesar Divi f(ilius) Aug(ustus)*. The emperor's nomenclature continued to develop until the end of antiquity, with various elements added to distinguish the numerous emperors that came to power, but the basic system adopted by Augustus remained unchanged. "Imperator," normally abbreviated as IMP., should be understood as his *praenomen*. After Augustus it was taken by almost all emperors except Tiberius, Caligula, and Claudius, who all continued to use the *praenomina* they had been given at birth. "Caesar," often abbreviated as CAES., functioned as the emperor's *nomen*. It was Julius Caesar's *cognomen* and as such was inherited by the man who had been posthumously adopted as his son. All emperors included it as their gentilicial name after "Imperator," although some added other elements to distinguish them from their predecessors; for example, Imp. Caesar Nerva Traianus Hadrianus Augustus, to differentiate Hadrian from his predecessor Trajan (Imp. Caesar Nerva Traianus Augustus). "Augustus" served as a *cognomen*. It was bestowed on Augustus in 27 BCE as a mark of his sacred character and was adopted without exception by all subsequent emperors.

⁵ Musca 1979–82; Magioncalda 1991. Severan titulature: Mastino 1981.

Table 10.1 The nomenclature of a selection of emperors

	Full name
Claudius	a) <i>Ti(berius) Claudius Drusus</i> (?) from his birth in 10 BCE to 4 CE
	b) <i>Ti(berius) Claudius Nero Germanicus</i> from 4 until his accession in 41
	c) <i>Ti(berius) Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus</i> from his accession until his death in 54
	d) <i>Divus Claudius</i> following his death and <i>consecratio</i> in 54
Titus	a) <i>T(itus) Flavius Vespasianus</i> from his birth in 39 until his father's accession in 69
	b) <i>T(itus) Caesar Vespasianus</i> from 69 until his accession in 79
	c) <i>Imp(erator) T(itus) Caesar Vespasianus Augustus divi Vespasiani filius</i> from his accession until his death in 81
	d) <i>Divus Titus</i> after his death and <i>consecratio</i> in 81
Antoninus Pius	a) <i>T. Aurelius Fulvus Boionius (Arrius) Antoninus</i> from his birth in 86 until his adoption by Hadrian in February 138
	b) <i>Imp(erator) T. Aelius Caesar (Hadrianus) Antoninus</i> from his adoption by Hadrian in February 138 until his accession in July 138
	c) <i>Imp(erator) Caesar divi Hadriani filius T. Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Augustus Pius</i> from his accession until his death in 161
	d) <i>Divus Antoninus</i> after his death and <i>consecratio</i> in 161
Severus Alexander	a) <i>M(arcus) Iulius Gessius(?) Bassianus Alexianus</i> from his birth in 208 (?) until his adoption by Elagabalus in 221
	b) <i>M(arcus) Aurelius Alexander nobilissimus Caesar</i> from his adoption by Elagabalus in 221 until his accession in 222
	c) <i>Imp(erator) Caesar M(arcus) Aurelius Severus Alexander Pius Felix Augustus divi Magni Antonini Pii filius divi Severi Pii nepos</i> from his accession in 222 until his assassination in 235
	d) <i>Divus Alexander</i> , after his rehabilitation and <i>consecratio</i> in 238

Source: Kienast 1996. (Fuller data on individual emperors may be found in the *DizEpig.*)

Other *cognomina* such as Pius, Felix, and Invictus were added in later periods, from Antoninus Pius and especially from Commodus onwards, clearly for political reasons. This is apparent in a dedication from Alexandria set up in 194 CE by veterans of the Legio II Traiana to Septimius Severus, who in line 2 is styled “L. Septimius Severus Pertinax” soon after his accession, emphasizing his supposed connection with his predecessor Pertinax (*CIL* III 6580 = *ILS* 2305; Fig. 10.4).

Filiation assumed political importance for an emperor in situating his power in a clear historical and institutional continuity. It was even more beneficial if the emperor's father had been deified after death, so that he could style himself *Divi f(ilius)* (“son of the Deified”), such as Imp. Caesar Divi f. Augustus or Imp. T. Caesar Vespasianus Augustus divi Vespasiani f. On occasion, certain emperors were not content simply to include their father's name, but went back several generations, even inventing fictive genealogies to connect themselves to an emperor from a previous dynasty, as occurred with the Severans. In such cases, the names of the ruling emperor's grandfather,



FIG. 10.4 Dedication to Septimius Severus from Alexandria, set up by veterans of the Legio II Traiana, 194 CE. British Museum.

great-grandfather, great-great-grandfather, etc., were included in official inscriptions. This occurs, for instance, on a milestone found near Corduba in Baetica, which presents Nero as follows (*CIL* II 4719 = *ILS* 225): *Nero Claudius divi Claudii f(ilius) / Germanici Caesaris n(e)pos divi / Aug(usti) abn(e)pos Ti(berii) Caesaris pron(e)pos / ...* (“Nero Claudius son of the Deified Claudius, grandson of Germanicus, great-great grandson of the Deified Augustus, great-grandson of Tiberius Caesar . . .”).

An emperor’s name was completed by adding his main titles and imperial powers, with all these elements combining to form his imperial titulature. These in turn provide key evidence for the three main foundations of an emperor’s power: (a) his *tribunicia potestas* (tribunician power) underlined his civil power; (b) the various salutations as *Imperator* an emperor received following victories won by himself or his delegate commanders (*legati*) emphasized his military power; and (c) the reference to his position as *pontifex maximus* addressed his religious power. Following Augustus’ receipt of tribunician power in 23 BCE, *tribunicia potestas* was bestowed on each emperor on an ongoing basis with a formal annual renewal. This was expressed with a numeral on inscriptions in the form *trib[unicia] pot[estate] XII* (“with tribunician power for the twelfth time”). Hence inscriptions in which such expressions occur can be dated precisely to one particular twelve-month period. Although the counting began on the day on which the emperor was granted tribunician power by the voting assemblies (*comitia*; hence the day was called his *dies comitalis*), the date of its annual renewal evolved

over time. Initially, during the first century CE it took place on the anniversary of the emperor's *dies comitialis* or *dies imperii* (i.e., the date on which he had been acclaimed by his troops); then it occurred on 10 December, to bring the renewal into line with the traditional date on which the tribunes of the plebs entered office. Unfortunately it is not clear precisely when this solution was adopted and the "tribunician day" for the reigns of emperors from Nerva to Antoninus Pius still remains an unresolved problem.⁶

An emperor's salutation as *Imperator* was followed by the number of acclamations that he had received at that time. This, therefore, provides a further dating mechanism, though less precise than the reference to his tribunician power, since the number of victories any emperor could win depended upon the military situation. While Augustus won twenty-one salutations as *Imperator*, Hadrian and Antoninus Pius only received two salutations each. Furthermore, we do not know for sure in all cases the precise dates on which emperors were granted such salutations.⁷

Other powers were sometimes included in the emperor's titles: the consulate, which certain emperors exercised more frequently than others; the title *pater patriae* ("father of the fatherland"); the proconsulate. As for the latter, in an edict of Augustus from N. Spain dated to 15 BCE, he describes himself as operating as proconsul (*AE* 1999, 915 = 2000, 760):⁸ *Imp(erator) Caesar Divi fil(ius) Aug(ustus) trib(unicia) pot(estate) / VIII{I} et pro co(n)s(ule) dicit...* Until this discovery, the proconsulate as an imperial title was not attested epigraphically until Claudius' reign, but Augustus had borne it from 23 BCE onwards after resigning the consulship. These elements, however, do not always appear in the titulature of every emperor. They are combined on the basis of criteria, the details of which escape us, with one power or title privileged over another. An example of an emperor's typical titulature is provided by the inscription on the arch dedicated to Trajan by the Senate and People of Rome at Beneventum in Samnium (*CIL* IX 1558 = *ILS* 296):

Imp(eratori) Caesari divi Nervae filio / Nervae Traiano Optimo Aug(usto) / Germanico Dacico pontif(ici) max(imo) trib(unicia) / potest(ate) XVIII imp(eratori) VII co(n)s(uli) VI p(atri) p(atriciae) / fortissimo principi senatus p(opulus)q(ue) R(omanus)

The fact that Trajan was holding tribunician power for the eighteenth time dates the inscription to the period between 10 December 113 and 9 December 114. He held his sixth consulship in January 112; so this can provide only a *terminus post quem*. However, the reference to his seventh imperial salutation, which he gained in the autumn of 114 (possibly in September), combined with the tribunician power, helps to narrow the chronological window between autumn and 9 December of that year.⁹

⁶ Eck 2002.

⁷ Details in Kienast 1996.

⁸ Alföldy 2000; Costabile and Licandro 2000. For suspicions about its authenticity, Le Roux 2001; Richardson 2002.

⁹ Trajan's titulature: Kienast 1996: 123.

In this text “Germanicus” and “Dacicus” are examples of another standard feature of imperial titulature: i.e., titles derived from the names of peoples over which the emperor had won military victories.¹⁰ In sum, inscriptions allow us to see the accretion of emperors’ powers and titles in a much more detailed way than is possible from literary or numismatic sources.

In addition to these official titles, emperors were sometimes honoured with unofficial titles in various types of dedication. So, for example, the phrase *optimus princeps*, which was adopted as an official title only by Trajan, can be found during much of the first century in texts honouring earlier emperors (*CIL* VI 93: [*pro*] *salute Ti(beri) Caesaris / Augusti optimi ac iustissimi principis*). Other such epithets include *indulgentissimus*, *fortissimus*, and *felicissimus*, as well as the somewhat more boastful *super omnes retro principes*.¹¹

THE IMPERIAL FAMILY AND DYNASTIC SUCCESSION

Epigraphy clarifies many aspects of the dynastic nature of the emperor’s power. First, it provides evidence for the evolution of a series of expressions used to identify the imperial family. The earliest term employed was *gens Iulia*, of which Augustus was the head as Julius Caesar’s adopted son (*CIL* XII 4333 = *ILS* 112, Narbo, lines 6–8: *Imp(eratori) Caesari / Divi f(ilio) Augusto*... [his full titulature follows] / ...*coniugi, liberis gentique eius*). Since this term excluded some key relatives such as Agrippa (who was a Vipsanius), he then developed the idea of the *gens Augusta* (*AE* 1914, 87 = *IL Afr* 353, Carthage; *AE* 1922, 1, Corinth). However, Augustus then came to favour the term *domus* in the sense of household, which included not only members of his *gens*, but also his more distant relatives.¹² The term *domus Augusta*, attested in Ovid (*Pont.* 2.2.74) in 13 CE, is used in two official documents of 19–20 CE: the Tabula Siarensis, recording decisions about the funerary honours for Germanicus in 19 CE (*RS* 37, fr. I, lines 10–11; fr. II, col. b, lines 22–23) and the *SC de Cn. Pisone patre* of 20 CE, which condemned Piso following his activities in Syria in 19/20 (*CIL* II²/5, 900 = *AE* 1996, 885, lines 31–32: *neglecta maiestate domus Aug(ustae)*; Fig. 15.2).¹³ After Augustus’ deification in 14 CE, the term *domus divina* came into use (*AE* 1988, 552, Lucus Feroniae, 33 CE).¹⁴ A deceased member of the imperial *domus* could be deified and henceforth referred to as *divus* or *diva* on inscriptions (see Table 10.2).

¹⁰ For more detail, Kneissl 1969, using epigraphic, papyrological, and numismatic material.

¹¹ Frei-Stolba 1969: 21–31; Scheithauer 1988.

¹² On the *domus Augusta*, Corbier 1994; cf. Moreau 2009.

¹³ Full text with commentary: Eck, Caballos, and Fernández 1996. See further Chs. 15, 17.

¹⁴ For the formula *domus divina* under Tiberius, probably soon after Sejanus’ fall, cf. *CIL* XIII 4635. For the use of the formula *in h(onorem) d(omus) d(ivinae)*, Raepsaet-Charlier 1975.

Table 10.2. *Divi* and *divae*: deified emperors and members of the imperial family in three periods: 42 BCE–66 CE, 112–180, 306–361

Divus Iulius	42 BCE
Divus Augustus	14 (17 September)
Diva Iulia Drusilla (sister of Caligula)	38 (23 September?) (annulled in 41, 24 Jan.?)
Diva Augusta (Livia)	42 (17 January)
Divus Claudius	54 (after 13 October); possibly revoked in 55; restored under Vespasian
Diva Claudia (daughter of Nero and Poppaea)	63 (April/May)
Diva Poppaea Augusta	65 (early summer)
Diva Marciana Augusta (sister of Trajan)	112 (29 August)
Divus Traianus pater (father of Trajan)	perhaps 113
Divus Traianus Parthicus	117 (voted); 118, summer (deification)
Diva Matidia Augusta (daughter of Marciana, sister of Trajan)	119
Diva Plotina (wife of Trajan)	123
Diva Sabina Augusta (wife of Hadrian)	?? 136–138 (uncertain date of death, but deification likely carried out by Hadrian)
Divus Hadrianus	138 (after 10 July)
Diva Faustina (wife of Antoninus Pius)	140
Divus Antoninus Augustus Pius	161 (after 7 March)
Divus Verus (Lucius Verus)	169
Diva Augusta Faustina Pia (wife of Marcus Aurelius)	176
Divus Marcus Antoninus Pius (Marcus Aurelius)	180 (after 17 March)
Divus Constantius (Pius)	after death on 25 July 306
Divus (Galerius / Iovius) Maximianus (Iunior) (i.e., Galerius)	after May 311; ?annulled by Constantine
Divus (M. Aurelius Valerius) Maximianus Senior	under Maxentius (306–312); annulled under Constantine (? end of 311); renewed in 317/318.
(Diocletian)	after his death on ?13 Dec. 313
Divus Constantinus Aug(ustus) / Divus Augustus Pius Constantinus / Divus Constantinus Maximus	after his death on 22 May 337
Divus Constans (son of Constantine)	on his death in Jan. 350 he suffered <i>damnatio memoriae</i> under Magnentius (<i>ILS</i> 729, 1235–36); later consecrated (<i>ILS</i> 1244)
Divus Constantius (son of Constantine)	after 3 Nov. 361

Source: Kienast 1996.

Consecratio, which involved the establishment of rituals, priests, and a temple in the honour of the deified emperor, was usually voted on by the Senate, and the process is referred to occasionally in inscriptions, as in the *Fasti Ostienses* under the years 112 (Trajan's sister, Marciana) and 140 (Faustina the Elder).¹⁵ The presence of the epithet

¹⁵ *Consecratio*: Price 1987; Beard, North, and Price 1998: 140–149; *Fasti Ostienses*: Bargagli and Grosso 1997.



FIG. 10.5 Dedicatory inscription from the Arch of Septimius Severus, Roman Forum.

divus proves that the emperor or member of the imperial family was deified. Sometimes it is missing, even though we know the individual had been consecrated.¹⁶ On the other hand, the memory of an emperor or empress could be condemned following a procedure involving a series of *post mortem* sanctions that is customarily referred to as *damnatio memoriae* by modern scholars.¹⁷ The carrying out of such decisions, involving the complete or partial erasure of the emperor's titulature, is confirmed by examples on surviving monuments where parts of the text has been chiselled away. It was not voted for in the case of Tiberius or Caligula, but it was put into effect with Nero, Domitian, and Commodus (for the latter just temporarily), but without excessive enthusiasm. *Damnatio memoriae* was applied more systematically in the case of Geta, son of Septimius Severus,¹⁸ and it is frequently attested in the third and fourth centuries, which must be connected with the unstable political conditions of this period. It was possible for a section of an inscription that had been removed to be re-inscribed with a different text. One of the most famous examples occurs in the dedication on the Arch of Septimius Severus in the Roman Forum, on which Geta's name and imperial titulature were ingeniously replaced in line 4 by the expression *optimis fortissimisque principibus*, referring to Septimius Severus and Caracalla ("to our best and bravest *principes*"), so as not to leave a conspicuous gap in the inscription (*CIL* VI 1033 = 31230 = *ILS* 425; Fig. 10.5).

MEMBERS OF THE IMPERIAL FAMILY

Epigraphy sometimes provides unique information on the internal organisation of the imperial *domus* and its evolution. Dedications to male and female members of the

¹⁶ Chastagnol 1984.

¹⁷ Bodel 1999; Flower 2006; Benoist 2007, 2008.

¹⁸ Mastino 1978-79.

imperial family have been found in great numbers across the entire Empire. Their sheer quantity testifies to the fact that Italians and provincials alike viewed and represented Roman imperial power as a dynasty towards which they felt the need to manifest their loyalty. Members of the *domus Augusta* were honoured by the erection of statues or other monuments that no longer survive except for their inscriptions. The relative most often honoured was the emperor's son, perceived as the designated successor. He was in fact the "son of the Augustus" (*Augusti filius*, abbreviated as *Aug. f.*), a status which was always noted on inscriptions and which could also be developed to include the complete names of his father as well as one or more of his titles. So, for example, on a dedication to Lucius Verus, the adopted son of Antoninus Pius, prior to his accession, from Vina in Africa Proconsularis (*AE* 1992, 1803), we find:

*L(ucio) Aelio Aurelio / Commodo co(n)s(uli), / Imp(eratoris) Caes(aris) T(iti) Aeli Ha(dri-
ani) Antoni/ni Aug(usti) Pii p(atris p(atriciae) filio...*

To Lucius Aelius Aurelius Commodus, consul, son of the Emperor Caesar Titus Aelius Hadrian Antoninus Augustus Pius, father of the fatherland....

The presence of a dynasty contributed to the strong visibility of the female members of the imperial *domus* throughout the Empire. A large number of dedications were set up to them, especially to the emperor's mother, wife, or daughter, and sometimes even his sister. Their prominence may be explained primarily by the existence of an imperial court, the *aula Caesaris*, in which female relatives had access to the emperor and thus played an important role.¹⁹ From a functional standpoint, they appeared first and foremost as guarantors of the dynasty's continuity. Hence Augustus' only daughter, Julia, is described as a θεὰ καλλίτεκνος ("a goddess who has beautiful children") on inscriptions from Priene (*I.Priene* 225) and Euromos (*AE* 1993, 1521), where she was honoured for having given birth to five children, two of whom—Gaius and Lucius—would have succeeded Augustus if they had not died so young in 2 and 4 CE. This continued throughout the imperial period, especially in the second century, as illustrated on a statue base from Ephesus honouring Matidia the Younger (*CIL* III 7123 = *ILS* 327 = *I.Ephesos* 283):

*Matidiae / divae Marcianae / [A]ug(ustae) nepti divae / Matidiae Aug(ustae) f(iliae)
divae / Sabinae Aug(ustae) sorori / Imp(eratoris) Antonini Aug(usti) Pii / materterae /
bule et civitas / Efesiorum / c(uram) a(gente) Sucesso lib(erto) proc(uratore)*

For Matidia, granddaughter of the Deified Marciana Augusta, daughter of the Deified Matidia Augusta, sister of the Deified Sabina Augusta, maternal aunt of the emperor Antoninus Augustus Pius. The council and community of Ephesus (set this up); Successus freedman procurator, was in charge of the work.

Except for the mention of the reigning emperor Antoninus Pius, Matidia is represented as part of an all-female network of *divae*. Such women were valued because they filled a fundamental role as the transmitters of dynastic legitimacy based on consanguinity,

¹⁹ Wallace-Hadrill 1996; Winterling 1999; Pani 2003. *Augustae*: Hahn 1994; Kolb 2010.

as Tacitus reminds us when he describes Agrippina the Elder as “the only blood of Augustus” (*Ann.* 3.4.2: *solum Augusti sanguinem*).

The title *Augusta* first appeared in 14 CE when it was granted to Livia, but not all empresses bore it. According to literary sources, another title, *mater castrorum* (“mother of the camp”), was bestowed in 174 on Faustina, wife of Marcus Aurelius, then on Crispina, wife of Commodus (the title is only securely attested on coins; cf. *IRT* 2), before becoming standard in inscriptions from Julia Domna, wife of Septimius Severus, onwards (*CIL* VI 225 = *ILS* 2186). The latter asked to be given the title *mater castrorum senatus et patriae* (“mother of the camp, the Senate, and the fatherland”) and this is attested epigraphically (*CIL* II 2661 = *ILS* 1157; *CIL* III 7836 = *IDR* III.3, 318).²⁰ Placing all dedications to members of the *domus Augusta* in a chronological sequence allows us to follow the multiple transformations that the successive imperial dynasties underwent, as the force of events required them to restructure themselves in the face of births, divorces, and deaths within the dynasty.

Among the members of the *domus Augusta*, a special place must be reserved for those who were associated in power with the emperor and who have sometimes been interpreted as his “co-rulers.”²¹ Three fragmentary texts from Italy throw interesting light on this, listing a number of emperors and family members who exercised tribunician power (*Inscr.It.* X.5, 95–100; cf. *Suppl.It.* 8, *Brixia*, p. 164–166, Brixia; *AE* 1988, 564, Luna; *AE* 1998, 278a, *litus Laurentinum*). Being associated with the emperor through the holding of various powers was linked to the question of the succession, a delicate issue, since the hereditary principle of dynastic rule was never enshrined in law. It was understood as an expedient to secure continuity in the transmission of power, with the “co-ruler” continuing to hold the main imperial powers after an emperor’s death. Apart from his status as the emperor’s colleague, the individual marked out to succeed him acquired a rank, that of being a Caesar, a considerable development of the dynastic model. At least under the Julio-Claudians, the term “Caesar” was used only as the family name (*nomen*) of the emperor. It later became the official title given to designated successors, at a date that is still debated. Perhaps the first to bear what we call the *dignatio Caesaris* (“rank of Caesar”) was L. Calpurnius Piso following his adoption by Galba in 69; some scholars prefer Titus when his official name became T. Caesar Vespasianus in the same year, while others argue that it did not occur until L. Ceionius Commodus was adopted by Hadrian in 136 becoming L. Aelius Caesar (*CIL* III 4366 = *ILS* 319, Arrabona; *ILS* 328, Umbria). His original *gens* can be inferred from the name of daughter, Ceionia Plautia (*CIL* VIII 14852 = *ILS* 330, Tuccabor).²² From the Severan period onwards, a “Caesar” is usually described in inscriptions as *nobilissimus* (“most noble”): for instance, P. Licinius Cornelius Saloninus Valerianus, the younger

²⁰ Kuhoff 1993. Other recipients of the titles *mater castrorum* and *mater senatus*: Kienast 1996: 167–168, 174–175, 180.

²¹ Hurlet 1997.

²² Cecconi 1997.

son of Gallienus (*CIL* VI 40704). Also attested is the grant of the honorific title *princeps iuventutis* (“prince of the youth”) to certain heirs apparent.²³

The sharing of imperial powers was represented in a more egalitarian manner from the joint reign of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus onwards. For the first time in Roman imperial history, from 161 to 169 these two rulers each bore the *cognomen* Augustus, as is clear from the dedication on the triumphal arch at Oea (Tripoli, Libya; *CIL* VIII 24 = 10999 = *IRT* 232): *Imp(eratori) C[aes(ari) M(arco)] Aurelio Antonino Aug(usto) p(atr) p(atriciae) et Imp(eratori) Caes(ari) L(ucio) Aurelio Vero Armeniaco Aug(usto)*. The evolution was complete by 238 when Pupienus and Balbinus shared for the first time the position of *pontifex maximus* (*AE* 1912, 158; 1993, 1778, both from Sitifis). The system changed again with the establishment of the Tetrarchy, which from 293 onwards comprised two *Augusti* (Diocletian and Maximian) and two Caesars (Constantius Chlorus and Galerius), as illustrated on a milestone from near Verona (*CIL* V 8016) and in the Latin preamble to Diocletian’s Edict of Maximum Prices (Ch. 18). The seizure of power by Constantine and the birth of the Constantinian dynasty put an end to this collegial arrangement.

THE EMPEROR’S POWERS

The Senate and popular assemblies played an important role in accessions by voting an emperor his full array of powers. Part of this process is revealed by inscriptions. The Senate passed *senatus consulta* investing the emperor with his powers. While no inscription survives in which the content of such a *senatus consultum* is recorded, the so-called *lex de imperio Vespasiani* (discussed further below) most likely derives from such a resolution. However, one epigraphic source survives, the so-called Acts of the Arval Brethren, that records the proceedings of religious ceremonies linked to the grant of imperial powers and which provides evidence for imperial investitures.²⁴ These documents do not celebrate all the stages involved, but they shed light on the role played by the Senate and the people. They reveal that the senate-chamber (*curia*) was the scene of two distinct institutional acts: (1) the acclamation of the emperor by the Senate, as is attested for Caligula on 18 March 37 (*CFA* 13); and (2) the conferral by the Senate of the emperor’s *imperium*. They also attest that the popular voting assemblies (*comitia*) provided the final act in granting the emperor his powers. Even if their role diminished as the imperial period progressed, they continued to pass laws, the most important ones being those that ratified the *senatus consulta* investing an emperor with his powers. A good example of the process is provided by the Arval Acts for 69 (*CIL* VI 2051 = *ILS* 241 = *CFA* 40), illustrating the sequence of events in the granting of Vitellius’ powers in this admittedly unusual year of civil war (see Table 10.3):

²³ Beringer 1954.

²⁴ Scheid 1998 (text), 1992 (general study).

Table 10.3 Extracts from the *Commentarii fratrum Arvalium*, 69 CE

14 March	<i>vota nuncupata pro s[al]ute et reditu</i> [[Vitellii]] <i>Germanici Imp(eratoris)</i> (line 77) vows undertaken for the well-being and return of the emperor [[Vitellius]] Germanicus
30 April	<i>ob comitia trib(uniciae) pot(estatis)</i> [[Vitellii]] <i>Germanici Imp.</i> (lines 81–82) (sacrifices) on account of the assembly for voting on the tribunician power of the emperor [[Vitellius]] Germanicus
1 May	<i>ob diem imperi</i> [[Vitellii]] <i>German(ici) Imp., quod a(n)te d(iem) XIII k(alendas) Mai(as) statut(um) est</i> (line 85) (sacrifices) on account of the <i>dies imperii</i> of the emperor [[Vitellius]] Germanicus, which had been formally determined on 19 April

From the reign of Domitian onwards the Arval Acts no longer mention any ceremonies linked to such investitures, but this silence does not mean that the procedures simply disappeared. The Arval Brethren probably no longer referred to these formulas because they did not celebrate them anymore. On the other hand, everything suggests that the Senate continued to vote *senatus consulta* investing the emperor with his powers.

The only law on the investiture of an emperor's powers to have survived is the document now known as the *lex de imperio Vespasiani* (CIL VI 930 + 31207 = ILS 244 = FIRA I 15 = RS 39).²⁵ Inscribed on a large bronze plaque now displayed in the Capitoline Museum in Rome, it records eight clauses of this statute plus a sanction-clause, while the earlier clauses were inscribed on one or more other plaques now lost. It provides fundamental evidence for the nature, juridical basis, and evolution of the emperor's powers, as the following extract (lines 22–28) illustrates:

utique quibus legibus plebeive scitis scriptum fuit ne divus Aug(ustus) / Tiberiusve Iulius Caesar Aug(ustus) Tiberiusve Claudius Caesar Aug(ustus) / Germanicus tenerentur iis legibus plebisque scitis Imp(erator) Caesar / Vespasianus solutus sit quaeque ex quaque lege rogatione / divum Aug(ustum) Tiberiumve Iulium Caesarem Aug(ustum) Tiberiumve / Claudium Caesarem Aug(ustum) Germanicum facere oportuit / ea omnia Imp(eratori) Caesari Vespasiano Aug(usto) facere liceat

and that in whichever statutes or plebiscites it is written down, that the Deified Augustus, or Tiberius Iulius Caesar Augustus, or Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus should not be bound, the emperor Caesar Vespasian should be released from those statutes and plebiscites; and that whatever it was appropriate for the Deified Augustus, or Tiberius Iulius Caesar Augustus, or Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus to do according to any statute or *rogatio*, it be lawful for the emperor Caesar Vespasian Augustus to do all those things.

Numerous questions concerning the document still remain unanswered, especially whether the grant of powers to Vespasian followed an already established pattern (i.e.,

²⁵ Capogrossi Colognesi and Tassi Scandone 2009; cf. Brunt 1977.

was a tralatician process) or whether it constituted a special case.²⁶ Did the statute confer the full set of imperial powers on Vespasian or just one of the main powers: his *imperium* or tribunician power? Was it a series of complementary prerogatives or just one of the two main imperial powers *and* a series of complementary prerogatives?

Despite such uncertainties it was clearly a statute passed by the Roman assembly. The participation of the *populus Romanus* was not limited to imperial investitures. The *senatus consultum* adopted after the trial of Cn. Calpurnius Piso in 20 CE (lines 34–36) shows that the process of granting imperial powers also applied to members of the emperor's family who were, like Germanicus, sent on special missions within the Empire and to its borders. Moreover, a strict hierarchy of powers is attested here for the first time: the *imperium* of proconsuls was inferior to that of Germanicus, whose *imperium* was in turn subordinate to that of the emperor.²⁷ The practical application of the emperor's powers is well illustrated in constitutions issued by the emperors: edicts, rescripts, and instructions (*mandata*). Each of these types is attested in unequal proportions in the surviving epigraphic record (Ch. 14).

Another very public demonstration of the emperor's authority were the oaths of allegiance sworn by the main elements in the Roman state: the Senate, equestrian order, *plebs*, and army. The communities of Italy and the provinces also expressed their universal consent in the emperor's power when they swore their oaths of allegiance to the emperor in public ceremonies across the Empire.²⁸ This practice originated with the allegedly spontaneous pledge of allegiance sworn to Octavian by "all of Italy" in 32 BCE (cf. *RG* 25.2: *iuravit in mea verba tota Italia sponte sua*). The texts of such oaths were sometimes inscribed. For example, soon after Caligula's accession on 18 March 37 the citizens of Aritium in the province of Lusitania swore the following oath on 11 May (*CIL* II 172 = *ILS* 190):²⁹

... *iusiurandum Aritiensium. ex mei animi sententia, ut ego iis inimicus / ero quos C(aio) Caesari Germanico inimicos esse / cognovero, et si quis periculum ei salutiq(ue) eius / in[fer]er[t] in[tuler]erit[v]e, armis bello internecivo / terra mariq(ue) persequi non desinam, quoad / poenas ei persolverit, <neque me> neq[ue] liberos meos / eius salute cariores habebō, eosq(ue) qui in / eum hostili animo fuerint mihi hostes esse / ducam...*

Oath of the Aritiensians. It is in accordance with my soul and conscience that I will be an enemy of those who I come to learn are enemies of Gaius Caesar Germanicus, and if anyone attempts or has attempted to endanger him or his safety, I will not cease from pursuing him with armed might in a war without mercy on land and sea until he has paid the penalty. I will not hold myself or my children more precious than his safety. I will treat as my enemy those who have hostile intentions against him....

²⁶ Tralatician: Hurler 1993; Mantovani 2005, 2009: 133–134. Specific to Vespasian: Capogrossi Colognesi and Tassi Scandone 2009: 22, 158–160, 212.

²⁷ Ferrary 2009: 110–121.

²⁸ Hurler 2002.

²⁹ Other examples: *AE* 1988, 723 (Conobaria, Baetica, 5 BCE); *IGRR* III 137 = *OGIS* 532 = *ILS* 8781 (Gangra, Paphlagonia, 3 BCE); *SEG* 18, 578 = *AE* 1962, 248 (Palaipaphos, Cyprus, 14 CE);

Such oaths of loyalty to the emperor disappear from view in the epigraphic record after Caligula's reign for reasons that are unclear, but there is no doubt that the practice continued and the ties that bound the provincials to the emperor went deep.

INSCRIPTIONS AS A VEHICLE OF IMPERIAL IDEOLOGY

Inscriptions became so widespread that they provide much information on the non-institutional bases of the emperor's power. They allowed the emperor to disseminate the image he wanted to present of himself and permitted his subjects to express their own, often idealized, vision of what their leader should be like and how he ought to act. The language used was normally stereotypical but is still very revealing about the links between centre and periphery. For his part, the emperor considered himself, wanted to be considered, and was indeed considered a benefactor, in fact the leading benefactor of all.³⁰ This is emphasized on many inscriptions set up by the emperor mentioning a *beneficium* granted to a community or individual: for example, in an edict of 46, Claudius twice speaks of the "benefit" (*beneficium*) he had bestowed on various Alpine peoples by granting them Roman citizenship (*CIL* V 5050 = *ILS* 206 = *FIRA* I 71, line 30: *permanere ben<e>ficio meo*; line 34: *quod ben<e>ficio is ita tribuo*). In a letter to Munigua regarding a dispute between this city in Baetica and a farmer of the municipal *vectigalia* (local taxes), dated to 79 CE, the emperor Titus granted the people of Munigua a remission of 50,000 sesterces and speaks of the "generosity" (*indulgentia*) he thus displayed, using the term *indulgentia* in a fiscal sense to refer to the remission of taxes rather than in its usual moral sense (*AE* 1962, 288, lines 6–9).³¹ Rome's subjects reciprocated by thanking and praising the emperor for the favours that he had bestowed. This is how we should interpret the famous "archive wall" in the theatre at Aphrodisias, where imperial decisions taken since the triumviral period and conveyed in imperial letters (*epistulae*) were inscribed as means of publicizing the privileges obtained by this city, the most important of which was its "freedom."³²

Rulers and subjects spoke a common language, which contributed not just to the smooth functioning of the imperial system, but also to its longevity. The image of the emperor's power was enhanced by inscriptions commemorating an imperial *beneficium*, but this does not mean that all individuals and communities benefited equally from the emperor's generosity. When the emperor refused a particular request,

CIL XI 5998 (Sestinum, Umbria, date uncertain); *IGRR* IV 251 = *SIG*³ 797 (Assos, the Troad, 37 CE); Herrmann 1968: 125–126, no. 6 (Samos, 6/5 BCE). In general, Herrmann 1968.

³⁰ Kloft 1970; Millar 1992: 133–139; Hurlet 2010.

³¹ Hurlet 2006: 270–271; Le Roux 1999: 157 n. 5. In general, Cotton 1984.

³² Reynolds 1982, 2000.

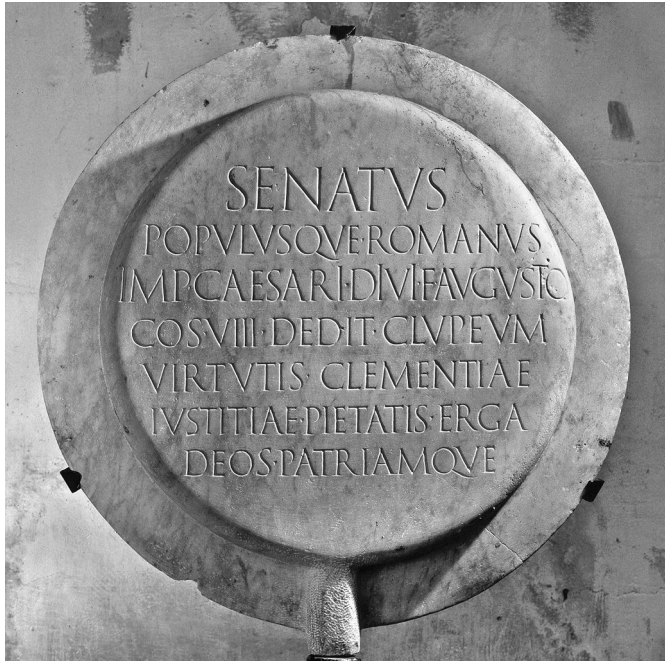


FIG. 10.6 Marble copy of the “shield of virtues” (*clipeus virtutum*) from Arelate, Gallia Narbonensis. Musée lapidaire d’art païen, Arles.

which is bound to have occurred quite frequently, the petitioner(s) did not bother to display an unfavourable rescript and even less to praise the emperor who had made this decision. Whenever an emperor rejected a request, the result was usually silence. An exception is the rescript whereby Augustus denied a request from the Samians for the status of a free city. This was inscribed not at Samos, but at Aphrodisias, because the people of Aphrodisias felt it valuable to publicize a text that singled out their own good services to Octavian during the civil wars, which had led to their community’s receipt of this privilege (*Aphrodisias & Rome* 13 = *SEG* 32, 833 = Oliver, *Gk. Const.* 1).³³

Inscriptions were also the preferred medium for publicizing various qualities that the emperor displayed or claimed and for the public recognition of these same virtues. Once again Augustus set the precedent. From 27 or 26 BCE onwards he had four of his cardinal virtues publicly acknowledged by having them inscribed, at the Senate’s request, on a golden shield placed in the senate-house (the *curia Iulia*) next to the Altar of Victory (*RG* 34.2). Among a number of copies, the most famous is the one from Arelate (Arles) in Gallia Narbonensis (*AE* 1952, 165 + 1955, 82; Fig. 10.6; cf. *CIL* VI 40365; IX 5811 = *ILS* 82):

*senatus / populusque Romanus / Imp(eratori) Caesari Divi f(ilio) Augusto / co(n)s(uli)
VIII dedit clupeum / virtutis clementiae / iustitiae pietatis erga / deos patriamque*

³³ Eck 1998.

The Senate and People of Rome offered a shield commemorating his military courage, clemency, sense of justice, and piety towards the gods and the fatherland to the emperor Augustus, son of the Deified (Julius Caesar), consul for the eighth time.

These same four virtues appear quite frequently on inscriptions.

Virtus: The Emperor's Military Courage

The image of the emperor as a victorious military leader remained in force throughout the imperial period. It was increasingly emphasized as the Empire expanded under Trajan and Septimus Severus or when its frontiers were threatened in the third century. The emperor's military virtues were underlined in his names and titles, especially the *praenomen* "Imperator," as we have seen (p. 182), and the honorific *cognomina* derived from the name of the people or peoples that he had conquered: Germanicus, Britannicus, Dacicus, Arabicus, Parthicus, Adiabenicus, etc.³⁴ These virtues formed an essential component of the visibility of the emperor's power in the public space of Rome and every city of the Empire. For instance, the Arch of Septimius Severus in the Roman Forum (Fig. 10.5) praises the new dynasty "for having restored the state (*res publica*) and expanded the Empire of the Roman people thanks to their remarkable virtues at home and abroad" (*CIL VI 1033 = 31230 = 36881 = ILS 425: ob rem publicam restitutam imperiumque populi Romani propagatum insignibus virtutibus eorum domi forisque*).

Also important were the marble calendars (*fasti*) that proliferated in Italy from the reign of Augustus to that of Claudius—about forty are preserved—but which became rarer afterwards. (One late and exceptionally rich example, dating to the years 224–227, is not an inscription, but written on papyrus: the *Feriale Duranum*, the calendar of the Palmyrene archers at Dura Europus.)³⁵ These *fasti* selectively record the imperial holidays that their writers judged the most important and which glorified the emperor's *virtus* (cf. *Inscr.It. XIII.2*).³⁶ The *fasti* from Amiternum (*Inscr.It. XIII.2, 25*), dating to the Tiberian period, celebrate the anniversaries of Julius Caesar's victories at Ilerda and Zela in 49 and 47 BCE respectively on 2 August, and Pharsalus (9 August 48 BCE), as well as Octavian's victories at Naulochus (3 September 36 BCE), Actium (2 September 31 BCE), and Alexandria (1 August 30 BCE); they also commemorate Germanicus' triumph on 26 May 17 CE and Drusus' ovation on 28 May 20 CE.

³⁴ Kneissl 1969; cf. Kienast 1996, based not just on epigraphic evidence, but also on literary, papyrological, and numismatic sources.

³⁵ *Feriale Duranum*: Fink et al. 1940; Fink 1971: no. 117.

³⁶ Imperial ideology in these calendars: Frascchetti 1990: 5–41; Rüpke 1995, 2011.

Clementia, Iustitia, and Pietas: The Emperor's Civil Virtues

Although alluded to in the *Res Gestae* (RG 3.1–2) and mentioned explicitly in the *SC de Pisone patre* (line 90), the emperor's clemency (*clementia*) is not often attested on inscriptions in the early Empire; it only starts to appear with some regularity in the late third and fourth centuries CE (cf. *AE* 1914, 145, Ostia; 1988, 1021, Ephesus; *CIL* X 7239, Lilybaeum; XVII.2, 690, Nida, Germania Superior). Jurisdiction was another essential component of authority in the ancient world, and the Roman emperor served as, and was perceived across the Empire as, the supreme judge. Numerous imperial dedications were, therefore, inscribed on the pedestals of imperial statues placed in basilicas, as, for example, at Lucus Feroniae near Rome, Velleia in N. Italy, and Cuicul in Africa Proconsularis. They were set up near to the *tribunal* and the *aedes Augusti* in accordance with the scheme recommended by Vitruvius (5.1.4–10).³⁷ Justice at the local level was thus symbolically placed under the protection of the majesty of the emperor. In the *SC de Pisone patre* (lines 90–92; cf. Fig. 15.2), *iustitia* is associated with clemency (*clementia*) and magnanimity (*animi magnitudo*) as the imperial virtues that Germanicus had inherited from his ancestors, in particular Augustus and Tiberius.

Imperial piety (*pietas*) was defined primarily as the respect the emperor was required to show the gods. It was expressed through imperial regulations: for example, the Nazareth edict laying down capital punishment as the penalty for anyone found guilty of violating burials (*FIRA* I 69 = *SEG* 20, 452).³⁸ Apart from sacrifice, one of the most important ways of showing respect for the gods was the taking of the auspices. This constituted an essential element in the granting of powers at Rome and at the same time served as a means of communication with the gods.³⁹ The first taking of the auspices by Octavian at Spolegium (Spoleto) on 7 January 43 BCE, when he was first granted *imperium*, was treated as a ritual act of great significance when it was commemorated on the altar of Narbo (Narbonne) in 12 BCE (*CIL* XII 4333 = *ILS* 112 = *FIRA* III 73). Things evolved quite rapidly to a situation where with regard to the auspices the emperor was given superiority over magistrates and promagistrates, as the dedication on the now lost Arch of Tiberius in the Roman Forum makes clear when it says that Varus' eagles were recaptured "under Germanicus' leadership acting under Tiberius' auspices." (The inscription is known from Tac. *Ann.* 2.41.1: *ductu Germanici, auspiciis Tiberii*.) References in inscriptions to imperial auspices may be interpreted in two ways. First, they emphasize the supreme authority exercised by the emperor in all areas, as on the arch honouring the Severans from the colony of Vaga in Africa Proconsularis (*CIL* VIII 14395; cf. *CIL* VIII 21663 = *ILS* 5963, Mauretania Caesariensis; *AE* 1999, 1576, Miletus). In some cases such inscriptions include technical language regarding the

³⁷ Rose 1997: 93 (Lucus Feroniae), 121–126 (Velleia); Zimmer 1989: 17–19, 31–33, 67–68 (Cucul); cf. Boschung 2002: 25–39.

³⁸ Giovannini and Hirt 1999.

³⁹ Hurllet 2001.

ritual act of observing the birds, emphasizing the fact that those designated as generals by the emperor operated while on campaign under auspices that were in fact those of the emperor, as on a dedication from Lepcis Magna commemorating a victory over the Gaetulians in 6/8 CE (*AE* 1940, 68 = *IRT* 301).⁴⁰ Consulting the will of the gods through the taking of the auspices was considered a means of underlining the emperor's piety and at the same time his legitimacy.

Imperial piety also took the form of the respect that the emperor showed towards his own family, in particular those who had been deified. It was advertised in his name by the lineage included in the emperor's filiation, as well as in the very long genealogies that under the Severans traced the emperor's ancestry back three or more generations, as, for example, when the *colonia* of Formiae represented Septimius Severus as *filius* of Divus Marcus Aurelius, *frater* of Divus Commodus, *nepos* of Divus Antoninus Pius, *pronepos* of Divus Hadrianus, *abnepos* of Divus Traianus Parthicus, and *adnepos* of Divus Nerva (*CIL* X 6079 = *ILS* 420). *Pietas* was also expressed in imperial edicts and other measures in which the emperor underlined his respect for a decision taken by one or more of his predecessors. In a letter to the magistrates and decurions of Falerio (Falerone) (*CIL* IX 5420 = *FIRA* I 75), Domitian confirms a privilege granted by the Deified Augustus, who is described as "a very attentive and very benevolent emperor in regards towards his own *quartani* [i.e., the name given to the citizens of Falerii linking the foundation of this colony under Augustus to the veterans of the Legio IV (Quarta)]" (*diligentissimus et indulgentissimus erga quartanos suos princeps*). Such epigraphic references to familial piety should be viewed as a communication strategy, to insert the emperor into a historical continuity and to use a previous emperor's decision as a precedent and means of justification. In addition, the emperor's *pietas* could be divinized, as at Cuicul (Africa Proconsularis), where a dedication was set up and paid for by this city in honour of the *pietas* of Antoninus Pius (*AE* 1916, 17).

Occasionally, however, a ruling emperor showed a lack of *pietas* by using inscriptions to criticize a predecessor for political reasons, as Claudius did when he blamed Caligula for the fact that the water supply of the Aqua Virgo had been impaired during the latter's reign (*CIL* VI 1252 = *ILS* 205: *arcus ductus aquae Virginis disturbatos per C. Caesarem*). From the reign of Marcus Aurelius onwards, attention was drawn to emperors' virtues by the claim that they were superior to all predecessors (*super omnes retro principes*): for example, in a dedication to Licinius (emperor 308–324) set up at Tarraco by Valerius Iulianus, the governor of Hispania Tarraconensis (*CIL* II 4105 = *II²*/14, 939).

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⁴⁰ Hurlet 2000.

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CHAPTER 11

SENATORS AND *EQUITES*: PROSOPOGRAPHY

CHRISTER BRUUN

SENATORS and Roman knights (*equites Romani*), the members of the *uterque ordo* (as these two highest status groups came to be known: cf. Vell. 2.100, Suet. *Aug.* 15), had vastly more opportunities to be commemorated in an inscription than the rest of the population, as Table 11.1 shows.

Senators and equestrians are identified in inscriptions in several ways. Often the context makes it clear through the mention of an office or distinction reserved for a senator or *eques*. At other times the epithet (“Rangzeichen”) *c(larissimus) v(ir)* joined to the name of a senator reveals his rank. The same epithet was also granted to the wives and children of a senator (*femina, puer, puella*). This term and its Greek equivalent λαμπρότατος were not in official use before the reign of Hadrian. The explicit word συνκλητικός (senator) is also found in the Greek world. For equestrians, the epithet *v(ir) e(gregius)* came into use in the late second century; the Greek κράτιστος is something of a synonym but can also be used for senators (*IGBulg.* I 659) and imperial freedmen.¹ Spouses and children of equestrians did not belong to the *ordo equester* and thus bear no “Rangzeichen.” Sometimes the identification depends on a combination of factors, including polyonymy (the use of many names with a distinctly aristocratic ring). The plain *tria nomina* are rarely sufficiently distinctive, since ordinary Romans could accurately replicate the names of famous senators, as shown by the occurrence of the name Tullius Cicero at Paestum in the second/third century CE (*CIL* X 482–483 = *ILS* 6448–49; *AE* 1935, 28).²

¹ Pflaum 1970: 177; Bruun 1990: 172–173. Λαμπρότατος for *equites* in private contexts: Corbier 1974: 251.

² In general, Salomies 1987: 201–202.

Table 11.1. Types of inscriptions mentioning senators and *equites Romani*

Type of inscription	senators	equites
honorific inscriptions (as honorand or initiator)	X Figs. 5.1, 11.1–3, 17.1, 17.4, 18.5, 22.4	X Fig. 1.1
epitaphs (in various roles)	X Fig. 35.2	X
<i>tabulae patronatus</i> and other texts relating to patronage (collective or individual)	X Fig. 6.5	X
building inscriptions	X Figs. 22.1, 24.3, 24.4	X Figs. 11.4, 24.4
votive inscriptions (as dedicand)	X Figs. 9.1, 19.1	X
inscriptions attesting military service	X Figs. 6.6, 16.5, 17.2, 17.4, 20.5, 30.3	X Fig. 16.5
imperial letters	X	X
administrative inscriptions (e.g., regulations by provincial administrators)	X Figs. 9.3, 12.1, 14.1, 15.2, 17.2, 30.3	X Fig. 12.1
<i>instrumentum domesticum</i>	X Figs. 22.2, 31.2	X
private documents	X	X
<i>senatus consulta</i>	X Fig. 15.2	
consular dating formulae	X Figs. 6.5, 16.5, 17.2, 19.1	
<i>acta fratrum Arvalium</i>	X	

Note: An X indicates that senators or *equites* feature in the particular type of inscription, with examples given from the Figures in this volume.

PROSOPOGRAPHY

Many prominent individuals encountered in inscriptions are also known from literary sources. Since the Renaissance, at first learned intellectuals and, more recently, professional scholars have engaged in studying the lives of individual Romans, with a special emphasis on evaluating new evidence from inscriptions. The technical term for this field of study is “prosopography,”³ although “collective biography” is a more revealing

³ The term derives from the Greek word *prosopon* (lit. face, hence individual). The method is employed in the study of all historical periods.

label. Such studies begin by investigating the life of each individual in a chosen group as carefully as possible, recording all available data on family and social or geographical background, career, activities, wealth, beliefs, and any other matter. Since these men and women were among the most influential in the Roman world, it is obvious that even a single such ancient “biography” can provide important insights, although the result is not comparable to modern biographies, for which scholars can benefit from more intimate sources such as letters, personal memoirs, or diaries.⁴ For example, a fragmentary dedicatory inscription on a statue base listing the career of M. Cornelius Nigrinus Curiatius Maternus allowed Géza Alföldy and Helmut Halfmann in 1973 to identify him as the challenger to Trajan’s ascent to imperial power (*CIL* II²/14, 124, Edeta, Hispania Citerior). He is only vaguely referred to in the literary sources, where he remains anonymous.⁵

- 5 *[M(arco) Cornelio] M(arci) f(ilio) Ga[le(ria) tribu] Nigrino]*
[Curiatio Ma]terno co(n)[s(uli) - -]
[--- trib(uno) mi]l(itum) leg(ionis) XIII Ge[minae adlecto]
[inter praetorios (?) a]b imp(eratore) Caesar[e Vespasiano Aug(usto)]
e[t Tit]o imp(eratore) Caesare A[u]g(usti) f(ilio) ab eis prae[---]
libus emendandis leg(ato) Aug(usti) leg(ionis) VIII Au[g(ustae) leg(ato)
Aug(usti) pro pr(aetore)]
provinc(iae) Aquitaniae leg(ato) pro pr(aetore) M[oesiae donato bello Da]-
cico co[ro]nis mura[l]ibus duabus et [coronis vallaribus du]-
abus e[t coro]nis classic[is] duabus et coro[nis aureis duabus hastis]
10 *[puris octo vexillis oc]to leg(ato) Aug(usti) pro [praet(ore) provinc(iae) Syriae]*

To M. Cornelius Nigrinus Curiatius Maternus, son of Marcus, enrolled in the voting tribe Galeria, consul, [-?], military tribune in the Legio XIV Gemina, raised to [praetorian?] rank by the emperors Vespasian and Titus his son, by them placed in charge of [probably a task connected to the census of 73/74 CE⁶], commander of the Legio VIII Augusta, governor of Aquitania, governor of Moesia, in the Dacian war rewarded with two mural crowns, two rampart crowns, two military crowns, two golden crowns, eight pure spears, eight standards, governor of the province of Syria.

Conclusions of wider historical importance are usually reached only when a sufficient number of individual lives are analyzed together, in a collective manner. Then various patterns tend to appear, concerning for instance social mobility, economic strategies, or government policies (p. 215–218). Scholars of the classical world are sometimes accused of being biased in their emphasis on studying the lives and activities of members of the Roman elite. The response from one of the masters of Roman prosopography, Sir Ronald Syme, is often quoted in this context: “One uses what one has, and there is work to be done”.⁷ In reality prosopographical studies can now be found for

⁴ Vössing 2005.

⁵ Alföldy 1986: 150–202, esp. 158, 167 for the text; cf. Salomies 2001: 92–94; Alföldy 2004: 58–62, addressing some doubts.

⁶ Alföldy 1986: 171, 197.

⁷ Syme 1968: 145.

practically every category of individuals from the Roman world,⁸ although most of the scholarly attention continues to be devoted to senators and *equites*.

The prosopographical approach has also come under scrutiny in its entirety, and critics have challenged the validity or meaningfulness of its results.⁹ Writing history from the behavioral patterns identified in inscriptions and literary evidence is admittedly a less complete method than using the rich archival sources available to modern historians. Yet the method, and in particular the use of epigraphic material, has enabled ancient historians to identify important phenomena and events such as the entry of provincial elites into the Roman Senate, the relationship between the Flavian dynasty and the senatorial order, or the machinations preceding Trajan's accession to the throne.¹⁰

SCHOLARLY AIDS FOR THE STUDY OF SENATORS AND *EQUITES ROMANI* IN INSCRIPTIONS

A number of fundamental works can assist scholars interested in the epigraphy of the senatorial or equestrian order. While prosopographical studies encompass all of Roman history, the nature of the source material has dictated a chronological division among scholarly aids. For the republican period, the majority of our information derives from literary sources and inscriptions only rarely provide data on individual lives. A very early exception is the inscription carved on the sarcophagus of L. Cornelius Scipio Barbatus (*cos.* 298 BCE) sometime during the third century BCE (cover image). The painted text [*L(ucius) Corneli]o(s) Cn(aei) f(ilius) Scipio* on the lid is followed by a much more extensive message on the main side (*CIL* I² 7 = *ILLRP* 309 = *ILS* 1 = *CLE* 7):¹¹

[[- - - - -]]
 [[- c.12 -]] *Cornelius Lucius Scipio Barbatus Gnaivod patre
 prognatus fortis vir sapiensque quouiis forma virtutei parisuma
 fuit consul censor aidilis quei fuit apud vos Taurasia Cisauna
 Samnio cepit subigit omne Loucanam opsidesque abdoucit*

L. Cornelius Scipio Barbatus, offspring of Gnaeus his father, a brave and wise man, whose appearance was equal to his virtue. He was consul, censor and aedile among you. He captured Taurasia and Cisauna in Samnium and subdued all of Lucania and brought back hostages.

⁸ For instance, Leppin 1992 (actors); Donderer 1996, Eck 1997 (architects); Noy 2000 (newcomers in Rome).

⁹ On the pros and cons of the prosopographical approach to ancient history, Carney 1973; Eck 1993, 2002a.

¹⁰ Respectively *EOS* II, Eck 2009a, 2002b.

¹¹ Kruschwitz 1998; Massaro 2008.

This early text, clearly inspired by an *elogium* delivered at Barbatus' funeral, already contains elements which much later will become standard features of senatorial and, eventually, also of equestrian commemorative inscriptions, namely a mention of the public offices held and an account of the memorable feats accomplished.

It is not until the Augustan period that the record of the Roman elite in inscriptions begins to develop into a truly significant phenomenon. The reign of Augustus is also the starting point for the *Prosopographia Imperii Romani* (*PIR*), the standard biographical dictionary for the first three centuries CE.¹² Including all known members of the *utrumque ordo*, as well as a few imperial freedmen and other persons of some distinction, it gives a complete list of the sources for each individual, and epigraphy plays a central role. In contrast, literary sources provide most of our information on members of the elite from the republican period, and there is no specific prosopographical dictionary to consult.¹³ The renowned encyclopedia by Pauly, Wissowa, and others (*RE*) aimed to include every person of note and its entries are still often unsurpassed (though the last supplementary volume appeared in 1978).¹⁴ For most aspects of the lives of senators and equestrians there are now comprehensive prosopographical studies which can serve as additional works of reference, depending on the topics or individuals under scrutiny.

“SENATORIAL INSCRIPTIONS”

Epigraphic corpora regularly reserve a prominent place for inscriptions mentioning senators, as the latter follow immediately after religious inscriptions and the imperial ones. The texts which can be found in the “senatorial” section are mostly honorific dedications, giving the name of the senator in the dative case, but some honorific *elogia* (in the nominative) and epitaphs (normally dative or genitive) are also included. Yet, members of the elite appear in texts of many different kinds. For instance, senators are cited in consular datings, as in the following business document from Campania (*TPSulp* 68):

...Cn(aeo) Domitio Afro A(ulo) Didio Gal[lo] co(n)s(ulibus) XVII K(alendas)
Octobres...

The date appears twice in one of the famous wax tablets from Puteoli (Ch. 15). It shows that the orator Domitius Afer, wealthy and notorious (according to Tacitus) or consummate (in Quintilian's view), held the consulship on September 15 (in 39 CE).¹⁵ He

¹² The most recent volume of the second edition (2009) covers the letter T. Raepsaet-Charlier 1987 expertly covers senatorial women and their male relatives.

¹³ Broughton 1951–86 presents yearly lists of magistrates.

¹⁴ The revised version, *Der Neue Pauly* (*NP*), is not comparable in scope, although it includes new data.

¹⁵ Tortoriello 2004: 622 for the year.

also appears as *curator aquarum* of Rome in 49–59 CE in Frontinus' work on Rome's aqueducts, while his consular colleague, Didius Gallus, happened to be his predecessor in the office of water commissioner (*Aq.* 102.7–8).¹⁶ The latter's activity as *curator aquarum* is also documented in a series of *cippi*, markers setting off public land reserved for Rome's aqueducts (*CIL* VI 1248 + 31559 = *ILS* 5745; *CIL* VI 40875–78):

hac rivi aquar(um)
trium eunt cippi
positi iussu
A(uli) Didi Galli
 5 *T(iti) Rubri Nepotis*
M(arci) Corneli Firmi
curator(um) aquar(um)

Here the courses of three aqueducts pass. The markers were placed by order of A. Didius Gallus, T. Rubrius Nepos, M. Cornelius Firmus, water commissioners.

Texts such as these are very different in nature from those of Curiatius Maternus and Scipio Barbatus cited above, but they often provide valuable material for prosopographical studies, besides their other inherent uses. However, by the term “senatorial inscription” scholars usually mean the extensive public documents presenting the career of a senator. This type of text is commonly labelled a “*cursus (honorum)* inscription” and will be the focus of this chapter, as will be the aptness of this term.

INTERPRETING INSCRIPTIONS CONTAINING BIOGRAPHICAL DATA ABOUT SENATORS

Like all categories of inscriptions, texts recording senators continue to grow in number. At any moment a new inscription may add information on a member of the *ordo senatorius*. Even better, the discovery may reveal a previously unknown senator and may force us to change our view on senatorial wealth or family relations, some aspect of Roman religious or social life, or government activities in Italy or a particular province. New senatorial inscriptions with a more comprehensive biographical content are jealously guarded prizes—a thorough publication may create an enduring reputation for the author who will be cited over and over again¹⁷—and few scholars working with inscriptions today are likely ever to be in a position to publish the *editio princeps* of a text mentioning a Roman senator. Studying already published inscriptions is the rule, but knowing the techniques for interpreting a text is no less important in such

¹⁶ *PIR*² D 70 and D 126 (registering every reference in Tacitus, Quintilian and other sources); Bruun 1991: 158–162.

¹⁷ cf. Gordon 1952, who published the extensive inscription of Q. Veranius, consul in 49 CE.

cases. There is always scope for new interpretations of the historical evidence, and first publications are rarely able to exhaust a subject.

One important epigraphic principle, the identification of patterns, is especially important when studying senatorial inscriptions containing details of a person's official career. Even republican texts of this type exhibit certain common features, and beginning in the Augustan period, senatorial inscriptions with a biographical content, i.e., listing a series of public offices and honours, became increasingly standardized.¹⁸ Since good scholarship aims at precision, the order in which a senator's public career evolved is a central issue, while chronology is important when establishing an individual's progress.

First, one needs to establish the general historical period in which the person was active (career patterns may change over time, and particular events may affect a person's progress or lack thereof). Second, the date of each individual office is important, since it is historically significant to establish the rate at which a person was promoted (or explain the lack of promotion), the exact date and length of any individual office. Accurate information will enable the scholar to draw conclusions about not just the individual's success and the tasks he handled, but also about imperial government in general (Ch. 14).

The vast majority of senatorial positions that occur in inscriptions are well known, as is their rank in the administrative hierarchy (Table 11.2).¹⁹ A good example of a sequence of senatorial offices is provided by a pedestal from near Rome from the Antonine period (*CIL* VI 1533 = XIV 3996; Fig. 11.1).

Only rarely are specific actions described in detail, as in an inscription of Flavian date from Fundi in Campania (*CIL* X 6225 = *ILS* 985, lines 6–8):...*opsidibus a Tran[sdanuvianis acceptis lim]itibus omnibus exploratis? hostibus ad vectig]alia praestanda [adactis]...*²⁰ This remarkable achievement—"hostages from peoples across the Danube were received, the whole border region was explored (?), enemies were reduced to paying taxes"—appears as the motivation for why the senator, in whose honour the inscription was erected, had been awarded the *[triu]mphalia ornamenta*. The senator concerned, L. Tampius Flavianus, was one of the most prominent men under Vespasian, twice consul and mentioned by Tacitus on several occasions.²¹ Yet the surviving account of the Roman historian does not provide any information relating to Flavianus' dealings with the "Transdanubian peoples," and this senatorial text is thus particularly interesting due to what it tells us about an historical event. (For other examples, see Ch. 17.)

¹⁸ Alföldy 1982.

¹⁹ Senatorial administrative positions: Eck 1974; Birley 1981: 4–35; Christol 1986 (the third century). Corresponding Greek terms: Mason 1974.

²⁰ This version of the heavily restored text is from Thomasson 1985: 136, 1996: 40; cf. Tortoriello 2004: 576 (almost identical); Bruun 1991: 167. Different restorations in *AE* 1941, 11; 1966, 68.

Thomasson's suggestion is unknown to *EDCS*, which gives a different, unconvincing restoration.

²¹ *PIR*² T 9; Thomasson 1985: 135–136, 1996: 40–41; Tortoriello 2004: 574–576.

Table 11.2 The hierarchy of the most common senatorial offices in ascending order

Office	Rank	Minimum Age
<i>Xviri stlitibus iudicandis; Illviri capitales; IVviri viarum curandarum; Illviri monetales</i> (i.e., the so-called <i>XXviri</i>)	sons of senators; <i>equites</i>	c. 18
military tribune with the broad stripe (<i>laticlavus</i>)	senatorial or potential senatorial rank	
quaestor <i>tribunus plebis</i> or <i>aedilis</i>	member of the Senate	c. 25
praetor <i>legatus proconsulis</i>	usually ex-praetor (<i>praetorius</i>)	30
task in Italy or Rome: <i>curator viae, praefectus frumenti dandi</i>	<i>praetorius</i>	
<i>curator rei publicae</i> in Italy or a province	usually <i>praetorius</i>	
<i>legatus legionis</i> (commander of a legion)	<i>praetorius</i>	
<i>proconsul provinciae</i>	<i>praetorius</i>	
<i>praefectus aerarii Saturni militaris</i>	<i>praetorius</i>	
<i>legatus Augusti pro praetore</i> (governor)	<i>praetorius</i>	
consul		40 (32 for patricians)
<i>curae</i> in Rome (<i>aquarum, operum publicorum, alvei Tiberis</i>)	<i>consularis</i>	
major priesthoods in Rome	varying practice	lifelong appointment
<i>legatus Augusti pro praetore</i> (governor)	<i>consularis</i>	
<i>proconsul Africae, Asiae</i>	<i>consularis</i>	
<i>praefectus Urbi</i>	<i>consularis</i> ; peak of senatorial career	

Lines 2–4 of the same inscription are packed full of information, listing four offices in the following order: [*co(n)s(ul), proco(n)s(ul) p[rov(inciae) Africae, leg(atus) Aug(usti) pro pr(aetore) Pann[oniae, cur(ator) aqu]arum*].²² The three positions listed after the (first) consulship, which other sources date to the mid-40s CE, are all of consular rank, and to this extent the chronological order is respected here. The question for a serious prosopographical study is whether the proconsulship of Africa, the governorship of Pannonia, and the charge of Rome's *cura aquarum* occurred in that order. One might think that following the chronological sequence was the natural way of recording a Roman senator's public career in an inscription, but in reality there were several ways in which to structure a list of offices (assuming that his name appears at the top):

²² Some details of the restorations are debatable. Relevant here is the order and nature of the offices.



FIG. 11.1 Statue base set up in Rome honouring the senator M. Valerius Quadratus, listing his political and military offices, later 2nd century CE. Museo Nazionale Romano.

- ascending order, with the earliest offices listed first
- descending order, with the most important offices first
- first listing consulship, proconsulship and priesthoods, as being particularly significant and traditional for a Roman senator, and then adopting either an ascending or a descending order
- a mixed order, for which a logical explanation can sometimes but not always be found.

Modern scholars are assisted by the fact that the hierarchy of the traditional republican magistracies (*quaestor*, *praetor*, *consul*) was respected and senators advancing up the career ladder needed to hold each of them in turn. The vast number of offices that

appeared during the imperial period normally had a precise rank, so that, for instance, the post of *legatus legionis* (legionary commander) was a “praetorian” office held by men who had been praetors but not yet consuls (Table 11.2). The proconsulship of Africa or Asia was a “consular” office and only former consuls could aspire to that position. Yet, because most proconsuls in the provinces (such as Baetica, Sicilia, or Achaia) were of praetorian rank, uncertainties can arise if an inscription is incomplete and the name of the province a proconsul governed is missing. Similarly, and potentially confusing, the *legati Augusti pro praetore*, the governors of so-called imperial provinces, were of praetorian rank in some provinces and of consular rank in others, and in addition there were changes in this arrangement over time (Ch. 14). Modern scholars benefit from the fact that for most offices encountered in senatorial inscriptions at least one monograph is available, presenting the *fasti* of the office in question.²³ This is a chronological list of officeholders, predominantly based on epigraphic evidence, accompanied by a detailed discussion of each individual’s career, pinpointing the place of the office in that person’s career, and the date when the office was held. Even so, inscriptions with a biographical content pose various interpretative problems, as the following example illustrates.

HOW TO DECODE A BIOGRAPHICAL INSCRIPTION: A PRACTICAL EXAMPLE

An *elogium* from Forum Popilii in N. Italy provides an instructive example of the situation which may face a scholar attempting to establish the career of a senator (*CIL* XI 571 = *AE* 1992, 602; Fig. 11.2):

[L(ucius) Funisulanu]s L(uci) f(ilius) Ani(ensi tribu) Vettonianus co(n)s(ul)
[VIIvir epulonum s]odalis Aug(ustalis) proco(n)s(ul) provinc(iae) A[f]ricae
[leg(atu)s Aug(usti) pr(o) pr(aetore) provi]nc(iae) Delmatiae item provinc(iae) Pannoniae
[item Moesiae sup]er(ioris) curator aquarum curator viae Ae[m(iliae)] praet(or)
5 [trib(unus) ple]b[is] quaes[is]t(or) prov(inciae) Sic(iliae)] trib(unus) mil(itum)
leg(ionis) VI Victr(icis) IIIv[ir - -]

This inscription, in which the name L. Funisulanus Vettonianus can be safely restored thanks to other epigraphic evidence, on line 5 clearly lists his earliest offices, namely those preceding the praetorship (end of line 4). Here the order is descending, as the last office mentioned (i.e., the earliest) is the usual “entry-level position” of *IIIvir* (*monetalis* or *capitalis*), followed by the military tribunate, which normally, as here,

²³ For consular offices, e.g. Kolb 1993; for provincial *fasti*, the exemplary studies by Eck 1985 (the *Germaniae*), Piso 1993 (Dacia), Thomasson 1996 (North Africa), 2009 (general synthesis), Birley 2005 (Britain). Less prominent offices: Cèbeillac 1974; Corbier 1974. See also the following notes.



FIG. 11.2 Honoric plaque with the career of the Roman senator L. Funisulanus Vettonianus from Forum Popilii, late 1st century CE. Museo Archeologico Civico “Tobia Aldini,” Forlimpopoli (FC).

was followed by the quaestorship, which ranked lower than the position of *tribunus plebi(s)*. The structure of lines 2–4 is less straightforward. Clearly the consulship is cited out of order, since it accompanies the name on line 1. The same is most likely to have happened to his two priestships, of which that of *septemvir epulonum* was an honour reserved for leading senators; a *sodalis Augustalis* was less distinguished.²⁴

The problem is whether the remaining six offices (in lines 2–4)—the proconsulship of Africa, the three governorships along the Danube, and the two curatorships in Rome and Italy—are listed in strict chronological descending order. This is a possibility. On the other hand, the way in which the consulship and the priestships have been separated raises the suspicion that further reorganization of the content has taken place. The issue is complicated by the use of the connective particle *item* (“also, likewise”) in lines 3 and 4. Does the word simply stand, somewhat superfluously, in place of a comma (unknown in Roman epigraphy) or the equally unnecessary connective *et* (“and”)? Or does *item* indicate that Funisulanus governed the three contiguous provinces simultaneously at a time of political and military tension?

A first step is to establish the period in which Funisulanus was active, and the simplest way is to look for his name in the list of Roman consuls. An up-to-date reconstruction of the *fasti consulares* is being prepared by Werner Eck, while no work of reference contains all the results of the most recent scholarship. Degrassi’s standard work from 1952 is still useful, and it tentatively places our man as consul in 78 CE.²⁵

Next, when facing dilemmas of this kind, epigraphers and prosopographers pay attention to patterns. The investigation of the term *item* in senatorial and equestrian inscriptions shows that it normally marks successive career steps (cf. *AE* 1998, 282, Lavinium). A larger undertaking is to survey standard works on the *proconsules Africae*, the

²⁴ Schumacher 1978; Scheid 1993; Rüpke 2005 and 2008.

²⁵ Degrassi 1952: 22; similarly Eck 2009a: 253. More recent material on the consular *fasti*: Tortoriello 2004 (Claudius); Eck 1970, 2009a (Vespasian to Hadrian); Alföldy 1977 (Pius to M. Aurelius); Leunissen 1989 (Commodus to Severus Alexander); Christol 1986 (250–300 CE).

Danubian governorships, as well as the two *curae*,²⁶ in order to identify patterns and establish whether it is plausible that the text gives the original order, or if some other principle has determined the sequence of offices on the stone.

Most importantly, however, in this particular case crucial aid is found in another text, a honorific inscription, which provides extensive information about the career of Funisulanus, including his full name (*CIL* III 4013 = *ILS* 1005, Andautonia, Pannonia):

L(ucio) Funisulano
L(uci) f(ilio) Ani(ensi tribu) Vettoniano
trib(uno) mil(itum) leg(ionis) VI Vict(ricis) quaes-
tori provinciae Siciliae
5 *trib(uno) pleb(is) praet(ori) leg(ato) leg(ionis) IIII*
Scythic(ae) praef(ecto) aerari(i) Satur-
ni curator(i) viae Aemiliae co(n)s(uli)
VIIvir(o) epulonum leg(ato) pro pr(aetore)
provinc(iae) Delmatiae item pro-
10 *vinc(iae) Pannoniae item Moesiae*
superioris donato [[ab]]
[[Imp(eratore) Domitiano Aug(usto) Germani]]-
[[co]] bello Dacico coronis IIII
murali vallari classica aurea
15 *hastis puris IIII vex<il>lis IIII*
patrono
d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)

It is rare, although not unheard of, that more than one long biographical inscription concerns the same man. The case of Funisulanus is particularly valuable and revealing, as there are conspicuous differences between the texts (for the implications, see the next section). For our present purpose, we may note that neither inscription cites the complete career. The second text (B) begins with the military tribunate and leaves out the entry-level position of *tresvir* [- -], which is mentioned in text A. Instead in text B we read about the command of the Legio IV Scythica and about another praetorian post, that of *praef(ectus) aerarii Saturni*, while both these posts are absent from A.²⁷ Text B seems to be drawn up in a strict ascending order showing that our man became *VIIvir epulonum* after the consulship, after which comes the mention of the three provinces, again joined by the particle *item* and in the same order as in text A, which generally followed a descending order. The complicated discussion of how to resolve this administrative and chronological dilemma cannot detain us here.²⁸ Finally, four whole lines in B are dedicated to recording the remarkable military decorations that Vettonianus was awarded by Domitian in the

²⁶ Thomasson 1996, 2009 (provincial commands); Bruun 1991 (*curatores aquarum*); Eck 1979: 80 (*curatores viarum*).

²⁷ The text given by *EDCS* concerning the early offices of Vettonianus' career is unreliable.

²⁸ Thomasson 1996: 47–48 for a discussion of the career of Funisulanus, based on every direct source; cf. Bruun 1991: 169–171.

Dacian campaigns of the late 80s CE.²⁹ The name of the emperor who bestowed this honour has been deleted, understandable enough since Domitian suffered *damnatio memoriae* (cf. Ch. 10). Equally remarkable as the bestowal of the *dona militaria* is the fact that there is no mention whatsoever of this distinction in text A. That text, however, contains three items not present in text B: the functions of *sodalis Augustalis*, *curator aquarum*, and *proconsul Africae*. The absence of the two latter offices can be explained on chronological grounds: text B was probably erected before Vettonianus had held them. If this argument is valid, it means that the post of *curator aquarum* was of consular rank. His proconsulship of Africa, not known from any other source, is dated to c. 90 CE.³⁰

THE *CURSUS HONORUM* INSCRIPTION— C.V. OR ACADEMIC TRANSCRIPT?

The case of Funisulanus Vettonianus is a good example of how additional epigraphic evidence for a senator's career may raise further issues for discussion. We have now seen some of the problems that arise when interpreting a long informative inscription with the career of a senator (or of an *eques Romanus*; what follows pertains to similar texts of equestrian officeholders too). For this type of inscription the convenient label "*cursus* inscription" or, better, "*cursus honorum* inscription" has been part of the scholarly discourse for a long time. Recently, authoritative voices have been raised against this term, claiming that "there are no *cursus honorum* inscriptions."³¹ This view sets out from the correct tenet that the long texts used by scholars when establishing the career of a senator or *eques Romanus* were not produced with the intent of providing official evidence of a person's government service (the *cursus honorum*). Such inscriptions often formed part of an honorific or funerary monument or, less commonly, a public edifice (in which case they may be called "building inscriptions"). This is the context in which such texts need to be viewed: as subsidiary elements of a public monument, in which a statue, some other work of art, or a public building was the central feature. These texts were never intended to present the complete *cursus honorum* of an individual; they were produced for the purpose of honouring that individual in public and intended to promote his public image. Nevertheless, the term "*cursus (honorum)* inscription" is a convenient label for a specific type of evidence, broadly preferably to cumbersome circumlocutions such as "a public inscription with biographical content," and will predictably remain in use.

²⁹ Strobel 1989 on the Dacian wars of Domitian (85–89 CE); decorations: Maxfield 1981.

³⁰ Thomasson 1996: 48.

³¹ Eck 2009b.

It is necessary to establish the nature of the epigraphic document that cites the (partial) official career of a senator or *eques*. To put the issue in modern academic terms: does a “*cursus* inscription” equal a C.V. (a document relating someone’s *curriculum vitae*) or an official North-American academic transcript? The latter will accurately and uncompromisingly register your performance in every course you took, regardless of accompanying circumstances. A personally prepared C.V., on the other hand, can be edited in many ways; suitable omissions and apt phraseology can be expected. It is obvious that a *cursus honorum* inscription is close to a North-American C.V.

When studying an inscription with conspicuous biographical content, several issues should be kept in mind. First, it is thought that the information needed for inscribing a person’s *cursus* normally came from the honorand himself or his close family.³² Second, no evidence has ever been produced to show that outright lies and falsehoods appear in *cursus* inscriptions, although such texts may contain imprecise formulations. Third, omissions are to be reckoned with, for a variety of reasons: (a) the lower-ranking offices conferred little glory and there was limited space on the stone; (b) a certain item was connected to a later disgraced event or emperor (like the military distinctions of Vettonianus); (c) certain offices were particularly irrelevant or perhaps offensive to the intended audience of the inscription. Sometimes it is plain that an inscription suffers from omissions; at other times this is unfortunately not at all apparent, as witnessed in the case just discussed. Some texts were inscribed in mid-career and cannot even be expected to contain the full *cursus*, while only for an epitaph can one reasonably assume completeness; even then it is not a certainty.

OTHER INFORMATION CONTAINED IN INSCRIPTIONS REGARDING SENATORS

Besides the *cursus honorum*, epigraphy can provide much other information about individual senators and the whole *ordo senatorius*. The family connections of a member of the senatorial order, especially marriages, always form part of a prosopographical study. Sometimes an inscription will give details about a person’s prominent ancestry or offspring,³³ as in the case of Caninia Gargonilla who is called ἐκ προγόνων ὑπατική, “a woman of consular rank inherited from her ancestors” (*AE* 1972, 587 = *I.Ephesos* 892; for another example from Italy, cf. Fig. 11.3),³⁴ or of the Roman knight Caecilius Hermianus from Ancyra, who boasted of being “father and grandfather of senators” (πατήρ καὶ πάππος συνκληρικῶν) (*IGRR* III 179 = *OGIS* 540 = *GLIAnkara* I 116),³⁵ but more often we are dealing with a standard filiation, *L(uci) f(ilius/a)* and the like, which occasionally may

³² Eck 1995: 212–216.

³³ In general Dondin-Payre 1994.

³⁴ Raepsaet-Charlier 1987: 179–180 no. 188.

³⁵ Halfmann 1982: 644 with many similar examples.

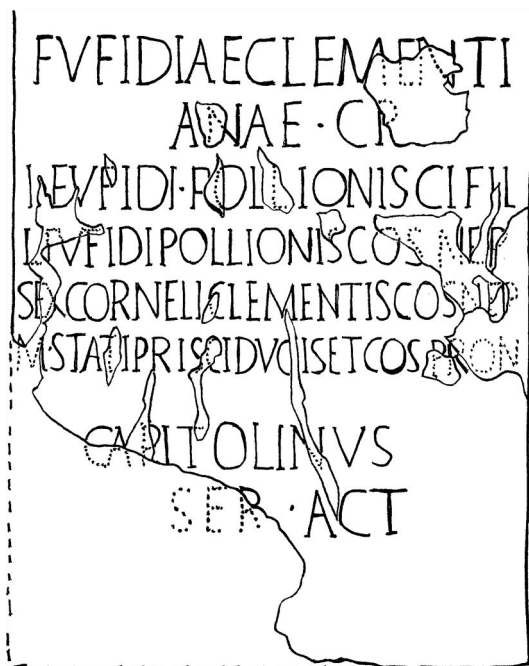


FIG. 11.3 Statue base for Fufidia Clementiana, *c(larissima) p(ue)lla*, tracing back her consular ancestry four generations, from Teanum Sidicinum, c. 170 CE.

stretch further back to the grandfather or even beyond. Such ancestral pride was not confined to the *uterque ordo*.³⁶

Inscriptions commemorating the elite aimed to enhance the reputation of the individuals concerned. The onomastic practice of the senatorial order often aimed at distinguishing its members from lower-ranking Romans through the use of ancestral names (Appendix III). The practice of inheriting names from paternal and maternal ancestors is, however, not unambiguous. Onomastics is not an exact science and while many ingenious reconstructions of family trees have been presented over the years, we are often dealing with mere hypotheses.³⁷ The picture is further complicated by the fact that senators could recognize their gratitude to a friend by adding the latter's name(s) to their own, for instance in connection with so-called testamentary adoption.³⁸

A major contribution to the study of social mobility and the distribution of wealth within the Empire is derived from the study of the local origin of senatorial families. Since membership in the Senate required a man to be, in modern terms, a millionaire

³⁶ The Lucilii Gamalae, local dignitaries from Ostia, recorded three generations of ancestors in *CIL* XIV 375 (= *ILS* 6147) and 376, and four in *AE* 1959, 254; cf. Ch. 26, p. 565.

³⁷ cf., among many possible examples, Bruun 1994 (not unanimously accepted); Chausson 1996, 1998; Settiani 2000.

³⁸ Salomies 1992.

(or rather a billionaire), identifying the origin of Roman senators sheds light on the prosperity of the various provinces and the local elites. The proceedings of a 1982 conference dedicated to senators' origins is still the starting point for such investigations.³⁹ The trend is clear: during the imperial period, senators from Rome's provinces increased in number at the expense of senatorial families from Italy. In particular the Iberian Peninsula, North Africa, and Asia Minor saw many families enter the Roman Senate.

The advancement of the elite from certain provinces was a reflection of the economic development of the Empire, and to a large degree local wealth derived from agriculture. When one studies the origin of senators, which is often based on the context in which inscriptions are found, the issue of landed property arises. Senatorial landownership in Italy has been charted in a vast and useful enterprise that underlines the uncertainties that belabour any such study.⁴⁰ Famous is the villa of the Volusii Saturnini, found during the construction of the Autostrada del Sole at Lucus Feroniae north of Rome and rich in inscriptions.⁴¹ Roman senators might have an interest in other economic activities besides landownership, as might *equites Romani* (perhaps to an even larger degree), although the evidence is mostly indirect and in the epigraphic material their activities must normally be traced through middlemen (Ch. 31).

Ownership of senatorial residences in Rome is of general interest considering the importance of the *domus* for a senator's prestige (Ch. 22). Their location can sometimes be identified thanks to the discovery of dedications by clients to their senatorial *patronus*. These *tabulae patronatus* point to the social obligations that the senatorial elite faced. Relations of patronage or guest-friendship (*hospitium*) were already forged during the Republic between Roman senators and provincial communities and individuals, and the practice continued during the Principate. These social ties produced formal agreements that were often recorded on a bronze plaque and displayed in senators' homes (Fig. 6.5; Ch. 6, n. 38).

More onerous for the individual member of the senatorial order, but possibly more important for his (or her) immediate prestige were acts of munificence, including the financing of constructions and the donation of sums of money to communities and organizations. Such building inscriptions or other texts manifesting euergetism form a considerable part of inscriptions mentioning senators (Ch. 24).⁴² Many honorific inscriptions may derive their origin from an act of munificence, although this need not be mentioned in the surviving text.

It is clear that a specific ideology, which led to these acts of civic munificence, pervaded the senatorial elite. However, no text offers any specific insights into the mentality of the imperial aristocracy, besides the ubiquitous dedications to the ruling dynasty. The expression *amor patriae* ("love of one's place of origin"), also a fairly bland phrase,

³⁹ EOS II; cf. Kriekhaus 2006.

⁴⁰ Andermahr 1998; Bruun 2000. Provincial property: EOS II.

⁴¹ Bodel 1997: 26–32.

⁴² Eck 1980.

is normally found only in inscriptions involving equestrians (*ILJug* II 678, Salona) or the local elite (*CIL* XIII 6244 = *ILS* 7073, Borbetomagus, now Worms). Yet epigraphy provides certain avenues for investigating other ideological issues within the senatorial order, above all in the religious sphere.⁴³ Specifically concerning the transition to Christianity, literary sources are, however, overall more revealing.⁴⁴

FEMALE MEMBERS OF THE SENATORIAL ORDER

Women were regarded as being part of the senatorial order if they were born of a senatorial father or if they had married a senator.⁴⁵ The procedure for identifying senatorial women in inscriptions is the same as for men: family connections may reveal their status or, from the early second century onwards, the use of the epithet *c(larissima) f(emina)*, while a senator's daughter was called *c(larissima) p(uella)*.⁴⁶ To a lesser extent than their male counterparts, senatorial women can be found in the standard works of reference (*RE*, *KP*, *NP*). The comprehensive work by Marie-Thérèse Raepsaet-Charlier contains 901 entries on senatorial women of the first two centuries CE, which are worth consulting for any prosopographical study since they also consider all known male relatives.⁴⁷ For the Republic and the centuries after c. 200 CE no comparable work exists.⁴⁸

Raepsaet-Charlier's work depends heavily on epigraphic sources, which can be divided into a few main categories. First, there are funerary inscriptions. Honorific inscriptions constitute another category (Fig. 11.3). Sometimes the woman was honoured in her capacity as spouse, often of a governor,⁴⁹ but frequently a wealthy *clarissima femina* earned the distinction through her own merits, perhaps acting as a priestess (*flaminica* or, more rarely, a Vestal Virgin), or by using her own wealth and influence on public projects. Third, sometimes female wealth can be identified epigraphically, in particular in connection with brick production near Rome. Many of the landowners who exploited their claybeds there were senatorial women (Ch. 27, nn. 13–16; Ch. 31; cf. Fig. 31.2). Senatorial female munificence is recorded in many inscriptions which constitute a further kind of epigraphic evidence (Ch. 27). The phenomenon is clearly shown in the case of the Younger Matidia, whose rebuilding of the theatre at Suessa in

⁴³ McLynn 1996: 320–329; Várhelyi 2010.

⁴⁴ Barnes 1995.

⁴⁵ Full discussion: Raepsaet-Charlier 1987: 1–12; cf. Kajava 1988: 76–77.

⁴⁶ Kajava 1993 on children of senators; cf. Maria Aurelia Violentilla *cons(ularis) femin(a)* in *CIL* IX 6414b = *ILS* 1166, Asculum.

⁴⁷ Raepsaet-Charlier 1987, with Kajava 1988; Raepsaet-Charlier 1993b.

⁴⁸ Raepsaet-Charlier 1993a on studying senatorial women after the second century.

⁴⁹ Kajava 1990.

Campania is documented in a monumental inscription (*AE* 2006, 317). Her contribution to urban infrastructure was considerable but not exceptional.⁵⁰

THE *EQUESTER ORDO* IN INSCRIPTIONS

The equestrian order comprised many more members than the senatorial one. There were six hundred members of the Senate at any one time during the High Empire,⁵¹ but for the *equites Romani* no fixed number was ever established. In order to qualify, an equestrian needed a minimum property of 400,000 *sestertii*. Estimates of the number of Roman knights range from twenty thousand under Augustus to a much higher number under later emperors.⁵² The uncertainty in part derives from the relative difficulty of identifying members of the *ordo equester* in inscriptions. Epithets such as *eq(ues) R(omanus)*, *e(gregius) v(ir)* or κράτιστος (p. 202) were not consistently used. In many cases it remains unclear whether a member of the local elite encountered in an inscription somewhere in Italy or the provinces was a Roman knight. Certain military officers and government officials, however, can be identified as *equites* even without this being expressly stated.

Many of the comments above about senators in Roman epigraphy can be applied to *equites*, since they predominantly appear in similar texts. In particular funerary, honorific, and building inscriptions show *equites* holding various administrative posts or military positions (Chs. 14, 16). They are also mentioned as benefactors or patrons and sometimes appear in connection with business ventures.⁵³

New senators were recruited from the equestrian order, and much scholarship has focused on this aspect of social mobility, which above all can be studied in inscriptions, as can the ascent from lower ranks into the equestrian order.⁵⁴ Some fundamental prosopographical works are devoted specifically to the *equites Romani*, especially those by Hans-Georg Pflaum focusing on their role in the Roman government and based almost exclusively on inscriptions.⁵⁵ Only a few monographs on Roman government deal exclusively with administrative or military positions held by *equites*. Their difference in status and position in life compared to senators meant that equestrians pursued a different career path. Most equestrians for whom we have information began their public service as army officers. The standard prosopographical work on

⁵⁰ Bruun 2010. Other examples: Boatwright 1991.

⁵¹ Individuals of senatorial rank came from a greater number of families than just current senators, since senatorial rank was inherited by children and grandchildren (p. 215–217).

⁵² Alföldy 1985: 122; 2011: 162; cf. Scheidel and Friesen 2009: 76.

⁵³ Wesch-Klein 1999; Andreau 1999; in general Demougin, Devijver, and Raepsaet-Charlier 1999.

⁵⁴ *EOS* II on advancement to the Senate, cf. Wiseman 1971 on an earlier period when the literary sources often eclipse the epigraphic ones; Eck 1999.

⁵⁵ Pflaum 1960–61, 1982, cf. Pflaum 1950; Demougin 1988 and 1992.



FIG. 11.4 Dedication of the equestrian prefect of Judaea, Pontius Pilatus, relating to the repair of a lighthouse (the “Tiberium”) from the harbour at Caesarea Maritima, Israel. In situ.

equestrian officers comprises some 2,200 individuals and largely builds on epigraphic sources, with additional evidence especially from papyri.⁵⁶

The equestrian career can be divided into several stages. At the beginning they held the *tres* (rarely *quattuor*) *militiae*: command of an auxiliary cohort (*praefectus cohortis*), followed by the command of a cavalry unit (*praefectus alae*), concluding with a military tribunate in a legion. Experienced officers could next be promoted to service as a procurator, with several hierarchical levels accompanied by a rising annual salary (Ch. 14). There is a lively scholarly discussion about individual careers or offices, focusing on similar issues as for senatorial *cursus* inscriptions: the chronology, whether the full career is cited, the order in which the tasks were held, and the overall significance of the equestrian offices. For the most famous of all equestrian officials, Pontius Pilatus, only one office is listed, that of governor of Judaea, in a building inscription from the harbour of Caesarea Maritima (AE 2005, 1583 = CIIP II 1277; Fig. 11.4).⁵⁷

[nauti]s Tiberi^um
[. Po]ntius Pilatus
[praef]ectus Iudae[a]e
[ref]eci[t]

⁵⁶ Devijver 1976–93, 1999: 253 (numbers); cf. Dobson 1978.

⁵⁷ Alföldy 1999.

Pontius Pilatus, prefect of Judaea, repaired the (lighthouse called the) Tiberieum for the sailors' benefit.

The final stage consisted of three important prefectures, the holders of which were among the most influential men in the Empire: the post of *praefectus annonae* in Rome, *praefectus Aegypti*, and *praefectus praetorio* (Praetorian Prefect; there were usually two).⁵⁸ One of the three honorific inscriptions from Ostia citing the career of Volusius Maecianus, a leading jurist of the mid-second century, provides a good example (*AE* 1955, 179):⁵⁹

L(ucio) V[olus]io L(uci) f(ilio)
Ma[e]cian[o]
co(n)s(uli) desig(nato) praef(ecto) aer(ari) Satur(n)i pr(aefecto) Aeg(ypti) pr(aefecto)
ann(onae) pontif(ici) m(inori) a libell(is) et [cens(ibus) Imp(eratoris)]
 5 *Antonini a studiis et proc(urator) [biblioth(ecarum)]*
pr(aefecto) vehic(ulorum) a libell(is) Antoni[ni] Caes(aris) pr(aefecto)
coho(rti) I Aeliae class(icae) pr(aefecto) fabr[um] p(atrono) c(oloniae) L(ucius)
V[olusi]us Mar[- -]

In the inscription erected by L. Volusius Mar[- -], possibly a freedman, the career is cited in descending order. Therefore, for a reconstruction of it we need to start from the bottom up:

- *praefectus fabrum*: a somewhat indistinct military charge entailing technical expertise⁶⁰
- command of the cavalry regiment *I Aelia classica* (Maecianus does not seem to have held more than one of the *tres militiae* charges)
- *a libellis*, secretary of Antoninus Pius before he became emperor, in charge of processing petitions
- *praef(ectus) vehiculorum*, in charge of the courier service of the Empire (Ch. 30)
- *proc(urator) bibliothecarum*, supervisor of the imperial libraries in Rome, which singles him out as an intellectual⁶¹
- three of the most senior court appointments (so-called *officia Palatina*) an equestrian could hold, working in very close proximity to the emperor as *a studiis*, a secretary handling unknown duties, *a censibus*, attending to the census, and *a libellis*, in charge of petitions (Ch. 14)⁶²
- *pontifex minor*, a state priesthood normally reserved for equestrians
- *praef(ectus) annonae*, in charge of Rome's grain supply
- *pr(aefectus) Aeg(ypti)*, prefect of Egypt, thus remaining at the very top of the equestrian career ladder.

⁵⁸ Pavis D'Escurac 1976; Bastianini 1975 with Jördens 2009: 17–19, largely from papyrological sources; Passerini 1939.

⁵⁹ Pflaum 1960–61: 333–336 no. 141; Kunkel 1967: 174–176.

⁶⁰ Badian 1997; Cerva 2000; Verzar-Bass 2000.

⁶¹ Pflaum 1960–61: 1023; Casson 2001: 95–97.

⁶² Eck 2000: 243.

The emperor then bestowed senatorial rank on Maecianus through an *adlectio*, a procedure which became increasingly common from the later second century onwards.⁶³ This is not specified in the inscription, but it is clear that he entered the Senate with the rank of a former praetor, as he next became prefect of the state treasury (*aerarium Saturni*) c. 164–166.⁶⁴ Finally, he was consul designate, apparently after holding only one praetorian office, a sure sign of the imperial favour he continued to enjoy. In his lack of military experience Maecianus is a somewhat atypical equestrian; he rose thanks to his juristic and administrative skills. Yet in this he is not unique; some fellow *equites* with intellectual gifts had a background in, for instance, medicine or literature. A case in point is the imperial biographer Suetonius, whose similarly civilian equestrian career is revealed in an inscription (Fig. 1.1), which shows that he too enjoyed a close connection to the court. Some equestrians even took part in the imperial council; here too epigraphy provides essential information.⁶⁵

As for Maecianus, it is finally worth noticing that another “*cursus inscription*” (*CIL* XIV 5347, Ostia) assigns him an additional junior office, that of *adiutor operum publicorum* (“assistant to the supervisor of public buildings in Rome”), a good reminder that a single career inscription may not tell the whole story.

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⁶³ Chastagnol 1975.

⁶⁴ Corbier 1974: 247–253.

⁶⁵ Millar 1999; Eck 2010: 360–365; cf. Ch. 14.

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CHAPTER 12

LOCAL ELITES IN ITALY AND THE WESTERN PROVINCES

HENRIK MOURITSEN

LOCAL elites represented the backbone of the Roman Empire. It could hardly have functioned so well and for so long without the active involvement of this class. As compensation for their loss of autonomy, these elites were granted an authority, albeit limited, within their own communities and a range of formal honours and distinctions, which set them apart from the ordinary people. The aim was to maintain as far as possible the existing power structures and harness the influence of local elites on Rome's behalf. Crucially, this policy of delegating responsibilities to local notables not only helped win over former opponents but also enabled Rome to control vast territories with minimal central administration.¹

The local elites thus served as an important link between Rome and the populations of Italy and the provinces, and our knowledge of them relies overwhelmingly on epigraphic evidence. Literary sources are largely silent apart from scattered comments on municipal affairs in works such as Cicero's speeches (for instance, the *pro Cluentio*) and Pliny's letters (1.19; 4.7; 5.7, 10). In the later Empire town councillors begin to feature more regularly in legal texts, above all Book 50 of the *Digest*, but that reflects a situation very different from that of earlier centuries.² While epigraphic material may be bountiful, it poses methodological problems of its own, since inscriptions tend to present a diffuse and atomized picture of the elite. Epitaphs, statue bases, dedications, and official documents merely record individual members of the elite and their careers. Very few inscriptions provide a more comprehensive picture: most importantly, local *fasti*, annual lists of magistrates, fragments of which have been found almost exclusively in

¹ Reynolds 1988; Edmondson 2006: esp. 272–280.

² Briefly Millar 1983; late antique Africa: Lepelley 1979–81.

Italy, above all at Venusia, Nola, Caes (CIL IX 422, X 1223, 4631), and Ostia.³ A full register (*album*) of all council members has been preserved at Canusium (Canosa, S. Italy) (CIL IX 338 = ILS 6121) and an *album* of magistrates and priests at Thamugadi (Timgad, Numidia) (CIL VIII 2403 + 17824 + 17903 = ILS 6122),⁴ while Pompeii—unsurprisingly—offers an exceptional insight into local politics and social structures, placing it at the centre of modern debates about municipal elites in the West. This chapter focuses on two central aspects: institutional structures of local municipalities in Italy and the western provinces, above all town councils, and the internal composition of the ruling elites.

INSTITUTIONAL STRUCTURES OF LOCAL MUNICIPALITIES

The ideal city of the Roman Empire was in many ways a mirror image of Rome under the Republic, and just as the free Republic could be formally summed up as *senatus populusque Romanus*, so each town comprised a duality of the *ordo decurionum* and the *populus* or *plebs* (cf. AE 1972, 79, Puteoli; 1960, 167 = 1962, 184b, Bulla Regia, Africa Proconsularis). In honorific texts they often appear together, as on a statue base set up by the *decuriones* and *plebs* to a member of the local elite at Iader in Dalmatia (CIL III 2920):

Q(uito) Asisieno Q(uinti) f(ilio)
Tro(mentina) Agrippae
aed(ili) Ilviro
pontifici
5 ex aere conlato
decuriones et plebs

For Q. Asisienus Q.f. Agrippa of the voting-tribe Tromentina, aedile, duumvir, pontifex. The town-councillors and *plebs* (set this up) from money collected.

Like the Roman Senate, the *ordo decurionum* met in the *curia*; hence the local elite are sometimes referred to as the *curiales*. Similarly, the *ordo* was, as its name implies, not merely an administrative body but constituted a civic order. This model was replicated throughout the Empire, although in the eastern provinces existing city-state institutions were left in place to a greater extent than in Italy and the West,

³ Vidman 1982; Bargagli and Grosso 1997; cf. AE 1996, 788 (fragmentary list of aediles from Taormina, Sicily). Ventura Villanueva 2009 for an ingenious, if speculative, attempt to reconstruct the *fasti* of the *Ilviri* of Augusta Emerita (Mérida) (cf. AE 2009, 520–524).

⁴ Canusium: p. 229–230 and Fig. 12.1; Thamugadi: Chastagnol 1978; Horstkotte 1988.

where Rome usually imposed new constitutions embodying traditional republican principles.⁵

These centrally devised constitutions or statutes (*leges*) ensured a considerable degree of uniformity in civic institutions and political procedures over much of the Empire. The content of such documents is known through epigraphic discoveries mainly from Italy and Spain (Ch. 15, esp. Table 15.2); for example, the Tabula Heracleensis from S. Italy (*RS* 24) or from Spain the Caesarian *lex coloniae Genetivae Iuliae* (*CIL* II²/5, 1022 = *RS* 25 + *AE* 2006, 645, henceforth *lex col. Gen.*; Fig. 15.1) and the Flavian *lex municipalis* (*AE* 1986, 333, henceforth *lex Flav. mun.*). These *leges*, inscribed on large bronze tablets, dealt with a wide variety of aspects of civic life, including the powers of local magistrates, elections and voting methods, procedural rules for meetings of the town council, public finances, legal procedures, rules for the manumission of slaves and cooption of town patrons, pay of public servants, and burial practices. They provide essential evidence for any study of municipal life in Italy and the West.⁶

The *leges* established the *ordo decurionum* as the undisputed governing body in Roman towns. Its members were in principle appointed for life, although expulsion was possible (*lex col. Gen.* 105). In addition to controlling local affairs, they also enjoyed a number of privileges and distinctions, and the chief magistrates (*duumviri* and *aediles*) were granted the right to wear the *toga praetexta* (*lex col. Gen.* 62, 66). The superior status of decurions was displayed on public occasions, especially in the theatre and amphitheatre where they held reserved seats in the inner circle (Ch. 25). Membership of the *ordo* normally required free birth, and although this condition was not formalized until the *lex Visellia* (24 CE), there are indications that in practice it had usually been the norm.⁷ Members had to meet the *census decurionalis*, the minimum property threshold set to ensure that the *ordo* consisted of men of substance. The specific *census* level was presumably determined locally according to the community's size and prosperity. Personal wealth was also required to pay the entrance fee (*summa honoraria*), levied on new council members. As a particular honour, entry could be granted free of charge.⁸

Internally the *ordines* were, like the Roman Senate, hierarchically structured according to seniority and offices held. Every five years the *duumvirs* took on censorial power and hence were known as *Ilviri quinquennales*. They would draw up a document, the *album decurionum*, which listed all members in a single continuous ranking. Only one such *album* has come to light: at Canusium, dating to 223 CE (*CIL* IX 338 = *ILS* 6121; Fig. 12.1).⁹ The inscription gives the names in the following order: senatorial patrons; equestrian patrons; *duumviri quinquennalicii*, *adlecti inter quinquennales*, *duumviralicii*, *aedilicii*, *quaestoricii*, *pedani*, and *praetextati*, the latter presumably being young men

⁵ Liebenam 1900; Abbott and Johnson 1926; Langhammer 1973; Jacques 1984; Bispham 2007. Ch. 13 for the Greek East.

⁶ Frederiksen 1965; González 1986; Lintott 1993: 132–145; Capogrossi Colognesi and Gabba 2006.

⁷ Mouritsen 2011: 73–75, citing some cases where freedmen were admitted to the *ordo* (e.g., *CIL* XIV 2466; *AE* 1966, 75) or even held magistracies in Caesarian colonies (*CIL* X 6104; VIII 977).

⁸ Garnsey 1971; Duncan-Jones 1982: 82–88, 147–155.

⁹ Grelle and Pani 1990: 45–68, no. 35; Mouritsen 1998; Salway 2000.



FIG. 12.1 *Album* of the local senate of Canusium. Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Florence.

not yet qualifying for full membership. The document's uniqueness may not be incidental. It would have been highly impractical to set in stone (or in this case bronze) a register that was just a snapshot of a constantly changing body. We would logically expect a document of this type to be written on cheaper, non-durable materials, such as the *tabulae dealbatae*, whitened boards, mentioned in the *lex Irnitana* (*lex Flav. mun.* 86). It has, therefore, been suggested that the album from Canusium may commemorate a significant event in the history of the council, and the size of the *ordo*, which comprises precisely one hundred full members, may offer a clue. The round figure has often been seen as typical of Roman councils, but there is evidence that the size of *ordines* may have varied considerably. For example, the Baetican town of Irni had a council of sixty-three members (*lex Flav. mun.* 31), while in other places even lower figures are likely, as, for example, in Petelia in Bruttium, where the evidence from *sportulae* distributions indicates that the decurions numbered fewer than forty.¹⁰ Considering

¹⁰ Duncan-Jones 1982: 284 (Petelia); for the size of councils in general, Liebenam 1900: 229; Mackie 1983: 57–58; Mouritsen 1998.

the differences in the size of communities, such variation is hardly surprising; a single blueprint for all towns would hardly have been viable. The *ordo* of Canusium appears to have been at the upper end of the scale, close to those of much larger cities such as Ostia and Puteoli. Moreover, there is evidence of towns petitioning the emperor for permission to expand their *ordines*, possibly to increase revenues as well as accommodate the ambitions of aspiring new families (Plin. *Ep.* 10.112; cf. 10.39.5; Dio Chrys. *Or.* 45.3–7, cf. 48.11).¹¹ We might, therefore, speculate that the *album* from Canusium could have been commissioned to celebrate the expansion of the *ordo* and the admission of a substantial number of additional *pedani*, low-ranking members who had not (yet?) held public office.¹²

Traditionally entry into the *ordo*, as in republican Rome, followed the holding of a magistracy. Members of the local elite would be admitted to the *ordo* after completing the tenure of the lowest ranking office on the local *cursus honorum*, usually the quaestorship or aedileship. The sequence of offices is recorded in numerous inscriptions throughout the Empire, though there is variation in the ordering of the positions. An example of a series of offices in ascending order occurs in Pannonia Superior, where Ti. Iulius Quintilianus presented himself in a dedication to Silvanus Augustus as *dec(urio) mun(icipii) Fl(avii) Scarb(antiae), quaes(tor) p(ecuniae) p(ublicae), aedilis, Ilvir i(ure) d(icundo)* (CIL III 4243; cf. RIU I 174). As with inscriptions concerning senators and equestrians (Ch. 11), other arrangements might occur: for instance, at Patavium, where C. Cluentius C.f. Proculus is represented as *aedilis, Ilvir, quaestor aerari bis, pontifex* (CIL V 2785, though he actually held these offices at neighbouring Ateste). In a number of “career inscriptions” some magistracies were omitted, as at Pompeii, where the lower-ranking aedileship was often dropped by those who reached the more senior post of *duumvir*.

ELECTIONS

Officials were, like their republican predecessors, appointed through popular election in the local *comitia*. The Flavian municipal law laid down detailed electoral procedures, which followed the same basic principles as in Rome by dividing the electorate, i.e., all adult male citizens, into groups (*curiae*) that delivered a single vote each. Only these block votes were counted and the candidate who received support from a majority of the units won the election (*lex Flav. mun.* 51–59; cf. *lex col. Gen.* 15–19, including a list of the colony’s *curiae*). A unique body of evidence from Pompeii offers a glimpse into the workings of local elections in the early Empire. More than 2,400 painted electoral

¹¹ New members would pay often quite a substantial *summa honoraria*, which could be used to pay for public amenities: Duncan-Jones 1990: 176–178; Briant-Ponsart 1999.

¹² Salway 2000. On *pedani*, cf. Mouritsen 1998, a unique term, apparently the local equivalent of *pedarii*, low-ranking senators in Rome.



FIG. 12.2 Painted election posters from the Via dell'Abbondanza, Pompeii.

posters, known as *programmata*, have been recorded, the large majority dating to the last decade of the town's existence (ILS 6398–6445).¹³ These well-executed inscriptions painted on the house facades (hence often referred to as “dipinti”) were produced by professional painters (*scriptores*), who sometimes signed their work. They were usually painted in red or black, most often on a white background (Fig. 12.2). The content is formulaic and highly standardised, usually giving only the candidate's name and the office he was seeking. A typical example reads: *C(aium) Cuspium Pansam / aed(ilem) / o(ro)/ramus) v(os) f(aciatis)* (CIL IV 509: “I/we ask you to make C. Cuspius Pansa aedile!”). Often the posters were even briefer, omitting the office he ran for: *M(arcum) Lucretium Frontonem* (CIL IV 7871: “(Vote for) M. Lucretius Fronton!”). In many cases the candidate's own name might be reduced to initials: *C. I. P. Ilvir(um) d(ignum) r(ei) p(ublicae)* (CIL IV 7872; see Fig. 12.2: “(Vote for) C(aius) I(ulius) P(olybius) duumvir! (He is) worthy of the community!”).

As can be seen, most are very laconic, although the meaning will have been obvious to the voters, who would also have been able to decipher the abbreviated names through knowledge of the candidates themselves or from other posters where their names appear in full. For example, the name of C. Iulius Polybius can be restored from inscriptions such as: *C(aium) Iulium Polybium / Ilvir(um) / Infantio rogat* (CIL IV 1226),

¹³ Mouritsen 1988, 1999; Franklin 2001; Chiavia 2002; cf. Biundo 2003. For the oldest posters dating to the early Roman colony, Lo Cascio 1996.

which also happens to feature another element of the posters: the named supporter or *rogator*. About twenty percent of the *programmata* include explicit support from individuals or groups. Most supporters are, as one would expect, male, but women sometimes feature as *rogatores*: *Ceiium Secundum/ Iiv(irum) i(ure) Asellina rog(at)* (CIL IV 7873; Fig. 12.2: “Asellina recommends Ceius Secundus for the duumvirate!”).¹⁴ Sometimes we find collective recommendations from neighbours (*vicini*) or members of various professions: for example, *pomarii* (fruit-sellers: CIL IV 149, 180, 183), *saccarii* (porters: 274, 497), *aurifices* (goldsmiths: 719 = 2966), *pistores* (bakers: 886, 7273), and *fullones* (fullers: 3476, 7164, 9128a–b).¹⁵ The latter have often been interpreted as *collegia*, but their profile and location suggest they refer to more informal groups of tradesmen or craftsmen.¹⁶

A study of the topographical distribution of the posters reveals marked concentrations in the main thoroughfares and busiest streets of the city, indicating a strong element of planning behind their location.¹⁷ For example, the posters supporting C. Cuspius Pansa show a clear concentration along the Via dell’Abbondanza, the main commercial street of Pompeii (Fig. 12.3). There are also distinctive features in the style and execution of the inscriptions put up for individual candidates, which suggests that each set of posters was commissioned centrally, presumably by the candidates themselves or their supporters. The named supporters were most likely connected to the candidates through personal bonds, for example, a client/patron relationship, which is also suggested by the relatively strong presence of female supporters, who did not have the vote. The inscriptions may, therefore, not be, as was once claimed, signs of a vibrant “local democracy,” nor should they necessarily be taken as proof of genuine popular interest in the elections, which judging from the epigraphic evidence had little if any specific political content. Rather, the poster campaigns may be interpreted as largely symbolic reminders to the electorate of the annual elite contest for which their participation was required, while the inclusion of (dependent) supporters also served to enhance the social status of the candidates.¹⁸

Although the routine nature of the campaigns and the formulaic character of the posters limit their value as a source on local politics, they nevertheless cast a revealing light on the Pompeian elite and its involvement in public life, above all demonstrating the competitive nature of the elections and the continued attraction of municipal *honores*. The offices were contested and unsuccessful candidates would often stand again. Therefore, while the posters probably had little practical impact, they seem to represent the tip of an iceberg, being the visible manifestations of more wide-ranging campaigning

¹⁴ Mouritsen 1988: 161–172.

¹⁵ For a table, Mouritsen 1988: 175 (occupational groups), 176 (neighbourhoods), 177–178 (other groups). Biundo 2003: 75–79 discusses these *rogatores*, *contra* Mouritsen 1999.

¹⁶ Mouritsen 1988; Liu 2008; for the traditional view of them as *collegia*, Waltzing 1895–1900: 1.169–170, 3.115–118; Tran 2006; Verboven 2007.

¹⁷ Franklin 1980: 87–94; Mouritsen 1988: 47–58; Biundo 2003: 90–93.

¹⁸ Mouritsen 1988: 59–69; cf. Chiavia 2002. *Contra* Biundo 2003: 90–116.

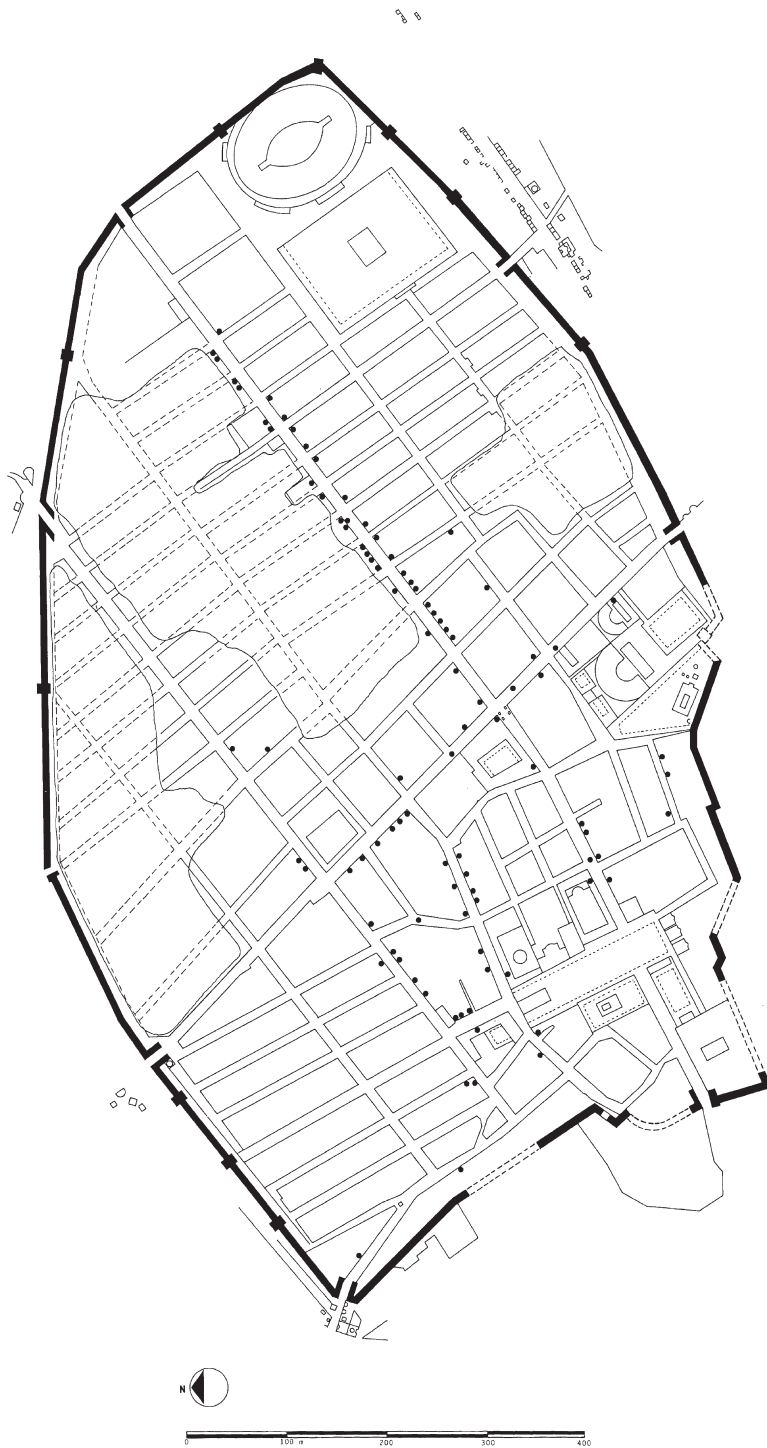


FIG. 12.3 Map showing the posters supporting C. Cuspius Pansa for the aedileship.

efforts that have generally left no archaeological trace. Notable exceptions are the painted announcements of gladiatorial presentations (*edicta munerum*), which sometimes record public shows that seem intended to further the donor's electoral prospects (cf. Ch. 25 and Fig. 25.2).

Pompeii thus emerges as a near-perfect realization of the Roman civic ideal, where highly competitive elites took an active part in the running of their city and contributed financially through office holding and other benefactions, above all games and civic buildings. The games recorded in painted *edicta munerum* appear to have been voluntary rather than statutory (Ch. 25). Numerous inscriptions also attest local magistrates who provided funds for the construction of public buildings: for instance, C. Quinctius Valgus and M. Porcius, the pair of duumvirs who held office shortly after the establishment of the Sullan colony, donated funds for the construction of an amphitheatre for the Sullan colonists in 75 BCE (*CIL* I² 1632 = X 852 = *ILS* 5627 = *ILLRP* 645. These same duumvirs are attested leasing a contract for the construction of a covered theatre (*theatrum tectum*) in Pompeii: the so-called Odeum: *CIL* I² 1633 = X 844 = *ILS* 5636 = *ILLRP* 646. This was not an act of private generosity, but rather a case of magistrates using public funds: cf. Ch. 24.)

It is not a given, however, that the situation in Pompeii was entirely typical; it may represent the system under optimal conditions. For the system to be able to work, a number of factors, including the size of the community and the *ordo*, as well as the underlying social and economic structures, had to be broadly in balance. Thus, while the number of councillors may have been relatively flexible, the system of admission tended to allow only two new members annually. In larger *ordines* this would not have been sufficient to keep up numbers, while in smaller ones the opposite would have been the case. We may, therefore, envisage a range of different scenarios. In smaller towns office-holding could, for example, have been rotational. In Herculaneum there is no trace of electoral campaigns similar to those in neighbouring Pompeii; only one possible *programma* has come to light, which is in many ways anomalous (*AE* 1987, 262: *M(arcum) Caecili(um) / Potitum / quaestor(em) / [- - -]*).¹⁹ The *leges* from Baetica consider the possibility of a shortage of candidates and, more importantly, of nominees refusing to accept the offer of a municipal magistracy (*lex Flav. mun.* 51).²⁰ Their reasons for doing so were presumably financial, since dignitaries who had already entered the *ordo* may have been reluctant to take on higher offices, reckoning that the gains in status did not warrant the extra expense of paying an additional *summa honoraria* and sponsoring further *munera*. The soon to be published late-Antonine municipal law from Troesmis in Moesia, unlike the earlier Flavian laws, discusses electoral fraud.²¹

¹⁹ The quaestorship is otherwise unknown at Herculaneum, and the text might therefore refer to a post in a *collegium*.

²⁰ Plin. *Ep.* 10.113 refers to *inviti decuriones* ("unwilling councillors"), but the text has been disputed and emended to *invitati decuriones* ("invited councillors"): Sherwin-White 1966: *ad loc.* Dio Chrysostom declined a second archonship for which he was nominated (*Or.* 49).

²¹ Galsterer 2006: 49; Eck 2013, 2014, in advance of full publication by W. Eck.

Eventually the Pompeian system became more and more anachronistic. In Rome the *comitia* had ceased to function effectively under Tiberius when their role was reduced to rubber-stamping laws, appointments, and imperial powers. Outside the capital there was also a movement towards a more internalized process of admission to the local council, with *ordines* co-opting their own members and dispensing with popular elections. Ostia provides a good illustration of this process, since career inscriptions show that from the first century CE onwards all magistrates had been adlected to the council *before* holding office, thereby reversing the traditional pattern of admission.²² For some leading nobles that might happen quite early in life, as in the case of P. Lucilius P. f. P. n(e)pos P. pron(e)pos Gamala, who became a *decurio adlectus* while still an *infans* (*CIL* XIV 376). The result was a less cumbersome process that eliminated the need for expensive and potentially disruptive election campaigns.

ELITE BENEFACTIONS IN LOCAL COMMUNITIES

The change in the election procedure enabled the *ordo* to be expanded through the intake of more non-magisterial members, which held both fiscal and political advantages. However, despite the disappearance of open electoral contests there are strong indications that the competitive ethos of the elite remained undiminished, and that public esteem and popular acclaim continued to matter to the ruling classes. Throughout the imperial period we find signs of an enduring desire for status and recognition with prestigious titles such as *patronus coloniae/civitatis* being highly coveted and widely advertised. (Over a thousand civic patrons are attested epigraphically from the entire Roman Empire.)²³ These honours were typically earned through ostentatious acts of euergetism, ranging from building projects to games, public dinners, and *sportulae* distributions (cf. Ch. 24). A typical example comes from Pola in Istria (modern Croatia), where a patron donated a new water supply for the town (*CIL* V 47 = *ILS* 5755 = *Inscr.It.* X.1, 70):

L(ucius) Menacius L(uci) f(ilius) Vel(ina tribu) / Priscus / equo pub(lico) praef(ectus) fabrum aed(ilis) / Ilvir Ilvir quinq(uen)nalis trib(unus) mil(itum) / flamen Augustor(um) patron(us) colon(iae) / aquam Aug(ustam) in superiore(m) / partem coloniae et in inferiore(m) / impensa sua perduxit et in tutelam / eius dedit HS CCCC (milia)

L. Menacius Priscus, son of Lucius, of the Velina (voting tribe), granted the public horse, prefect of the engineers, *duumvir*, *duumvir* with censorial power, military

²² Mouritsen 1998.

²³ This figure in Nicols 1980: 535, an article that studies inscribed pacts between patrons and clients from Italy, Hispania, and North Africa. Patrons of Italian municipalities: Duthoy 1984–86.

tribune, *flamen* of the Augusti, patron of the colony, brought the Augustan aqueduct into the upper and lower parts of the colony at his own expense and donated 400,000 sesterces for its upkeep.

This example also shows that the otherwise clear distinctions between the highest orders of the Empire could be blurred, since Menacius was a member not just of the curial order but also of the *equester ordo*. Many local notables were promoted to Roman equestrian rank, and a few might even ascend to the Senate and high imperial office.²⁴ In such cases these families generally left local politics behind, although there is some epigraphic evidence of Roman senators continuing to hold local magistracies and priesthoods in their local communities.²⁵

Another phenomenon that became increasingly common under the Empire was the emergence of regional notables, who were no longer tied to a single town but held offices and *honores* in several, often neighbouring cities. For example, N. Cluvius M. f. from Puteoli is documented as a magistrate at Caudium, Nola, Cales, and Capua (*CIL* I² 1619–20 = X 1572–73 = *ILLRP* 182, 561; cf. *AE* 2000, 340–341), while further offices in his hometown are more than likely.²⁶ Similarly P. Sextilius P. f. Fal(erna tribu) Rufus was twice *duumvir quinquennalis* at Pompeii and at the same time decurion in Nola, from where he presumably came (*CIL* X 1273 = *ILS* 6344).

The favoured medium for public display of such honours and titles was the honorific statue and its attendant inscription, as illustrated by this statue base from Hispalis in Baetica (*CIL* II 1185; cf. *HEp* 14, 348):

	<i>L(ucio) Horatio</i>
	<i>L(uci) filio Gal(eria tribu) Victo-</i>
	<i>ri Ilviro bis</i>
	<i>ob plenissi-</i>
5	<i>mam mu-</i>
	<i>nificentiam</i>
	<i>erga patriam</i>
	<i>et populum merentis-</i>
	<i>simo civi</i>
10	<i>populus</i>

The people [erected this statue] for the most deserving citizen L. Horatius Victor, son of Lucius, of the voting-tribe Galeria, twice duumvir, for his abundant generosity towards his hometown and the people.

²⁴ Promotion to the senate: *EOS* II. Local elites in Italy: Cébeillac-Gervasoni 1983, 1996, 1998, 2000; Camodeca 2008; Breuer 1996; Hispanic provinces: Caballos Rufino 1990, 1999, 2001; Gallic provinces: Burnand 2005–6; NW provinces: Rupprecht 1975; Africa: Duncan-Jones 1967. Promotion to the equestrian order: Demougin, Devijver, and Raepsaet-Charlier 1999.

²⁵ Eck 1980.

²⁶ Cébeillac-Gervasoni 1998: 50–51; Bispham 2000.

The statue and its inscribed base provided a lasting monument to acts of public generosity, which in most cases did not produce any physical reminder for posterity. For instance, when benefactors set up foundations to provide distributions or feasts, the commemorative statue often became the focal point of the annual celebrations. The fact that the statues typically were granted by the whole community only added to the prestige. The public collection that paid for the monument (indicated by the phrase *aere conlato/collato*) in a sense turned the associated inscription into a permanent form of popular acclamation. An example is provided by a statue base from Acinipo in Baetica (CIL II 1348):

M(arco) Mario M(arci) f(ilio) M(arci) n(epoti)
Quir(ina tribu) Frontoni
pontificali Ilvir(o)
pleps patrono ob
 5 *merita ex aere*
conlato d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)

The *plebs* [erected this statue] paid for by a public collection for M. Marius Fronto, son of Marcus, grandson of Marcus, of the voting-tribe Quirina, *pontificalis* (i.e., pontifex), duumvir, for his good deeds by decree of the decurions.

Statues and titles thus became the currency in which elite and populace exchanged benefactions and status and, as such, they highlight not just the vital function played by the elite in maintaining the cities of the Empire, but also their continued interaction with the masses, even after popular elections had ceased.

The central role of private benefactions in the upkeep of the ancient city as well as in defining elite identity opened up an avenue for female members of the elite to gain a presence in the public life of the community. Because euergetic activity in principle was detached from formal political authority, from which women were barred as a matter of course, the role of the benefactor provided the only alternative for women who wished to promote themselves and/or their families. This explains why female donors appear relatively frequently in public dedications. One of the most generous was Iunia D. f. Rustica, a *sacerdos publica* ("public priestess") of Cartima (Baetica), who "rebuilt the public porticoes ruined by age, gave a parcel of land for the baths, paid the public taxes of the town, set up a bronze statue of Mars in the forum, gave as a gift at her own expense porticoes at the bath on her own property with a fish pool and a statue of Cupid, with a public banquet and spectacles having been given at her own expense" (CIL II 1956 = ILS 5512: ...*porticus public(as) vetustate corruptas refecit, solum / balinei dedit, vectigalia publica vindicavit, signum / [a]ereum Martis in foro posuit, porticus ad balineu[m], / [so]lo suo cum piscina et signo Cupidinis epulo dato / [et] spectaculis editis d(e) p(ecunia) s(ua) d(ono) d(edit)...*).²⁷ As in the case of Iunia Rustica, their role as benefactor was often associated with a position as public priestess, which offered another accepted outlet for female ambition

²⁷ Donahue 2004; cf. Melchor Gil 1994.

(cf. Ch. 27).²⁸ A typical example comes from Calama in Africa Proconsularis (CIL VIII 5365 = 17495 = ILaI 286):

Anniae Aeliae Restitutae / flam(inicae) perp(etuae) ob in/signem liberalitatem pollicitatio/nis eius HS 400 (milia) n(ummum)/ at theatrum faci/endum cui cum or/do ob eam causam sta/tuas quinque de pu/blico pon[i] censuis/set etiam ob merita / L(uci) Anni Aeli Clemen/tis flam(inis) Aug(ustorum) p(er)p(etui) patris / eius, cui aere conla/to universi cives sta/tuam posuissent / [- -] / d(ecreto) d(ecurionum).

For Annia Aelia Restituta, priestess in perpetuity, for the outstanding generosity of her promise of 400,000 sesterces to build a theatre, in return for which the *ordo* decided to erect five statues, also in recognition of the benefactions of her father L. Annius Aelius Clemens, *flamen* of the Augusti in perpetuity, for whom all the citizens erected up a statue paid for by public collection [- -] by the decree of the decurions.

THE AUGUSTALES

The *Augustales*, or *seviri Augustales*, represent an intriguing—and hence much-debated—category in the civic landscape of the Roman West.²⁹ Traditionally they were seen as a group involved in the cult of the emperor(s), but concrete evidence to support that interpretation has turned out to be limited. The imperial allusion contained in their title might appear to point in that direction, but this argument is not totally convincing since in some towns they carried no imperial epithet but were simply called *seviri* or something altogether different. Recent scholarship, therefore, prefers to see them more as a civic order than a cultic association. It has even been suggested that instead of a bipartite structure of *ordo* and *populus* a three-tier system existed, consisting of the *ordo decurionum*, the *ordo Augustalium*, and the *plebs*.³⁰ However, before we accept the *Augustales* as a Roman “middle class,” it is worth considering whether they really constituted a civic order that could be compared to that of the decurions. It is true that in the same way as decurions *Augustales* paid a substantial *summa honoraria* to join their order.³¹ However, the term *ordo Augustalium* appears only very rarely in the epigraphic sources and almost always in inscriptions put up by the *Augustales* themselves, who may have used it as a means of self-glorification. For example, in an inscription found at Corfinium in central Italy, the *ordo Augustalium* records a dedication made to its patron: *C(aio) Rutilio C(ai) f(ilio) / Pal(atina tribu) Gallico / ordo Augustal(ium) / patrono ob merita / patris et ipsius / p(osuit)* (CIL IX 3181: “For C. Rutilius C.f. Gallicus of the voting-tribe Palatina. The order of the *Augustales* set

²⁸ Hemelrijk 2006, with a full list of examples.

²⁹ Duthoy 1978; Abramenko 1993; Mouritsen 2006, 2011: 249–261.

³⁰ Three-tier system: Abramenko 1993; cf. Scheid 1997.

³¹ Duncan-Jones 1982: 152–154.

this up for their patron on account of his merits and those of his father”). As regards their social standing, their members were predominantly freedmen and thus unable to hold a higher legal rank—unlike decurions who were *honestiores*—or exercise any formal authority in the community.

Formally the *seviri* and *Augustales* were *corpora* and thus similar to *collegia* and other associations which enjoyed a degree of official recognition. At Puteoli public documents describe them as a *corpus*: for example, a decree of the council granting the *Augustales* land for the construction of a new building refers to them as “that most splendid body” (*splendissimum corpus*) (AE 1999, 453, lines 11–12). Similarly, several texts from the rich epigraphic dossier from the college of the *Augustales* at nearby Misenum mention the *Augustales* as a *corpus* and differentiate the *Augustales corporati*, i.e., those formally enrolled in the *corpus*, from those not formally enrolled: *qui in corpore non sunt* (AE 2000, 344a–c, 148–149 CE).³²

In some towns such as Lug(u)dunum (Lyon) special seats in the theatre and amphitheatre were reserved for the *Augustales* (for example, CIL XIII 1667e; cf. Table 25.2). However, as the evidence from Nemausus (Nîmes) and Arelate (Arles) shows, such privileges were not exclusive to this group but could be extended to other corporations such as *nautae* (CIL XII 3316–17 = ILS 5656) and *pastophori* (CIL XII 714k–m = EAOR V 40.10–11). *Augustales* often received preferential treatment at public events such as banquets and distributions. In Lug(u)dunum Sex. Ligurius Sex. f. Gal. Marinus, in return for the honour of the permanent pontificate, donated games along with a handout of five sesterces to the decurions, three to members of the equestrian order, the *seviri Augustales*, and the wine traders, and two sesterces to all the civic organizations in Lug(u)dunum that were allowed to convene lawfully (CIL XIII 1921 = ILS 7024). However, as this inscription also illustrates, such honours were not unique to the *Augustales*, and civic bodies such as *vicani*, *collegiati*, and *iuvenes* were frequently singled out for special rates that set them apart from the *plebs* (cf. CIL IX 4691; X 4643; XI 126–127, 3303, 3723, 4580; AE 1974, 329).

The privileges enjoyed by the *Augustales* in all their variations may be explained as recognition for their role as public benefactors. Indeed this function may have been the essential *raison d’être* of these organizations, which are widely documented as sponsors of games, statues, and building projects. A typical example is an inscription from Luceria (CIL IX 808 = ILS 5381), where two *Augustales* paid for road paving *pro munere*, i.e., in lieu of the gladiatorial *munus* that they were normally obliged to sponsor.³³ These bodies offered an institutionalized framework for civic euergetism to groups who were otherwise excluded from public *honores*, above all *liberti*. The high public profile of the *Augustales* can, therefore, be seen as a direct reflection of their financial contribution to local municipal society.

³² Camodeca 1999 (Puteoli); D’Arms 2000 (Misenum). Other examples from Italy: CIL X 114 = ILS 6469 (Petelia), X 1881 = ILS 6328 (Puteoli), X 6677, 6682 (Antium). This also applied in the provinces, where they invariably feature as *corpora*: cf. CIL XII 700 = ILS 6985 (Arelate), XII 1005 (Glanum).

³³ In general, Abramenko 1993: 142–154; Duthoy 1978. N. Italy: Goffin 2002: 197–201.

THE STRUCTURE AND COMPOSITION OF THE *ORDO DECURIONUM*

Given the importance of local decurions in the power structure of the Roman Empire, their social composition has understandably attracted much scholarly interest.³⁴ The debate has tended to revolve around questions of openness and exclusivity, stability and change. Any attempt at describing their profile must first recognize that we are dealing with a vast and highly diverse area that comprised towns of widely different sizes, legal status, socio-economic structures, and cultural traditions. Indeed, this degree of heterogeneity might *prima facie* seem to preclude any meaningful generalizations about the elites of the western part of the Empire. However, it is important also to bear in mind the formal aspects of local governance that united all these polities and lent them a degree of structural similarity.

Most significantly, the Roman ruling class was—unlike most other elites in history—in principle meritocratic and non-hereditary. The ideals of the old republican system were extended to hundreds of towns across Italy and the provinces, in effect forcing the leading families to defend their status continuously in more or less open competition with other families, both established as well as emerging ones. Those falling on hard times or producing more surviving children than their estate could keep above the decurional property census automatically dropped out of the *ordo*. Since elite families faced the same demographic hazards as any other family in antiquity, many of them would regularly have died out, leaving space for new families to enter the elite.³⁵ The result was a dynamic elite, which at any time reflected fairly accurately the distribution of wealth and resources in society.

It follows that the notion of entirely stable ruling classes is intrinsically unlikely in a Roman context. A steady renewal of the *ordo* would have been the norm rather than the exception, since seats were continuously vacated and new men recruited to fill them. This has implications for the way in which we approach the epigraphic material, for the presence of new families and other outsiders, for instance, descendants of freedmen, has typically been perceived as a sign of social upheaval and disruption, on the assumption that otherwise self-sufficient ruling classes under normal circumstances would have been reluctant to admit outsiders to their ranks.³⁶ If a certain turnover was built into the system, the appearance of new families in the *ordo* is no longer anomalous. That also affects modern attempts at writing local “histories” that trace internal crises within the elite and conflicts with rival classes. There is a fundamental tension

³⁴ Garnsey 1975, 1976; Camodeca 1996; Mouritsen 1996; Cébeillac-Gervasoni 1983, 1996, 1998, 2000; Cébeillac-Gervasoni, Lamoine, and Trément 2004; Lamoine, Berrendonner, and Cébeillac-Gervasoni 2010.

³⁵ For such factors, cf. Hopkins 1983: chs. 2–3.

³⁶ For example, Meiggs 1973: 189–211; Castrén 1975. Descendants of freedmen in local politics: Garnsey 1975; the freedman’s son in public life: Mouritsen 2011: 261–278.

between these accounts and the nature of the available sources such as epitaphs and dedications, which are essentially non-narrative and for the most part merely record the careers of individual members of the elite. What happens, therefore, is that a particular “plot-structure” is imposed onto material which in itself suggests no dramatic changes.³⁷

The practical aspects of the renewal process must be taken into account, since it is often assumed that newcomers could force their way into the *ordo*. However, after the system of co-opting new decurions by existing members of the council had replaced elections, that was no longer the case. Previously populist candidates who spent lavishly on their election campaign might in theory have promoted their careers against the wishes of the *ordo*, but in reality this was a rare occurrence. In any case, the *quinquennales* could probably have blocked the entry of unsuitable candidates on grounds of unworthiness (*indignitas*, cf. *lex col. Gen.* 105). The admission of new decurions may therefore always have represented a controlled and regulated process, overseen by senior council members who acted as sponsors and patrons. A glimpse of this pattern can occasionally be found in the electoral inscriptions from Pompeii which refer to one member of the elite being the patron of a fellow decurion (*CIL* IV 7605):

Epidium Sabinum / Ilvir(um) iur(e) dic(undo) o(ro) v(os) f(aciatis) Trebius cliens facit / consentiente sanctissimo / ordine

I ask you to make Epidius Sabinus duumvir with jurisdictional powers. Trebius, his client, makes the plea with the consent of the most revered order.

For that reason we have no grounds for positing any fundamental opposition between old and new families. Most likely the two types were entirely compatible and indeed complementary parts of the decurional elite. Thus, in Pompeii we find not just a considerable turnover of families, perhaps around a quarter in each generation, but also a core of old families who were members of the local elite over many generations and frequently reached the prestigious post of *Ilvir quinquennalis*.³⁸

Estimates of the scale and character of the structurally determined turnover, as well as the overall composition of the local elites, are typically based on a compilation of all the available epigraphic sources and a statistical breakdown of the information found therein.³⁹ In practice this means combining a variety of different epigraphic media: funerary inscriptions, honorific inscriptions, dedications, official documents, private documents, and *fasti*, although in most places only the first four types are preserved. Funerary inscriptions normally dominate the record and that presents a methodological problem, since the use of epitaphs, contrary to common assumptions, was neither universal nor constant, even among the elite.

³⁷ Mouritsen 1988 (Pompeii), 2005 (Ostia and Pompeii).

³⁸ Mouritsen 1988.

³⁹ An example of this approach: Rémy 1998.

Given the state of our evidence, the conscious non-use of a particular epigraphic medium is hard to demonstrate. However, in a few places a case can be made that local elites deliberately withdrew from epigraphic display at their tombs. The phenomenon is most clearly detectable in Pompeii, which after a period of great activity during the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius thereafter saw a marked decline in the number of ostentatious elite monuments being built. From the 40s CE onwards very few senior dignitaries appear in epitaphs, and although some young magistrates and decurions continue to be represented, most new monuments were now put up by freedmen. The abandonment of the urban necropolis is strikingly illustrated by the funerary monument for D. Lucretius Satrius Valens, a leading magistrate and benefactor during the final decades of Pompeii's existence, who was buried in a very modest enclosure on a rural estate. His inscription simply reads *D(ecimo) Lucretio D(ecimi) f(ilio) Men(enia tribu) / Satrio Valenti* (AE 1994, 397 = 2004, 405), providing no indication of his social standing or achievements, which are known only through other sources.⁴⁰

A similar development can be traced in Ostia, where young decurions and members of new families, many descended from freedmen, also dominate the funerary record from the mid-first century CE onwards. In this case the distortions produced by the funerary genre are brought out very clearly by a comparison with the *Fasti Ostienses*, a documentary record of the local *duoviri* unaffected by epigraphic habits.⁴¹ In the *fasti* we find considerably fewer magistrates with Greek *cognomina*, generally a fairly reliable indicator of unfree descent, than in the epitaphs, suggesting that this medium was used only by a distinct and potentially quite small sub-section of the Ostian elite.⁴²

A simple aggregate of all epigraphic material, including epitaphs, is likely to give a misleading impression of the composition of the elite. Above all, the proportion of sons of freedmen, typically seen as evidence of high social mobility, may have been over-estimated for that reason. First-generation *ingenui* do appear with some frequency in inscriptions, but their epigraphic prominence may be explained partly by a stronger desire for self-commemoration, for instance, in epitaphs, and partly by greater euergetic activity, which produced not just dedicatory inscriptions, but also triggered the commission of honorific monuments. A revealing example comes from Pompeii, where an inscription commemorating the rebuilding of the Temple of Isis after the earthquake of 62 CE by N(umerius) Popidius Celsinus has been interpreted to mean that his freedman father, N. Popidius Ampliatus, was actually responsible for the work, in return for which his six-year-old son was admitted *gratis* to the *ordo* (CIL X 846 = ILS 6367):

N(umerius) Popidius N(umeri) f(ilius) Celsinus / aedem Isidis terrae motu conlapsam / a fundamento p(ecunia) s(ua) restituit hunc decuriones ob liberalitatem / cum esset annorum sex{s} ordini suo gratis adlegerunt

⁴⁰ Mouritsen 2005: 50–51.

⁴¹ Vidman 1982; Bargagli and Grosso 1997.

⁴² Mouritsen 1997, 2004.

Numerius Popidius Celsinus, son of Numerius, restored the temple of Isis, which had collapsed as a result of the earthquake, from the foundations with his own money. The decurions adlected him into their order free of charge on account of his munificence, when he was six years old.

In this, as in most other cases, there is a direct link between our knowledge of the person's entry into the *ordo* and his desire (or in this case presumably that of his father) to commemorate the fact.

Where more apparently objective documentary evidence is available, the proportion of rich freedmen and their descendants within local elites often drops considerably. Thus in the *alimenta* tables dating to the Trajanic period from Veleia (CIL XI 1147 = ILS 6675) and the place known as Ligures Baebiani (CIL IX 1455 = ILS 6509), which list the names of the landowners who participated in the alimentary scheme along with the estates they pledged (Ch. 31), we find very few Greek *cognomina* (11 and 12 percent respectively).⁴³ Where freedmen do appear, the most successful were generally those of the emperor, and many of their descendants gained a notable presence in the local *ordines*. For example, at Canusium (Fig. 12.1) the *ordo* included three Iulii, six Claudii, six Flavii, one Ulpius, five Aelii (among them three *quinquennales*), and six Aurelii. Similarly, the trusted *liberti* of the senatorial elite might become important local players and receive exceptional honours, as happened in Hispania Citerior, where L. Licinius Secundus, the *accensus* of L. Licinius Sura (*cos. III* 107 CE), received no fewer than twenty-five epigraphically recorded honours.⁴⁴

Variations in the epigraphic habit also affect our ability to make comparisons between different regions and provinces (Ch. 8). In some parts of the Empire, most notably Britain, relevant epigraphic evidence for local notables is virtually absent, and the lack of an epigraphic culture in the province means we have little idea of the makeup of the local elite of Britannia. It leaves us in almost total darkness whether an urban culture existed in this part of the Empire. It may be tempting to interpret this situation as a sign of under-development, but one exceptional inscription from the *vicus* of Petuaria (Brough-on-Humber) throws doubt on such inferences (RIB 707 = Fig. 12.4):

ob honor[em]
domus divi[nae]
imp(eratoris) Caes(aris) T(iti) Ael(i) H[adri]-
ani Antonini A[ug(usti) Pii]
5 p(atris) p(atriciae) co(n)s(ulis) I[II]
et numinib(us) A[ugg(ustorum)]
M(arcus) Ulp(ius) Ianuar[i]u[s]
aedilis vici Petu[ar(iensis)]

⁴³ Mouritsen 2011: 231–233.

⁴⁴ Schulze-Oben 1989: 126–129. Newer finds: IRCIV 102, 104.

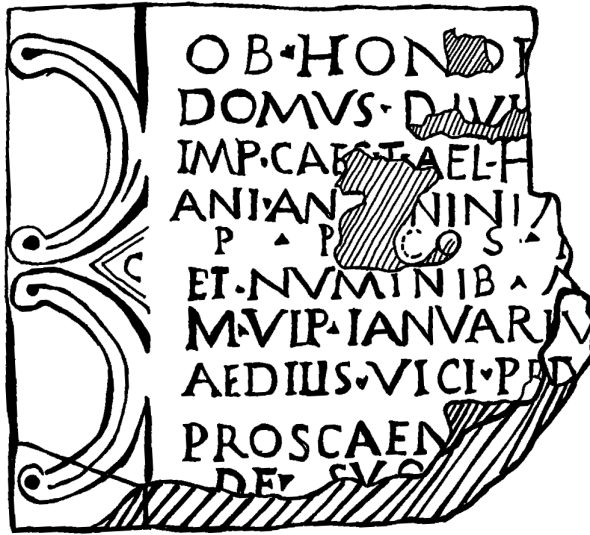


FIG. 12.4 Dedication of a stage for the theatre at Petuaria (Brough-on-Humber) in N. England during the reign of Antoninus Pius.

*proscen(ium) [- - -]
de suo [dedit]*

10

In honour of the divine house of the emperor Caesar Titus Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Augustus Pius, father of his country, consul three times, and to the divine spirits of the emperors, Marcus Ulpius Ianuarius, aedile of the village of Petuaria, presented this (theatre) stage at his own expense.

This inscription represents the only civic dedication from Britain of a type that was common throughout the Empire. It is exceptional not just because of its extreme rarity but also because it comes from an insignificant *vicus* rather than a *civitas* capital, which raises the question whether it was the donation itself or the fact that it was recorded on stone that is most unusual. We cannot exclude the possibility that it is the latter. Thus, while the inscriptions documenting the social activities of local elites in some parts of the Empire gained a significance that went far beyond a mere record and became an end in itself, in other areas the elites may have performed very similar civic roles without producing permanent records that preserved them for posterity.

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CHAPTER 13

LOCAL ELITES IN THE GREEK EAST

CHRISTOF SCHULER

GREEK *POLEIS* AND THEIR ELITES BETWEEN THE HELLENISTIC AND ROMAN PERIODS

ROMAN rule in the provinces relied on cities, which were required to control their surrounding territory and had relative independence in all local matters. These cities also served as models of the Roman way of life and provided a framework for integrating the provincial population into the Roman imperial system. Rome relied on the wealthy local elite. In this regard, the eastern provinces did not differ substantively from Italy and the West (cf. Ch. 12), but there were important divergences. Large parts of the western provinces were urbanized only after the establishment of Roman provincial administration. In contrast, in the Hellenistic world the Romans were confronted by the Greek city-state, the *polis*, a firmly entrenched model of social and political organization. In Greece, the Aegean islands, and along the coasts of Asia Minor and the Black Sea the *poleis* prided themselves on a long tradition stretching back to the archaic period. A *polis* was above all a community of citizens (*politai*) who, ideally, were independent from all external influence, enjoying freedom (*eleutheria*) and self-governance under their own laws (*autonomia*).¹

The success of this model was in no way diminished by the establishment of the Hellenistic monarchies. On the contrary, Alexander the Great and his successors founded numerous *poleis* and populated them with Macedonians, Greeks, and individuals of various origins who had become assimilated to Greek culture.² Even under Roman rule further new foundations were established in less urbanized regions, especially in the interior of Asia Minor. Usually this involved a reorganization of existing

¹ A.H.M. Jones 1940, 1971; cf. n. 12 below.

² Cohen 1995, 2006.

settlements, but a number of colonies were also founded with settlers from abroad, many of whom were veteran soldiers from Italy. These colonies reproduced the Roman model of a city and in a Greek environment used Latin, at least initially, for all public purposes, including inscriptions.³ Thus the eastern provinces contained an immense variety of *poleis* of different foundation date, size, and population, but all these cities shared certain institutional features and were governed by their own local elites.

These civic leaders were able to afford a better education than most of their fellow-citizens and to devote much of their time to public business. They had to face constant competition from their peers and confront popular assemblies, which in the imperial period could still exert considerable pressure, even when the democratic elements of civic constitutions were weaker than before. They regularly assumed public offices, especially those involving a heavy financial burden.⁴ Following Max Weber, scholars refer to these civic leaders as “notables” (a French term, sometimes used by anglophone scholars) or “Honoratioren” in German.⁵ They were the subject of Paul Veyne’s *Le pain et le cirque*, which stresses the central importance in Graeco-Roman society of benefactions (*euergesiai*, in Latin *beneficia*): the rich regularly donated their money for civic purposes and in return were awarded public honours by the ordinary citizens.⁶ Veyne coined the term “euergetism” to describe this reciprocal system.⁷ He argued that already in the Hellenistic period a small number of families used euergetism to monopolize political power even in nominally democratic cities. This view was convincingly modified by Philippe Gauthier, who argued that it was only in the second century BCE that the elites began gradually to weaken democratic practices to their own political advantage.⁸ Nonetheless, in 1993 Friedemann Quass returned to a more static picture of fairly continuous elite domination in the cities throughout the Hellenistic and Roman periods. Quass’s analysis presents a mass of evidence, especially inscriptions, on all aspects of the topic. Any serious study will need to consult this work.

The history of local elites in the Greek East continues to be the subject of intense debate, driven by the constant appearance of new inscriptions in all parts of the eastern Mediterranean.⁹ Another important stimulus comes from cultural historians interested in concepts such as representation, prestige, and memory. They treat inscriptions

³ Levick 1967; Rizakis 2001, 2003; for the epigraphy of Roman colonies in the East: Rizakis 1998 (Patrae); Pilhofer 2000 (Philippi); Riel 1997 (Alexandria Troas); Horsley and Mitchell 2000: nos. 1–82 (Cremna).

⁴ Quass 1993: 270–352.

⁵ Weber 1972: 170; cf. Veyne 1976: 122–131; Quass 1993: 11–13.

⁶ It is debated how far cities were dependent on the contributions of benefactors: Schwarz 2001; Zuiderhoek 2009.

⁷ Veyne 1976; cf. Garnsey 1991.

⁸ Gauthier 1985. On the evolution between the late Hellenistic and early imperial period, Fröhlich and Müller 2005; cf. Robert and Robert 1989; Robert 2007.

⁹ Cébeillac-Gervasoni and Lamoine 2003; Cébeillac-Gervasoni, Lamoine, and Tremont 2004; Rizakis and Camia 2008; Salomies 2001a.

not just as source material, but as a cultural phenomenon in their own right. The elites consciously used inscribed monuments to boost and legitimize their social standing and to influence the collective memory of their communities. Hence inscriptions, although indispensable for the study of local elites, usually present us with a one-sided and much too positive picture of prevailing social conditions. For the Greek East, literary sources such as Dio Chrysostom, Plutarch, and Aelius Aristides add crucial information on the darker side of elite rule: political conflicts, mismanagement, economic exploitation, and social strife.

It is not possible here to introduce all the relevant types of inscriptions nor to provide an overview of all regions of the Greek East.¹⁰ Egypt is a special case. Apart from Alexandria, Naukratis, Ptolemais, and Antinoopolis, there were no *poleis* in the province, which was instead divided into districts known as “nomes” (*nomoi*), each with a *metropolis* as its administrative centre and with villages (*komai*), often fairly large settlements urban in character, as their basic units. It was only in 199/200 that Septimius Severus granted Alexandria the right to constitute a council (*boule*) and extended that privilege to the nome capitals as well.¹¹ Within this special institutional framework a Graeco-Egyptian elite operated, which, compared to that of other provinces, is exceptionally well documented through the rich papyrological sources.¹² In contrast, there are comparatively few relevant inscriptions on stone. Obviously, in Egypt the practice of (self-)representation through honorific monuments and dedications was less well developed than in other eastern provinces.

POLIS INSTITUTIONS UNDER ROMAN RULE

The political culture of the city-state was not immediately modified under Roman hegemony; it only gradually evolved. The council (*boule*) and popular assembly (*demos*) remained the key civic institutions. The time-honoured magistracies and priesthoods continued to function. The gymnasium remained the place where ephebes (young adults around the age of eighteen) received a civic education and where the *neoi* (young men older than ephebes up to the age of thirty) regularly exercised.¹³ It thus was one of the most important institutions of the Hellenistic *polis*, and it remained so in the Roman period. Each *polis* had its own pantheon of gods, who were honoured by the community at public sacrifices and festivals, while new priesthoods and rituals were introduced to worship the god-like power of the Hellenistic kings even during their lifetime.¹⁴ Similarly the *poleis* showed their political allegiance to Rome by

¹⁰ See A.H.M. Jones 1971; Sartre 2005: 151–205; Millar 1993; Marek 2003; Dmitriev 2005.

¹¹ Bowman 1971; Tacoma 2006: 115–152.

¹² Lewis 1983: 18–83; Bowman and Rathbone 1992.

¹³ Chankowski 2010 and works cited in n. 32 below.

¹⁴ Habicht 1970.

paying cultic honours to the goddess Roma and individual Roman generals during the Republic (cf. Ch. 9) and, later, to the emperors (cf. Ch. 20).¹⁵

Hellenistic *poleis* usually had moderate democratic constitutions. Many citizens were active in magistracies and priesthoods and took turns to serve on juries and the council. The popular assembly passed laws (*nomoi*) and decrees (*psephismata*) on all sorts of public matters according to an agenda prepared by the town council.¹⁶ Even democratic *poleis* were often run by small groups of leading citizens. Especially in the second and first centuries these elite groups gradually gained more influence over the *demos* using their social distinction, wealth, and other informal means to monopolize political power.¹⁷

The coming of Rome accelerated such tendencies. Roman senators had little patience for Greek democratic conventions and despised the ordinary citizens who formed the bulk of the assemblies (cf. Cic. *Flacc.* 16–19). The Romans believed that political stability depended on elites who were independent of the fickle masses and whose authority was based on objective economic criteria and legal privileges. Consequently, when new provinces were organized in the East, Rome took measures to tie membership in the *boule* to a property qualification and to turn it into a lifetime position. As the *boule* played a key role even in a democratic environment, the exclusion of ordinary citizens ensured that city politics were henceforth dominated by a restricted circle made up of councillors. Although this general picture seems clear, details escape us because our evidence is extremely fragmentary.¹⁸ By means of a *lex Pompeia*, Cn. Pompeius Magnus regulated membership in the city councils of Pontus and Bithynia, which he himself organized as a Roman province in 63 BCE (Plin. *Ep.* 10.92, 93). He even seems to have introduced the local censorship, which is attested in later inscriptions under the title of *timetes* or *boulographos*. The office occasionally turns up in other provinces as well; elsewhere we may assume that other mechanisms existed for the regular review of councillors' property qualifications.¹⁹

An inscribed monument set up by the Lycians to honour the emperor Claudius, who had turned their autonomous league into a province in 43 CE, describes the Roman approach in a particularly striking phrase: “political responsibility was entrusted to the councillors selected from the best men (and taken away) from the indiscriminate and indiscriminating masses” (τῆς πολιτείας τοῖς ἐξ ἀρίστων ἐπιλεγμένοις βουλευταῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀκρίτου πλήθους πιστευθείσης) (*SEG* 51, 1832 = 57, 1670 = *AE* 2007, 1512a, Face A, lines 25–30).²⁰ Such changes, which were carried out everywhere in the Greek East in

¹⁵ Mellor 1975; Price 1984.

¹⁶ Hamon 2009.

¹⁷ Hamon 2007: 90–100.

¹⁸ Quass 1993: 382–394; Pleket 1998: 205–210; Hamon 2005, 2007.

¹⁹ Quass 1993: 383–387; Fernoux 2004: 129–146, 335–336; Dmitriev 2005: 200–204. On *leges provinciae*, Coudry and Kirbihler 2010.

²⁰ Şahin and Adak 2007. Although the phrase applies to the federal assembly of the Lycians, it well describes the reforms attested at the city level in other provinces and which affected the cities of Lycia, as occurred at Patara and Gagai: Schuler and Zimmermann 2012: 616–618.

varying forms and at different dates, turned membership in the councils from a routine task of all citizens into the mark of a legally defined status group. Consequently, the term *bouleutes* (member of the council) starts to appear in honorific inscriptions of the imperial period, and phrases modelled on the Latin *ordo decurionum* like *tagma bouleutikon* (τάγμα βουλευτικόν) or *proton tagma tes poleos* (πρῶτον τάγμα τῆς πόλεως) are used to describe the leading group of the city.²¹ In some places magistracies were divided into *archai demotikai* (ἀρχαὶ δημοτικαὶ) open to all citizens and more prestigious (and certainly more expensive) *archai bouleutikai* (ἀρχαὶ βουλευτικαὶ) reserved for the councillors.²²

On the other hand, inscriptions from all parts of the Greek East point to remarkable continuity. As in the Hellenistic period, assemblies continued to meet regularly, elections were held, and decisions were taken by the council and the people (ἡ βουλή καὶ ὁ δῆμος). It is difficult to penetrate this uniform façade of epigraphic formulae and grasp the subtle shift in political atmosphere that was taking place.²³ A rare insight comes from Maroneia in Thrace, another province organized by Claudius. An unusual dossier of decrees (*SEG* 53, 659 = *AE* 2003, 1559) from the early years of the new province shows that after serious diplomatic problems that threatened the political status of the city, the assembly passed a decree empowering the council to send future delegations to the emperor at its own discretion, without recourse to the *demos*.²⁴ In this case there was no direct Roman intervention. The intimidating effect of the emperor's power was enough to cajole the *demos* into giving up an important political prerogative.

Other crucial areas of *polis* autonomy were affected by Roman provincial rule. The Roman governor and other provincial officials took over certain legal powers from the local courts. The cities were now required to supervise tax-collection for the Roman state in their territory and to make good any shortfall out of their own resources, and they were also subject to ever growing financial supervision in the form of *logistai* (*curatores rei publicae*).²⁵ The gradual reduction of the political power of the *demos* is reflected in the sharp decrease in the publication of laws and decrees, while honorific inscriptions and other documents relating to the elite predominate.²⁶

Boule and *demos* together formed the political core of the *polis*, but there were other collective bodies that passed decrees and set up inscriptions. The following text comes from a statue base at Carian Iasos (*I.Iasos* 90) and can be dated to the Augustan period thanks to the mention of the priesthood of Agrippa:

ἡ βουλή καὶ ὁ δῆμος καὶ οἱ νέοι καὶ ἡ γερουσία
καὶ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι οἱ ἐν Ἰασῶι πραγματευόμενοι
Διονύσιον Μελάνθου, ἱερέα Ἀγρίππα Καίσαρος

²¹ Quass 1993: 387–388; Fernoux 2007: 197–198.

²² Quass 1993: 389–390; Wörrle 1988: 133–134; Heller 2009: 355–357.

²³ Quass 1993: 373–421; Pleket 1998: 210–212.

²⁴ Clinton 2003; cf. Wörrle 2004.

²⁵ Mitchell 1999; Burton 1979; Dmitriev 2005: 189–197.

²⁶ Decrees: Rhodes and Lewis 1997.

5 Σεβαστοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ Ἑρμοῦ, ἄνδρα ἄριστον πάση
κεκοσμημένον ἀρετῇ, τὰς μεγίστας παρεχόμενον
ἐλπίδας τῷ δήμῳ, τετειμημένον πλεονάκις,
προγόνων ὑπάρχοντα εὐεργετῶν.

The council and the people and the young men and the organization of the elders and the Roman businessmen in Iasos (have honoured) Dionysios son of Melanthos, priest of Agrippa the son of Caesar Augustus and (priest) of Hermes, an excellent man adorned with every virtue, who gives the people reason for the highest hopes and who has (already) been honoured several times, the descendant of ancestors who were benefactors.

Neoi and *ephebes* often joined the assembly especially in voting honorific decrees for benefactors who had rendered services to the gymnasium. Here it is clear from lines 5–6 that the honorand is a young man, probably a prominent member of the *neoi*. Other traditional institutions still active in the imperial period were the *phylai* (“tribes”) and similar subdivisions of the citizen-body.²⁷ A later phenomenon is the *gerousia*, an association of “elders” which acquired a quasi-public status in many cities from the late Hellenistic period onwards. As a kind of social club without any official constitutional role, it provided a more open stage on which not only members of the council, but also other respectable citizens and rich freedmen could be active. As countless inscriptions show, the *gerousia* derived considerable importance from the prestige of its members.²⁸ With Roman expansion, associations of resident Roman citizens (κατοικοῦντες/*consistentes*, πραγματευόμενοι/*qui negotiantur*) acquired political weight in the cities.²⁹

Similarly, in many *poleis* local associations are frequently attested epigraphically. These bodies were known by various titles (especially *koina*, *synodoi*, *synedria*). They often enjoyed the patronage of members of the elite and were important social institutions for the ambitions of well-to-do citizens below the bouleutic class and for personal networks of ordinary people. Thus associations strengthened the cohesion of urban society. They were in many ways comparable to the *collegia* of the West, but in the East there is also a strong Hellenistic background that needs to be taken into account.³⁰

MAGISTRACIES

To maintain their prestige, leading citizens had to be successful in holding public magistracies. One of the most detailed inscriptions illustrating municipal institutions in the eastern provinces was discovered at Oinoanda, a small city in N. Lycia. In the

²⁷ N.F. Jones 1987; Kunnert 2011.

²⁸ Quass 1993: 418–421; Fernoux 2004: 302–308.

²⁹ Hatzfeld 1919 (still fundamental); Müller and Hasenohr 2002.

³⁰ van Nijf 1997; Zimmermann 2002; Fröhlich and Hamon 2011.

Hadrianic period C. Iulius Demosthenes, a prominent local citizen, donated a large sum of money, the interest on which was to be used to finance a quadrennial festival called the *Demostheneia*. Several documents regulating the details of the foundation were published on a large stele (*SEG* 38, 1462). An important part of the festival program was a sacrificial procession involving the following (lines 69–72):

- the *agonothetes*, who organized and presided over the festival
- three panegyriarchs, who were responsible for the special market accompanying it
- the priest and the priestess of the imperial cult (ἱερεὺς and ἱέρεια Σεβαστῶν)
- the priest of Zeus (ἱερεὺς τοῦ Διός)
- the secretary of the council (γραμματεὺς βουλῆς)
- five *prytaneis* (πρυτάνεις), who formed an executive committee and presided over the sessions of the council
- two overseers of the market (ἀγορανόμοι)
- two directors of the gymnasium or gymnasia (γυμνασάρχοι)
- four treasurers (ταμίαι)
- two men responsible for public security (παραφύλακες)
- one overseer of ephobic training (ἐφήβαρχος)
- one overseer of the education of the citizens' sons and (perhaps) daughters (παιδονόμος)
- a supervisor of public works (ἐπιμελητῆς δημοσίων ἔργων).³¹

This is probably a complete list of the public offices that existed at Oinoanda at that time. *Grammateus*, *prytaneis*, *agoranomoi*, and *tamiai* are the titles of traditional magistracies attested from the classical period onwards, while the gymnasiarchs, *ephebarchos*, and *paidonomos* testify to the vitality of the gymnasium in the imperial period. The *ephebeia* was still an important initiation rite to prepare all the sons of citizens for active participation in *polis* life, but in practice it was open only to well-to-do families who could afford the costs involved. In some *poleis*, the names of those who had gone through the *ephebeia* were recorded on stone (*IG* X 2.2, 323–329, Stuberra in Macedonia; *TAM* V.2, 1203–8, Apollonis in Lydia). From Athens we have a particularly long series of ephobic inscriptions stretching from the fourth century BCE to the third century CE.³²

In addition, associations of older citizens (πρεσβύτεροι) are well represented in the epigraphic record from the second century BCE onwards. In some cities this diversification resulted in the building of several gymnasia, so that each age group might have its own social centre. Rather than institutions for the training and education of citizens only, Roman gymnasia were often furnished with baths and became leisure centres for the whole population, which changed the character of the gymnasiarchy. The provision of olive oil for training and hygiene for large numbers of visitors became the dominant

³¹ Wörrle 1988; cf. Mitchell 1990, with an English translation and discussion.

³² Perrin-Saminadayar 2007; Chankowski 2010: 114–142; Wiemer 2011. In general, Kennell 2006.

feature, and gymnasiarchs very often had to use their private money to supply that. In return, the office provided a special opportunity to gain prestige by patronizing large parts of the population. This explains why the gymnasiarchy is mentioned so frequently and prominently in honorific inscriptions of the Roman period.³³

In contrast to the gymnasiarchy and similar offices, the *paraphylakia* (a magistracy with responsibilities for public security) became widespread only in the Roman imperial period. Once citizens were no longer normally obliged to do military service thanks to the widespread *pax Romana*, the *paraphylakes* commanded small groups of armed men usually recruited from the younger citizens to ensure the safety of the city's territory. The *paraphylakia* is attested exclusively in Roman Asia Minor. Another—and more prestigious—magistracy concerned with the maintenance of public order was the *eirenarchia*, which, again, is especially frequent in the cities of Asia Minor, but also attested in Egypt and sporadically elsewhere.³⁴ The supervision of public works (*epimeleia demosion ergon* / ἐπιμέλεια δημοσίων ἔργων) is another responsibility that acquired more importance in the Roman period. Urban development intensified under Roman imperial rule, when new and attractive types of large buildings, especially baths and aqueducts of Roman type, became widespread in the cities of the East. Many smaller *poleis* were only now able to develop a monumental centre. This huge wave of public building entailed an enormous amount of investment, reaching its peak in the second century CE.³⁵ Nonetheless, a regular office involving supervision of public works as at Oinoanda is attested only in a minority of *poleis*. Such offices may have responded to Roman concerns over the health of public finances in the cities of the East and been modelled on the municipal *curatores operum publicorum* in the West.

The priests who headed the procession in Oinoanda represent the old and the new in a Greek city under Roman rule. The cult of Zeus was the most prominent within Oinoanda's traditional pantheon, his priests enjoying the great prestige of being the city's eponymous officials during the Hellenistic period. In Roman Oinoanda the priest of Zeus was still prominent, but conspicuously the priest and priestess of the imperial cult walked alongside him in public processions. As in the West, the official cult of the emperors developed on two levels. All cities had their own priests of the *Sebastoi*, who quickly became even more prominent than the much older priesthoods of the traditional local patron deities. Similarly, the provincial assembly (*koinon*; Latin *concilium*), in which representatives of all cities and communities of a province came together, was presided over by the *archiereus* of the provincial imperial cult (ἀρχιερεὺς τῶν Σεβαστῶν), who held the position for a year. These particular priesthoods guaranteed their holders maximum social distinction. They were also extremely expensive, because the priests were usually required to contribute to the costs of festivals in honour of the emperor. As a result, only members of the richest and most prominent families were

³³ Quass 1993: 286–291; Schuler 2004: 189–191; Fröhlich 2009.

³⁴ Brélaz 2005: 90–145; Sängler 2010.

³⁵ Pont 2010.

elected to these positions, which usually take pride of place in honorific inscriptions. With the way well paved by the cults of Hellenistic kings, the worship of Roman emperors spread quickly and pervasively throughout the Greek East. Its frequent attestation in inscriptions amply demonstrates that it was one of the most important concerns of public life in the cities.³⁶

As a systematic overview on local magistracies, the *Demostheneia* dossier from Oinoanda is an exceptional source. Usually our evidence consists of individual honorific inscriptions that enumerate the offices held by single members of the elite without any further elaboration. These texts provide just partial snapshots of institutional systems, as in the following honorific text from Hierapolis in Phrygia, dated to around 220 CE (*AE* 2007, 1696; *SEG* 53, 1464; see Fig. 13.1):³⁷

The temple-warden council (has honoured) C. Memmius Eutyclus, their own president, and his native city (has honoured) its general and overseer of the peace, director of the fair, overseer of the market and former purchaser of olive oil, purchaser of grain, formerly one of the Ten First Citizens, director of the gymnasium, president of the *conventus civium Romanorum* (i.e., the local association of Roman citizens), organizer of the athletic contests of the Great Festival for Pythian Apollo, who also procured soldiers for Our Lord Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Severus Antoninus, formerly also responsible for the authenticity of public documents. (...)

This recapitulation of a long and distinguished career illustrates the diversity of tasks a municipal politician might shoulder. He is honoured by the local council, here given the title *neokoros* (“temple warden”). This means that Hierapolis had acquired one of the official temples of the emperor cult of the province of Asia, an honour which was highly sought after in the general competition for prestige among provincial cities.³⁸ Some of the offices are paralleled at Oinoanda, while others describe similar functions but use different titles: the *boularchos* corresponds to the *prytanis*; the rare title *alytarches* (ἀλυτάρχης) covers tasks similar to those of an agonothete. Those responsible for public *elaionia* and *sitonia* had to secure a steady supply of affordable olive oil and grain for the local market.³⁹ These offices were perhaps only commissioned in times of need; they probably required extensive use of private money and are examples of the increasing liturgical burdens of public office, a typical phenomenon of the Roman period.⁴⁰ It was a particularly great financial risk to serve as *dekaprotos* (δεκάπρωτος) (or, in some places,

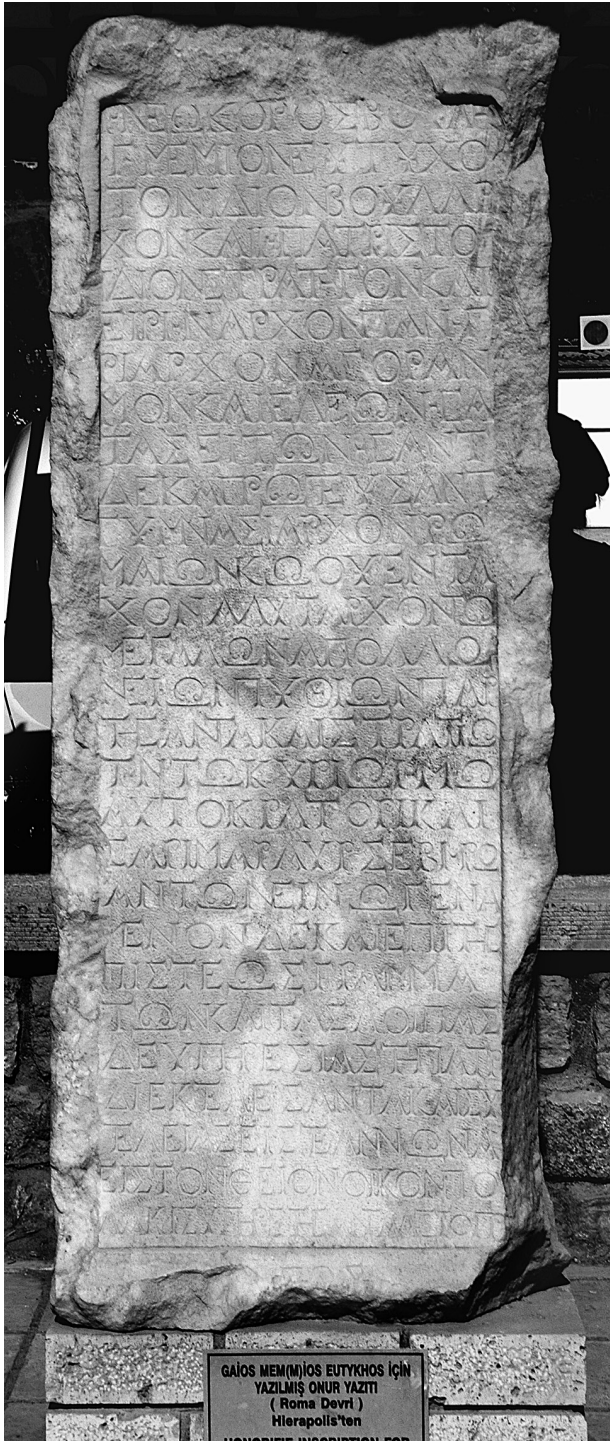
³⁶ Frija 2012. Achaia: Camia 2008. Asia: Price 1984; Campanile 1994, 2006; Kirbihler 2008. Lycia: Reitzenstein 2011; cf. www.pretres-civiques.org.

³⁷ Ritti 2008. Cf. *TAM* V.2, 930, 940, 942, 947, 970 (Thyateira in Lydia); V.3, 1442, 1459, 1484 (Philadelphia in Lydia); *I.Tralleis* 73, 77, 90. Magistracies and liturgies in Roman Athens: Geagan 1967; Schmalz 2009: 361–362.

³⁸ Burrell 2004; Heller 2006: 241–282; Guerber 2009.

³⁹ Erdkamp 2005: 268–283; Zuiderhoek 2008.

⁴⁰ Quass 1993: 270–352.



GAIOS MEMMIOS EUTYKHOS İÇİN
YAZILMIŞ ÖNÜR YAZITI
(Roma Devri)
Hierapolis'ten

ή νεωκόρος βουλή
 Γ(άιον) Μέμιον Εύτυχο[ν]
 τόν ἴδιον βούλαρ-
 χον καὶ ἡ πατρὶς τό[ν]
 5 ἴδιον στρατηγὸν καὶ
 εἰρήναρχον, πανηγ[υ]-
 ρίαρχον, ἀγοραν[ό]-
 μον καὶ ἐλεωνήσα[ν]-
 τα, σειτωνήσαντ[α],
 10 δεκαπρωτεύσαντ[α],
 γυμνασίαρχον, Ῥω-
 μαίων κωονέντα[ρ]-
 χον, ἀλύταρχον τῶ[ν]
 15 μεγάλων Ἀπολλω-
 νείων Πυθίων, παρ[ασ]-
 τήσαντα καὶ στρατιώ-
 την τῶ κυρίῳ ἡμῶ[ν]
 Αὐτοκράτορι Καί-
 σαρι Μάρ(κῳ) Αὐρ(ηλίῳ)
 Σεβήρῳ
 20 Ἄντωννείῳ, γενά-
 μενον δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς
 πίστεως γραμμα-
 τῶν. (...)

FIG. 13.1 Inscription honouring C. Memmius Eutyclus from Hierapolis, Phrygia, c. 220 CE.

eikosaprotos; εικοσάπρωτος) because these ten (or twenty) men had to guarantee with their personal fortune the taxes the *polis* had to pay to Rome. The office reflects the Romans' desire to secure a regular and reliable tax income.⁴¹ The latter also applies to the *logistai* (*curatores rei publicae*). The presidency of the local *conventus civium Romanorum* held by C. Memmius Eutyclus in Hierapolis is another element of direct Roman influence, with the first part of his title directly transliterated from the Latin term *conventus*. That the office is mentioned here alongside *polis* magistracies stresses the quasi-public character of these associations of Roman citizens. Eutyclus' Roman citizenship was also in itself an important and valued distinction within local Greek society.

Iasos, Oinoanda, and Hierapolis are only three examples from among several hundred *poleis* in the Greek East. Almost all of these cities had a number of institutions in common, but beyond this essential core there were countless local variations and peculiarities which contributed to the individual identity of each *polis* and defined the framework for the political activity and social distinction of its local elite.

POLITICAL SPHERES AND LEVELS OF SOCIAL DISTINCTION

A city's elite was not completely homogenous nor restricted to the bouleutic class. Wealth was the key requirement to wield influence, and there were social niches that offered particular opportunities. Freedmen or traders might be influential and respected in an association that played some role in civic life. Rich women could distinguish themselves through benefactions, by taking on expensive liturgical offices, or by holding priesthoods especially in the imperial cult.⁴² Politics took place on a variety of different levels, and each level required individuals of a certain stature to take on responsibility.⁴³ Villages in the territory of a *polis* often had their own communal institutions. Men of lesser status were active at this grassroots level, although occasionally members of senatorial families are also attested.⁴⁴ Some members of the local elite enhanced their prestige by acquiring citizenship and becoming politically active in two or more *poleis*.⁴⁵

For the more ambitious there were even higher political opportunities at the provincial or even the empire-wide level. A first step up from the local *polis* was to participate

⁴¹ Dmitriev 2005: 197–200; Samitz 2013.

⁴² van Bremen 1996.

⁴³ Stephan 2002.

⁴⁴ Schuler 1998: 277–287; 2010: 85–86.

⁴⁵ Heller and Pont 2012.

in provincial assemblies, where the provincial chief priesthood of the emperor cult constituted the highest social distinction. The opening up of the equestrian and senatorial orders to provincials allowed a very small number of candidates to go beyond the local and regional levels by embarking on an imperial career (Ch. 11). While *equites* often came back to their hometown to re-enter the local elite as its most distinguished members, senators left local politics behind completely, but often maintained connections to their home region through their estates and family relations.⁴⁶

Such careers presuppose the spread of Roman citizenship among the Greeks. Originally, it was not permitted to combine Roman citizenship with other citizenships, and Greeks granted the Roman franchise had to give up their original citizenship. Consequently the number of such cases remained low until the very last decades of the Republic. A change of policy was initiated by the triumvirs, especially M. Antonius and Octavian, and then the latter as *princeps* took further steps to make Roman citizenship compatible with local citizenship. A system of dual citizenship emerged that is characteristic of the East. Members of the local elite who cooperated with Rome were rewarded with Roman citizenship and the privileges that status implied, but retained citizenship in their *polis* of origin and continued to be politically active there, holding magistracies, performing liturgies, and interceding with Roman authorities on matters of provincial administration.⁴⁷ A good example is provided by the case of M. Antonius Idagras, a prominent Lycian who was honoured by his native city of Patara for successful negotiations with M. Antonius and other Roman commanders of the triumviral period (Fig. 13.2).⁴⁸ In lines 4–5, he is described as a citizen of Rome and of Patara (Ῥωμαῖος καὶ Παταρεὺς). This dual citizenship was a powerful instrument to tie influential families to the Roman cause and to facilitate control of the provincial population. Enfranchised Greeks took over the *praenomen* and the *gentilicium* of the patron who had sponsored their gaining of Roman citizenship, usually a prominent military commander, provincial governor, or emperor; their original Greek name became the *cognomen* of their new Roman name.⁴⁹ Enfranchisement created a pool of rich, well-educated, and politically experienced Roman citizens from which new members of the equestrian and senatorial orders were recruited.

An honorific inscription from the second half of the second century CE from Tralleis in Caria succinctly documents a case of upward mobility over several generations (*I. Tralleis* 51):

Γ(άϊον)Ἰούλιον, Γ(αῖου)Ἰουλίου Φιλίππου ἀρχιερέως
Ἀσίας υἰόν, Οὐελίνα Φίλιππον, ἰππέα Ῥω-
μαῖον, τῶν ἐκλέκτων ἐν Ῥώμῃ δικαστῶν,
ἐπίτροπον τῶν Σεβαστῶν, πατέρα Ἰουλί(ου)

⁴⁶ *EOS* II (contributions by Halfmann, Oliver, Bowersock, and Reynolds); cf. C.P. Jones 1970; Halfmann 1979; Salomies 2001b; Fernoux 2004: 415–489.

⁴⁷ Sherwin-White 1973: esp. 237–250, 291–311; Holtheide 1983; Ferrary 2005.

⁴⁸ Schuler and Zimmermann 2012: 582–597 no. 4.

⁴⁹ Salomies 1993; Rizakis 1996; Byrne 2003; Tataki 2006.



FIG. 13.2 Limestone statue base in honour of M. Antonius Idagras, citizen of Rome and Patara, c. 40–30 BCE. Patara, W. Lycia.

- 5 Φιλίππου συγκλητικοῦ, στρατηγοῦ Ῥωμαίων, ἱερέα διὰ βίου τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Λαρασίου.

C. Iulius Philippus, from the Velina tribe, son of C. Iulius Philippus, high priest of (the province of) Asia, *eques Romanus*, among those chosen as judges at Rome (*ex iudicibus Romae selectis*), *procurator* of the *Augusti*, father of Iulius Philippus, senator and praetor of the Romans, priest of Zeus Larasios for life.

C. Iulius Philippus, the father of the honorand, had already risen to the high priesthood of Asia (lines 1–2), but previously he had probably already held municipal office at Tralleis (*PIR*² I 460). His homonymous son, the honorand (*PIR*² I 459), was promoted to equestrian rank and became an imperial *procurator* (lines 2–4), but still maintained a link to Tralleis with the priesthood of the local god Zeus Larasios (line 6). His son, also called Iulius Philippus (*PIR*² I 458), was in turn admitted into the senatorial order and by the time of the inscription had held the praetorship (lines 5–6).

A text from Beroia, one of the leading cities of Macedonia, describes in great detail a politician's activities between his *polis* and the provincial assembly (*I.Beroia* 117 = *SEG* 17, 315):

τὸν διὰ βίου ἀρχιερῆ τῶν Σεβαστῶν
 καὶ ἀγωνοθέτην τοῦ κοινοῦ Μ<α>κε-
 δόνων Κ(όιντον) Ποπίλλιον Πύθωνα, πρεσ-
 βεύσαντα ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος Βεροί-
 5 ας ἐπὶ θεὸν Νέρουαν ὑπὲρ τοῦ μό-
 νην αὐτὴν ἔχειν τὴν νεωκορίαν τῶν Σε-
 βαστῶν καὶ τὸ τῆς μητροπόλεως ἀξιω-
 μα καὶ ἐπιτυχόντα καὶ δόντα ἐν τῷ
 10 τῆς ἀρχιερωσύνης χρόνῳ τὸ ἐπικε-
 φάλιον ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐπαρχίας καὶ ὀ-
 δοῦς ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἐπισκευάσαν-
 τα καὶ καταγγελάντα καὶ ἀγαγόντα
 εἰσακτίους ἀγῶνας, ταλαντιαίους,
 15 θυμελικούς καὶ γυμνικούς, δόν-
 τα θηριομαχίας διὰ παντοίων ζώων,
 ἐντοπίων καὶ ξενικῶν, καὶ μονομαχί-
 ας, ποιησάμενον δὲ κ<α>ὶ σείτων παραπρά-
 σεις κ<α>ὶ ἐπευωνίσαντα ἐν καιροῖς ἀνανκ<α>ίοις
 20 κ<α>ὶ διαδόμασιν παρ' ὄλον τὸν τῆς ἀρχιερω-
 σύνης χρόνον πανδήμοις κατὰ πᾶσαν σύ-
 νοδον ὑποδεξάμενον τὴν ἐπαρχεῖαν καὶ
 γυμνασιαρχίας. (...)

(The *polis* of Beroia has honoured) the high priest of the Augusti for life and president of the games of the Macedonian *koinon*, Q. Popillius Python, who went on an embassy on behalf of his native-city of Beroia to the god Nerva to ask him that (Beroia) alone should be temple-warden of the provincial cult of the Augusti and should be given the dignity of the status of *metropolis* and was successful; who during his high priesthood contributed the poll tax for the province; who repaired roads with his own money; who promised and held games of the same status as the Actian Games with prizes worth a talent and musical and athletic contests; who staged wild-beast hunts with a variety of animals, both native and exotic, and gladiatorial combats; who also sold grain at a reduced price several times and alleviated the food market in times of need; who in all (provincial) assemblies during his high priesthood treated the province with distributions of money and oil for everybody. (...)

In the career of a man of the stature of Q. Popillius Python, local magistracies were hardly worth mentioning. His chief accomplishment was a successful mission to the emperor, whereby he secured vital privileges for his home-town: Beroia alone would host the main emperor cult of the province, thereby earning the epithet *neokoros*, and receive the honorary title of *metropolis*.⁵⁰ This status resulted in substantial advantages for Beroia: the erection of a large temple of the *Augusti*; regular meetings of the provincial assembly; magnificent festivals and fairs; close relations to Roman governors and emperors, who were thus more inclined to be favourably disposed to the city. In economic terms, however, such trappings of eminence might well have

⁵⁰ The title *neokoros*: cf. n. 38. Embassies to the emperor: Millar 1992: 119–122, 363–368, 375–463.

resulted in greater expenditure than income as far as city finances were concerned. Python had, therefore, to contribute money of his own to add to the splendour of those provincial meetings in his home-town. In the peaceful conditions of the second century CE the organization of festivals reached an unprecedented peak and became one of the most important spheres for cities and their elites to display their prestige. As in the case of the *Demostheneia* at Oinoanda (p. 256–258), new festivals were founded everywhere, frequently with substantial financial contributions from rich benefactors, who, like Python, often combined traditional Greek contests with Roman-style gladiatorial and other entertainments (cf. Ch. 25).⁵¹ With a view to public order, it was important for the cities to secure an affordable food supply for the whole population. Python also took over other vital responsibilities such as road-repair and the paying of the poll-tax for the whole province.

Within the framework of a Roman province, it was not enough to be actively involved in *polis* magistracies and civic activities; important matters, and sometimes even the political survival of the community, depended on higher powers, who needed to be canvassed. Q. Popillius Python, therefore, represented Beroia as a member of an embassy to Nerva and shouldered important tasks of provincial administration, certainly in close cooperation with the Roman governors and procurators of Macedonia. C. Memmius Eutyclus at Hierapolis levied recruits for service in the Roman army. The Iulii Philippi from Tralleis entered the imperial service as *equites* and senators and forged close personal connections to the centre of power, to which Tralleis could have recourse in the future. These different levels of politics and the corresponding hierarchy of social distinction are clearly reflected in the epigraphic record. A rich ceremonial terminology developed to accommodate the varying statuses of those who were merely “first in their city” (πρῶτοι τῆς πόλεως), those who qualified as “leading men of the province” (πρωτεύοντες ἐν τῇ ἐπαρχείᾳ), and those who had risen to equestrian or senatorial rank.⁵² The popular assemblies, although still in existence and not to be neglected, were completely dependent on these authoritative figures. Ordinary citizens might show discontent, but there was no viable political alternative.

FAMILY PRESTIGE AND STRATEGIES OF SELF-REPRESENTATION

The career of another leading provincial is recorded in an inscription from Xanthos in Lycia:⁵³

⁵¹ Wörrle 1988; cf. van Nijf 2001; Guerber 2009: 215–301.

⁵² Zoumbaki 2008.

⁵³ Balland 1981: no. 91 (c. 170 CE).

Σέξστον Οὐηράνιον Κοῖντου Οὐηρανίου Εὐδή-
μου υἰὸν Κυρεῖνα Πρεῖσκον τὸν καὶ Εὐδημον
Ῥωμαῖον καὶ Ξάνθιον, πολειτευόμενον δὲ καὶ ἐν ταῖς
κατὰ Λυκίαν πόλεσι πάσαις, ἀρχιερέα Σεβαστῶν καὶ
5 γραμματέα Λυκίων, ἀγωνοθέτην ἰσολυμπίου πανη-
γύρεως ἐθνικῆς ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ, ἀγωνοθέτην τὸ τέταρτον
τῆς ἀγομένης πανηγύρεως ἐπὶ τῷ Σεβαστῷ Λητώων,
πεποιημένον δωρεὰς εἰς τε πανηγύρεις καὶ κατασκευ-
10 ἀς δημοσίων ἔργων, ἄρξαντα τῆς πα[τρ]ίδος καὶ πρὸ τῆς
ἀρχιερωσύνης πλεονάκις τετειμημένον ὑπὸ τοῦ Λυ-
κίων ἔθνους καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς πατρίδος ταῖς κατ' ἔτος
τειμαῖς, υἰὸν Οὐηρανίου Εὐδήμου πᾶσαν ἀρχὴν
τῆ πατρίδι τετελεκότος, πατέρα Οὐηρανίου Πρει-
σκιανοῦ παιδὸς ἐπ' ἀ[γα]θαῖς ἐλπίσιν αὐξομένου,
15 ἔγγονον Οὐηρανίου Εὐδήμου, ἀνε[ψ]ιὸν Οὐηρανίου Τλη-
πολέμου, θεῖον Κλαυδίου Τηλεμάχου, ἀρχιερέων
τῶν Σεβαστῶν καὶ γραμματέων Λυκίων, προγόνων
στρατηγῶν καὶ ἰππάρχων, ἄνδρα καλὸν καὶ ἀγαθὸν
καὶ φιλόπατριν λόγοις καὶ ἤθεσι καὶ ἀγνεῖα διαφέροντα
20 Ξανθίων ἢ πόλις ἢ τοῦ Λυκίων ἔθνους μητρόπολις
τὸν ἴδιον πολεῖτην ἔνεκεν τῆς ἐν πᾶσιν ἀρετῆς.

Sex. Veranius Priscus alias Eudemus, son of Q. Veranius Eudemus, of the tribe Quirina, citizen of Rome and Xanthos, but also active in all *poleis* in Lycia, high priest of the Augusti and secretary of the Lycians, president of the isolympic festival of the League in the sanctuary [i.e., of Leto at Xanthos, the religious centre of the Lycian League], for the fourth time president of the festival of the Letoa celebrated in honour of the emperor, who gave money for festivals and public building projects, who was magistrate in his native city, who even before his high priesthood was honoured several times by the Lycian League and by his home town with annual honours, son of Veranius Eudemus who held all offices in the service of his native city, father of Veranius Priscianus, a son who is being raised with the highest of expectations, grandson of Veranius Eudemus, nephew of Veranius Tlepolemus, uncle of Claudius Telemachus, (all) high priests of the Augusti and secretaries of the League, descendant of generals and cavalry commanders, an exemplary man and patriot, outstanding in speech, morals and sincerity, the *polis* of Xanthos, the *metropolis* of the Lycian League, (has honoured) her fellow citizen because of the virtue he shows in all respects.

This inscription touches on several themes already discussed in this chapter: the honorand's Roman citizenship, his prominent role in the provincial *koinon*, the importance of agonistic festivals, the use of private benefactions to finance public events and buildings. In the inscription from Tralleis discussed earlier (p. 261–262) the prestige of the honorand C. Iulius Philippus was enhanced by reference to the achievements of his father and son. Family tradition is developed at much greater length here. Apart from his father and son, several other prominent relatives of Veranius Eudemus are mentioned. Yet the authors of the inscription emphasized that Eudemus was also a descendant of generals and cavalry commanders of the Lycian League (lines 17–18); both

offices had long since ceased to exist when Lycia was annexed as a Roman province in 43 CE. Such references to the distant past were popular among the leading families of the region (cf. *TAM II* 495).⁵⁴

The achievements of ancestors and relatives were used as symbolic capital to strengthen the claims of present and future family members to moral excellence and political authority. Characteristic of Roman provincial elites is the pointed reference to a relationship with *equites*, senators (συγκλητικοί), or even consulars (ὕπατικοί). And beyond the rhetoric of self-representation it was an enormous advantage to be born into an extended family that could boast significant levels of wealth and education, and which had built up high-profile social networks over several generations.⁵⁵

Even names were chosen carefully to stress family continuity, as shown by the practice of using one or two characteristic names again and again in successive generations. At Tralleis we encountered three individuals called C. Iulius Philippus in direct succession. Sex. Veranius Priscus Eudemus' second *cognomen* maintained a link to his father Eudemus, and he then named his son Priscianus, derived from his own *cognomen* Priscus. The simplest way to evoke earlier generations was to expand the basic Greek patronymic to mention also the honorand's grandfather, great-grandfather, or even more remote ancestors, sometimes abbreviated in forms like Ἀπολλώνιος γ' (Apollonius III). Thus a patrilineal chain of three, four, or sometimes even more names could be attached to an individual's name to remind contemporaries of earlier outstanding members and the inherent excellence of the family.

Some families even went beyond such verifiable historical facts. Since it bestowed great venerability on a community or an institution if its origins could be traced back to the remote past, the cities in the Greek East, even those of fairly recent date, vied with each other in the creative construction of their own past, and in the general context of the so-called Second Sophistic, interests in local history and myth flourished.⁵⁶ The main agents of such intellectual exercises were the well-educated members of the local elite, but the general public were familiar with such ideas, which were constantly being aired in debates in the popular assemblies, in exhibition speeches for entertainment, or even in serious diplomatic dealings with other cities, governors, or the Roman emperor, as illustrated by an exchange between Hadrian and the small city of Naryka in Locris (*AE* 2006, 1369 = *SEG* 51, 641; Fig. 14.4, also discussed in Ch. 17). Among elite families it became fashionable to claim descent from famous historical figures: Lysander at Sparta, Themistocles or Pericles at Athens, Aratus at Sikyon. At Olympia, two statue bases were erected by the city of Messene and the Achaean League for T. Flavius Polybius, a prominent politician of the second century CE (*I.Olympia* 449–450). Apart from the standard

⁵⁴ cf. Behrwald 2000: 167; Reitzenstein 2011: 28–31.

⁵⁵ Fernoux 2007.

⁵⁶ C.P. Jones 1999.



FIG. 13.3 Honoric monument for T. Flavius Polybius from Olympia, second century CE.

honoric inscription, both monuments repeat a well-known epigram that had originally been conceived three centuries earlier to honour the famous Achaean politician and historian Polybius (*I.Olympia* 449; see Fig. 13.3, where it is inscribed on the cornice of the monument):

τοῦτο Λυκόρτα παιδί πόλις περικαλλές ἄγαμα
ἀντί καλῶν ἔργων ἴσατο Πουλυβίῳ.

The city has erected this exceedingly beautiful statue for Polybius, son of Lycortas, to thank him for his noble deeds.

Thus an implicit connection was established between T. Flavius Polybius and his famous namesake, although the precise nature of their relationship was left open.⁵⁷

Another prominent example is the monumental tomb of Licinnia Flavilla and her younger kinsman Flavianus Diogenes at Lycian Oinoanda. A huge inscription, dated to c. 210 CE and arranged in six columns of text, adorned the façade. It contains a detailed genealogy of the tomb owners, stretching back twelve generations (*IGRR* III 500).⁵⁸ The earliest ancestors mentioned were active in the late Hellenistic period. A second inscription on the rear of the tomb was dedicated to Flavia Platonis from Cibyra, a

⁵⁷ Heller 2011; cf. Quass 1993: 68–75 (similar examples).

⁵⁸ Revised and updated in Hall, Milner, and Coulton 1996.

relative of exceptional prominence. She claimed descent from the mythical founders of Cibyra, the Spartans Amyclas and Cleander. The fictional origin of Cibyra as a Spartan colony was used by the city as a historical argument to gain access to Hadrian's Panhellenion.⁵⁹ Undoubtedly the story was an important part of the collective identity of imperial Cibyra, and elite families who successfully connected themselves to it must thereby have gained considerable prestige.

The inscription provides one of the latest examples of the *stoichedon* style, which became very rare after the classical period (Fig. 13.4). The archaizing layout was chosen deliberately to match the outward appearance of the text to its contents. The combined effect was to inspire the reader with awe by emphasizing the family's age-old dignity. While the genealogical inscription from Oinoanda stands out in the whole of Greek epigraphy in terms of its length, similar devices are widespread in inscriptions throughout the Greek East.⁶⁰



FIG. 13.4 A section of the genealogical inscription from the tomb of Licinnia Flavilla, inscribed in archaizing *stoichedon* style, early third century CE, from Oinoanda, N. Lycia.

⁵⁹ Hall, Milner, and Coulton 1996: 124–125. Panhellenion: Spawforth and Walker 1985, 1986; Spawforth 1999.

⁶⁰ Quass 1993: 56–76; cf. Tacoma 2006: 235–242 (on Egypt).

EPILOGUE

A delicately structured hierarchy of social esteem was interwoven into the fabric of Roman imperial rule. The social prestige of elite groups was advertised to contemporaries through a varied array of insignia, rituals, and oral communications that are almost entirely lost to us. Inscribed monuments played a key role as permanent symbols of elite status already within contemporary discourse. In terms of the surviving evidence, they predominate in a disproportionate way. That honorific and other relevant inscriptions have survived in such large quantities from the eastern provinces is not just a result of the prosperity of the first three centuries CE and a general expansion of the epigraphic habit; it is also due to conscious strategies on the part of elites to monopolize and manipulate public memory. The inscriptions discussed in this chapter, like several hundreds of similar texts, are not straightforward documentary sources on local elites. On the contrary, they are highly one-sided, selective, and consciously constructed by those whose interests they were designed to serve. In recognizing the deliberate shaping of the material, we gain further new insights into Roman imperial society.

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CHAPTER 14

ROMAN GOVERNMENT AND ADMINISTRATION

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ROMAN BUREAUCRACY AND “STAATSRECHT”

No state can survive for centuries, as Rome did, without paying the closest attention to its military organization and financial strength. In addition, it is important for the state to secure the loyalty of its citizens and subjects. The administrative apparatus, in other words the Roman government and the way power was exercised and delegated, was designed to ensure that these objectives were met. Another term for administration is “bureaucracy,” a concept which today frequently has a negative ring to it, often undeservingly so.¹

From a comparative perspective it is often said that the Romans were particularly successful in creating effective military structures and developing legal thought and administrative practices. These features are interwoven, and epigraphy can help us understand Roman government, especially during the imperial period. Even short texts can provide relevant information, like the pedestal from Aquileia dating to c. 150 BCE, which honours a member of the three-man team which founded the colony in 181 BCE (*CIL* I² 621 = *ILLRP* 324 = *AE* 1990, 388):

L(ucius) Manlius L(uci) f(ilius)
Acidinus triu(m)vir
Aquileiae coloniae
deducundae

This information confirms Livy’s account (39.55.6; 40.34.3), but at other times inscriptions from the Republic provide our only evidence. For instance, the recently

¹ Saller 1982: 79–116; Eich 2005: 11–147.



FIG. 14.1 Graffito on the wall of the underground complex at Caere (Etruria) naming C. Genucius Clepsina (here called “Clousinus”). In situ.

discovered bronze ship rams (*rostra*) from Roman warships in the First Punic War provide the names of previously unknown quaestors from the mid-third century BCE (cf. Ch. 17).² One of the oldest known administrative texts came to light in the mid-1980s at Caere (Cerveteri) in Etruria. The graffito *C(aios) Genucio(s) Clousino(s) prai(fectos)*, scratched on the wall of an underground complex, names one Gaius Genucius Clusinus as *prae(fectus)* (Fig. 14.1). There is an ongoing debate about what precisely the official function of this Roman senator was at Caere. (He appears to be the C. Genucius Clepsina who was consul in 276 and 270 BCE.)³

The magisterial work *Das Römische Staatsrecht* of the great German scholar Theodor Mommsen (Fig. 4.1) is a fundamental starting point for anyone studying Roman government.⁴ Mommsen created a historical synthesis of how the Roman government was structured, focusing on decision making, its elected officials and appointed officeholders, and the rights of Roman citizens to influence the government. For the Republic, his sources were mostly literary, while from the Augustan period onwards epigraphic sources assumed a more prominent role. The impact of Mommsen’s work has been so great that it has occasionally assumed the role of almost a primary source. This it is not; it represents the interpretation of its author, albeit an enormously learned one. Mommsen’s *Staatsrecht* eventually appeared in a French translation⁵ but has never been translated into English. This is probably not coincidental. Scholars educated at universities in the English-speaking world have often shown less interest in investigating the legal and bureaucratic structures that play such a great role in the “Staatsrecht,” or at any rate, with some exceptions,⁶ have been less keen on studying constitutional issues in the Roman world than scholars writing in German, French, or Italian. Instead, for the imperial period, the many penetrating contributions by Peter Brunt which focus on concrete issues and problems and the model of Roman government developed by Fergus Millar, in which the emperors mostly reacted to the countless demands that reached them but rarely devised actual government policies, stand out. Several other

² Gnoli 2012; Tusa and Royal 2012; Cébeillac-Gervasoni 2014; Coarelli 2014.

³ Cristofani and Gregori 1987: 4; cf. Torelli 2000: 152. The text is absent from *AE* and *EDCS*.

⁴ Mommsen 1887–88. “Staatsrecht,” public law, is separate from private law, “Privatrecht,” which concerns the lives and possessions of individuals; cf. Ch. 15.

⁵ Mommsen 1894–96, reprinted 1984.

⁶ Lintott 1999 on the Roman Republic.

trenchant works assume a less tightly structured and less “modern” imperial administration or bureaucracy.⁷

These and many other scholars working on imperial administration rely heavily on epigraphic evidence, though most would hesitate to call themselves “epigraphers.” While the “Staatsrecht” of the republican period can, and often must, be pieced together from Livy, Polybius, and other literary texts, a similar method is not viable for the imperial period. Inscriptions provide the bulk of our sources, on matters of general importance as well as on the most detailed *minutiae* of how Roman bureaucracy worked at the local level. Literary sources merely complement the picture, as when Tacitus surveys the legions stationed in the provinces or describes Tiberius’ principles for promoting magistrates and imperial officials (*Ann.* 4.5; 4.6.1–2), or Juvenal names the members of Domitian’s *consilium* (*Sat.* 4.72–122). The period from Tiberius onwards is covered in an incomplete way by our surviving literary sources and, in addition, the focus of these texts is never comprehensive. The provinces suffer neglect compared to events in Rome, and the higher ranks of the administration receive much more exposure than the everyday functioning of the bureaucracy, important though this was for ordinary life in the Empire.

The importance of inscriptions for Roman imperial government has one important corollary: as inscriptions are continuously being discovered, new material is constantly added to our body of evidence. Even a single new text can require the re-evaluation of a long cherished view, either because of its inherent value or because, when placed in its proper context, it forces us to reinterpret already known evidence, for example, on Roman policy in the Red Sea region (Ch. 16, p. 333). The “Staatsrecht” of the imperial period is still in some ways a work-in-progress.

WORKING WITH INSCRIPTIONS: METHODOLOGICAL ASPECTS

“Faire la liste!” This was the straightforward advice of Hans-Georg Pflaum, the great epigrapher and expert on the equestrian order of the imperial period, for anyone attempting to unravel the structure of Roman imperial administration. He or she would first need to draw up a chronological list of all the known administrators connected to a particular office or task. Thanks to Pflaum’s study of equestrian officials⁸ and numerous works containing the *fasti* of senatorial officeholders (Ch. 11), scholars are today well served with such prosopographical tools.

⁷ Brunt 1990; Millar 1992; cf. Eich 2012. Anglo-American tradition: Burton 1977, 1978; Rickman 1980; Saller 1982; Hopkins and Burton 1983; other works cited in this chapter.

⁸ Pflaum 1960–61, 1982. Since then, progress has been made in many respects.

Next comes an issue which, since the 1970s, no one has stressed more than Werner Eck: the importance of evaluating the “Aussagekraft” of the evidence, i.e., judging how representative the information is which appears in lists of officeholders and epigraphic sources in general.⁹ Part of Eck’s message can be expressed with the well-known phrase “absence of evidence is not evidence of absence.” It is essential to understand the factors which affected the survival of sources. High levels of urbanization and the presence of army units, keen to commemorate events and individuals, normally generate more evidence for administrative measures and officeholders, while less epigraphic material is likely to turn up in regions where the local stone was of poor quality, as in Britain. In addition, the epigraphic habit varied over time and place (Ch. 8).

Much caution is needed when using arguments from silence. For instance, it used to be “common knowledge” that Hadrian was a great innovator of Roman administration, because a number of offices were first attested in careers dating to his reign. This notion is now untenable, thanks to new epigraphic discoveries making it clear that many supposed innovations had been introduced earlier.¹⁰ Conspicuous administrative innovators among the emperors were Augustus and Constantine.

It is equally important to consider the composition of the evidence and the likelihood that it can be expected to preserve information that we need. For various reasons, even so-called “*cursus* inscriptions” may not contain all the data pertaining to a person’s career (Ch. 11). The higher up in the administrative hierarchy a phenomenon was located, the more evidence was generated in antiquity and, all things being equal, can be expected to have survived. Thus, already some time ago, it was possible to determine the approximate proportion of attested office-holders of the total who ever held the particular office (Table 14.1); the evidence is overwhelmingly epigraphic:

Table 14.1 The proportion of known holders of some imperial offices during the Principate

office or magistracy	known holders of the office as a percent of the total number	Period
senators known by name	over 50%	first–third century
<i>consul II, consul III</i>	almost 100%	“ ”
<i>proconsul Asiae</i>	70%	“ ”
<i>proconsul Africae</i>	50%	“ ”
<i>legati</i> of these proconsuls	8%	“ ”
consuls	80–85%	69–138
quaestors	9%	“ ”

Source: Eck 1973; cf. 1974: 161–171; 2009: 234.

⁹ Eck 1973 (seminal), 1993, 2007; Burton 2002.

¹⁰ Eck 2000b: 241, 252.

Exceptions to this rule can be found, and it is crucial to establish the conditions under which inscriptions have survived. Some evidence may be exceptionally well preserved, because the site was suddenly abandoned, as in the case of Pompeii in 79, or because no later layers of habitation interfere with the Roman levels, as at Ostia or frequently in North Africa. At other times, certain types of evidence have survived particularly well and may provide a skewed image of past conditions. For instance, the bronze “military diplomas” discovered with metal detectors in large numbers in recent decades (Ch. 16; cf. Fig. 16.5) allow us to complete the *fasti* of second-century suffect consuls to an unusual degree, thereby adding disproportionately to our knowledge of the senatorial order during that time.

THE REPUBLICAN PERIOD

At the height of the Roman Republic, the tripartite division of the state, with elements of monarchy (the consuls), aristocracy (the Senate), and democracy (the people’s assemblies and the tribunes of the people), was praised by the historian Polybius (6.11.11–6.18.8) and, a century later, referred to by Cicero (*Rep.* 1.42–69).¹¹ Epigraphy contributes to our knowledge of all these aspects of Roman republican government.

Robert Broughton’s monumental *Magistrates of the Roman Republic* (1951–86) on republican officeholders, the consuls foremost among them, is largely a combination of literary information and the so-called *Fasti Capitolini* and *Triumphales* (*Inscr.It.* XIII.1; Fig. 6.6), which were inscribed on marble in the Augustan age and rarely derive from sources contemporary with the officeholders.¹² The working of the Senate, in Polybius’ analysis representing aristocratic government, is manifested in a number of epigraphically documented enactments, *senatus consulta*. The earliest surviving is the much debated *SC de Bacchanalibus* from 186 BCE (*CIL* I² 581 = *ILLRP* 511 = *ILS* 18; Ch. 19). Many other republican *senatus consulta* survive in epigraphic format, often from the East, in which case they are found in Greek translation. Robert Sherck’s standard collection *RDGE* also provides commentary on thirty-two such documents down to the reign of Augustus. They are invaluable for writing the history of Rome’s growing influence in the East and deal with many administrative issues such as disputes between individual Greek cities and the sometimes abusive practices of Roman tax-collectors.¹³ Republican examples in Latin can be found in *FIRA* (I 31, 34–36, 38–40). A selection of post-Augustan *senatus consulta*, normally from the West and in the Latin original, are listed in Table 14.2. Although literary sources mention a large number of *senatus consulta*, these are just fleeting references and verbatim quotations are rare.¹⁴

¹¹ Lintott 1999: 16–26, 214–225.

¹² The debate about the historicity of the *Fasti* cannot concern us here.

¹³ Kallet-Marx 1995.

¹⁴ Moore 1935: 808–812; Talbert 1984: 438–458 (Principate).

Actions of individual senators in an official capacity are also sometimes recorded in republican inscriptions, as shown by the example from Aquileia cited above and several *elogia* from the tomb of the Scipios in Rome (Ch. 11; cover image; Fig. 35.2). By far more revealing are the fifty or so Greek *epistulae*, inscribed copies of letters of Roman government officials to Greek cities from 189 BCE to well into Augustus' reign collected in *RDGE*. The otherwise unknown decision taken in the *consilium* of the consul Cn. Pompeius Strabo, the father of Pompey the Great, to reward a unit of Hispanic allied cavalry with Roman citizenship during the Social War in 89 BCE is recorded in a famous inscription on bronze (*CIL* I² 709 = *ILS* 8888 = *ILLRP* 515). A series of surviving *elogia* detailing the offices and feats of great heroes of the Republic, such as Camillus, Ap. Claudius Caecus, and Gaius Marius, were erected under Augustus in the Forum Romanum and especially in his own Forum Augustum and thus do not preserve information contemporary with the events.¹⁵

Ten *leges* or *plebiscita*, decisions by the popular assembly and representing the “democratic” component of Roman government, which since 287 BCE had legal force, have survived in whole or in part in epigraphic form. In comparison, only one *lex* is cited verbatim in our literary sources (Frontin. *Aq.* 129). Collected in an exemplary fashion in *RS*, most are from the Republic (Table 15.1). One such law concerned land distribution as a result of the reform movement of the Gracchi (*RS* 2, 111 BCE), and several stone markers (*termini*) in Italy, like the following example from modern Fano in Emilia Romagna, provide evidence for the work of the agrarian commissioners (*CIL* I² 719 = XI 6331 = *ILS* 26 = *ILLRP* 474; cf. Ch. 31, p. 676):¹⁶

M(arcus) Terentius M(arci) f(ilius)
Varro Lucullus
pro pr(aetore) terminos
restituendos
 5 *ex s(enatus) c(onsulto) coeravit*
qua P(ublius) Licinius
Ap(pius) Claudius
C(aius) Gracc(h)us III vir(i)
a(gris) d(andis) a(dsignandis) i(udicandis) statuerunt

M. Terentius Varro Lucullus, son of Marcus, with the power of a praetor, following a decision of the Senate, was in charge of restoring the markers, where P. Licinius, Ap. Claudius, C. Gracchus, the three-man college in charge of granting, assigning and adjudicating land had so determined.

Inscriptions also preserve about a dozen treaties with foreign powers and cities in the East passed by the popular assembly (Table 15.3). Some are referred to by historians of the period but the epigraphic record is crucial because even in Greek translation

¹⁵ *Inscr.It.* XIII.3 1–65, revised at *CIL* VI 40931–41021; Geiger 2008.

¹⁶ Gracchan *termini*: *CIL* I² 639–644, 696, 719 = *ILLRP* 467–475.

these texts provide unique insights. With one exception (Mytilene, 25 BCE), the treaties are all of republican date, the earliest being the one with the Aetolians in 212/211 BCE (*SEG* 13, 382). Most recently discovered is the treaty between Rome and the Lycian League from 46 BCE (*AE* 2005, 1487 = *SEG* 55, 1452; Chs. 15, 17).

THE REIGN OF AUGUSTUS

The Augustan age, about half a century long, was important both for the development of the institutions of government and for the growth of Roman epigraphy.¹⁷ The Augustan age has left us the “Queen of Latin inscriptions,” Augustus’ *Res Gestae* (Figs. 10.2–3). Besides important data on Roman government, this “autobiography” presents the first emperor’s view on how and why the state was transformed (Ch. 10). Under Augustus, the number of senators was permanently established at six hundred, several new offices for senators were created, and the senatorial career began to assume the regular features which characterize it during the High Empire. Non-military administrative positions for equestrians, often procuratorships or prefectures, also increased. Inscriptions, providing crucial information, allow us to say that the number of yearly senatorial positions grew from an initial 120 during Augustus’ reign to some 150 at the turn of the first century CE, while administrative positions for *equites* grew from some thirty-five per year to close to one hundred in the same period.¹⁸

Rome’s system of government was originally tailored for a city-state, not a world Empire, and one of its deficiencies, inherited from the republican period, was the small number of lower-ranking civilian officials. For a freeborn Roman of culture and ambition, it was awkward to hold a salaried position in a civilian hierarchical structure such as every bureaucratic organization is bound to be. The main exception was represented by a small number of *apparitores*, to use the collective term for attendants of Roman magistrates such as *lictors* (official attendants), *scribae* (secretaries), or *viatores* (messengers). They are known already during the Republic and continue to be employed. Individual *apparitores* mainly appear in inscriptions listing the person’s career (*ILS* 1877–1957), showing how these positions were an important vehicle of social promotion.¹⁹

The lack of “civil servants” led to an important new feature: the employment in public administration of Augustus’ freedmen and even his slaves (known as the *familia Caesaris*). This became an important and enduring feature of Roman government. For the imperial state, this category of officials had several advantages: they could be chosen from among the most gifted young slaves on the market, could be purposefully trained, and could be expected to be loyal to their master and *patronus*, the emperor,

¹⁷ Alföldy 1991.

¹⁸ Eck 1987: 250–259.

¹⁹ Purcell 1983.

and to his government (Ch. 28). Modern scholarship is well served by three fundamental works in three languages, which build on epigraphic evidence to a very substantial degree.²⁰ Chantraine focused on naming practices within the *familia Caesaris*. The full nomenclature of imperial freedmen can often give important clues about administration, as in the case of M. Ulpius Aug. lib. Hermia, *proc(urator) aurariarum* (CIL III 1312 = ILS 1593, Ampelum, Dacia). This former slave cannot have been freed before the reign of Trajan, but since he must have been manumitted by 117 at the latest, he cannot have survived much after 170. Thus this inscription provides a rough date for when the Dacian gold mines (*aurariae*) were under government supervision (Ch. 31).

It is debated whether imperial slaves and freedmen normally had a proper “career,” or whether they experienced little advancement from one post to another. Some scholars assume a career pattern almost on the model of what is known for Roman equestrians, but weighty criticism has been voiced. They probably often held more permanent positions, thereby also acquiring better knowledge of the various tasks facing the government.²¹ Imperial slaves and freedmen became a permanent feature of Roman administration, but their leading role in many sectors was reduced after the reign of Domitian due to the appointment of new equestrian procurators (see p. 284). Inscriptions continuously reveal previously unknown members of the *familia Caesaris* (for example, AE 2001, 1112), thereby increasing our understanding of the working of Roman government.²²

THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT IN IMPERIAL ROME

The Roman Empire was ruled from Rome where the Senate met, although the emperor when travelling required much of his “government” to accompany him. Hadrian was a particularly mobile emperor, but members of the Severan dynasty were also absent from Rome for considerable periods.²³ Epigraphy can help map imperial travel, as when an inscription documents how Caracalla’s advisory council heard a case involving a dispute between the Goharieni tribe and an alleged religious impostor at Antioch in Syria in May 216 (AE 1947, 182 = SEG 17, 759).²⁴

Roman government can be said to cover three geographical spheres. By far the most important was constituted by the provinces (see p. 291–294). Then there was Italy, which

²⁰ Weaver 1972; Boulvert 1970, 1974; Chantraine 1967.

²¹ Burton 1977.

²² Further examples: Khanoussi 1998; Panciera 2007.

²³ Imperial travel: Halfmann 1986; Barnes 1989. Hadrian: Halfmann 1986: 188–210; Birley 1997.

Epigraphic sources play a major role.

²⁴ Millar 1992: 535–536.

was de-militarized until Septimius Severus and lacked some government structures present in the provinces. The region and its population was partly administered by authorities in Rome, as is shown by a famous inscription from Saepinum which attests a series of communications concerning the transhumance of flocks involving imperial freedmen in the *a rationibus* office and the praetorian prefects (Chs. 15, 31). During the second century, when financial problems seem to have started to affect Italy, new senatorial positions were created alongside the existing *curatores viarum* (responsible for the roads, and possibly for their environs): above all the senatorial *praefecti alimentorum* (assisting needy children) and the *curatores rei publicae* (to oversee the finances of towns). After a first attempt under Hadrian, high-ranking senatorial *iuridici* were appointed to try legal cases outside Rome under Marcus Aurelius. Inscriptions provide crucial evidence for this development, on which the literary sources are mostly silent.²⁵ Even more so, our knowledge of the numerous imperial procurators who served in Italy, as in the provinces, is largely based on inscriptions. They handled a variety of tasks for the state and the emperor's financial administration. Among them are found the procurators responsible for procuring gladiators (Ch. 25), and many carrying titles like *proc. XX hereditarium* (collecting the 5 percent inheritance tax), *proc. vehiculorum* (in charge of the messenger service; Ch. 30), or *proc. rationis privatae* (imperial finances).²⁶ Many officials appear simply as *proc. Augusti* in inscriptions, without defining their task, perhaps because it was well-known in their social environment and the holding of a procuratorship was the all-important matter.

The capital had a more developed administrative structure, the purpose of which was to respond to the third function mentioned at the start of this chapter: namely, securing the loyalty of the population (Ch. 22). That Rome was a special administrative entity is shown, for instance, by the markers that Marcus Aurelius and Commodus ordered to be set up at the points where duties had to be paid on goods imported into the city (*CIL* VI 1016a–c = *ILS* 375; Fig. 14.2).

The administration of the aqueducts, the *cura aquarum*, which made possible the technological wonder that was Rome's water supply, is an exemplary case of imperial government and demonstrates the value of epigraphic evidence. Few in-depth studies of Roman administration can afford to neglect this topic because of Frontinus' *De aquaeductu*, a unique literary source describing the system.²⁷ Yet Frontinus' description of c. 100 CE neither fully explains all the administrative features at that particular time, nor is it necessarily valid for the period before or after the period in which the *De aquaeductu* was written. For instance, inscriptions show that Frontinus' account of the *procuratores aquarum* is partly misleading,²⁸ but some features can be verified in the epigraphic record, for instance the existence of various members of the work-crew of

²⁵ Camodeca 1980; Eck 1979, 1994.

²⁶ Pflaum 1960–61: 1036–41 for a survey.

²⁷ Bruun 1991, 2007.

²⁸ Bruun 2006: 101–114.



FIG. 14.2 Stone marker set up in Rome in 177 CE on the orders of Marcus Aurelius and Commodus to indicate where taxes on goods imported to the city could be levied by those who had leased the right to collect them. Replica now in the Museo della Civiltà Romana, Rome.

the *cura*, such as *castellarii* (reservoir-keepers), *circitores* (inspectors), and *vilici* (foremen) (Fig. 14.3).²⁹

Some features of Rome's *cura aquarum* are typical of the hierarchical structure of Roman government, such as the employment of individuals of specific social and legal status for specific tasks. The *cura aquarum* was headed by a senatorial *curator* of consular rank (Ch. 11),³⁰ while lower ranking procurators are found from the Neronian

²⁹ Bruun 1991: 190–194.

³⁰ Bruun 1991: 153–189; Bruun 2006: 91–97.

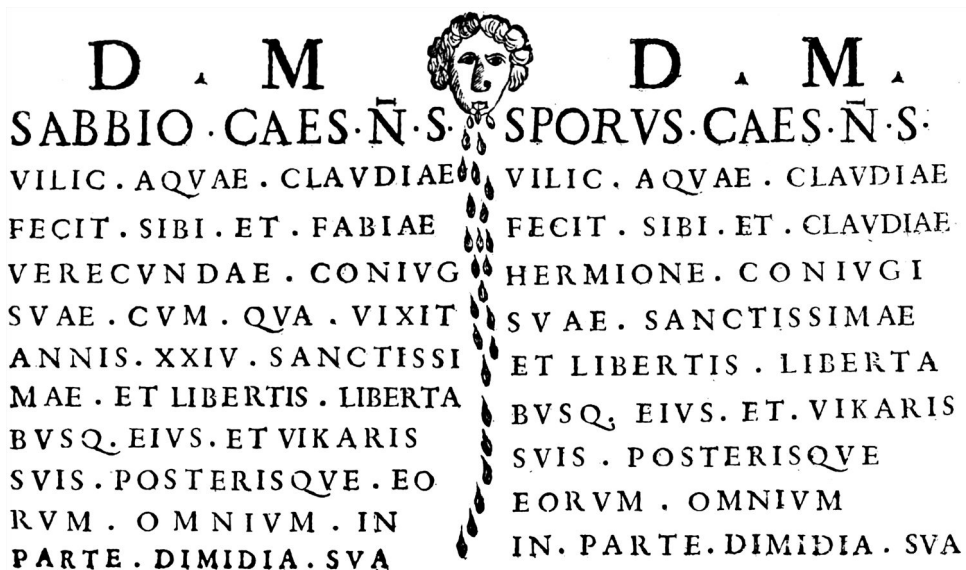


FIG. 14.3 Seventeenth-century etching showing the epitaph of two imperial slaves, Sabbio and Sporvs, who served as *vilici* of the Aqua Claudia aqueduct (*CIL* VI 8495 = *ILS* 1612).

period onwards. The earliest were imperial freedmen, but under Trajan the first equestrian procurator appears on a lead pipe carrying the text (*CIL* XV 7300):

Imp(eratoris) Nervae Traiani Caesar(is) Aug(usti) Ger(manici) Dacic(i) / sub cura C(ai) Pomponi Hylli proc(uratoris) off(icinator) Telesph(orus) ser(vus)

Belonging to the emperor Trajan, under supervision of C. Pomponius Hyllus, procurator; the slave Telesphorus was the owner/director of the workshop (which made the water conduit).

This demonstrates a general trend in Roman government: the appointment of *equites Romani* to positions that during the first century CE had been occupied by imperial freedmen. The power that emperors such as Claudius, Nero, or Domitian assigned to their favourite imperial freedmen (Fig. 28.2) proved a major reason for the rift between the imperial court and the status-conscious senatorial-equestrian elite that characterized several reigns during the first century.

A number of administrative head-offices were located in Rome during the imperial period. Inscriptions are the almost exclusive source for the development of these administrative branches which handled affairs that were fundamental to the working of the imperial government. Ultimately they were a direct response to the emperor's multifaceted position as ruler, as the Empire's wealthiest person, as the "super *patronus*" of the Empire's population, and as its supreme judicial authority. Among the highest court officials one finds persons bearing titles such as *a cognitionibus* (concerned with jurisdiction), *a libellis* (petitions), *ab epistulis Graecis* and *ab epistulis Latinis* (correspondence in Greek or Latin), and the "finance minister" (*a rationibus*), alongside whom there

also was a high-ranking *proc. patrimonii* overseeing imperial property. These officials were initially imperial freedmen and later senior equestrians with much experience in the imperial service, who had often held a series of procuratorial posts. They headed their own administrations and their staffs are mentioned in numerous inscriptions.³¹ No traces remain of these central bureaus and their archives, nor of the documents of unmeasurable historical importance (*senatus consulta* and *leges*) housed in the Tabularium and written on perishable material. A handful of such texts, exceptionally engraved on bronze, managed to avoid later destruction to be discovered in the very heart of Rome (*CIL* I² 588 = VI 40890 = *RDGE* 22 = *ILLRP* 513; *CIL* I² 587, 589 = *RS* 14, 19).

Much attention has lately focused on Roman archival practice, a central aspect of a world Empire.³² From Frontinus' account we learn that Rome's aqueduct administration had at its disposal an archive that included *commentarii*, i.e., administrative files on the tasks to be undertaken, the distribution network, and the holders of private water grants. Epigraphy has so far been unable to retrieve any of this lost information. Papyri provide comparative evidence from different contexts.³³ Outside Egypt, scholars are forced to work from scraps of information found in a variety of inscriptions. A bronze text from Sardinia, concerning a boundary dispute in 69 CE, reveals the existence of archival practice, as it begins by stating (*CIL* X 7852 = *ILS* 5947):³⁴

.../ *descriptum et recognitum ex codice ansato L(uci) Helvi Agrippae procons(ulis) quem protulit Cn(aeus) Egnatius / Fuscus scriba quaestorius in quo scriptum fuit it quod infra scriptum est tabula V (capitibus) VIII et VIII / et X...*

...Accurately copied and attested from the notebook with handles of the proconsul L. Helvius Agrippa, which Cn. Egnatius Fuscus, the quaestor's secretary, provided, and in which the text that is cited below was written on tablet five, in columns eight, nine, and ten...

Archival practice is also illustrated in many imperial letters (see p. 288–289), while the so-called Tabula Banasitana, a famous inscription referring to a session of Caracalla's advisory council (*consilium*) at which Roman citizenship was granted to leaders of the Moroccan tribe of the Zegrenses, among other relevant information contains the phrase *descriptum et recognitum ex commentario civitate Romana donatorum* (*AE* 1971, 534, line 22 = *IAM* II 94), which proves the existence in Rome of a file (*commentarius*) of all individuals who had received citizenship.³⁵ It also likely contained a list of all auxiliary soldiers given Roman citizenship after completing their service. Their names were displayed in public on hundreds of bronze plaques, now all lost, exhibited in the very centre of Rome; they were consulted whenever an auxiliary soldier was given an official proof of citizenship (Ch. 16, Fig. 16.5). It is noteworthy that the production of these attestations on small

³¹ Equestrian leaders of these branches: Pflaum 1960–61: 1019–25; freedman and slave staff: see n. 20 above.

³² Moatti 1998.

³³ *P.Lond.* III 1177 with Habermann 2000 for the *cura aquarum* of Ptolemais Evergetis, Egypt.

³⁴ Mastino 1993 for the document.

³⁵ Sherwin-White 1973; Mourguès 1998: esp. 132–136.

bronze tablets (“military diplomas”) was not carried out by officials in a putative “Ministry of Defence,” but, according to recent suggestions, by private contractors.³⁶

GENERAL ASPECTS OF ADMINISTRATION AND GOVERNMENT DURING THE PRINCIPATE

The Roman emperor was in some ways an autocrat, but the hierarchy within the *cura aquarum*, with senators at the top and imperial freedmen giving way to equestrians under Trajan, signals a crucial aspect of Roman government. The emperor may have been the *princeps* of the imperial state, but most rulers aimed to balance various considerations: satisfying the expectations of the elite while guaranteeing the nomination of loyal and capable administrators. During the Principate, republican institutions remained in place (the magistrates, the Senate, the popular assembly), and within the senatorial aristocracy there was a strong commitment, at least in theory, to this traditional ideological heritage. The Senate continued to draft legislation, and, apart from the direct quotations in Frontinus’ *De aquaeductu*, the actual words of *senatus consulta* approved during the Principate are mostly known from inscriptions (Table 14.2; cf. n. 14).

The Roman Empire created one of the most successful military organizations ever seen, and the borders remained secure for centuries. Yet there was no Ministry of War (or Defence). Who planned the campaigns and who oversaw the military bureaucracy, the individual promotions, and the transfers of troops?³⁷ How were high-level decisions reached in any sector of the administration? An important dimension of Roman leadership was the presence of a close circle of advisers. During the Principate the *consilium principis* was a supreme council with a fluctuating membership of trusted advisers and leading government officials (cf. the Tabula Banasitana, p. 285). Besides Juvenal (p. 276), only a few literary passages, such as Pliny’s letters (*Ep.* 4.22; 6.22, 31), alert us to this institution, and also epigraphic instances of terms such as *consilium* or *consiliarius* are rare.³⁸ Above all men regarded as an “amicus (friend) of the Emperor” could participate in the imperial council. The expression *amicus Caesaris* (φιλόσ Σεβαστοῦ) is used, perhaps somewhat loosely, in literary sources and appears in some thirty inscriptions, but it was rarely if ever included in so-called *cursus* inscriptions, perhaps to avoid accusations of hubris. When an epigraphic attestation occurs, the text normally quotes an imperial letter or other official document.³⁹ In contrast, the position of imperial *comes*, “companion,” is frequently found in funerary or honorific inscriptions.⁴⁰

³⁶ Haensch 1996: 462; Weiss 1999: 155–158.

³⁷ Campbell 1984; Alföldy 1987: 3–25.

³⁸ Eck 2000a, 2006: 73–75.

³⁹ Eck 2006; *contra* Bruun 2001: 345–348, 361–364; cf. Christol 2007: 50–53.

⁴⁰ Epigraphic and literary sources on *amici* and *comites*: Crook 1955; *comites*: Halfmann 1986: 245–253.

Table 14.2 The best preserved epigraphic evidence for *senatus consulta* from Augustus onwards

date	Content	reference	see further
17 BCE and later	<i>Iudi saeculares</i> of Augustus and Claudius or Domitian	<i>CIL</i> VI 32323–24 = <i>FIRA</i> I 40	Ch. 19
19 CE	trial of Cn. Calpurnius Piso accused of murdering Germanicus	<i>CIL</i> II ² /5, 900 = <i>AE</i> 1996, 885; Fig. 15.2	Chs. 15, 17
19	public order at spectacles	<i>EAOR</i> III 2 = <i>AE</i> 1995, 354	Ch. 25
44–46, 56	two <i>SC</i> with prohibitions against demolishing buildings	<i>CIL</i> X 1401 = <i>ILS</i> 6043	
48	the entry of Gallic nobles into the Senate (formally an <i>oratio</i> of Claudius)	<i>CIL</i> XIII 1668 = <i>ILS</i> 212; Fig. 17.3	Ch. 17
113–116	<i>SC</i> about the request of Pergamum to stage games	<i>CIL</i> III 7086 = <i>IGRR</i> IV 336	
138	permission to hold markets in the <i>saltus Beguensis</i> , North Africa	<i>CIL</i> VIII 270 + 11451 + 23246 = <i>FIRA</i> I 47 = <i>ILTun</i> 396	
138–161	application of Cyzicus to have a youth organization	<i>CIL</i> III 7060 + 12244 = <i>ILS</i> 7190 = <i>FIRA</i> I 48	
176–178	reduction of expenses at gladiatorial games	<i>CIL</i> II 6278 = <i>ILS</i> 5163 = <i>FIRA</i> I 49 = <i>EAOR</i> VII 3 (cf. <i>ILS</i> 9340)	Ch. 25

The emperor interacted with subjects and administrators in a number of ways. If at times the main focus of epigraphic studies on Roman government has been on its basic anatomy (offices holders, government branches, provincial organization), for several decades the attention has been shifting to the softer tissues of the body politic: various means of communication. Undoubtedly the publication of Fergus Millar's *The Emperor in the Roman World* (1977; reissued 1992) was a catalyst for discussing the imperial "Regierungsstil," interactions between rulers and ruled and initiatives taken by the various emperors. Since then, the debate has focused on the extent to which the imperial government was active or reactive (cf. Chs. 15, 17).⁴¹

Subjects and government officials approached the emperor in person and in writing, but we are often less well-informed about the exact content of petitions or the purpose of embassies and are primarily able to study the emperors' (re)actions. Besides Pliny's letters to Trajan (*Ep.* 10), the sources are papyrological and, more often, juridical or epigraphic, and new discoveries, mainly from the Greek East, continue to add to our material. In their Empire-wide correspondence the emperors continued the

⁴¹ For instance, Bleicken 1982; Haensch and Heinrichs 2007; Eich 2012.

republican epistolary tradition of Roman magistrates so clearly demonstrated in *RDGE*. The novelty of the Principate is that whatever an emperor wrote in a letter or in response to a petition in principle had the force of law (Ch. 15), although his decisions in individual cases were not meant to be applicable everywhere and when the legal codes were created under Theodosius II and Justinian, only general enactments were to be included. Drawing proper distinctions was sometimes difficult in antiquity and is no easier today. The changes over time in practice and terminology increase the ambiguities. Whereas three types of imperial *constitutiones*—*decretum*, *edictum*, and *epistula*—are mentioned by the jurist Gaius in the mid-second century (*Inst.* 1.5), modern scholars prefer to see four types of written pronouncements. The standard work remains James H. Oliver's posthumous *Greek Constitutions of Early Roman Emperors from Inscriptions and Papyri* (1989), which includes "epistles, edicts, rescripts, and instructions." A slightly different division of imperial enactments looks as follows:⁴²

- a *decretum* was a verdict given by the emperor in a legal procedure. There are few epigraphic examples.
- *edicta* (edicts) were pronouncements meant to be generally applicable; they could result from individual cases under consideration or represent genuine actions of active government. Diocletian's Edict on Maximum Prices (Ch. 18) is the most famous epigraphically attested example, but there are many more including the Tabula Clesiana, Claudius' ruling on a complicated issue involving conflicting Alpine peoples in N. Italy (*CIL* V 5050 = *ILS* 206 = *FIRA* I, 71 = *AE* 1983, 445; *edictum...propositum fuit...*; Ch. 10). A recent discovery from Maroneia in Thrace is Hadrianic and concerns problems over the *vehiculatio* (*SEG* 49, 886 = *AE* 2005, 1348; Ch. 30).⁴³
- *mandata* were administrative instructions to government officials. The best preserved is from Domitian to the procurator of Syria (Oliver, *Gk. Const.* 40, lines 5–34).⁴⁴
- imperial letters, *epistulae* or *rescripta* (rescripts, replies) were responses to a petition (technical term: *libellus*), normally from a community or an official.⁴⁵ A vast and steadily growing number of such documents survives, mostly in the Greek East; the letter from Titus to Munigua and a letter of Domitian to the Italian town of Falerio (Ch. 10) are rare Latin examples. This is a burgeoning field of study and in a recent survey complementing Oliver's collection the list of new texts and additions covers over ten pages.⁴⁶ Typical and informative in many ways are the letters which decorated the so-called Archive Wall at Aphrodisias, dating from Augustus to 250 CE (*Aphrodisias & Rome*; cf. Ch. 10).⁴⁷ Recently discovered

⁴² Sirks 2001: 122–123; Burton 2002: 252.

⁴³ Jones 2011.

⁴⁴ Millar 1992: 313–328; Burton 2002: 252–254.

⁴⁵ Nörr 1981.

⁴⁶ Anastasiadis and Souris 2000: 2–12; slightly differently Burton 2002; cf. Haensch 2007: 1–15.

⁴⁷ cf. Oliver, *Gk. Const.* 48, 69, 211, 218–219, 278–279, 281–282, 284.



FIG. 14.4 Bronze stele with a copy of a letter of Hadrian to the people of Naryka in Locris (Greece), c. 138 CE. The Louvre.

examples include Hadrian’s letter to Naryka (Ch. 17; Fig. 14.4) and his three letters addressed to the Association of Dionysiac Artists (Ch. 25).

The reply to an individual’s petition was often so brief that it found space on the very document that had been presented to the emperor. In this case the term *subscriptio* (subscript) was used, to indicate that the reply was written beneath the petition.⁴⁸ An example comes from Smyrna (the province of Asia), where a now lost inscription cited

⁴⁸ Williams 1986.

a petition in Greek from a certain Sextilius Acutianus to the emperor Pius, who replied with the following Latin *subscriptio* (CIL III 411 = ILS 338):⁴⁹

Imp(erator) Caesar T(itus) Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Augustus Pius / Sextilio Acutiano. sententiam divi patri(s) mei / si quid pro sententia dixit describere tibi permitto / rescripsi recognovi undevicensimus act(um) VI Idus April(es) Romae Caes(are) / Antonino II et Praesente co(n)s(ulibus)

The emperor Pius to Sextilius Acutianus. I permit you to copy the verdict of my deified father, if he did deliver a verdict. I [the emperor] have replied. I [an official] have checked (it). The nineteenth [= archival number]. Enacted on 7 April in Rome, 139 CE.

Letters of appointment (*codicilli*, “little tablets”; cf. IGRR III 174 = OGIS 543)⁵⁰ represented one type of imperial *epistulae*. Imperial *legati* and procurators were appointed by the emperor, who also exercised influence over the nomination of proconsuls and the traditional magistrates in Rome, beginning with the junior *XXviri* and with increasing attention all the way to the consulship. The classic example was written by the emperor Marcus Aurelius to an equestrian official, Domitius Marsianus, who was to take up a provincial position in Gaul. A copy of the letter is appended to an honorific inscription set up at Bulla Regia, North Africa, on the base of an equestrian statue erected by decree of the local *ordo*. The inscription begins with the career of Marsianus and continues (AE 1962, 183 = 1971, 491):⁵¹

...*L(ucius) Domitius Fabianus frater eius remisso rei p(ublicae) sumptu de suo posuit exemplum codicillorum
Caesar Antoninus Aug(ustus) Domitio Marsiano suo salut(em)
ad ducenariae procurationis splendorem iam dudum te
15 provehere studens utor opportunitate quae nunc [o]bte-
git succedere igitur Mario Pudenti tanta cum spe perpetui
favoris mei quantam conscientiam retinueris innocen-
tiae diligentiae experientiae vale mi Marsiane karissime
mihi*

...His brother L. Domitius Fabianus after saving the community the expense (for the statue) erected (the monument) at his own expense. Letter of appointment: “Caesar Augustus Antoninus (= M. Aurelius) greets his dear Domitius Marsianus. Intending now for a long time to promote you to the glory of a procuratorship carrying an annual salary of 200,000 *sestertii*, I am now making use of the opportunity which presents itself. Therefore, succeed Marius Pudens with an expectation of my lasting goodwill so long as you retain your focus on innocence, diligence, and skills based on experience. Farewell, my dearest Marsianus!”

The letter is important for understanding the principles for promotion within the imperial administration. Scholarly discussion has centered around the relative influence of patronage and merit. Marsianus’ appointment letter makes no mention of

⁴⁹ Williams 1986: 182–187; Sirks 2001: 126.

⁵⁰ Millar 1992: 310–311.

⁵¹ cf. Millar 1983: 127–129.

seniority or specific qualifications, but it cites the emperor's fondness, two moral qualities (*innocentia*, *diligentia*), and skills gained by experience (*experientia*). The inscription largely confirms principles which are found in Pliny's letters of recommendation to Trajan (*Ep.* 10.4–6, 10–12): the moral qualities of being a loyal Roman "gentleman" were crucial for advancement. Even though most officials served at the emperor's pleasure, the epigraphic evidence reveals certain patterns according to which loyal aristocrats and ambitious individuals rising from below could harbour certain expectations of success.⁵² Marsianus' appointment also shows that there was a bureaucratic structure setting certain limits for the emperor's freedom of action: a position had to open up before a promotion could take place. The term *ducenarius* indicates the annual salary of the procuratorship. Much effort has gone into studying equestrian careers and the relatively few indications of the salary accompanying an office—*sexagenarius* (HS 60,000), *centenarius* (HS 100,000), *ducenarius* (HS 200,000), and finally *trecenarius* (HS 300,000; quite rare)—in order to establish the hierarchy of the various procuratorships. There are some contradictions, and the system may have been less fixed than is sometimes believed.⁵³

Prosopographical studies, setting out from lists of officeholders, have in the past sometimes attempted to discern specific principles of government, arguing that certain emperors favoured particular groups of senators or equestrians. The idea of "territorial specialists," sent by the emperor to certain regions such as the Germanic provinces or the Danubian area, was based on the study of career inscriptions but has now little support. The question of whether the epigraphic material allows us to identify special *virii militares*, "military experts" sent to govern potentially unruly regions, is of more general interest. The common view today is that such career patterns and such a government policy cannot normally be identified, although in the special case of the Bar Kochba revolt in Judaea the epigraphic evidence shows that Hadrian had recourse to his most trusted general, Sex. Iulius Severus, who was sent from Britain to Judaea.⁵⁴

IMPERIAL ADMINISTRATION IN THE PROVINCES

The Roman state acquired its provinces for a combination of political, military-strategic, and economic reasons. The paramount task for every provincial administration was to keep the province *pacata atque quieta* (*Dig.* 1.18.13), i.e., to keep the peace. The idea was to avoid any restlessness in the cities which interfered with revenue collection and might grow into rebellion.

⁵² Eck 2001; cf. Saller 1982 for a different emphasis.

⁵³ Pflaum 1960–61: 1018–1103; 1974 for the hierarchy; doubts in Millar 2004: ch. 8. Salary levels for procurators involved in preparing gladiatorial games: Ch. 25.

⁵⁴ Eck 2001: esp. 11–12 (Judaea).

The number of Rome's provinces (Map 2) increased over time, through the addition of new territories until Trajan and later by dividing existing units, so that forty-two different territories feature in B.E. Thomasson's compilation of known provincial governors.⁵⁵ Inscriptions can be crucial in mapping this development, informing us about the creation of new provinces and the splitting up of existing ones. So, for instance, an inscription from Lanuvium mentions for the first time the position of *procurator duce-narius provinciarum Hispaniarum citerioris et superioris* (AE 1998, 282), thus providing information about the short-lived creation of the province of Hispania Superior at the end of the second century CE and about the procurator's salary level (HS 200,000).

The change in a province's status can almost only be studied through inscriptions, which reveal whether a province had a military garrison or not. The Romans stationed their legions and auxiliary units almost exclusively in provinces bordering on foreign territory. These so-called "imperial provinces" were governed by a *legatus Augusti pro praetore* who was of consular rank when more than one legion was stationed in the province. Inscriptions show that provinces normally never had more than three legions; Britannia and Syria are examples of this situation. Proconsuls governed provinces without troops, known as *provinciae populi Romani*, of which there were normally ten, while there were about twenty-five imperial *legati Aug. pro praetore* (Table 11.2). Inscriptions reveal that a military guard or some auxiliary unit could nevertheless be present even in a public province, not least in Asia and Africa, the two crucially important provinces governed by a proconsul of consular rank. Some smaller provinces, such as Noricum or Raetia, had an equestrian procurator as governor. Egypt, the richest, was governed by an equestrian *praefectus Aegypti* who, because he lacked senatorial rank, was thought to be unable to challenge for the imperial purple.⁵⁶

Proconsuls held office for a year, while *legati Aug. pr. pr.* normally governed their provinces for between two and three years, as revealed by studies of the *fasti* of governors of individual provinces, primarily known from inscriptions (Ch. 11). The governor was the supreme commander of the troops in his province, but most of his tasks were of a civilian nature and fell within the sphere of dispensing justice. He held assizes not only in the town where he resided, but in other main centres, which he visited annually. Outside of Egypt, epigraphic sources illuminate the bureaucratic structures including data about the governor's staff and the archival practice relating to two very important administrative tasks: the periodic registration of the population (*census*) and regular revenue collection.⁵⁷

When assuming his duties, a Roman governor announced in an edict (*edictum*) the general principles to which he would adhere, usually following in his predecessor's footsteps. None survives, but inscriptions preserve some twenty other more specific edicts by provincial governors. They deal with issues such as the burden that official

⁵⁵ Thomasson 2009.

⁵⁶ Jördens 2009 on the *praef. Aegypti* and the administration of Egypt, mainly documented by papyri.

⁵⁷ Haensch 1996, 1997; Meyer-Zwiffelhofer 2002.

travellers through the province caused the population (Ch. 30).⁵⁸ Petitions from individuals or collectivities alert scholars to some of the problems provincial inhabitants had to deal with. The epigraphic record contains many that were directed to the emperor.⁵⁹ Famous cases include the complaints from tenants on imperial estates in North Africa (Ch. 31) and the only completely preserved petition to an emperor, c. 150 lines long, from the villagers of Skaptopara in Thrace lamenting that overbearing behaviour by the authorities threatened their livelihood (*IGBulg IV 2236*). In a brief *subscriptio* on four lines, Gordian III replied that the villagers needed to take up the matter with the provincial governor (which they claimed they had already done).⁶⁰

Complaints about wrongs suffered by provincials often involved arrogant behaviour by imperial officials, especially procurators. Those so criticized were normally not the high-ranking equestrians who governed a province (so-called “praesidial procurators,” few in number), but lesser procurators who handled a variety of tasks, all in some way concerned with extracting revenue from the province. Each province had a financial procurator (*proc. provinciae*) with his own staff sent out by the emperor,⁶¹ and in addition there were many procurators, both equestrian and *Augusti liberti*, responsible for collecting the usual and ubiquitous taxes and dues, especially on inheritances (*proc. XX hereditarium*) and on imported and exported goods,⁶² while others were engaged in productive activities such as mining (Ch. 31).

The Roman state was much engaged in regulating space, as the inscription establishing Rome’s customs zone revealed (Fig. 14.3), and in the provinces inscriptions show senatorial officeholders frequently engaging in establishing limits, either for government purposes or in order to resolve conflicts between neighbouring communities.⁶³ Inscriptions are practically our only source when mapping the various custom areas and the *portorium* dues that were exacted at specific crossing points on land (*stationes*) or in seaports. Best known is the 2.5 percent tax on goods payable when entering or leaving the Gallic provinces (the *quadragesima Galliarum*),⁶⁴ while the so-called Tax Law of Asia has revealed much about the situation in the province of Asia (Chs. 17, 31).

Some procurators, especially but not only of freedman status, were employed to administer imperial properties, and it is not always clear whether an official was responsible for revenues that flowed directly into the emperor’s treasury, or whether he was working for the Roman government in a more general sense. This ambiguity is not surprising, as the question of how to draw the proper distinction between the emperor’s *res privata* (“personal property”), the *fiscus* (“crown property”), and revenues owed the

⁵⁸ Meyer-Zwiffelhofer 2002: 342–343 (provincial edicts from the Greek East except Egypt).

⁵⁹ Herrmann 1990; Hauken 1998.

⁶⁰ Most recent treatment: Connolly 2010: 167–173.

⁶¹ Pflaum 1974; Eck 2000b.

⁶² Brunt 1990: 324–346.

⁶³ Burton 2000.

⁶⁴ De Laet 1949; France 2001.

Roman state (*aerarium*) has remained without a clear answer, regardless of an often lively debate.⁶⁵

THE LIMITS OF KNOWLEDGE

The limits of our knowledge of how Roman government worked, in particular provincial administration, have been well laid out by G.P. Burton. Acknowledging the many uncertainties even when presenting informed estimates, he calculates that during the second century there may have been some eighteen hundred *mandata* sent to senatorial governors; not even one survives complete in epigraphic form or in any other medium (cf. *Dig.* 48.3.6.1). During that century, there may have been over eighty thousand imperial rescripts addressed to senatorial governors, while altogether only about 175 imperial constitutions, a few of which were addressed to governors, survive epigraphically in whole or in part (and under nine hundred in juridical texts).⁶⁶ Yet one cannot doubt the great contribution that inscriptions recording imperial letters and other constitutions bring to our understanding of Roman government.

One further aspect needs to be stressed, namely, the fact that communities and individuals all over the Empire, who largely were responsible for recording *epistulae* and rescripts on stone, normally did so only when a positive reply to a petition was received. It was much rarer that local communities went to the same trouble when receiving notion of an imperial general edict or *decretum*. The *Res Gestae*, the *SCPiso*, and Diocletian's Edict on Maximum Prices are conspicuous exceptions (cf. Ch. 15). This fact skews our perspective on whether the Roman government was active or reactive. Our source material tends to undervalue imperial policy initiatives and active government.

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⁶⁵ Brunt 1990: 134–162, 347–353; Lo Cascio 2000; Millar 2004: 47–88.

⁶⁶ Burton 2002: 253–255.

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CHAPTER 15

THE ROMAN STATE: LAWS, LAWMAKING, AND LEGAL DOCUMENTS*

GREGORY ROWE

THIS chapter deals with what is often called juridical epigraphy, i.e., the study of normative documents on durable supports emanating from and involving officials and organs of the Roman state (“sources of law”), and private legal documents on durable and perishable supports, such as wills, commercial and financial instruments, and judicial documents. This material complements the legal sources surviving in the literary tradition: the writings of the jurists (principally the *Institutes* of Gaius and Justinian and the *Digest*) and the collections of imperial constitutions (the *Theodosian Code* and the Justinianic *Code* and *Novellae*).¹ First, much of the epigraphic material antedates the literary sources and enables us to follow the historical development of the law. Second, it reflects areas of public law that are virtually absent from the literary sources, for instance international law and the administration of public contracts. Third, it reflects private judicial procedure, where the literary sources, primarily concerned with substantive law, reflect procedure only implicitly. Fourth, inscriptions, especially the archives of wooden tablets from Campania prior to 79 CE, provide real-world instances of the legal instruments and processes that appear in the literary sources only in theoretical and decontextualized ways.

The epigraphic material does have limitations. Although permanent public inscriptions were a natural medium for promulgating legislation, some of the most important Roman legal texts, such as the urban praetor’s edict (cf. *FIRA* I 65), were made public only by being read aloud and posted temporarily on a whitened wooden board (*album*),

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¹ Sources of Roman law: Robinson 1997.

while others, such as senatorial decrees, were normally archived without being set up in public.² When the Roman state published legal documents on durable surfaces, as it did with treaties and (probably) statutes, the usual medium was bronze, much of which was subsequently reused.³ Furthermore, inscriptions erected by subjects, which account for the bulk of the extant material, usually reflect particular matters of local and immediate concern, and this has resulted in an absence from the epigraphical record of general laws, which, it is argued, has produced a misleading image of the Roman state as being reactive rather than proactive (cf. Ch. 14).⁴

This chapter divides the material into three categories: collective resolutions, sacred laws and pronouncements by emperors and officials, and private documents. The most complete collection of juridical documents remains *FIRA*, especially volumes I (*Leges*, 1941) and III (*Negotia*, 1943). These were reprinted in 1968 with an appendix to vol. III containing new documents.⁵

COLLECTIVE RESOLUTIONS

Collective resolutions were formed when an official put a question to a group and the group responded. When the group was the Roman people or *plebs*, the resolution was phrased in the imperative mood (statutes, treaties, probably colonial and municipal codes; see the extract from the Flavian Municipal Law quoted below, p. 304). When the group was the Roman Senate, the response was phrased in the subjunctive mood because it was notionally advisory (see the extract from the decree concerning Cn. Piso quoted in Ch. 17, p. 355–356). Decrees of local councils followed the form of Roman senatorial decrees.⁶

1. Statutes

Only a handful of inscribed Roman statutes survive in more than exiguous fragments (Table 15.1), but the long, detailed texts that have come down to us—from a period of approximately two centuries—are of the greatest importance.⁷

² Eck 1998a; Haensch 2009. Wooden boards: Eck 1998b. Praetor's edict: Lenel 1927.

³ Williamson 1987a; Caballos Rufino 2008.

⁴ Burton 2002; Ando 2006.

⁵ Epigraphical sources for Roman law: Wenger 1953: 325–473. Overviews of juridical epigraphy: Licandro 2002; Ferrary 2002; Lovato 2006. Online collection of texts: the Roman Law Library (<http://webuz.upmf-grenoble.fr/Haiti/Cours/Ak/>). Translations of many of these documents: Johnson et al. 1961.

⁶ Nicolet 1977, 1980; Lintott 1999.

⁷ *RS* with Lebek 2001. Lists of known statutes: Rotondi 1962 (to be used with caution, since not all statutes listed are securely attested); *DizEpig s.v. lex* (G. Barbieri et al., 1957). Legislative activity: Williamson 2005.

Table 15.1 Roman statutes recorded on surviving inscriptions

<i>lex repetundarum</i> (Tabula Bembina)	123–122 BCE	RS 1
<i>lex agraria</i> (Tabula Bembina)	111	RS 2
<i>lex de provinciis praetoriis</i> (in different Greek translations from Cnidos and Delphi)	101–100	RS 12
<i>lex Cornelia de XX quaestoribus</i>	80	RS 14
<i>lex Antonia de Termessibus</i>	70	RS 19
<i>lex Gabinia de insula Delo</i>	58	RS 22
<i>lex Fonteia</i>	39 BCE?	RS 36
<i>lex Valeria Aurelia</i> (law regarding honours for the deceased Germanicus Caesar, transmitted in the <i>senatus consultum</i> preserved on the Tabula Siarensis and Tabula Hebana)	19–20 CE	RS 37 ^a
<i>lex</i> for Drusus Caesar (Tabula Illicitana)	23	RS 38
<i>lex de imperio Vespasiani</i>	69–70	RS 39 ^b

Note: On RS 1–2, see also Lintott 1992 (essential commentary, though the texts in RS are preferable because they are based on a more accurate estimate of the original length of the lines).

^aCipollone 2012 (new fragment).

^bcf. Capogrossi Colognesi and Tassi Scandone 2009.

Many of these statutes reflect common classes of legislation and describe fundamental political processes, such as procedure in the standing criminal courts known as *quaestiones* (*lex repetundarum*), the ongoing distribution of public land to Roman citizens (*lex agraria*), the establishment of permanent provinces and governors' duties (*lex de provinciis praetoriis*), elections and the issuing of honours to the imperial family (laws for Germanicus and Drusus Caesar), and the formal granting of powers to emperors (the so-called *lex de imperio Vespasiani*, which may have been exceptional rather than traditional)—as well as lesser processes that would not otherwise be observed, such as the hiring of messengers and heralds (*lex Cornelia de XX quaestoribus*).⁸

2. Colonial and municipal codes

Equally important are the colonial and municipal codes surviving from first-century BCE and first-century CE Italy, Gaul, and Spain (Table 15.2).⁹ These sometimes immense documents—the *lex Irnitana*, containing a portion of the Flavian Municipal Law, is the longest Latin inscription known—illuminate many aspects of civil administration,

⁸ On the legalese of Roman statutes (minute, archaizing, pleonastic), Meyer 2004: 44–72.

⁹ Capogrossi Colognesi and Gabba 2006. For municipal administration, Abbott and Johnson 1926 remains useful.

Table 15.2 Codes of Roman *coloniae* and *municipia* from Italy and the provinces

<i>lex Latina Tabulae Bantinae</i>	late 2nd century BCE	RS 7	
<i>lex Osca Tabulae Bantinae</i>	early 1st century	RS 13	
<i>lex Tarentina</i>	first half of 1st century	RS 15	
<i>fragmentum Atestinum</i>	second quarter of 1st century	RS 16	
<i>Tabula Heracleensis</i>	after 90	RS 24	Giovannini 2004, 2008
<i>lex de Gallia Cisalpina (lex Rubria)</i>	Caesarian	RS 28	
<i>lex coloniae Genetivae Iuliae</i> (Fig. 15.1)	Caesarian		
a) chs. 61–106, fragments between chs. 108 and 123, 124–134		CIL II ² /5, 1022; RS 25	
b) chs. 13–15, 16–20 (fragmentary)		AE 2006, 645	Caballos Rufino and Correa Rodríguez 2006
<i>lex de flamonio provinciae Narbonensis</i>	69–79 CE	CIL XII 6038; ILS 6949	Williamson 1987b
<i>lex Flavia municipalis</i>	91 (<i>lex Irnitana</i>)	AE 1986, 333	González 1986
a) Salpensa (chs. 21–29)		CIL II 1963; ILS 6088; FIRA I 23	
b) Malaca (chs. 51–69)		CIL II 1964; ILS 6089; FIRA I 24	Spitzl 1984
c) Irni (chs. 19–31, A–L, 59–97)		AE 1986, 333	González 1986; Lamberti 1993; Wolf 2011
d) fragments			Caballos Rufino and Fernández Gómez 2002, 2005
Municipal Law from Troesmis (Moesia Inferior)	177–180		Eck 2014

Note: The *lex coloniae Genetivae Iuliae* is often incorrectly referred to as the *lex Ursonensis*; the pre-Roman name Urso was no longer used for the Roman *colonia*. The surviving copy was inscribed in the first century CE (the Julio-Claudian and Flavian periods have been suggested) rather than in the Caesarian period.

including civil jurisdiction and procedure; the election, duties, and powers of magistrates; the organization of spectacles, including seating arrangements; public finances, especially the accountability of persons handling them (oaths and guarantors of magistrates and scribes, rendering of accounts, investigation of improprieties); the maintenance of infrastructure and public contracts; cooptation of patrons and the sending of embassies; sacrifices and priests' duties; and the disposal of the dead. But what precisely are the colonial and municipal codes? They call themselves *leges*, but the term *lex* was used for a range of private and public normative texts.¹⁰ Clearly, the codes are

¹⁰ Barbieri et al. 1957: 702–706.

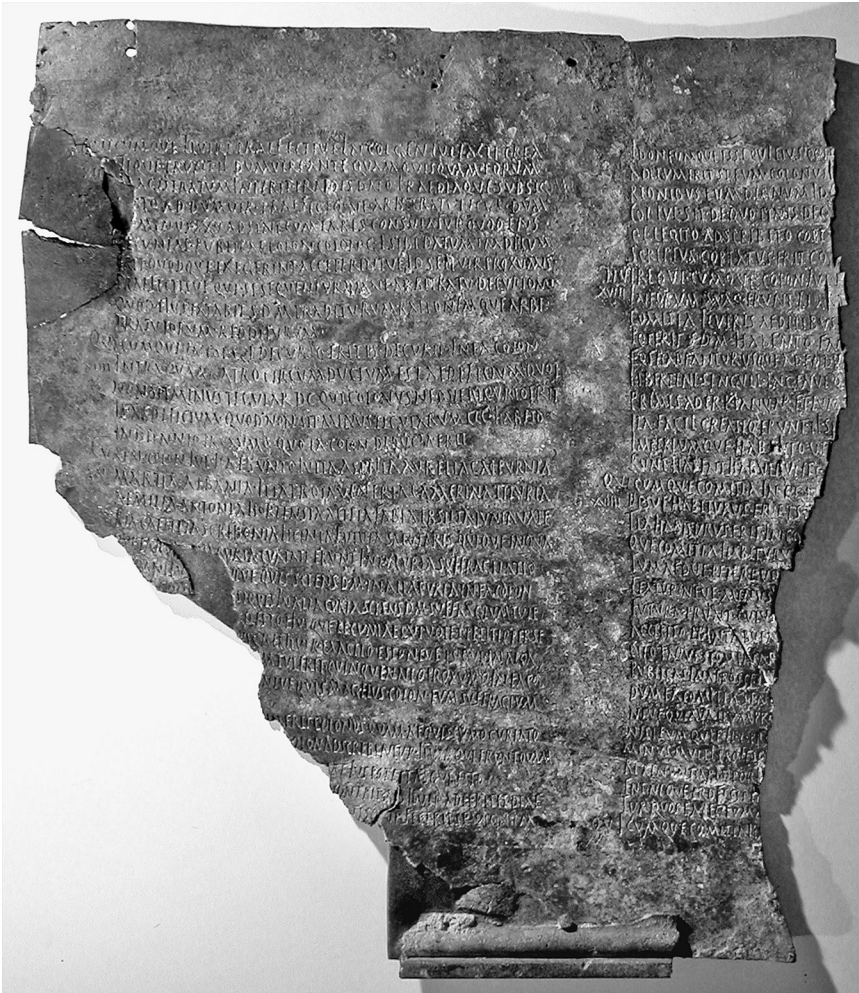


FIG. 15.1 Second bronze tablet of the *lex coloniae Genetivae Iuliae*, Osuna, Spain. Museo Arqueológico Provincial, Seville.

local redactions, and they often contain errors where they have been customized for each community.¹¹ Equally clearly, the codes derive directly or indirectly from Roman sources, whether regulations for local communities or for Rome itself (cf. *CIL* V 2864 = *ILS* 5406, Augustan period). For Mommsen, the codes were *leges datae*, charters granted by magistrates. On the other hand, the explicit mention of a *lex Roscia* in the *fragmentum Atestinum* and the penal clause (*sanctio*) of the Flavian Municipal Law (*lex Flav. mun.* 96) suggest that the codes derive from *leges rogatae*, statutes ratified by the assemblies of the Roman people. In any case, the codes cannot properly be called charters or constitutions, since they were adopted and inscribed after the communities

¹¹ Frederiksen 1965.

had received their status. In some ways the codes can be used as sources for practice in the city of Rome. For instance, the Flavian Municipal Law describes the provincial governor's *album*, modelled on the *album* of his predecessor and that of the urban and peregrine praetors at Rome, and shows that it contained not only the governor's edict, setting out jurisdiction and legal remedies, but a series of templates for different legal documents (*lex Flav. mun.* 85):¹²

r(ubrica). magistratus ut in publico habeant album eius / qui provinciam optinebit exque eo ius dicant.

quaecumque edicta, quasve formulas iudiciorum, quasque spon/siones stipulationes satis acceptiones {praescriptiones} ex/ceptiones praescriptiones quaeque interdicta {i}is qui ei pro/vinciae praeit in ea provincia proposita habeat, quae eo/rum ad iuris dictionem eius magistratus qui <in> municipio Fla/vio Irnitan[o] i(ure) d(icundo) p(raerit) pertinebunt, ea omnia is in eo munici/pio, in suo magistratu, quotidie maiore parte cuiusque di/ei proposita proscriptaque habeto, ut d(e) p(lano) r(ecte) l(egi) p(ossint), et ad ea inter/dicta edicta easque formulas sponsiones stipulationes satis ac/ceptiones {excep-tiones} exceptiones praescriptiones in eo mu/nicipio ius dicatur iudiciaq(ue) dentur fiant exerceantrve, et id quod adversus h(anc) l(egem) non fiat, utique hac lege licebit, / [fiat sine] d(olo) m(alo).

Rubric. That the magistrates should have in public the album of the person who holds the province and administer justice according to it.

Whatever edicts or *formulae* for trials or *sponsiones* or stipulations or *satis acceptiones* or prescriptions or exceptions or interdicts the person who governs that province has displayed in that province, whichever of them relates to the jurisdiction of that magistrate who is in charge of the administration of justice in the Municipium Flavium Irnitatum, he is to have all of them displayed and published in that *municipium* in his magistracy every day for the greater part of each day so that they may be properly read from ground level, and justice be administered in that *municipium* according to those interdicts, edicts, *formulae*, *sponsiones*, stipulations, *satis acceptiones*, exceptions and prescriptions, and trials be granted and take place and be carried into effect, and what is not against this statute take place without wrongful intent, as is allowed under this statute.

3. Treaties

Bilateral treaties, the third class of legislation ratified by the Roman people, survive mostly in copies in Greek set up in the Greek East from the third to the first century BCE (Table 15.3).¹³ Aside from the treaty with the Aetolian League, which is a treaty of military alliance against Philip V of Macedon, treaties have a relatively stable set of elements, which are exemplified in the treaty with the Lycian League, the first complete treaty to come down to us (Ch. 17): a clause establishing friendship and alliance and

¹² cf. *lex de Gallia Cisalpina* (RS 28) 20; the *formula Baetica*: CIL II 5042 = FIRA III 92; AE 2006, 676 (Hadrianic *lex* from the Ebro valley, discussed below, p. 306–308).

¹³ Gruen 1984, esp. 13–53, 731–744; *contra* Ferrary 1990.

Table 15.3 Treaties involving the Roman state attested epigraphically, 212/211–25 BCE

Aetolian League	212/211	<i>SEG</i> 13, 382
Cibyra	after 167	<i>OGIS</i> 762
Maroneia	after 167	<i>SEG</i> 35, 823
Lycia	167–46	<i>AE</i> 2007, 1504; <i>SEG</i> 56, 1664
Methymna	c. 129	<i>SIG</i> ³ 693
Astypalaea	105	<i>RDGE</i> 16
Callatis (Latin)	c. 105	<i>ILLRP</i> 516
Thyreion	95	<i>SIG</i> ³ 732
Lycian League	46	<i>AE</i> 2005, 1487; <i>SEG</i> 55, 1452; <i>Bull. ép.</i> 2006, 143
Cnidos	45	<i>I.Knidos</i> 33
Aphrodisias	39	<i>Aphrodisias Et Rome</i> 8
Mytilene	25	<i>RDGE</i> 26

prohibiting war between the two parties; two neutrality clauses, saying that each will not allow enemies of the other to cross its territory and will not assist enemies with matériel or manpower; a clause of defensive alliance, pledging to help the other against an enemy; a clause providing for subsequent modifications; and a publicity clause.¹⁴ Furthermore, it contains procedures for trying civil and criminal cases involving Lycians and Romans; clauses dealing with contraband and seizure of goods; a confirmation of the regions under Lycian control; and a closing reference to the sacrifices accompanying the swearing of the treaty among the Romans and the Lycians.¹⁵ Each clause is perfectly equitable, placing Romans and Lycians on the same footing—with the exception of a *maiestas* clause (*SEG* 55, 1452 = *AE* 2005, 1487, lines 9–11):¹⁶

...τήν τε ἐξουσίαν καὶ ὑπεροχὴν τὴν Ῥωμαίων / [βεβαί]ας καθὼς πρέπον ἐστὶν
 διατηρεῖτωσαν Λύκιοι διὰ παντὸς ἀξίως ἑαυτῶν τε / [καὶ τ]οῦ δήμου τοῦ Ῥωμαίων
 ...and that the Lycians steadfastly uphold the power and superiority of the Romans, as
 is fitting, for all time in a manner worthy of themselves and of the Roman people.

The fiction of sovereign and correlative states within the Empire did not endure, and no new treaties are known to have been agreed after the first years of Augustus' reign. However, a decree from Maroneia (*SEG* 53, 659 = *AE* 2003, 1559) shows how treaties might retain a diplomatic importance. It reports an embassy to Claudius, probably at the moment Thrace became a province (45/46 CE), confirming the terms of the treaty it had negotiated two centuries earlier after the Battle of Pydna, and streamlining the

¹⁴ Mitchell 2005.

¹⁵ Judicial clauses: Sánchez 2007.

¹⁶ For other inscribed *maiestas*-clauses, see the treaties with Cnidus and Mytilene: *I.Knidos* 33 A, lines 12–13; *RDGE* 26, col. d, lines 1–2.

procedure for sending ambassadors for eventual renegotiations.¹⁷ Surviving treaties all come from cities and sanctuaries of the Greek East, where they were part of an epigraphic tradition that predated the Romans; the treaty between Rome and Mytilene was inscribed on the tomb of the ambassador who negotiated it.

Numerous Roman senatorial decrees, translated into Greek, survive from the Greek East, as well as some from the West in the original Latin (cf. Ch. 14, with Table 14.2). Several contain publication clauses and survive in multiple copies. They also relate to known historical events such as the suppression of Bacchic worshippers in 186 BCE (*CIL* I² 581 = *FIRA* I 30 = *ILS* 18 = *ILLRP* 511; cf. Ch. 19), posthumous honours for Germanicus in 19–20 CE (*RS* 37, incorporating the so-called *Tabula Hebana* and *Tabula Siarensis*),¹⁸ and the trial of Cn. Piso in 20 CE (*CIL* II²/5, 900 = *AE* 1996, 885; Fig. 15.2; cf. Ch. 17).¹⁹ The decree concerning Piso provides the first documentary evidence for a senatorial trial and shows that when sitting as a court, the Senate followed its usual procedure, with the emperor's motion (*relatio*) serving as an indictment, senators' speeches (*sententiae*) serving as pleadings, and the decree itself serving as verdict and sentence. The Senate also draws a distinction between two standards it upholds, an extra-legal one and a legal one, when it says that Piso ignored the *maiestas* of the *domus Augusta*, and also ignored the *ius publicum* (lines 32–33: *nelecta maiestate domus Aug(ustae), nelecto etiam iure publico*).²⁰

Resolutions of local councils generally followed the form of senatorial decrees.²¹ Good examples are provided by the decrees of the town council of Pisae commemorating the Augustan princes Lucius and Gaius (*ILS* 139–140; 2 and 4 CE): the first reacts to a decree of the Roman Senate for Lucius; the second reacts to news of Gaius' death in advance of a decree of the Roman Senate; both mimic the form of senatorial decrees perfectly. But this pattern is not followed in two collective resolutions concerning irrigation channels in the Ebro valley in N. Spain. Both show the application of Roman judicial procedure where we would not otherwise have imagined it. In the so-called *Tabula Contrebiensis* of 87 BCE (*CIL* I² 2951a = *AE* 1979, 377 = 1983, 602 = *ELRH* C9), the proconsul C. Valerius Flaccus has appointed the senate of Contrebia as a judicial panel to decide a controversy between two communities over the digging of a canal, and instructed the senate to use the formulary procedure that Flaccus would have applied in settling private disputes when he was urban praetor at Rome the year before; the document consists of three interlinked *formulae* and the Contrebian senate's decision (*sententia*).²² The second collective resolution from the Ebro valley is a *lex* of three villages (*pagi*), sanctioned by Hadrian's juridical legate and ratified by the villagers' agreement (*conventio*) (*AE* 2006, 676).²³ The *lex* regulates canal maintenance and

¹⁷ Clinton 2003; Wörrle 2004; cf. *Bull. ép.* 2005, 382.

¹⁸ Sánchez-Ostiz Gutiérrez 1999; Rowe 2002. New fragment: Cipollone 2012.

¹⁹ Eck, Caballos Rufino, and Fernández Gómez 1996; Damon and Takács 1999; Mackay 2003.

²⁰ Richardson 1997.

²¹ Sher 1970; Cooley 2012: 5 n. 23; for an additional civic decree from Puteoli, Camodeca 1999a (*AE* 1999, 453).

²² Richardson 1983; Birks, Rodger, and Richardson 1984. On formulary procedure, Mantovani 1999.

²³ Beltrán Lloris 2006 (*editio princeps*); Nörr 2008; Crawford and Beltrán Lloris 2013.

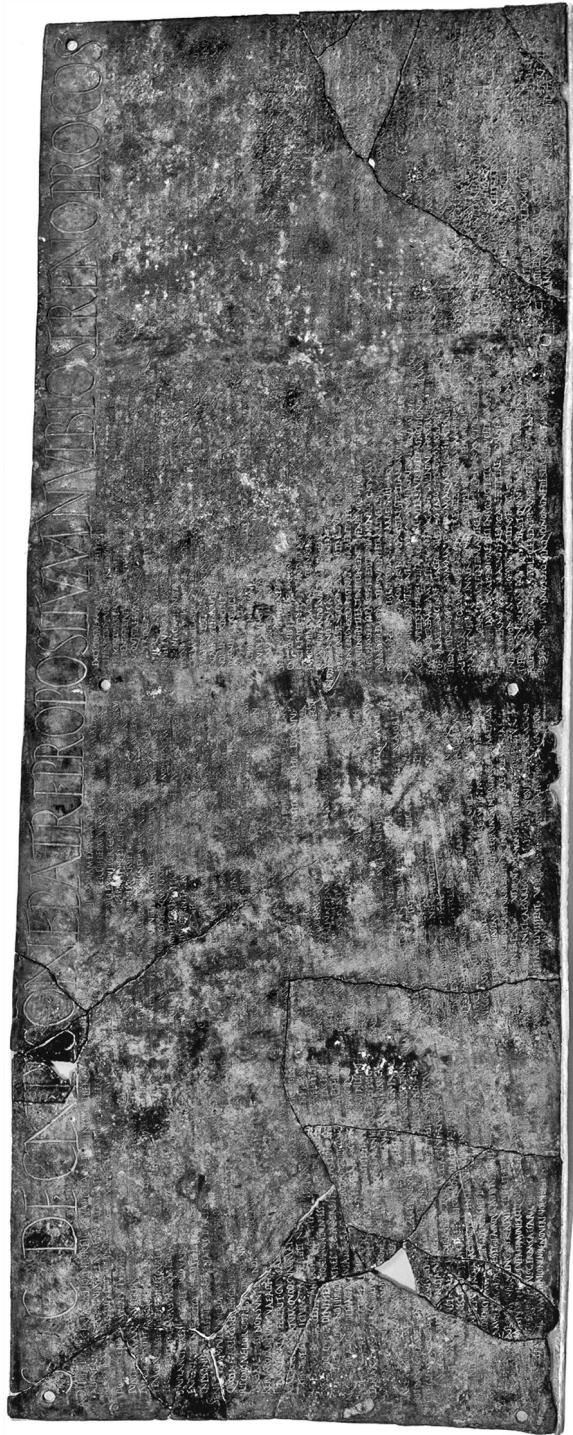


FIG. 15.2 Bronze plaque with the *senatus consultum de Cn. Pisone patre* (Copy A), reportedly from Irni, Baetica, 20 CE. Museo Arqueológico Provincial, Seville.

enforcement procedures. Among other things, village *magistri* are personally liable for any infractions they fail to penalize; villagers are to prosecute *magistri* through formulary procedure. The *lex* shows that the Tabula Contrebiensis was not an aberration, and that formulary procedure was a structural part of public as well as private law; it is no exaggeration to say that the history of Roman judicial procedure must now be rewritten in light of these two documents.

SACRED LAWS, IMPERIAL ENACTMENTS, AND PRONOUNCEMENTS BY ROMAN OFFICIALS

Sacred laws were site-specific regulations for sacred precincts, altars, and temples (*ILS* 4906–16). An older group comprises boundary-markers prohibiting the pollution of sacred spaces with dung or cadavers.²⁴ The older sacred laws do not name the source of their authority, but they do provide glimpses of the archaic Roman state: a death penalty for those introducing yoked animals into a sacred precinct and an official called a *rex* (either one of the Roman kings or the republican priest called the *rex sacrorum*) (*CIL* I² 1 = VI 36840 = *ILS* 4913 = *ILLRP* 3, the Lapis Niger; Fig. 6.4); consideration whether a violation was intentional (*dolo malo*) (*FIRA* III 71a = *CIL* I² 366 = *ILS* 4911 = *ILLRP* 505, Spolegium, late fourth/third century BCE); power given to anyone to arrest violators and take bail and to a magistrate to impose a fine (*FIRA* III 71b = *CIL* I² 401 = *ILS* 4912 = *ILLRP* 504, Luceria, third century BCE; cf. *ILLRP* 506). In later sacred laws, a named individual—or corporate body (cf. *FIRA* III 73 = *CIL* XII 4333 = *ILS* 112, Narbo, 13/12 BCE)—sets forth standards for rituals and maintenance in the same act as dedicating an altar or temples, as an example from Mutina illustrates (*CIL* XI 944 = *ILS* 4909; cf. *FIRA* III 72, 74–75):

Aninia Sex(ti) l(iberta) Ge Iunonibus hanc / aram locumque his legibus dedicavit / ...

Aninia Ge, freedwoman of Sextus, dedicated this altar and this precinct to the Iunones with these regulations...

Magistrates, emperors, imperial procurators, and other officials issued several different types of documents that were effectively legislative.²⁵ This is succinctly expressed in the definition of the sources of Roman law in Gaius' *Institutes* (1.2): *constant autem iura populi Romani ex legibus, plebiscitis, senatus consultis, constitutionibus principum, edictis eorum, qui ius edicendi habent, responsis prudentium* ("The laws of the Roman people are based upon statutes, plebeian statutes, resolutions of the Senate, imperial enactments, edicts of those who have the right to issue edicts, responses given by jurists."). When Roman emperors and administrators answered letters from other

²⁴ Bodel 1986 [1994].

²⁵ Millar 1992: 203–272; Sirks 2001. Imperial constitutions from legal sources: Gualandi 1963.

officials and requests from public bodies, their replies took the form of letters, beginning with a salutation to a named addressee.²⁶ Such letters—the largest category of Roman inscribed legislation—differ markedly in tone from Roman statutes (Ch. 14).

Grants of personal status to individuals and communities were one of the most important enactments of Roman officials, including emperors. Under the Republic, magistrates granted freedom and citizenship by virtue of a named statute or subject to ratification by the Roman Senate and People. In the oldest known Latin inscription from outside Italy, L. Aemilius Paullus, proconsul in Hispania Ulterior, granted freedom and a settlement to a group of dependants (“slaves”) “for as long as the Roman People and Senate so wish” (*dum populus (!) senatusque Romanus vellet*: FIRA I 51 = CIL I² 614 = II 5041 = ILS 15 = ILLRP 514, 189 BCE). In the only complete document of a formal surrender (*deditio*), L. Caesius in 104 BCE bestowed freedom on the *populus Seanoc[orum?]* with the same proviso, ordering them to send ambassadors to Rome to secure approval (AE 1984, 495; Fig. 17.2). In 89 BCE Cn. Pompeius Strabo granted citizenship to a troop of Spanish cavalymen by virtue of a *lex Iulia* (FIRA I 17 = CIL I² 709 = VI 37045 = ILS 8888 = ILLRP 515), while Octavian acted likewise in 40 BCE to reward the naval captain Seleucus of Rhodus by virtue of a *lex Munatia Aemilia* (FIRA I 55, doc. 1 = RDGE 58).²⁷ Then, in the imperial period, the enabling laws disappear and the emperor alone grants citizenship (cf. FIRA I 70 = ILAfr 634, Volubilis; cf. Ch. 10; FIRA I 71 = CIL V 5050 = ILS 206, near Tridentum). Hundreds of surviving military diplomas attest the emperor granting citizenship to veterans of auxiliary army units, the fleet, and the Praetorian Guard (Ch. 16). Imperial grants of citizenship to deserving individuals and sometimes their families continued to be made, as illustrated by the so-called Tabula Banasitana from Mauretania. The emperors’ letters in this case were copied and checked from the *commentarius* containing the names of those who had received Roman citizenship from previous emperors (AE 1971, 534, dated to 168 and 177 CE).²⁸

Roman officials were also required to give decisions in adversarial legal suits. Most inscribed examples are decisions by senatorial legates, governors, and emperors in boundary disputes between communities: for instance, the letter from the praetorian prefects ordering the magistrates of Saepinum to stop interfering with the imperial sheep-flocks (FIRA I 61 = CIL IX 2438, 169–172 CE; Ch. 31).²⁹ Another series of rulings, made between 226 and 244 CE by the prefects of the *vigiles* in Rome, quotes the words of Herennius Modestinus, the last of the great Severan jurists, and one of the five jurists named as authoritative in the Law of Citations of Theodosius II (CTh 1.3.3, 426 CE). The extract

²⁶ RDGE (letters of republican magistrates); Oliver, *Gk. Const.*; Anastasiadis and Souris 2000; Burton 2002: 270–274 (imperial constitutions); Hurler 2006 (correspondence between emperors and proconsuls).

²⁷ Raggi 2004, 2006.

²⁸ Sherwin-White 1973.

²⁹ cf. FIRA III 162 = SIG³ 679 (Magnesia and Priene, 143 BCE); FIRA III 163 = CIL I² 584 = ILS 5964 (the Genuates and Veituri, Liguria, 117 BCE, the so-called Sententia Minuciorum); FIRA I 59 = CIL X 7852 = ILS 5947 (Patulcenses and Galillenses, Sardinia, 69 CE). See further Burton 2000.

represents our only example of an inscribed decision of a known Roman jurist (*FIRA III* 165 = *CIL VI* 266; cf. Ch. 22):

Modestinus d(ixit) si quid est iudicatum habet / suam auctoritatem. si est ut dixi iudicatum. / interim aput me nullae probationes exhi/[be]ntur quibus doceantur fullones in pen/[sione]m iu[r]e conveniri.

Modestinus said: Whatever has been judged is authoritative. If, as I have said, it has been judged. At present no proofs have been presented in my court by which the fullers seem to be sued for a fee legally.

PRIVATE LEGAL DOCUMENTS

Private legal documents are found on both perishable and durable materials. Commercial, financial, and judicial records were consigned to double documents, with an exterior text for reference and a sealed interior text for proof. In the Greek East the principal writing material was papyrus, documents which by disciplinary convention are the domain of papyrologists.³⁰ In the Latin West wooden tablets were used. They were waxed on one side and are known as *stilus* tablets. One wrote with a *stilus* on the waxed interior but used ink to write on the wooden side. The tablets were sewn together and sealed, first in diptychs, then, in keeping with the terms of a senatorial resolution of 62 CE, in triptychs. By and large, commercial and financial records were phrased in the first person and sealed by their author and a variable number of witnesses (*chirographa*), while judicial records were phrased in the third person and sealed by seven witnesses (*testationes*; see p. 311–314).³¹ These *stilus* tablets are often difficult to decipher. What was long thought to concern the sale of a Frisian ox (*FIRA III* 137) has now been shown to be an acknowledgment of a debt without any reference to matters bovine.³²

The publication and analysis of Roman legal documents on *stilus* tablets constitute one of the liveliest areas of Roman juridical epigraphy. At present three major groups of *stilus* tablets are known: from first-century CE Campania, from the second-century mining settlement at Alburnus Maior in Dacia, and from the former imperial estates in the territory of fifth-century Theveste in Vandalic Africa (Table 15.4).

Stilus tablets illustrate a variety of commercial and financial transactions (cf. Ch. 31) but also preserve an important body of judicial documents. The wax tablets of the Sulpicii, for instance, provide examples of actual judicial procedures. One set of tablets concerns a dispute in 55 CE regarding the ownership of two slaves (*TPSulp* 25; Figs. 15.3–4):³³

³⁰ Yiftach-Firanko 2009.

³¹ Camodeca 2007a, 2007b; cf. Meyer 2004.

³² Bowman, Tomlin, and Worp 2009.

³³ This text cited here is that of the standard edition, Camodeca 1999b, which supersedes all previous editions; cf. Wolf 2010 (with German translations).

Table 15.4 Private documents with legal content from surviving writing tablets

<i>TH</i> = <i>Tabulae Herculanaenses</i> , Herculaneum (for a concordance list for all <i>TH</i> documents, see Rowe 2001)	seven archives, including those of L. Venidius Ennychus (<i>TH</i> 88 = <i>FIRA</i> III 25bis; <i>TH</i> 5 + 89 = <i>FIRA</i> III 5bis = <i>AE</i> 1996, 407, 47–60 CE), Calatoria Themis (concerning Petronia Sp. f. Iusta; <i>TH</i> 13–30, 74–5 CE), and L. Cominius Primus (<i>AE</i> 2007, 359–361, 59–72 CE)
<i>TPomp/TJucundus</i> = <i>Tabulae Pompeianae</i> , Pompeii (<i>CIL</i> IV 3340, i–cliii)	archives of L. Caecilius Iucundus (<i>TPomp</i> 1–153; cf. selection of 20 documents at <i>FIRA</i> III 128–131, 15–62 CE) and Poppaea Note (<i>TPomp</i> 154–155 = <i>FIRA</i> III 91–91bis, 79 CE)
<i>TPSulp/TSulpicii</i> = <i>Tabulae Pompeianae Sulpiciorum</i> , Pompeii, but concerning affairs in Puteoli (Camodeca 1999b)	archive of the Sulpicii (<i>TPSulp</i> 1–127, ?26 (or 29)–61 CE ^a)
<i>TDacia</i> = <i>Instrumenta Dacica</i> , Alburnus Maior in Dacia (<i>CIL</i> III, p. 921–966; <i>IDR</i> I 31–55)	documents from a mining community (<i>TDacia</i> 1–25 = <i>FIRA</i> III 41, 87–90, 120, 122–123, 125, 150a–b; 139–167 CE) ^b
<i>TAIb</i> = <i>Tablettes Albertini</i> , Theveste in Vandalic Africa (Courtois et al. 1952)	archive regarding sale of land (<i>TAIb</i> 1–34; cf. <i>FIRA</i> III 139, 493–496 CE)

^acf. Ferrary et al. 2000; ^bcf. Polay 1982.

a) In ink on the edges of the triptych as an index:

denuntiatum C(aio) Iulio Pruden[t]i // uti homines Hyginum et Hermen // [in potestate sua haberet]

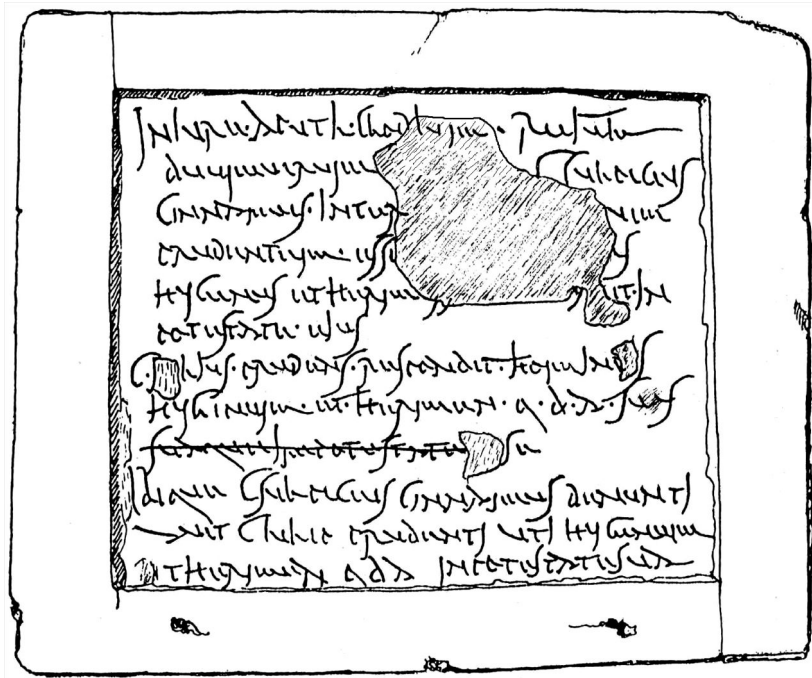
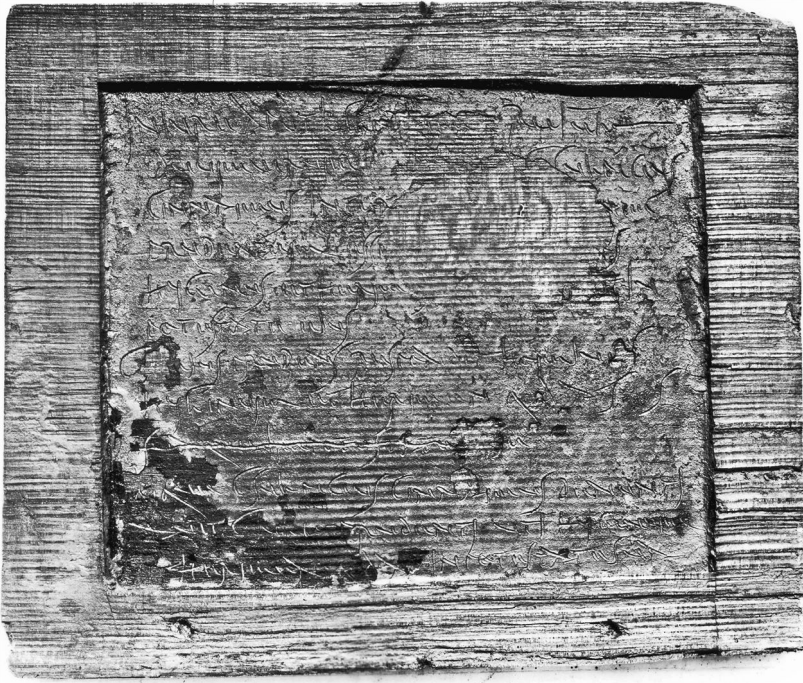
A legal declaration was made that C. Iulius Prudens had the individuals Hyginus and Hermes in his power.

b) On the waxed side of Tablet I (shown in Fig. 15.3–4):

in iure apud (!) L(ucium) Clodium Rufum / duumvirum C(aius) Sulpicius / Cinnamus inter[rogavit C(aium) Iulium / Prudentem esse[ntne homin]es / Hyginus et Herm[e]s [ervi ei]us et in / potestate eius (vac) / C(aius) I[u]lius Prudens respondit homines / Hyginum et Hermen q(ui)bus d(e) a(gitur) suos / [[sua]que im potestate]] [es]se / ... (the text continues for another three lines) ...

The case was heard in front of L. Clodius Rufus, the *IIvir*. C. Sulpicius Cinnamus asked C. Iulius Prudens whether the individuals Hyginus and Hermes were his slaves and in his power. C. Iulius Prudens answered that the individuals Hyginus and Hermes, the subject of the legal action, were his and in his power. . . .

Questions of personal status also figure in two of the archives from Herculaneum. In the archive of Calatoria Themis, the question at issue is whether the girl Petronia



FIGS. 15.3-4 *Stilus* tablet from Murecine, on the outskirts of Pompeii, recording a legal procedure at Puteoli (TPSulp 25).

Iusta was born before or after her mother's manumission and, therefore, whether she was freeborn or a slave in Calatoria's household. The tablets contain sworn testimony from freedmen of the household, citing remarks overheard and other indications of Petronia's status.³⁴ Another archive documents the efforts of L. Venidius Ennychus, a Junian Latin (i.e., informally-freed freedman), to become a Roman citizen and member of the local *Augustales*. One document is an authenticated copy of an ad hoc edict of the Roman praetor "posted at Rome in the Forum Augustum under the Porticus Iulia on the column before his tribunal" (AE 1996, 407, 62 CE). A third archive from Herculaneum concerns a property dispute involving L. Cominius Primus settled by an arbiter. There are copies of the litigants' agreement (*compromissum*) to abide by the decision of the *arbiter* and of the ruling itself.

The archive of the Sulpicii documents several civil suits over loans and reflects different stages of the judicial process. Before the hearing, the parties exchange promises and provide bail (*vadimonia*) to appear in court in the forum of Puteoli or in the Forum Augustum at Rome (TPSulp 1–15). Later they confirm that they kept their promises and appeared in court (TPSulp 16–21). The creditor Sulpicius Faustus and a debtor agree on a lay judge (*iudex*) subject to confirmation by a magistrate, with the debtor agreeing to pay Faustus HS 100,000 if he or his heir prevents the judge's appointment (TPSulp 22). In preliminary hearings before a magistrate (*in iure*), there are establishments of fact made when one party interrogates the other, as we have seen in the case involving Cinnamus and Prudens (p. 311).

Another document (TPSulp 31, interior text, lines 10–22) reveals that parties in civil suits might receive a pair of judicial *formulae* in which the magistrate appoints a judge and instructs him to rule on the sum at issue:

C(aius) Blossius Celadus iudex esto. / [si] parret C(aium) Marcium [Sat]urninum / [C(aio)] Sulpicio Cinnam[o] HS [((I)) I]∞ ∞ ∞ / dare oportere q(ua) d(e) [r(e) ag]itur / C(aius) Blossius Celadus iudex C(aium) / Marcium Saturninum HS ((I))∞ ∞ ((I)) / [C(aio)] Sulpicio Cinnam[o] c[on]demnato. / si non parret apsolvito. / iudicare iussit A(ulus) Cossinius Priscus Iivir. / [actu]m Puteol[i]s (vac) / Fausto Cornelio Sulla [Fel]ice / Q(uinto) Marcio Barea Sorano co(n)s(ulibus).

Let C. Blossius Celadus be judge. If it appears that C. Marcus Saturninus ought to pay C. Sulpicius Cinnamus the HS 18,000 in question, let the judge C. Blossius Celadus condemn C. Marcus Saturninus in favour of C. Sulpicius Cinnamus for the HS 18,000. If it does not appear so, let him absolve him from payment. A. Cossinius Priscus, *Iivir*, ordered the judgement. Transacted at Puteoli during the consulship of Faustus Cornelius Sulla Felix and Q. Marcus Barea Soranus (June–October 52).

This and the much earlier *Tabula Contrebiensis* of 87 BCE (discussed on p. 306) provide our first epigraphic examples of working judicial *formulae*.

In the archive of the Sulpicii there are many instances where the parties in a contractual dispute exchange *vadimonia* agreeing to appear before the judge after an adjournment (*intertium*). However, these documents do not contain any judicial decisions

³⁴ TH 13–30; cf. Gardner 1986; Metzger 2000.

resolving disputes, but they do illustrate an alternative mode of dispute settlement. In a case involving a charge of abusive language (*iniuria verbis*), the defendant pays the plaintiff a sum to swear an oath that he will drop his suit (*TPSulp* 28–29). In another document of great sophistication, Faenius Eumenes, having settled his dispute with Sulpicius Faustus, releases him from the *vadimonium* that Faustus' legal representative (*cognitor*) had to appear in court in Rome. He does so by means of a legal fiction, agreeing to act as if he had received bail (*TPSulp* 27, 48 CE). Presumably this document was based on a model *satis acceptio* posted by the Roman praetor, as listed in the Flavian Municipal Law.³⁵

Wills may be considered a species of private law left behind by the dead. Examples of the texts of wills survive both from private documents written on papyri or *stilus* tablets and occasionally from monumental stone inscriptions displayed in public. An example of the former is provided by the personal copy on *stilus* tablets of the will of the cavalryman Antonius Silvanus found in Egypt (*FIRA* III 47), dated to 142 CE.³⁶ The most famous example of the latter is the will dated to 108 CE inscribed on a marble funerary monument from Rome, which has often been associated with the consul P. Dasumius Tuscus (*CIL* VI 10229 = *FIRA* III 48, with *AE* 1976, 77 + 1978, 16).³⁷ Other examples include the so-called Testamentum Lingonis, the will of a Roman citizen of Gallic origin (*CIL* XIII 5708 = *ILS* 8379 = *FIRA* III 49), and an inscribed will from Cappadocia (*AE* 2002, 1489). Chapters from wills (*kapita ex testamento*) setting up alimentary schemes and making other bequests are also quoted in public monuments.³⁸ An elaborate Roman will was inscribed on the base of a statue erected by the *Augustales* of Misenum in 148 CE in honour of Q. Cominius Abascantus (*AE* 2000, 344). The capacity to make an enforceable will was one of the most important privileges of Roman citizenship, and the law of succession was a highly developed area of Roman law.

In some ways comparable to wills, funerary regulations (“laws”) concerning burials were site-specific texts drawn up by the owner and inscribed on tombs. They declared in legal terms who was to be interred there or who was to own the tomb, or, in more religious language, inveighed against graverobbers (Ch. 29).

CONCLUSION

The taxonomic approach adopted in this chapter should not obscure the essential unity of the field of juridical epigraphy. This is embodied in the use of a few simple forms

³⁵ A new outline of the Roman civil trial based on the Flavian Municipal Law and *TPSulp*: Metzger 1997; cf. Meyer 2008.

³⁶ cf. Tomlin and Hassall 2004: no. 27, part of a will on a *stilus* tablet from Wales.

³⁷ Champlin 1991: esp. 37; cf. Eck 1978, rejecting the identification with Dasumius; Matthews 2010.

³⁸ cf. *FIRA* III 53–55a–d (*CIL* III 6998 = 13652 = *ILS* 7196; *CIL* XIV 2934 = *ILS* 8375; *CIL* II 1174; *CIL* VIII 1641, X 5056, X 6328 = *ILS* 6818, 977, 6278); Magioncalda 1994.

across a range of public and private documents, such as the question-and-answer procedure in collective resolutions and private contracts; the term *lex* and the imperative mood in statutes of the Roman people, sacred laws, and private funerary laws; and formula procedure in the settlement of inter-communal as well as private disputes.

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CHAPTER 16

THE ROMAN ARMY

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THE ROMAN MILITARY COMMUNITY AND “MILITARY INSCRIPTIONS”

THE Roman imperial army was the largest state-run organization (as well as the largest item in the budget) of the Roman Empire with well over 400,000 soldiers and officers serving in Rome, Italy, the provinces, and some even beyond. Men from all levels of Roman society and from all parts of the Empire joined this army, albeit in capacities and functions that corresponded to their social standing.¹ Other armed forces at Rome’s disposal included foreign troops, local militias, and mercenaries. Particularly during the early Empire some freedmen were also formally enrolled as soldiers and officers into various military units. Otherwise, many slaves and freedmen followed the soldiers and officers as servants and even took on paramilitary duties.²

Many civilians, including women and children, were closely bound to soldiers and officers by family ties, friendship, or commercial interests, and they formed an integral part of the community within which the Roman soldier spent his professional life.³ The vast majority of these individuals were, to varying degrees, familiar with Roman epigraphic culture. It is therefore no surprise to find all the above-mentioned groups represented in the epigraphic record of the Roman army.

The widespread use of inscriptions (primarily, but not exclusively, in Latin, the “imperial language of power”), even in areas where there was previously no comparable local tradition, reveals the extent to which the military community was rooted

¹ General works include Watson 1969; Webster 1985; Le Bohec 2002; Sabin, van Wees, and Whitby 2007. Important contributions in M.A. Speidel 2009 and other volumes in the “Mavors: Roman Army Researches” series and in the volumes of the *Actes du congrès de Lyon sur l’armée romaine* (1995, 2000, 2004, 2009, 2012), edited by Y. Le Bohec and (since 2000) C. Wolff. On the navy, Starr 1941; Reddé 1986.

² M.P. Speidel 1984: 203–207; 1989.

³ M.A. Speidel 2009: 515–544; Goldsworthy and Haynes 1999.

in Roman culture.⁴ Quite a few officers and soldiers even included their own poetry in their inscriptions (for example, *CIL* XIII 7234; *ILS* 2028, 2049; *AE* 1993, 1547 = *SEG* 43, 911).⁵ Moreover, through their daily routine, exposure to a common ideology, and a comparatively high degree of mobility connecting them to other military centres and to Rome, this community shared a unified military culture.⁶ Although this culture was not identical throughout the Empire due to regional influences and developments, a great many common traits defined the community's epigraphic production. Scholars working on the Roman army have therefore made, and continue to make, much use of inscriptions, which illuminate a wide variety of issues:⁷

- basic aspects
 - the names, history, and internal organization of individual types of units
 - recruitment: the ethnic and social origins of soldiers and officers
 - military ranks and careers
 - ideological aspects: military virtues and ideals
 - religion in the military sphere
 - discharge and the settlement of veterans
 - military camps, fortresses, and their garrisons
 - troop movements and the composition of provincial armies
- the army in action
 - wars and the composition of field armies
 - the existence and official names of wars and military expeditions
 - aspects of combat and warfare
 - outstanding deeds and systems of reward
 - logistics and military equipment
- the army in peacetime
 - administration and legal issues
 - building activities (in the military and civic spheres)
 - technical expertise: for example, engineering, mining technologies, medicine
 - the economic impact of the army
 - the cultural impact of the army
- private life
 - family, marriage, children, and slaves
 - daily life, social interactions
 - language, literacy, and bilingualism
 - acculturation

⁴ Mann 1985; Adams 2003: 545–575, 599–622, 760–761; Phang 2007; Eck 2009.

⁵ Adams 1999; M. A. Speidel 2009: 532.

⁶ M.A. Speidel 2009: 22–51; 2010; 2012b.

⁷ cf. Le Bohec 1998; Eck 2003; M.A. Speidel 2009: esp. 473–500.

Inscriptions relating to military matters can also be useful as chronological indicators, since they include the names of military units which, or senior officers who, are known to have been based in a certain area in a particular period.

In his monumental and still unsurpassed *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae* of 1892, Hermann Dessau included a section entitled “Tituli militares,” military inscriptions. Dessau presented well over eleven hundred such texts, mainly set up by or for soldiers, veterans, officers, or entire units (*ILS* 1986–2914, 9052–9227). Since Dessau’s work was didactic in function, he needed to provide a representative selection of Latin inscriptions. As a result, the texts grouped under the heading “Tituli militares” are solely or predominantly concerned with members or institutions of the Roman army. Yet Dessau’s classification remains somewhat diffuse, as he also included many inscriptions relating to the army in nearly all other sections of the *ILS*. This is understandable, since the term “military inscription” is a modern misnomer. There is no such term on record in Latin or Greek, nor was there ever a category of inscriptions exclusively produced by, or reserved for, the Roman army. There were simply inscriptions that included military information. The only true “military records” produced by the army’s administration were written on papyrus or wood.⁸ The inscriptions on wooden tablets from the fort at Vindolanda near Hadrian’s Wall include several unit strength reports, pay-records, and supply lists, providing a rich source of information about the auxiliary troops stationed there.⁹

Two examples, one concerning a Roman citizen soldier, the other a non-Roman auxiliary, help to illustrate the type of inscriptions that Dessau included in his section on “Tituli militares.” The first is the tombstone of the centurion of the Legio XVIII, M. Caelius, shown with his military decorations (*torques* and *phalerae*) attached to his breastplate and with a centurion’s stick (*vitis*) in his right hand. It was set up as a cenotaph at the military camp near Xanten (*CIL* XIII 8648 = *ILS* 2244; Fig. 16.1):¹⁰

M(arco) Caelio T(it)i f(ilio) Lem(onia tribu) Bon(onia)
(centurioni) leg(ionis) XIII ann(or)um LIII s(em)issis
[ce]cidit bello Variano ossa
[i]nferre licebit P(ublius) Caelius T(it)i f(ilius)
 5 *Lem(onia tribu) frater fecit*

For M. Caelius, son of Titus, of the Roman voting tribe Lemonia, from Bononia, centurion of the Legio XVIII, aged 53½. He fell in the war of Varus. It will be permitted to inter his bones in the future. P. Caelius, son of Titus, of the Roman voting tribe Lemonia, his brother, set this up.

This epitaph contains typical elements. It records the name of the soldier, the fact that he was a Roman citizen, his origin (Bologna in N. Italy), his unit, and his rank. His age

⁸ Fink 1971; M.A. Speidel 1992, 2007a, 2009: 283–315. “Military diplomas”: p. 337–340.

⁹ Bowman and Thomas 1983–2003. Similar documents from Vindonissa (Switzerland): M.A. Speidel 1996.

¹⁰ Portrait-busts of the deceased’s freedmen, M. Caelius M. l. Privatus and M. Caelius M. l. Thiaminus, flank the centurion. For the monument, Schalles and Willer 2009.



FIG. 16.1 Cenotaph of M. Caelius, centurion of the Legio XVIII, found near Xanten. Rheinisches Landesmuseum, Bonn.

at death is specified but not the length of his military service, which is often mentioned in military epitaphs. As occasionally occurs, something noteworthy from his military career is also mentioned: the fact that he died in the major Roman defeat in 9 CE at the hands of Arminius' forces in the Teutoburger forest. The phrase *bello Variano* provides the only known epigraphic reference to P. Quinctilius Varus' campaigns to the east of the Rhine.

Secondly, an elaborate first-century CE tombstone from Aquincum in Pannonia Inferior of a discharged auxiliary cavalryman from the *ala I Hispanorum*, Nertus son of Dumnotalus, contains several similar details. In rank he was a *sesquiplicarius*, which means "earning pay and a half." The tombstone was set up by the deceased's

frater, literally “brother,” but in this military context more likely a fellow soldier (*CIL* III 10514; Fig. 16.2).¹¹

Nertus
Dumnotali
f(ilius) veteranus
ala(e) Hisp(anorum) I ses-
 5 *quip(licarius) Lingaus-*
ter ann(orum) LX
stip(endiorum) XXXVI
h(ic) s(itus) e(st)
Valens frater
 10 *h(eres) t(itulum) m(emoriae) p(osuit)*

Nertus son of Dumnotalus, veteran of the First Cavalry Regiment of Spaniards (*Hispáni*), *sesquiplicarius*, from the Lingaustri, (died) aged 60 after serving thirty-six years; here he lies. Valens, his “brother” (i.e., fellow soldier) set up this inscription to commemorate him.

Material relating directly or indirectly to the Roman army can be found in all categories of Roman inscriptions. The *SC de Cn. Pisone patre*, for instance, contains much useful information for the military historian, but no one would call it a “military inscription” (cf. Chs. 15, 17)¹² Soldiers’ names scratched on ceramic plates or other objects provide insight into many aspects of daily life in Roman military camps, although they belong to the epigraphic category known as *instrumentum domesticum*.¹³ Similarly, inscriptions honouring campaigning emperors, victory monuments, votive altars, honorary statues for senatorial or equestrian officers and generals, and milestones, even when their connection to military matters is obvious, are not normally classified as military inscriptions. Even the so-called “military diplomas” (p. 337–340) are military only in the sense that these legal documents concerned soldiers who had completed their term of service. The legal privileges they conveyed were of purely civilian nature, and similar documents could even be drawn up for civilians (*AE* 2003, 1379, a rare example). While inscriptions relevant to the study of the Roman army can be found in most regional epigraphic *corpora*, there are only a few substantial compilations dedicated exclusively or predominantly to such inscriptions.¹⁴ These usually relate to a specific military site or provincial army,¹⁵ a particular legion or other

¹¹ Kovács and Szabó 2010: no. 676. The term *frater* in military contexts: Képartová 1986.

¹² Eck, Caballos, and Fernández 1996, lines 37–45 (the *bellum Armeniacum* and *Parthicum*), lines 51–52 (crucifixion of a centurion), lines 52–57 (problems with military discipline), lines 159–165 (central aspects of official military doctrine as established by Augustus and Tiberius).

¹³ Galsterer 1983 (pottery); Nuber 1972; cf. *AE* 2008, 960 (metal objects).

¹⁴ But see *ILS* 1986–2914 and 9052–9227; von Domaszewski and Dobson 1967: 197–307.

¹⁵ Provincial armies: Le Roux 1982. Auxiliaries: Alföldy 1968; Le Bohec 1989a; Lőrincz 2001; Speidel 2009: 595–631. Military sites: Vorbeck 1980; Kolendo and Božilova 1997.

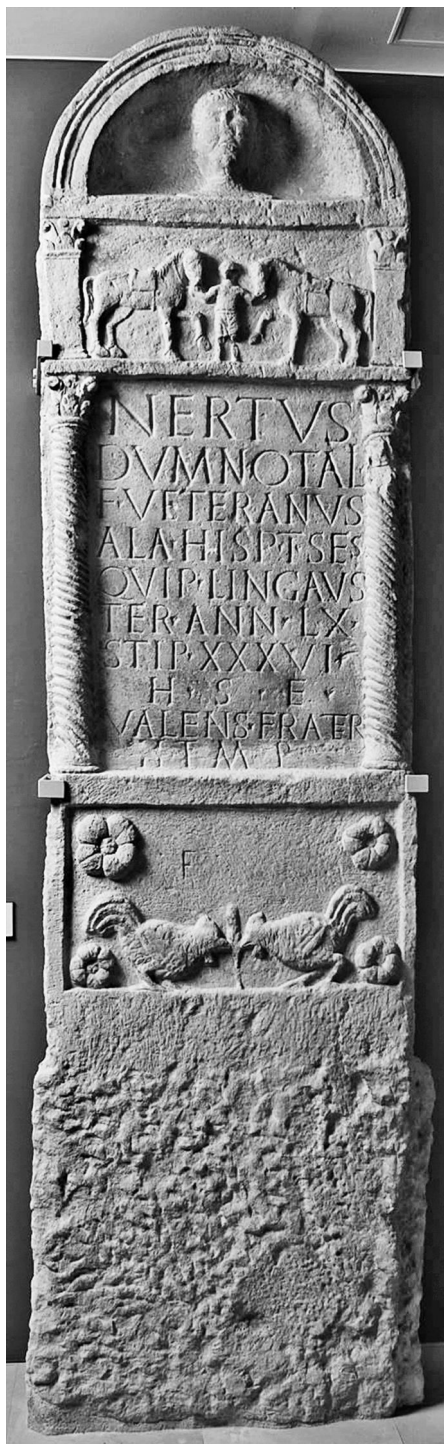


FIG. 16.2 Tombstone from Aquincum of an auxiliary cavalryman of Gallic (?) origin, with a portrait-bust and a relief of a groom and two horses below. Hungarian National Museum, Budapest.

military unit, or military ranks,¹⁶ or to a specific type of document such as military tombstones or diplomas.¹⁷

It is essential to take account of the varying contexts in which inscriptions relating to Roman military matters were set up. With military building inscriptions on stone or stamped bricks and tiles¹⁸ (both often give little more than the name of a military unit inscribed within a *tabula ansata*), the need to reconstruct the original architectural context is obvious, but this is equally important in all other situations. An example of a military building inscription comes from the Antonine Wall in Scotland, where a detachment (*vexillatio*) of the Legio XX V(aleria) V(ictrix) recorded the precise length of building work for which it was responsible (3,000 Roman feet) on a distance slab set up along the wall (*RIB III 3507*; Fig. 16.3).



FIG. 16.3 Distance slab from the vicinity of the Castle Hill Roman fort on the Antonine Wall. The text reads: *Im[p(eratori) C(aesari)] / T(ito) Ae(lio) / Hadriano / Anto(nino) / Aug(usto) / Pio p(atri) p(atriciae) / vex(illatio) leg(ionis) / XX V(aleriae) V(ictricis) / fec(it) / p(er) p(edum) III (milia)*. Hunterian Museum, Glasgow.

¹⁶ For example, Le Bohec 1989b; Mosser 2003 (legions); Durry 1938; Passerini 1939; Freis 1967; Saxer 1967; M.P. Speidel 1994; Sablayrolles 1996 (other units); Dobson 1978; Nelis-Clément 2000 (ranks).

¹⁷ For example, on tombstones Schleiermacher 1984; Franzoni 1987; Rinaldi Tufi 1988; M. P. Speidel 1994; on diplomas, below, n. 50.

¹⁸ Building inscriptions: Horster 2002: 118–120, 168–170. Tiles and bricks: Lőrincz 1991; Brandl 1999; Le Bohec 2000; Wesch-Klein 2002.

Reconstructing context often requires complex research that goes beyond the traditional boundaries of epigraphy. Alfred von Domaszewski, for instance, who has contributed more than any other scholar to our understanding of the Roman imperial army, pointed out that the development of various religious currents in the army can only be reconstructed by combining a great variety of evidence, including inscriptions (both in Latin and in Greek), sculpture, coins, as well as architectural structures found in military camps and forts. Today, we also need to include the evidence from graffiti and papyri—in particular the *Feriale Duranum*, a calendar on papyrus of Roman military festivals from Dura Europos from the early third century—in order to assess fully what can be known about religious matters relating to Roman soldiers.¹⁹

A comparatively high level of literacy contributed to the frequent use of inscribed texts among members of the military community. Soldiers and veterans displayed their inscriptions mainly in and around their own camps and forts, including connected military cemeteries and religious centres, as well as in provincial capitals and the towns to which they retired after discharge. Yet, on the whole, individual members of the Roman army had a tendency to address the military community as their “epigraphic audience.” At the same time, it was this community that inspired them to set up inscriptions. This is evident in the case of tombstones set up for fellow soldiers who had lost their lives in far away wars. For, as a rule, their funerary monuments were not erected, say, in the immediate vicinity of a battlefield or on the cemetery of the nearest city, but at a location with a significant military “audience,” i.e., a military base or cemetery (for instance, *AE* 1993, 1572; *CIL* V 893 = *I.Aquileia* II 2772; *AE* 2004, 1143 = 2005, 1264).²⁰ One of the best examples is the cenotaph of M. Caelius from Xanten (Fig. 16.1), discussed earlier (p. 321–322).

MILITARY TERMS AND VALUES

A distinctive feature of inscriptions produced by Roman soldiers was the use of military technical terms and the expression of martial values. They often also include iconographic elements depicting soldiers in uniform and/or military insignia. In addition to his name and geographical origin, a Roman soldier was usually identified by his rank and unit and often also by his sub-unit: by his *centuria* if he was in the infantry, by his *turma* if in the cavalry. A typical example of this is found embossed on a silver caserole from near Vienne in France (*CIL* XII 2355 = *ILN* V 584):

C(ai) Didi Secundi
mil(itis) leg(ionis) II Aug(ustae)
(centuria) Mari

(The property) of C. Didius Secundus, soldier of the Legio II Augusta, in the century of Marius.

¹⁹ von Domaszewski 1895. Papyri: Fink, Hoey, and Snyder 1940; Fink 1971: 422–429 no. 117. Religious developments: M.A. Speidel 2012a.

²⁰ M.A. Speidel 2009: 258.

The indication of a military rank or function was essential. The basic distinguishing terms were *miles* (soldier), *eques* (cavalryman), and *veteranus* (veteran), but there was an abundance of titles and terms describing military ranks, status, and functions, for which inscriptions are our major source. They shed light on the army's hierarchical structure (often referred to as the “Rangordnung”) and its bureaucracy, on career patterns, the order of battle and fighting techniques, as well as on administrative, technical, logistical, and medical services.²¹ Some ranks and functions were peculiar to certain types of units, while others were common throughout the army (see Table 16.1). Only very few soldiers, it would appear, chose not to mention their unit in their inscriptions, either because they could expect their audience to know the unit in question from the context or because iconographic elements made it clear that the deceased was a soldier. An example comes from the early phase of the veteran colony at Augusta Emerita, where if it were not for the military decorations (*torques*, *armillae*, and *phalerae*) shown on the tombstone, we would never know that C. Voconius C.f., named in the first line followed by the names of his wife, daughter, and son (the dedicator of the monument), was a veteran soldier (*AE* 2000, 691; Fig. 16.4).²²



FIG. 16.4 Tombstone of the soldier C. Voconius, showing his military decorations, from Augusta Emerita (Mérida). Museo Nacional de Arte Romano, Mérida.

²¹ von Domaszewski and Dobson 1967; Breeze and Dobson 1993: 11–257; Davies 1989; M.A. Speidel 2009: esp. 439–449. On the Rangordnung below the centurionate, see Breeze 1971, 1974a, 1974b.

²² Keppie 2003: esp. 44–45.

Table 16.1. Military ranks below the centurionate ("Rangordnung")

Rank	Pay	Examples of Posts Held
<i>miles</i>	basic	
<i>immunis</i>	basic	technicians and specialists
<i>principalis</i>	<i>sesquiplicarius</i>	<i>beneficiarius</i> of a military tribune <i>singularis</i> <i>tesserarius</i>
<i>principalis</i>	<i>duplicarius</i>	possibly <i>armorum custos</i> <i>optio</i> <i>signifer</i> <i>aquilifer</i> <i>imaginifer</i> <i>cornicularius</i>

Source: Breeze 1971: 134; cf. M.A. Speidel 2009: esp. 381–394.

Nearly every unit had a numeral and a name. The numeral indicated its original position within a series of similar units. As there were often several such series within the same branch of the army, many numerals appear with more than one unit. By the end of the second century, for instance, of the thirty-three legions which then existed, five bore the numeral II: II Augusta, II Adiutrix, II Italica, II Parthica, II Traiana. The Legio II Traiana derives its name from the fact that it was the second legion founded by Trajan; the first was the Legio XXX Ulpia, with *Ulpia* derived from Trajan's own *gentilicium* and the "thirtieth" legion because there had previously been twenty-nine legions in the Roman army.²³

Auxiliary units similarly often had sequential numerals in their titles: for example, the Cohors I, II, III, IV, V, and VI Thracum. Their names usually indicate the provincial tribes from which entire units of five hundred or one thousand soldiers were originally recruited, hence introducing the modern scholar to a vast array of ethnicities, such as the Vangiones (*RIB* 1217), Vardulli (*RIB* 1421), or Vettones (*RIB* 730), to name just three found serving in Britain.²⁴ Military diplomas granting citizenship and the right to legal marriage to auxiliary soldiers after completing their military service list groups of auxiliary cohorts and cavalry regiments (*alae*) based in a given province of the Roman Empire at the document's date of issue. So a diploma granting citizenship to a soldier from the Fifth Cohort of Raetians found near Brompton in N. Yorkshire lists thirteen *alae* and thirty-seven *cohortes* based in Britain on July 17, 122 CE (*AE* 2008, 800). Table 16.2 groups the units regionally according to the origins of the unit's name. (The list

²³ Ritterling 1925; Le Bohec and Wolff 2000.

²⁴ There is no complete and accurate list of all auxiliary units, but see Holder 1980, 2003. Spaul 1994 and 2000 should be consulted with great caution, as they are marred with errors, lacunae, confusions, and inaccuracies. In general on auxiliaries, see Haynes 2013.

may not comprise all auxiliary units in Britain at the time, since some of them may not have had any soldiers eligible for the grant of a diploma in 122 CE.)

The names of auxiliary units generally refer to the tribes or regions from which they were originally raised, whereas the names of the legions refer to more varied aspects of their early history (foundation, early battlefield successes, or the units'

Table 16.2 Auxiliary *alae* and *cohortes* stationed in Britain in 122 CE

ALAE (13)		COHORTES (37)	
HISPANIAE (3)	I Hispan(orum) Astur(um)	HISPANIAE (6)	II Ast(urum)
	II Asturum		III Bracar(augustorum)
	Vetton(um) Hispan(orum) c.R.		I Celtiber(orum)
GALLIAE (7)	Aug(usta) Gall(orum)	GALLIAE (15)	I Hispan(orum)
	Gall(orum) et Thrac(um)		I fida Vardull(orum)
	Classiana c.R.		(milliaria) c.R.
	Gall(orum) Petriana (milliaria) c.R.		II Vasconum c.R.
	Gall(orum) Picentiana		I Aquitan(orum)
G[all(orum)] Sebosiana c.R.	II, III, V Gall(orum)		
Aug(usta) Vocont(iorum) c.R.	I, II, III, IV Ling(onum)		
I Tungr(orum)	I Menap(iorum)		
DANUBIAN PROVINCES (2)	I Pannonior(um) Sabiniana	I Morin(orum)	
	I Pannonior(um) Tampiana	II, III, VI Nerv(iorum)	
UNCERTAIN (1)	Agrippiana Minatia	V Raet(orum)	
		I Tungr(orum)	
		GERMANIAE (7)	I Batav(orum)
			I Betas(iorum)
			I Frisian(orum)
			I Nervia German(orum)
			(milliaria)
			I Sunu[c(ulorum)]
			I Vang(ionum) (milliaria) c.R.
			I Ulp(ia) Traiana
			Cugern(orum) c.R.
		BALKANS (7)	IV Breuc(orum)
			I, II, IV Delm(atarum)
			I, II, VII Thrac(um)
		AFRICA (1)	I Afr(orum) c.R.
		SYRIA (1)	I Ham(iorum)
			sagittar(iorum)

Note: (1) c.R. = *civium Romanorum*, indicating that the unit was made up of Roman citizens; (2) (milliaria) = units with a strength of c. 1,000 men (rather than the usual 500).

Source: AE 2008, 800.

intended purpose). In the case of C. Didius Secundus' legion (p. 326–327), the name *Augusta* probably reflects its reconstitution by Augustus. Additional epithets such as *fortis*, *felix*, *victrix* could be awarded for success on the battlefield, while others, such as *pia fidelis* or *fida*, recalled loyal behaviour, as with the Legio VII Claudia named *pia fidelis* after its support of Claudius during the revolt of Furius Camillus Scribonianus in Dalmatia in 41 CE.²⁵ Particularly from the late second century onwards, such titles helped to advertise a unit's close relation with the reigning emperor: for instance, the epithet *Antoniniana* under Caracalla (for example, *ILS* 1165, 2320, 4283) or *Alexandriana* during the reign of Severus Alexander (*ILS* 1176, 2377, 4072).²⁶

SOCIAL LIFE IN THE ARMY

Centurions were the backbone of the infantry units in the Roman army. Each centurion (*centurio*) stood at the head of a *centuria* of around eighty soldiers and was responsible for their training, their discipline, and for many administrative issues. His counterpart in the cavalry was the decurion (*decurio*), who commanded a squadron (*turma*) of about thirty-two horsemen. Such groups fought together, lived in the same barracks building, and constituted the most important administrative sub-unit of the Roman army. Within his troop, a soldier was therefore identified by his name and his *centuria* or *turma*, as shown on many tombstones, owners' inscriptions on personal belongings, as well as in official documents on papyri and on addresses on private letters, as, for example, those found at the Roman legionary camp at Vindonissa in Germania Superior.²⁷ The conventional abbreviation for both *centurio* and *centuria* was a sign resembling a 7 or a >; in the early Empire, a reverse C was used, as on the tombstone of M. Caelius (Fig. 16.1). The term *turma*, if abbreviated, was written TVR or T.

Even ordinary soldiers were anxious to have themselves commemorated on tombstones in the vicinity of their camp. Their military service was evidently of great importance for their self-representation, as it is nearly always prominent on soldiers' and veterans' tombstones, either in the epitaphs and/or by means of accompanying reliefs. A second-century inscription from Lambaesis, the camp of the Legio III Augusta in modern Algeria, illustrates some of these aspects (*CIL* VIII 2975 = *ILS* 2306):²⁸

²⁵ *Fortis*, *felix*, etc. M.A. Speidel 2009: 245–253. Legio VII Claudia Pia Fidelis: Ritterling 1925: 1617, 1628–29.

²⁶ Fitz 1983; Campbell 1984: 88–93.

²⁷ For example, M.A. Speidel 1996: nos. 5, 6, 8–10.

²⁸ Le Bohec 1989b: 278.

D(is) M(anibus)
 M(arci) Sili M(arci) f(ilii) Quir(in) a tribu
 Fausti Am(maedara) mil(itis)
 leg(ionis) III Aug(ustae)
 5 def(uncti) in Parthia
 vix(it) an(nos) XXXXI
 fratri pientissim(i)
 L(ucius) Silius Rufinus sig(nifer)
 leg(ionis) III Aug(ustae) et Silius
 10 Quietus mil(es) leg(ionis) eius(dem)

To the Departed Spirits of M. Silius Faustus, son of Marcus, of the (voting-tribe) Quirina, from Ammaedara, soldier of the Legio III Augusta, died in Parthia, lived 41 years, his most devoted brothers L. Silius Rufinus, standard-bearer of the Legio III Augusta, and Silius Quietus, soldier of the same legion (set up this tombstone).

Although the soldier died in one of Rome's wars in Parthia (probably under Trajan, but conceivably under Lucius Verus), his brothers set up his funerary monument at his legion's base in North Africa. They did the same for their mother Valeria Fortunata when she died (*CIL* VIII 2976). The family, however, originally came from Ammaedara, where the legion was garrisoned in Africa before it was moved to Lambaesis in the later years of Trajan's reign. The inscription, therefore, not only reveals the names, ranks, and origin of three soldiers, as well as this legion's participation in one of Rome's Parthian wars, but also betrays the strong ties that existed among the members of this family as well as their attachment to their legion and its community.

Inscriptions also express the close ties many soldiers maintained with their native regions. A votive text from Heliopolis (Baalbek in Lebanon; *IGLS* VI 2714) illustrates the impact that soldiers, thanks to their financial resources, could have on the urban and/or sacred landscape:

I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) H(eliopolitano) / pro salute Imp(eratoris) / Caes(aris) Traiani / Hadriani Aug(usti) p(atris) p(atriciae) / ex testamento / L(uci) Antoni Silonis / eq(uitis) leg(ionis) III Aug(ustae) He(liopolitani) / L(ucius) Varius Q(uinti) f(ilius) Fab(ia) / Magnus vet(eranus) pro / parte dimidia et / L(ucius) Valerius L(uci) f(ilius) Fab(ia) Me(lior) pup(illus) parte quar/ta et Vibi C(ai) f(ili) Fab(ia) Ru/fus et Fuscus pupili / pro parte quarta hered(es) eius / ex arg(enti) p(ondo) octoginta v(otum) s(olverunt)

To Jupiter Best and Greatest of Heliopolis for the welfare of emperor Caesar Traianus Hadrianus Augustus (= Hadrian), father of the fatherland, following the instructions in the will of L. Antonius Silo, horseman of the Legio III Augusta, Heliopolitan, his heirs L. Varius Magnus, son of Quintus, of the (voting-tribe) Fabia, veteran, (heir) to one half of the estate, and L. Valerius Melior, son of Lucius, of the (voting-tribe) Fabia, ward, (heir) to one quarter, and Vibius Rufus and (Vibius) Fuscus, sons of Gaius, of the (voting-tribe) Fabia, wards, (heirs) to one quarter, have fulfilled their vow by contributing 80 pounds (= c. 26 kg) of silver.

Before his death Antonius Silo, a man of some wealth and esteem from Heliopolis, had served at Lambaesis as one of the 120 legionary cavalrymen. These ranked higher and were paid better than ordinary legionaries.²⁹ His four heirs, a veteran (probably from the Legio III Augusta) and three wards (*pupilli*), all belonged to Heliopolis' voting-tribe, the Fabia, and, therefore, must have been fellow citizens. The valuable offering that Silo, in his last will and testament, instructed them to set up reflects his religious beliefs. Jupiter Optimus Maximus was the protector god of the Roman state and the army. Some soldiers (perhaps the standard bearers) even wore belt-plates with the inscription *Optime Maxime conserva numerum omnium militantium* ("Best and Greatest, save all fellow soldiers"; *AE* 1912, 291).³⁰ In his Heliopolitan guise, Jupiter was also the most important local divinity. Adding the emperor's name to this dedication reflects an attitude of Roman soldiers towards their commander-in-chief. They understood that they were the emperor's agents, while the emperor was the person responsible for the army. It was their common task to guarantee the Empire's peace and security under the protection of Jupiter. As a result, many soldiers and military units regularly made vows "for the safety of" (*pro salute* or *pro incolumitate*) the Roman emperor (for example, *CIL* VIII 2638 = *ILS* 9293, Lambaesis).³¹

ANALYSING INSCRIPTIONS IN BULK AND INDIVIDUAL INSCRIPTIONS

Series of inscriptions of similar type or with comparable data often reveal important patterns and benefit from being studied in bulk. It was once estimated that the origins of some three thousand legionaries were known from epigraphic sources. Although these data relate to only a tiny fraction of all who ever served in the Roman legions (estimated at *c.* 0.15 percent), such evidence provides the ancient historian with a wealth of material on a variety of topics.³² For instance, a comprehensive study of these texts has revealed how patterns of recruitment evolved over the first three centuries CE. Legionaries were initially recruited almost entirely from Italy, Cisalpine Gaul, and a small number of urbanized provinces such as Gallia Narbonensis and Baetica. From the late first/early second century, the main focus of recruitment shifted to provinces with military garrisons.³³ Other such studies have focused on soldiers' careers (Table 16.1), or on military decorations. Inscriptions allow us to reconstruct the hierarchical system of awards granted to soldiers of various ranks. They reveal that the lower ranks

²⁹ M.A. Speidel 2009: 349–380, esp. Table 7.

³⁰ Ubl 1997.

³¹ Le Bohec 1989b.

³² Forni 1992: 16. The numbers have since much increased.

³³ Forni 1953; 1992: 11–141; Mann 1983; cf. Le Roux 1982.

(*milites*, *immunes*, and *principales*) received fewer and less prestigious awards, usually just *torques* (metal neckbands), *armillae* (armbands), and *phalerae* (metal disks), as depicted on the tombstones of M. Caelius (Fig. 16.1) and C. Voconius (Fig. 16.4), whereas centurions and *primi pili* could hope for these and also *coronae* (crowns) such as the *corona vallaris*, *muralis*, or *aurea* (the “rampart crown”, the “wall crown,” and the “golden crown”). Equestrian and senatorial officers could be awarded still more elaborate decorations: spears (*hastae*), flags (*vexilla*), and crowns in greater numbers.³⁴

On the other hand, from time to time a single inscription reveals a previously unknown event or resolves a problem in our understanding of the Roman army once and for all. Thus, a military diploma, published in 2011, has allowed the argument to be developed that Septimius Severus did not after all in 197 lift the ban on legal marriage for all soldiers in the Roman army.³⁵ A building inscription from the main island of the Farasan archipelago in the southernmost reaches of the Red Sea provides another example (*AE* 2004, 1643):³⁶

Imp(eratore) Caes(are) Tito Ael(io) Hadr(iano) / Antonino Aug(usto) Pio, pont(ifice) / max(imo), trib(unicia) pot(estate) VII, co(n)s(ule) III, / p(atre) p(atriciae), vexill(atio) leg(ionis) II Tr(aiana) Fortis / et auxil(iares) eius castr[a sub - -] / Avitō praef(ecto) Ferresani portū (?) / et Pont(i) Hercul(is) fec(erunt) et d[ed(icaverunt)].

Under the emperor Caesar Titus Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Augustus Pius (= Antoninus Pius), high priest, in the seventh year of his tribunician power (= 144 CE), consul for the third time, father of the fatherland, a detachment of the Legio II Traiana Fortis and its auxiliaries built and dedicated a fortified camp [under ...] Avitus, prefect of the harbour (?) of Ferresan and of the Strait of Hercules.

The importance of this inscription derives primarily from its findspot. Together with a fragmentary earlier text, it is the first and so far only record to show that Roman forces of a hitherto unknown prefecture of the Farasan Islands controlled the southern parts of the Red Sea (the name of which, Pontus Herculis, is also revealed for the first time). It also shows that this area, well over one thousand kilometers beyond what was previously believed to be the Empire’s southernmost frontier, was by the second century CE understood to be under direct Roman authority. Thus, this inscription calls for a complete reassessment of the history of Rome’s political and military involvement in the southern Red Sea area.

Individual inscriptions occasionally provide information about otherwise unrecorded military events. Even entire wars are known only because they happen to be mentioned by a single inscription: for instance, the *bellum Serdicense* (*ILJug* I 272) or the *bellum Bosporanum* (*AE* 1991, 1378). Similarly, an altar for the goddess Victoria (*AE*

³⁴ The standard work is Maxfield 1981; cf. Dobson 1978; Breeze 1974b; Le Bohec 1995.

³⁵ The diploma: Eck 2011. Severus and the supposed lifting of the marriage ban: Garnsey 1970; Campbell 1978; 1984: 439–445; Phang 2001: 13–133.

³⁶ For the improved reading given here, with commentary, M.A. Speidel 2007b.

1993, 1231 = *AE* 1997, 1203) is our only source for an incursion into Italy in 260 or 261 CE of Germanic warriors from the tribes of the Semnones and Iuthungi, for their taking many thousands of Italians prisoner, for a battle near Augsburg that lasted two days and forestalled the German warriors' attempt to return unopposed to their homes with all their booty. The inscription celebrates a grand Roman victory won by a formation of regular troops from Raetia and the Germanies, supported by local militias.³⁷ The funerary stele of a cavalry commander Ti. Claudius Maximus from Philippi in Macedonia reveals an unusual amount of details concerning his military career and includes the information that he single-handedly captured Trajan's greatest foe, the Dacian king Decebalus, in 106 CE and brought the king's head to the Roman army headquarters (*AE* 1969/70, 583 = *AE* 1974, 589).³⁸

From the reign of Diocletian the tombstone of Aurelius Gaius (*AE* 1981, 777 = *SEG* 31, 1116) records, in Greek, the military career of a man from central Asia Minor who served on the Lower Danube, on the Rhine, and in a detachment that accompanied the emperors Galerius, Diocletian, and Maximian on military campaigns, some of which are revealed only in this inscription. A most extraordinary feature is the lengthy list of provinces and regions which this soldier visited during his military service and which he proudly enumerated. The list not only included most of the Roman Empire (with the notable exceptions of Italy and Greece) but also several regions beyond the Danube and as far south as the Sudan.³⁹

LIMITS OF THE EVIDENCE AND PROBLEMS OF INTERPRETATION

Despite their value as a source, there are also limits to what inscriptions can reveal about the Roman army. This is partly due to the enormous loss of texts from across the Roman world. Inscriptions on stone have disappeared in countless numbers. This is even truer for texts inscribed on bronze. Inscriptions on wood and painted texts have suffered near complete annihilation, although they once existed in great numbers.⁴⁰ Even monumental military building inscriptions could be carved in wood (for example, *RIB* 1935), and official announcements addressed to soldiers in their forts were painted (for instance, *O.BuNjem* 147). It is important, therefore, to try to develop a sense of how representative the surviving inscriptions actually are.⁴¹ This is particularly necessary when patterns are being derived from what may appear, at first sight, to be a reliable statistical sample.

³⁷ Bakker 1993; Christol and Lorient 1997; Christol 1997.

³⁸ M.P. Speidel 1970.

³⁹ Wilkinson 2012, with earlier bibliography.

⁴⁰ Caruana 1987; Eck 1998.

⁴¹ Eck 2007.

An assessment of the “epigraphic habit” of the Roman military community based solely on inscriptions on stone, therefore, risks producing a distorted and incomplete picture.

Hundreds of auxiliary soldiers’ tombstones have previously been used to reinforce the view that by the mid-second century recruits for the auxiliary regiments generally hailed from the regions surrounding their camps and forts. Recently, however, thanks to the growing number of military diplomas, an additional pattern of recruitment has become evident. Often large groups of recruits, particularly from the eastern Danubian provinces, were transferred to far away provinces for service in the *auxilia*. This occurred particularly often in situations of military emergency.⁴²

Most limitations, however, derive from the very formal structure of inscriptions and their succinct manner of conveying information. Texts recording careers, for instance, hardly ever tell us why or after how many years of service someone received a promotion or transfer, or, in the case of honorific monuments, what exactly a soldier or officer had done to merit the honour of a monument inscribed with his career. Answers to such questions must be sought from other sources. Soldiers’ tombstones were private monuments, designed to convey a positive image of the deceased. Hence, not one single epitaph spells out punishments, demotions, or disciplinary transfers. If an image of the soldier was displayed on his funerary monument, it was intended to add lustre to the deceased’s memory. It also often adds information to the epitaph through the symbolic display of dress and military equipment.⁴³ A particular object—construction tools, writing-tablets, a staff, or a weapon—could indicate a specific military function or rank, even when that rank is not mentioned in the text, as often occurs in inscriptions dating from the first century CE.⁴⁴ So, for example, a stele from Poetovio in Pannonia Superior (*CIL* III 4061 = *ILS* 2330) shows a cavalryman with a *vexillum* (flag) indicating that he was a *vexillarius equitum* of the Legio XIII Gemina. Similarly, on a tombstone from Moguntiacum in Germania Superior a man called simply a *miles* of the Legio XIV Gemina is depicted holding the legionary *signa* (standards) in his right hand, thus denoting that he was in fact a *signifer* (*CIL* XIII 6898). However, such symbolic images should not be used as reliable guides to the real appearance of Roman soldiers at any particular moment.

COPIES OF MILITARY TEXTS

Like many other inhabitants of the Roman Empire, officers and soldiers tended to collect texts written by a superior authority, which referred to them personally in positive terms or recorded their most memorable achievements.⁴⁵ Such texts they would have inscribed as a form of self-representation. This habit was particularly widespread among Roman

⁴² Eck 2010; M.A. Speidel 2007a (papyrological confirmation).

⁴³ M. A. Speidel 2009, 235–239.

⁴⁴ *AE* 1954, 119; 1993, 1291 (construction tools indicating engineers); *AE* 1978, 777; *CIL* XIII 7255 (writing-tablets probably indicating administrative duties); *AE* 1909, 147; 1993, 1573; *CIL* XIII 7255 (*lanceae* denoting *lancearii*); M.P. Speidel 1985: 92–94 (representations of a centurion’s stick, *vitis*).

⁴⁵ Eck 1995: 367–374.

soldiers and veterans and has resulted in a valuable group of inscriptions containing texts, mainly from an administrative context, which were copied from their original medium (wooden tablets or papyrus) onto more durable materials. Thus, bronze copies of discharge certificates and some examples of imperial letters and even administrative documents from military archives relating to the owner's career have been discovered.⁴⁶ They illustrate both the comparatively high accessibility of such documents even to ordinary soldiers, as well as their desire, particularly from the second century onwards, to possess copies of them on classy bronze tablets with which they could impress friends and relatives upon their final return from military service.

Yet this custom of displaying one's social position had a long tradition among former soldiers, as in the case of the bronze tablet listing a group of Spanish cavalrymen granted Roman citizenship and various military decorations by their commander Cn. Pompeius Strabo in 89 BCE (*CIL* I² 709 = VI 37045 = *ILS* 8888 = *ILLRP* 515). Sometimes such texts were copied on stone. The most famous example is provided by the letters and decrees which Emperor Caesar (i.e., Octavian) addressed to the magistrates, council, and people of Rhodus in Syria, in which he honoured his naval commander Seleucus and granted him Roman citizenship (*FIRA* I 55 = *IGLS* III.1 718 = *RDGE* 58).⁴⁷ Seleucus chose to copy these texts from the city archives onto the side of his funerary monument for all onlookers to see and for everyone to recognize his importance in life. Another case, from the mid-second century CE, concerns Nonius Datus, a surveyor (*librator*) of the Legio III Augusta, stationed in North Africa. After his discharge Datus had copies of some of the correspondence between his legionary commander and the procurator of Mauretania Caesariensis inscribed onto his funerary monument at Lambaesis (*CIL* VIII 2728 = *ILS* 5795). These texts provide exceptional insight into a specific technical assignment and some of the administration it involved, but the reason Datus inscribed them was that these letters dealt with him personally and highlighted his importance and professional competence: "I have appended some letters so that my work on this aqueduct at Saldae may emerge more clearly" (*ut lucidius labor meus circa duc(tum) hoc Saldense pareret, aliquas epistulas subieci*).⁴⁸

The intention to impress an audience also led to the erection of the large column base with a statue of Hadrian, which the Legio III Augusta set up in the centre of its training-ground at Lambaesis (*CIL* VIII 2532 + 18042 = *ILS* 2487 + 9134, revised at *AE* 2003, 2020; 2006, 1800). According to the main inscription on the front, the legion set up this monument to honour the emperor and inscribed on its sides the speeches he had given after reviewing the training manoeuvres of the legion in 128 CE.⁴⁹ The audience were, in the first instance, the soldiers of the Third Legion on the training-ground. Not surprisingly, Hadrian's judgement was, on the whole, very positive, so much so

⁴⁶ *RMD* IV Appendix I.1–3; *AE* 2003, 2040; 2006, 1866 (the document of a legionary *dillectarius* from Thrace, on which Mráv and Szabó 2009).

⁴⁷ Raggi 2004, 2006.

⁴⁸ Cuomo 2011.

⁴⁹ Le Bohec 2003; M.P. Speidel 2006.

that there can be little doubt that the entire monument was built primarily to eternalize the imperial accolade. The unusual monument thus served to honour the emperor, and it functioned as a memorial to the fine exploits of the African army and as an incentive to their continued high performance. Moreover, Hadrian's repeated commendation of the army's provincial commander, the legate Q. Fabius Catullinus, surely points to Catullinus himself as the driving force behind the erection of this monument. The inscription not only provides many valuable details of Roman methods of military training, but it also sheds light on the emperor's role as commander-in-chief of the army, on Hadrian's interpretation of this role, and on the importance the ruling elite of the Empire attached to their own success as military commanders.

MILITARY DIPLOMAS

A particularly important group of copied texts are the so-called military diplomas, of which over one thousand specimens are currently known. They were systematically collected and discussed by Herbert Nesselhauf in *CIL XVI*, but more recently Margaret Roxan, Paul Holder, and Barbara Pferdehirt have produced substantial supplementary volumes independent of the *CIL*.⁵⁰ Over the last twenty-five years, a very large number of military diplomas have been found thanks to the illegal use of metal detectors and then sold on the art market. Their archaeological context is thus irrevocably lost, but continuing efforts, above all by Werner Eck and Peter Weiss, to analyse and publish all new finds (chiefly in the journals *Chiron* and *ZPE*) have provided a flood of new information on the Roman imperial army.

Military diplomas are personal legal documents on bronze tablets that contain extracts of imperial constitutions by which the emperor granted Roman citizenship to the recipient (and, until late in 140 CE, to their children born during military service) as well as *conubium*, a legal guarantee that future children produced from their marriage with a single current or future wife would also be Roman citizens, even if their mother was not. Diplomas were issued in great numbers and their recipients included veterans of auxiliary units and the fleets after they had completed the minimum term of service, as well as praetorians and soldiers of the urban cohorts, who only received *conubium*, since they already were Roman citizens. They were not, however, issued to discharged legionaries.

The texts begin with the full names and titulature of the reigning emperor(s), followed by a list of the units concerned, a definition of the privileges with supplementary provisions, and the date. Diplomas granted to auxiliaries also contained the name of the province in which they were serving and the name of the commanding governor. Finally, the recipient's unit, the name of its current commander, as well as the recipient's name and origin were added, together with a formula that guaranteed the

⁵⁰ Roxan 1978, 1985, 1994; Roxan and Holder 2003; Pferdehirt 2004; Holder 2006.

authenticity of the copy from the imperial constitution and indicated its location in Rome. An example is provided by a diploma found at Brigetio in Pannonia Superior and issued in 149 during the reign of Antoninus Pius (*CIL XVI 97*; Fig. 16.5):

Imp(erator) Caes(ar) divi Hadriani f(ilius) divi Traiani / Parthic(i) nep(os) divi Nervae pron(epos) T(itus) Aeli(us) Hadrianus Antoninus Aug(ustus) Pius p(ontifex) / m(aximus) tr(ibunicia) pot(estate) XII imp(erator) II co(n)s(ul) IIII p(ater) p(atriciae) / equitib(us) et peditib(us) qui milit(averunt) in alis IV et / coh(ortibus) VII quae appel(lantur) I Thr(acum) Victr(ix) et I Cannane/fat(ium) c(ivium) R(omanorum) et I Hisp(anorum) Arvacor(um) et III Aug(usta) Thr(acum) et / I Aelia (milliaria) sag(ittaria) et I Ulpia Pannon(iorum) et I Thrac(um) / c(ivium) R(omanorum) et II Alpinor(um) et IV volunt(ariorum) c(ivium) R(omanorum) et V Cal/laecor(um) Lucens(ium) et XIII volunt(ariorum) c(ivium) R(omanorum) et sunt / in Pannon(ia) super(iore) sub Pontio Laeliano / quinq(ue) et vigint(i) stip(endiis) emer(itis) dimis(sis) hon(esta) / miss(ione) quor(um) nomin(a) subscr(ipta) sunt civit(atem) / Roman(am) qui eor(um) non hab(erent) ded(it) et con(ubium) / cum uxor(ibus) quas tunc habuiss(ent) cum est civit(as) i(i)s data aut cum i(i)s quas postea duxis(sent) dum/taxat singulis / a(n)te d(iem) III Non(as) Iul(ias) / Q(uinto) Passieno Licino C(aio) Iulio Avito co(n)s(ulibus) / coh(ortis) V Callaec(orum) Lucens(ium) cui prae(e)st / T(itus) Flavius Modestus Roma / ex pedite / Dasmeno Festi f(ilio) Azalo / descript(um) et recognit(um) ex tabul(a) aerea / quae fixa est Romae in muro post / templ(um) divi Aug(usti) ad Minervam

The emperor Antoninus Pius granted to the cavalrymen and infantrymen who served in the four cavalry regiments and seven cohorts which are called ... [*the names of eleven units follow*]... and which are now stationed in Pannonia Superior under Pontius Laelianus after being granted an honourable discharge on the completion of twenty-five years of service and whose names are written below. He gave Roman citizenship to those of them who did not possess it and the right of legal marriage (*conubium*) with the wives which they had at that time when Roman citizenship was given to them or with those whom subsequently they would marry so long as only one wife each. On the third day before the Nones of July (5 July) in the consulship of Q. Passienus Licinus and C. Iulius Avitus (i.e., 149 CE).

From the Fifth Cohort of Gallaecians from Lucus Augusti under the command of T. Flavius Modestus from Rome. To the former infantryman Dasmenus son of Festus, an Azalian. Copied and certified from the bronze tablet which is attached in Rome to the wall behind the Temple of the Deified Augustus near Minerva.

This text was copied twice onto two bronze tablets which were then tied together and sealed by witnesses. As a result, the legally binding text on the inside was accessible only after removing the seals and separating the tablets. This would only be done in case of a legal dispute. The contents of the document were revealed by the identical text on the outer faces of the tablets. By their layout, military diplomas were thus drawn up exactly like any standard Roman contract. Such contracts, however, were usually written on wooden tablets. Hence, military diplomas, apart from their legal function, also served as valuable souvenirs of successful military service. Due to their formulaic structure they provide a wealth of information on military (and other) matters, such as the history and location of auxiliary troops, recruitment and settlement patterns,

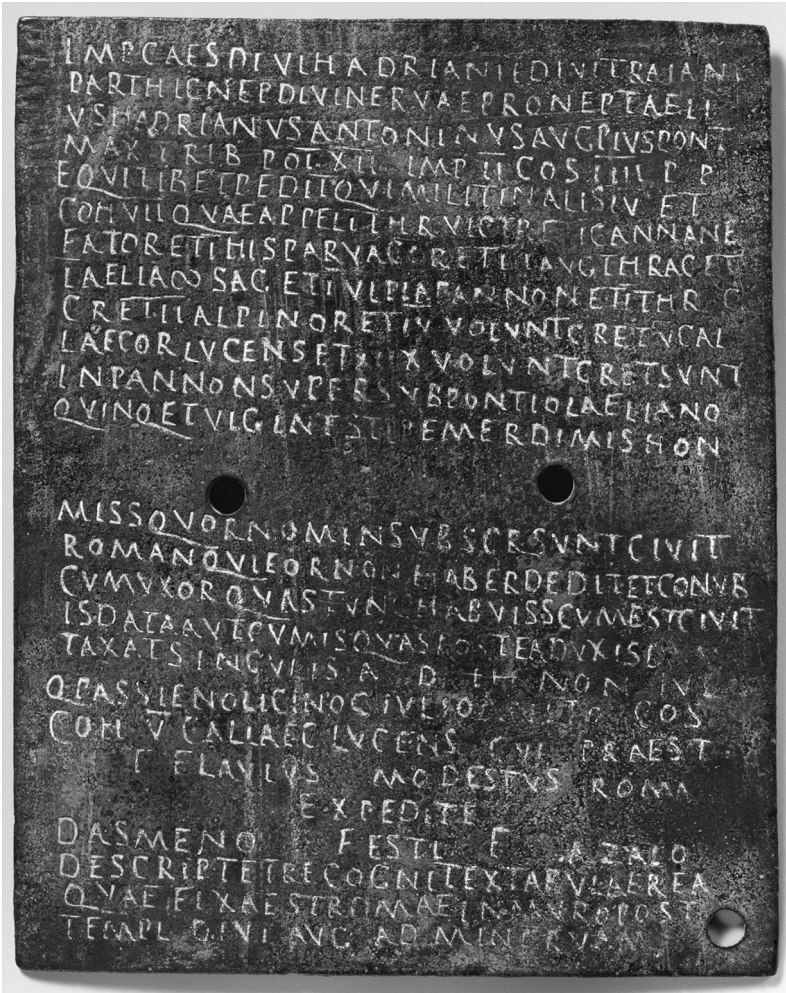


FIG. 16.5 Bronze military diploma from Brigetio, Pannonia Superior, 149 CE. Metropolitan Museum, New York.

citizenship and marriage, benefits of military service, legal and administrative issues, the organization of the army, as well as prosopographical information on commanders and governors, and even insights about the topography of Rome.⁵¹

For a whole decade from 168 CE onwards the production of bronze military diplomas was interrupted, evidence that state expenditure was being reduced in times of crisis. When production resumed, the diplomas had a slightly changed layout and their numbers soon dropped significantly. Third-century diplomas were mainly for soldiers of the Praetorian Guard and the Italian fleets. The emperor Gallienus (253–268 CE)

⁵¹ Eck and Wolff 1986; Eck 2002, 2003; Speidel and Lieb 2007.

finally discontinued the tradition, which was revived only once more, for a very short period, by the Tetrarchs.

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CHAPTER 17

INSCRIPTIONS AND THE NARRATIVE OF ROMAN HISTORY

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INSCRIPTIONS can enhance the narrative derived from works of history and other sources preserved through the manuscript tradition in three ways: they may reveal events otherwise unknown; they may supplement the information offered by the manuscript tradition; or they can enhance the details known elsewhere by revealing elements of process that might otherwise be hidden from us. Because inscriptions are very different in type, their use in conjunction with, or in constructing, a historical narrative must follow the basic rule of all epigraphic analysis: each text must be read in light of related literary and documentary texts, its physical location, and the process by which it was created.

THE NAVAL VICTORY OF C. DUILIUS AT MYLAE, 260 BCE

One of the earliest surviving compositions in Latin is the tale of the deeds of the consul C. Duilius in 260 BCE. The text that we have was inscribed at some point after his death (thus some time after his last recorded action in 231) on the column that he had erected to commemorate his victories over the Carthaginians in the Forum Holitorium (Fig. 17.1). The column was moved in the time of Augustus to the Forum Romanum, and there a new version of the original text was inscribed in the style of the Augustan age.¹ In the course of re-inscribing it, it appears that forms were devised that would “look old” alongside forms that were actually old, thus offering morphological monstrosities

¹ Chioffi 1993.



FIG. 17.1 Record of the achievements (*elogium*) of the consul C. Duilius during the First Punic War from a commemorative column set up in Rome. Musei Capitolini, Rome.

like *macistratos* and *exfociont* for *magistratus* and *ecfugiunt* on the evident theory that any short *u* sound might have been an *o* in archaic Latin, while also retaining *triresmos*, a correct archaic form for trireme. Taken as a whole (in its present form), the Duilius inscription may stand alongside the text of the hymn of the Arval Brethren as an example of the creative antiquarianism that helped keep these relics of Rome's past alive.² As a record of events in the third century it is an invaluable statement that preceded, by some years, the first historical writing at Rome, and, by nearly a generation, the first historical writing in Latin. Duilius relates the events as follows (*CIL* I² 25 = VI 1300 = *ILS* 65 = *Inscr.It.* XIII.3, 69 = *ILLRP* 319):

[*consol Secest*]ano[s, socios p(oli) R(omani), Cartaciniensiom]
 [opsidione]d exemet lecione[sque Cartaciniensis omnis]
 [m]aximosque macistr[a]tos l[uci palam post dies]
 [n]ovem castreis exfociont Macel[amque opidom]
 5 [p]ucnandod cepet. enque eodem mac[istratud bene]

² Arval hymn: *CFA* 100, lines 32–38 (superseding the texts published in *CIL* VI). The extant version of the hymn's text appears in the *acta* for 218 CE (quoted in Ch. 19, p. 401), but it is recited from *libelli* and the text may have featured in performances during the Augustan age.

[r]em navebos marid consol primos c[eset copiasque]
 [c]lasesque navales primos ornavet pa[ravetque]
 cumque eis navebos claseis Poenicas omn[is item ma]-
 [x]umas copias Cartaciniensis praesente[d Hanibaled]
 10 dictatored ol[or]om in altod marid pucn[ad vicet]
 vique nave[is cepe]t cum socieis septer[esmom I, quin]-
 [queresm]osque triresmosque naveis X[XX, merset XIII].
 [aur]om captom numei MMMDCC,
 [arcen]tom captom praeda numei C (milia) [- - -]
 15 [omne] captom aes CCCCCCCC (milia) [- - -]
 [- - -]CCCCCCCCCCCC (milia) [- - -].
 [triump]oque navaled praedad poplom [donavet]
 [multosque] Cartacinie[ns]is [ince]nuos d[uxit ante]
 [curum - - -] eis capt[- - -]

[As consul] he delivered the [Segestans, allies of the Roman people, who were being besieged by the Carthaginians], and after nine days, all the [Carthaginian legions] and their chief magistrates fled their camp in full daylight, and he took the [city] of Macela by force. In the same magistracy, he was the first consul [to succeed] at sea with ships, and he was the first to [prepare naval] forces and ships, and with those ships he defeated all the Punic fleets and the great forces of the Carthaginians in battle on the high sea, in the presence of [Hannibal], their dictator; he captured, along with his allies, one septereme, and [thirty quinquire]mes and triremes, and [sank thirteen].³ He captured thirty-seven hundred pieces of gold and one hundred thousand (?) pieces of silver ... [two lines with incomplete numerals follow] ... and in his triumph [he gave] the Roman people the booty and displayed numerous free Carthaginians before his chariot.

For historians of the First Punic War the text offers challenges in two areas.⁴ One is that Carthaginian losses are given in terms of both quinqueremes and triremes. The fact that they should be included in the same category may bring comfort to those who view quinquiremes as overgrown triremes with five rather than three men assigned to each bank of oars, but it has serious consequences for our understanding of naval warfare. Polybius (1.20–22) stresses the significance of the Roman development of the quinquireme in the months leading up to the battle at Mylae, and he nowhere suggests that the trireme was seen as a significant warship. But if it was not, why should Duilius mention it?⁵ The inclusion of triremes in war fleets of this period has important

³ The restorations are based on the literary tradition, which may, not unreasonably, be thought to be based on this text; cf. Degraffi's note at *ILLRP* 319.

⁴ Bleckmann 2002: 116–139.

⁵ Polyb. 1.23.3 simply states that the Carthaginian fleet consisted of 130 ships and at 1.23.10 that fifty were lost; see also Walbank 1957: 86, reviewing scholarship on Panormus which assumes that the fleets consisted entirely of quinqueremes (Polyb. 1.25.7, 9 reports that there were 330 warships in the Roman fleet and 350 in the Carthaginian). More recent work (e.g., Goldsworthy 2003: 96–127) assumes the quinquereme as the basic warship and calculates numbers accordingly.

implications for our understanding both of the effort needed to include some quinquiremes in a fleet that already had triremes in its arsenal and of the demography of the war. A trireme carried a crew that was roughly forty percent smaller than a quinquireme, which means that, without some idea of the number of each sort of ship there might have been in the fleets of the period, we are not in a very good position to assess the real impact of an event such as the storm that destroyed the Roman fleet returning from Africa in 255 (Polyb. 1.37).⁶ A series of inscribed bronze rams recently discovered off Sicily throws new light on the organization and equipping of the Roman fleet during this war, and confirms that triremes played a major role in the line of battle.⁷

Duilius offers a second challenge to our understanding of the war by placing his successes on land ahead of his victory at sea. The literary sources (primarily Polybius) state that the land battles followed the naval encounter, and they are probably correct to do so. Duilius says that he was the first of all the Romans to win on both land and sea as a consul, and he has simply listed victories in the normal (and still more prestigious) area of land warfare ahead of that at sea.

Useful, or challenging, as this text may be for our understanding of the nature of warfare, it is just as important as a statement of the aristocratic value system at Rome. Duilius stresses the fact that he has rescued the allies of the Roman people from their enemies. That was the pretext for entering Sicily in the first place, and that would later be offered as the pretext for the declaration of war with Carthage in 218. On the one hand, it was easy to question the sincerity of Roman proclamations of devotion (*fides*) to their allies, as the historian Philinus reports that Hieron of Syracuse did (Diod. 23.1.4). On the other hand, whether drenched in its own cynicism or not, the Roman state took *fides* very seriously as the cornerstone of its dealings with others. It is in Duilius' text, as in the painting from the Esquiline Tomb, that the contemporary Roman construction of *fides* may be seen (and the discourse to which it may be suspected that Hieron is made to respond).⁸ It is important that Duilius should stress that his victory was achieved "along with the allies."

Furthermore, Duilius' presentation of the Carthaginians raises questions about the manner in which Romans of his time understood the people around them, in particular the way in which the text presented Carthaginian offices. The commander of the fleet is described as a "dictator," the commanders of the land army are "the highest magistrates" just as if they were Romans. This probably reveals how Duilius and his fellows would have spoken about their enemies. The equation of Carthaginian rank with Roman is potentially misleading, and the text allows us to hear a Roman voice of the mid-third century, which brings us directly in touch with the rhetoric of the age and facts that would otherwise be lost.

⁶ Basic account of the war's events: Scullard 1989: 545–554.

⁷ Gnoli 2012; Tusa and Royal 2012: esp. 43–45; cf. Ch. 14, n. 2.

⁸ Hölkeskamp 2000 (including an image of the painting from the Esquiline tomb).

FIDES, DEDITIO, AND ROMAN FOREIGN RELATIONS: THIRD TO FIRST CENTURIES BCE

It is with the aid of inscriptions as well that we can see the continuity in the formal practices of Roman imperialism between the time of Duilius and the mid-first century BCE, or more precisely the dictatorship of Julius Caesar, and it is through documents of the last couple of years of his life that we can witness the radical behaviors that alienated some members of the governing class and offered others a new model for government. The twin pillars of Roman foreign relations in the age of Duilius were the *deditio in fidem*, whereby a state placed itself wholly in the *fides* of the Roman people, and the *foedus*, a bilateral agreement between Rome and another state on a formal condition of equality.⁹ The *deditio* proved an immensely flexible tool of diplomacy as states seeking Roman aid could place themselves in the *fides* of Rome, potentially drawing Rome into areas where it might not otherwise be inclined to intervene, as was the case with the *deditio* by the Mamertines that drew Rome into conflict with Carthage over Sicily (Polyb.1.7–12). The formal language of the *deditio* also appears at the earliest stage of Rome's entry into the region on the eastern shore of the Adriatic, since it can be found in a text from Lissa dating to the 220s (SEG 41, 545), in which it is stated that the Romans returned to the Pharians "[our] city and the [ancestral] laws." As Rome's power expanded, it recurs not simply in the improbably bewildered actions of the Aetolian ambassadors who professed, despite a half century of dealing with Rome, that they did not understand what it meant (Polyb. 20.9–10; Liv. 36.27–29), but also in the edict of L. Aemilius Paullus from southern Spain, issued between 191 and 189 (CIL I² 614 = II 5041 = ILS 15 = ILLRP 514 = ELRH U1).¹⁰ The same formulae are still used to establish the relationship between Rome and a Hispanic community in 104 BCE; the text of this agreement (known as the Tabula Alcantarensis) offers the fullest statement of the formulae through which a *deditio* was carried out (AE 1984, 495 = 1986, 304 = ELRH U2; Fig. 17.2):¹¹

C(aio) Mario C(aio) Flavio [co(n)s(ulibus)]
L(ucio) Caesio C(ai) f(ilio) imperatore populus Seanoc[- - se]
dedit. L(ucius) Caesius C(ai) f(ilius) imperator postquam [eos in deditioem]
accepit ad consilium retolit quid eis im[perare]
 5 *censerent. de consili sententia inperav[it ut arma]*
captivos equos equas quas cepissent [traderent. haec]
omnia dederunt. deinde eos L(ucius) Caesius C(ai) [f(ilius) imp(erator) liberos]

⁹ Roman treaties: Gruen 1984: 54–95.

¹⁰ Richardson 1986: 199–201. For the date, Derow 1991; *contra* Eckstein 1999.

¹¹ López Melero et al. 1984; Richardson 1986: 199–201; Nörr 1989.



FIG. 17.2 Surrender document from Alcántara in Hispania Ulterior, 104 BCE. Museo Provincial de Cáceres.

*esse iussit agros et aedificia leges cete[raque omnia]
 quae sua fuissent pridie quam se dedid[erunt quae tum]
 10 extarent (vac) eis redidit dum populu[s senatusque]
 Roomanus vellet. deque ea re eos [- -]
 eire iussit (vac) legatos. Cren[- - f(ilius)]
 Arco Cantoni f(ilius) legates(!) (vac)*

In the consulship of Gaius Marius and Gaius Flavius, the people of the Seanoci (?) handed over themselves and all their worldly goods to Lucius Caesius, son of Lucius, *imperator*. Lucius Caesius, son of Gaius, *imperator*, after he had received their surrender, consulted his advisory board (*consilium*) about what he should instruct them to do. In accord with the advice of the *consilium*, he ordered that they hand over the [arms (?)], captives, stallions, and mares they had taken. They handed all of these over. Then Lucius Caesius, son of Gaius, [*imperator* (?),] ordered that they should be free and restored to them their territory and buildings, laws, and all other things that had been theirs on the day before they surrendered and which still existed, so long as the Roman people and Senate wished it, and, concerning this matter he ordered that they send ambassadors [? to Rome]: Crenus son of [...?...] and Arco son of Catonus were the ambassadors.

Similar language lies behind statements of Caesar justifying his intervention against Ariovistus in 58 and the Belgae in 57 (*B Gall* 1.31–53; 2.1–19). Caesar's formal reason for

moving his army away from the valley of the Rhone was that, under threat from their neighbors, the Remi had “given themselves and all their worldly goods into the faith and power of the Roman people” (*B Gall 2.3: se suaque omnia in fidem atque potestatem populi Romani permittere*).

The earliest reference to a treaty to survive in our literary sources is the one between Rome and Carthage, allegedly dating to the first year of the Republic (Polyb. 3.22). The earliest epigraphic example is the treaty between Rome and the Aetolians from the late third century, during the First Macedonian War (*IG IX² 2, 241*). In both these cases, as well as in others attested from the Greek world, the Romans made use of diplomatic formulae that had developed outside of central Italy.¹² The epigraphic evidence for treaties and for the contemporary use of the *editio* underscores the diversity of diplomatic tools available to the Roman state. At the same time, the text of a treaty drawn up in 46 BCE between Rome and the Lycian League serves to illustrate stunning departures from earlier forms in the lifetime of Caesar (cf. Ch. 15). The text of the treaty, which probably comes from the Letoon near Xanthos in southern Lycia, opens as follows (*SEG 55, 1452 = AE 2005, 1487*):¹³

[Ὅρκος. / [ἐπὶ Γαίου Ἰουλίου Καίσαρος δικτάτορος] τὸ τρίτον καὶ Μάρκου Λεπέδου ἱππάρχου, Λε[υ/κίου Οὐολκακίου Τύλλου στρατηγοῦ] καθεσταμένου ἐπὶ τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ Λευκίου Ῥωσ/[κίου - - - στρατηγοῦ καθεσταμ]ένου ἐπὶ τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ ξένων, πρὸ θ' ἡμερῶν Σεξ/[τιλίω]ν τοῦτο τὸ ὄρκω]μόσιον συνετελέσθη κατὰ τὸν νόμον τὸν Καίσαρος ἐν τῷ κομετί[φ] ὑπὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων καὶ Λυκίων.

Oath. When C. Julius Caesar was dictator for the third time and M. Lepidus was master of the horse, and L. Vulcacius Tullus was praetor having charge of the citizens, and L. Roscius [.?. . .] was praetor having charge of matters arising between citizens and non-citizens, on the ninth day before the Kalends of August (July 24), this agreement was approved in the *comitium* on behalf of the Romans and Lycians in accordance with a law proposed by Caesar.

Caesar and Lepidus were the two consuls of this year, but the emphasis on their power as dictator and master of the horse respectively is a striking variation from the norms of republican government, as is the stress on the fact that the matter was settled without reference to the Senate through an action of Caesar, who promulgated a *lex* on the topic.¹⁴ The process here may be paralleled in the last known document from Caesar's lifetime in which the dictator again ignores the Senate in determining the status of temples in Asia (*AE 1989, 684*).¹⁵ Both documents help to reconstruct a variety of historical narratives: (a) the events of the year 46, showing that Caesar had eliminated his rivals in North Africa before July 24; (b) the assassination of Caesar; (c) the rights of

¹² The best text of the Aetolian treaty: Schmitt 1969: no. 536; translation: Sherk 1984: no. 2. In general, Ferrary 1988: 25–27, 32–33.

¹³ *Editio princeps*: Mitchell 2005; cf. D. Rousset and J.-L. Ferrary in *Bull. ép.* 2006, 143.

¹⁴ Similar dating formula in *CIL I² 2965a = AE 1972, 14* (a funerary inscription from Rome).

¹⁵ *Editio princeps* and full discussion: Hermann 1989.

asylia in Asia; and (d) the political relationship between Rome and the Lycian League. The treaty between Rome and the Lycian League is part of the story that precedes the Lycians' suicidal resistance in 43 to L. Cassius, one of the leading conspirators against Caesar. Caesar's assassination did not, however, lead to an immediate restoration of the power of the Senate, which is conspicuously absent from the legislative process mentioned in the text of the treaty with Lycia, no matter what the assassins may have hoped.

Another important document from Ephesus (*AE* 2006, 1455a–b, revising *I.Ephesus* 4101) reveals that the Senate passed a decree urging the current magistrates to ensure that people receive exemptions from taxes reintroduced by the triumvirs in 42 and asking that one of the triumvirs issue an edict making the action of the Senate known to interested parties. The point here is that the Senate appears to be treating the triumvirs as independent agents who it hopes will agree with its decisions.

INSCRIPTIONS, TACITUS, AND THE EVENTS FOLLOWING THE DEATH OF GERMANICUS IN 19 CE

There was no set pattern in the way that historians used public documents. Tacitus' handling of the extensive dossier that was produced in the context of Germanicus' death in 19 CE and the subsequent trial of Piso is a case in point.¹⁶ In reporting the senatorial honors for Germanicus, partially preserved through two inscriptions (*RS* 37), one from Heba in Italy, the other from Siarum in Spain, Tacitus omits significant sections (e.g., the decision to create five centuries to vote at the start of the elections of praetors and consuls) and does not follow the original order of clauses in the Senate's decree. Thus he would write (*Ann.* 2.83) that the Senate decided:

ut nomen eius Saliari carmine caneretur; sedes curules sacerdotum Augustalium locis superque eas querceae coronae statuerentur

that his name should be included in the Salian hymn; that curule chairs, over which oak crowns should be placed, should be set out for him in the area reserved for the *sodales Augustales* (i.e., senatorial priests of the deified Augustus).

The text that he purports to summarize and which survives on the bronze *Tabula Hebana* states (*RS* 37):

utiq(ue) Sali carminibus suis nomen Germanici Caesa[ris pro ho]norifica memoria int<e>rponant, qui honos C(aio) quoq(ue) et L(ucio) Caesarib(us) fratr(ibus) Ti(beri) Caesaris Aug(usti) habitus est. (lines 4–5)

¹⁶ Decrees of 19 CE: *RS* 37; Cipollone 2012; for the *SC de Pisone patre*, central is Eck, Caballos, and Fernández 1996 = *AE* 1996, 885; cf. Caballos, Eck, and Fernández 1996; Damon and Takács 1999; Griffin 1997; Potter 1998; Barnes 1998. On all these texts, Rowe 2002; Lott 2012.

that the Salian priests should include in their hymns the name of Germanicus Caesar to honor his memory, an honor that has been accorded to Gaius and Lucius Caesar, the brothers of Tiberius Caesar Augustus.

[lines 6–50 concern the establishment of the new voting groups and voting procedures in the assembly]

... *utiq(ue) ludis Augu[stalibus cum sedilia sodalium] / ponentur in theatris sellae curules Germanici Caesaris inter ea ponantur cu[m coronis querceis in memoriam] / eius sacerdoti, quae sellae cum templum divi Aug(usti) perfectum erit ex e<o> templo pr[oferantur et interea in templo] / Martis Ultoris reponantur et inde proferantur, quiq(ue) cumq(ue) eos ludos q(ui) s(upra) s(cripti) s(unt) fac[iendos] curabit, is uti eae in the] / atris ponantur et cum repondendae erunt in eo templo reponantur curet.* (lines 50–54)

And that during the *ludi Augu[stales]* when the seats of the *sodales Augustales* shall be placed in the theaters, the curule chairs of Germanicus Caesar should be placed amongst them [with oak crowns in memory] of his priesthood, which seats, when the temple of the deified Augustus will have been finished, [should be brought out] from that temple, [and, meanwhile] they should be placed back [in the temple] of Mars Ultor and brought forth from there, and whosoever [will be in charge] of putting on the games mentioned above, he will see that they are placed in the theaters and that, when they should be replaced, they be replaced in that temple.

Tacitus, of course, does not intend to be exhaustive; he cites what he cites to illustrate the sorts of things that were decided, and he correctly notes the process by which these honors were determined when he points out that Tiberius objected to the inclusion of a commemorative gold shield amidst portraits of famous authors in the Palatine library (*Ann.* 2.83.3). The first surviving lines of the text contained in the *Tabula Siarensis* indicate that suggestions were made to the emperor about possible honors for him to select those which he felt most appropriate. For Tacitus, any official document may have provided information of interest about the nature of the discussion between emperor and Senate; hence his willingness in his works to quote verbatim small snippets of text on various matters, as the following examples illustrate. For example, in discussing Germanicus' command in the East, he does not explain the precise nature and specific origin of Germanicus' *imperium* (*Tac. Ann.* 2. 43.1; cf. *SCPiso* 30–37). In describing the conferral of all the usual imperial powers, for example, on Otho (*Hist.* 1.47: *omnes principum honores*), Vitellius (*Hist.* 2.55: *cuncta... aliorum principatibus composita*), and Vespasian (*Hist.* 4.3: *cuncta principibus solita*; cf. the so-called *lex de imperio Vespasiani*: *CIL VI 930 = ILS 244 = FIRA I 15 = RS 39*),¹⁷ he concentrates on the decision in the Senate without acknowledging the two-phase process known to us from the Acts of the Arval Brethren for the year 69 CE, which culminated in the citizen assembly passing a *lex* confirming the emperor's powers (*CIL VI 2051 = ILS 241 = CFA 40*, lines 43, 60, 82, Otho and Vitellius). Thirdly, Tacitus refers just in passing to events such as the appointment of *tresviri* of consular rank in 62 CE to oversee the public revenues

¹⁷ The *lex de imperio Vespasiani*: Capogrossi Colognesi and Tassi Scandone 2009.

(*vectigalia publica*) (*Ann.* 15.18.3), which we know was a serious problem in this year thanks to the epigraphic dossier known from Ephesus, the so-called Customs Law of Asia, also known as the Monumentum Ephesenum (*AE* 1989, 681 = 2008, 1353; *SEG* 39, 1180).¹⁸ His purpose, as he himself states clearly (*Ann.* 13.31), was not to report what one could find by reviewing the *acta urbis*, but to analyze accounts about the past to achieve an understanding of the true significance of events. He is more than willing to talk about the sorts of things that are in documents, but he is not willing to privilege them over other sources. Nor is he inclined to treat all the material in the same way.

In using documentary evidence, Tacitus employs compression, critique, or rewriting. At times he explores the process by which a document was created, which largely explains his unwillingness to be guided by the public record. Funerary honors routinely excite his contempt. In the case of the honors for Germanicus, for instance, he concludes with the observation that “many remain, some were immediately abandoned, the passage of time obliterated others” (*Ann.* 2.83.4). In the case of the aftermath of the conspiracy of C. Calpurnius Piso in 65 CE, he specifically alludes to the *commentarii senatus* as the source for the proposal of Anicius Cerealis that a temple be decreed to Nero from public funds as soon as possible, but adds the point that Nero vetoed the motion because he thought it ill-omened (*Ann.* 15.74.3). So it was, which is why Tacitus places it in the very last line of Book 15. In the previous sentence he noted that the inscription on the dagger that Gavius Scaevinus had intended to use to kill Nero—it was dedicated to Jupiter Vindex—took on new meaning as a portent of the revolt of C. Iulius Vindex (*Ann.* 15.74.2). The point is significant because he had used the same technique at the end of Book 14 to presage the Pisonian conspiracy (*Ann.* 14.65.2). To have reported simply what he found in the documentary record would be to miss the chance to point out that an ostensible meaning at one moment can have a different meaning at another time.

This message too emerges from one of the most extensive studies of document formation that he offers in the wake of the trial of another Piso: Cn. Calpurnius Piso in 20 CE. For this episode we have the unique ability to compare Tacitus’ account of what actually happened with the official text as preserved on several inscribed copies promulgated in the province of Baetica (Fig. 15.2). In Tacitus’ version (*Ann.* 3.17.4) the consul M. Aurelius Cotta suggested that:

nomen Pisonis radendum fastis censuit, partem bonorum publicandam, pars ut Cn. Pisoni filio concederetur isque praenomen mutaret; M. Piso exuta dignitate et accepto quinquagies sestertio in decem annos relegaretur, concessa Plancinae incolumitate ob preces Augustae.

Piso’s name be erased from the *fasti*, part of his fortune be confiscated to become property of the state, that part be granted to Cn. Piso, his son, and that he should change his *praenomen*. M. Piso should lose his rank, receive five million sesterces, and be relegated for ten years. Immunity was granted to Plancina because of the prayers of the Augusta.

¹⁸ The standard edition is now Cottier et al. 2008, with earlier bibliography.

Tiberius, we are told, “mitigated many items in that proposal.” The name of Piso was not erased from the *fasti*, M. Piso was granted his father’s wealth and not subjected to *ignominia*. The final decree, as preserved in the *senatus consultum*, duly notes that he will suffer no further penalty through the intervention of Tiberius, while making it plain that Tacitus has again omitted to mention many subsidiary actions that were taken against Piso’s memory. What we would not know, however, if we had the text of the *senatus consultum* without the text of Tacitus, is that the praise for the imperial family (*Ann.* 3.18.3) stemmed from a separate action of the Senate taken after the penalty phase was complete. Again in this same passage, Tacitus chooses not to run through each clause in detail, but does provide the crucial information that the consul Valerius Messalinus had omitted Claudius from the original proposal. He was only included as an afterthought after an intervention in the Senate by L. Nonius Asprenas. This cannot be gleaned from the inscribed copy of the *senatus consultum*, where Claudius appears, styled as “the brother of Germanicus Caesar,” as the very last in a list of Germanicus’ relatives (*SCPiso* lines 132–148).

Tacitus himself, having the record of the trial in addition to the documents that emerged from the trial, was well aware that the protestations of the Senate, repeating the charge that Piso had not only shown joy at the death of Germanicus, but actually poisoned him, went beyond the evidence. He notes also that Piso’s defense collapsed on all other counts, which raises the question of what Piso thought he was doing when he attempted to retake the province. In the judgment of the Senate (*SCPiso* lines 45–49):

bellum etiam civile ex/citare conatus sit, iam pridem numine divi Aug(usti) virtutibusq(ue) Ti(beri) Caesaris Aug(usti) / omnibus civilis belli sepultis malis repetendo provinciam Syriam post / mortem Germanici Caesaris quam vivo eo pessumo et animo et exemplo re/liquerat atq(ue) ob id milites R(omani) inter se concurrere coacti sint

He also tried to stir up civil war, although all the evils of civil war had long since been laid to rest through the *numen* (divine spirit) of the deified Augustus and the virtues of Ti. Caesar Augustus, by trying to regain the province of Syria after the death of Germanicus Caesar, a province which, when Germanicus was alive, he had left with the worst of intentions and setting the worst of precedents. Because of this Roman soldiers were compelled to fight among themselves.

Tacitus does not give details of the defense at this point—to do so would have interrupted the flow of the narrative with the inclusion of material that was pointless to its conclusion—but his handling of documents shows how he consciously selected what he thought was relevant to his narrative from the available texts. Still, the issue was not insignificant. That much emerges from the curious statement:

item senatum probare eorum militum fidem quorum animi frustra sollicita/ti essent scelere Cn(aei) Pisonis patris omnesq(ue) qui sub auspici(i)s et imperio principis / nostri milites essent quam fidem pietatemq(ue) domui Aug(ustae) p^raestarent eam sperare / perpetuo praestatueros cum scirent salutem imperi(i) nostri in eius domus custo/dia posita<m> esse{t}: senatum arbitrari eorum curae atq(ue) offic(i) esse ut apud eos ii / qui

quandoq(ue) e[ri]t <s> prae(e)ssent plurimum auctoritatis <haberent>, qui fidelissima pietate / salutare huic urbi imperioq(ue) p(opuli) R(omani) nomen Caesarum coluissent
 the Senate praised the fidelity of those soldiers whose spirits had been solicited in vain by the crime of the elder Cn. Piso, and hoped that all soldiers under the auspices and command of our Princeps would forever display the fidelity and sense of duty that they were displaying to the imperial house, since they knew the safety of our Empire had been placed in the custody of that house; the Senate thought that it was the soldiers' concern and duty that among those who at any time were in command those who had cherished the name of the Caesars, which preserves this city and the Empire of the Roman people, with the most loyal sense of duty should have most authority. (*SCPiso* lines 159–165).

The men “who had cherished the name of the Caesars with the most loyal sense of duty” were the men left in charge of the province after Germanicus' death, not the governor appointed by the *princeps*. Tacitus suggests that the reason that Piso returned was that he felt that his command had not ended, and, in fact, the Senate does not say that he had ceased to be governor. Perhaps the Senate did not need to do so, but the implication of the passage just quoted was that the Senate could not simply reject his claim out of hand. Tacitus placed Piso's position where it made most sense in the narrative—at a conference on Cos before his decision to return (*Ann.* 2.77).

Tacitus provides crucial insight into the way that the text of the *senatus consultum* was assembled, but not about how it was disseminated. The text that we have was intended to publicize the decision throughout the Empire. It was passed on 10 December, while Tacitus places the action of the trial in the late spring, prior to Drusus' triumph on 28 May. Is it plausible that, in light of the care that Tacitus showed in extracting what he decided was relevant to his narrative, he should then have misdated the event within the year? The *senatus consultum* does not impose this choice. It is what it says it is and need not have been promulgated immediately after the trial. Tacitus has been accused of error over the chronology of the trial, but this is not an absolutely necessary conclusion to draw.¹⁹ Tacitus picks and chooses, that much is clear, but that is a very different thing than to say that he errs.

CLAUDIUS' SPEECH PROMOTING GAULS TO THE SENATE, 48 CE

Selection of detail is not the only possible response that Tacitus might have to a document. Another variety can be discerned in his handling of the speech of Claudius to

¹⁹ Tacitus' supposed error: Eck, Caballos, and Fernández 1996: 109–121; for the view argued here, Potter 1998: 452–454; differently, Barnes 1998; Talbert 1999.



FIG. 173 Bronze copy of the emperor Claudius’ speech to the Senate regarding the admission of Gauls to that body, 48 CE, from Lugdunum. Musée de la Civilisation Gallo-Romaine, Lyon.

the subject of the admission of admitting Gallic notables to that body. Part of Claudius’ speech is preserved on a damaged bronze plaque from Lugdunum (Lyon) (*CIL* XIII 1668 = *ILS* 212 = *FIRA* I 43; Fig. 173). Tacitus’ approach is categorically different here from his treatment of the trial of Germanicus.²⁰ In this case, he took over the text of the speech that Claudius had written arguing for a specific point and turned it into a universalizing statement about the growth of the Roman state. In so doing, he revealed a very close understanding of the text with which he was working. In some places he expanded upon Claudian rhetoric, as when he transforms Claudius’ words (column II, lines 32–33):

si quis hoc intuetur quod bello per de/cem annos exercuerunt divom Iulium idem opponat centum / annorum immobilem fidem obsequiumque

And what of it if some one should note that they fought the deified Julius in war for ten years, let the same person contrast a hundred years of steady faith and obedience

²⁰ Griffin 1982.

into the following (*Ann.* 11.24.6):

si cuncta bella recenseas, nullum brevior spatio quam adversus Gallos confectum: continua inde ac fida pax.

If you consider all wars, none were finished more rapidly than those against the Gauls, and, after that, there has been continuous and unshaken peace.

Elsewhere Claudius used the example of Rome's foreign-born kings to bolster his case (column I, lines 9–17). The argument was borrowed from the speech of C. Canuleius at the beginning of Livy Book IV (4.3.11–12) on the need to allow marriage between patricians and plebeians. The arguments from Livy are subsumed beneath examples drawn from Claudius' own history of Rome, including a tradition of the settlement of the Mons Caelius different from the one Tacitus offered in his account of Tiberius' reign, and correcting Livy on the ancestry of Servius Tullius (column I, lines 10–22; cf. *Tac. Ann.* 4.65).

INSCRIPTIONS THAT FILL GAPS IN THE HISTORICAL RECORD, SECOND TO THIRD CENTURIES CE

Roman historians did not aim for encyclopedic coverage, and there are times when their omissions can be repaired by chance discoveries, as we have already seen (p. 354) in the case of the large dossier often referred to as the *lex portorii provinciae Asiae*, which illuminates a moment mentioned in passing by Tacitus, or the many career inscriptions that have fleshed out our knowledge of the governing class and the structure of the military (Chs. 11, 16). Such documents, even without a detailed narrative, may illuminate the discourse of power that would otherwise be lost. Thus the Latin inscription on the tomb of Ti. Claudius Maximus from near Philippi in Macedonia states that he brought the head of Decebalus to Trajan (*AE* 1969/70, 583: ... *quod cepisset Decebalu(m) et caput eius pertulisset ei Ranisstoru...*), and shows Maximus reaching for the king as he dies of a self-inflicted wound, just as he does on Trajan's column, which also depicts the scene implied in this text of the display of Decebalus' head at a site which Maximus tells us was Ranisstorum.²¹

An inscription from the very end of the second century CE from Tarraco in Hispania Citerior honours Ti. Claudius Candidus as the "leader of the Illyrian army on the Asian, Parthian, and Gallic expeditions" (*CIL* II 4114 = *II*²/14, 975 = *ILS* 1140: *duci exercitus Illyrici expeditione Asiana item Parthica item Gallica*; Fig. 17.4).

²¹ For this monument, including the scene on Trajan's column, Speidel 1970.

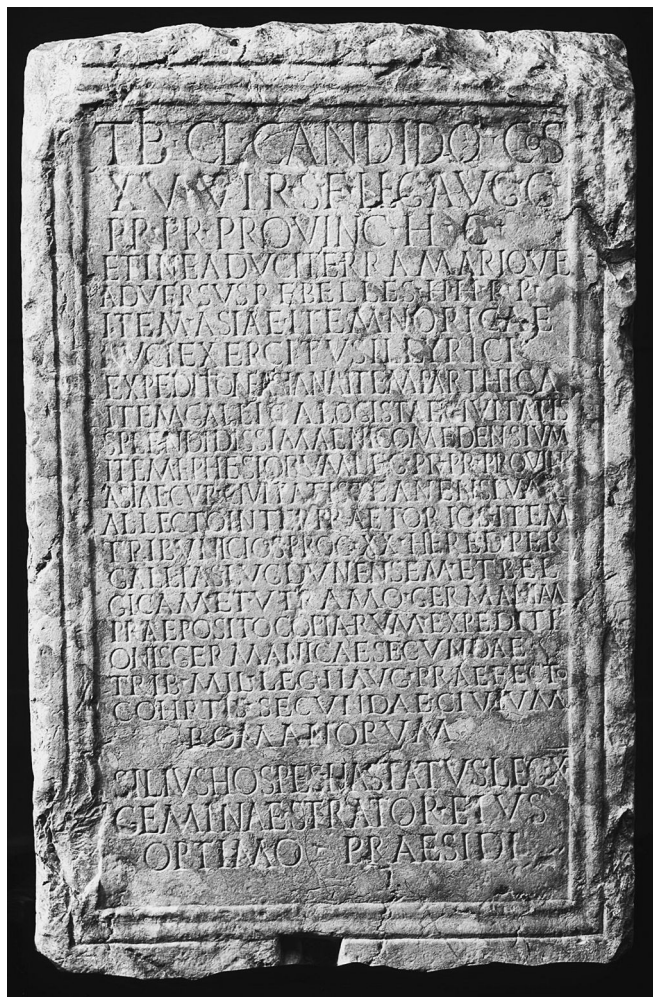


FIG. 17.4 Statue base from Tarraco honouring Ti. Claudius Candidus, a general of Septimius Severus during the civil wars against Pescennius Niger and Clodius Albinus. British Museum.

The text occludes the fact that the Asian, Parthian, and Gallic expeditions were the civil war campaigns fought by Septimius Severus against Pescennius Niger in 194 and then against Clodius Albinus in 196–197. This we learn from Cassius Dio (74.6.4–6; 75.2.3) and the *Historia Augusta* (*Sept. Sev.* 8.17–9.11). It adds to our knowledge the further information that Candidus had suppressed a rebellion in Spain at some earlier point in his career, and complicates the narrative of the year 194 by noting that in addition to his work in Hispania Citerior suppressing the “public enemies of the Roman people,” Candidus also acted against rebels in Asia and Noricum (i.e., Niger’s supporters) (*in ea (sc. Hispania Citeriore) duci terra marique adversus rebelles hh(ostes) pp(ublicos), item*

Asiae item Noricae).²² The narrative sources for the year do not note that the small province of Noricum required military intervention before accepting Severus; nor would we otherwise know about the rebellion in Spain, any more than we would know about the third-century military action against local tribes who had ravaged portions of North Africa, which is revealed in an inscription from Lambaesis (*CIL* VIII 2615 = *ILS* 1194). Likewise an inscription from Rome (*CIL* VI 1408 = *ILS* 1141) that mentions the fact that another important Severan supporter, L. Fabius Cilo, suffect consul in 193, was commander of the detachment that won the crucial engagement at Perinthus in 193 adds depth to our understanding of not just the campaign, but also the structure of the Severan regime.²³ In general, from the last quarter of the first century through the third quarter of the third century inscriptions write their own history of the development of the senatorial and equestrian order and their role in public administration (Chs. 11, 14).

INSCRIPTIONS AND RELATIONS BETWEEN THE EMPEROR AND LOCAL COMMUNITIES

The epigraphic record also reveals the dialogue between the central government and local authorities that shaped policy over the centuries. Three letters that Hadrian wrote in 134 CE (*AE* 2006, 1403 = *SEG* 48, 541) illustrate the way that the emperor received a series of embassies, all treating issues related to public spectacles, and, in response to those appeals, delivered a series of rulings that either set policy for the future or publicized individual precedents.²⁴ The first of these letters sets out rules governing the conduct of festivals. The precedents for some of these policies, such as the restriction on how one might whip an athlete, extend backwards in time as far as the sixth century BCE, when we first have epigraphic evidence for similar limitations at Olympia (*AE* 2006, 1403a, lines 30–31). Others, such as one related to the non-payment of prize money by an individual who may be related to the family of the future emperor Alexander Severus, are ad hoc decisions relating to concerns of general interest (lines 43–44). Behind all of these actions, however, is the sense that cities should make good on their obligations to professional associations of entertainers. The second letter establishes a new cycle of games, incorporating festivals that Hadrian had himself set up. Despite an odd omission (a festival that Hadrian himself had established) and some possibly quite poor draftsmanship, the text clearly shows how an emperor could use

²² For these events, Birley 1999: 108–120 (Pescennius Niger), 121–128 (Clodius Albinus). Candidus: Alföldy 1969: 43–45.

²³ L. Fabius Cilo: *PIR*² F 27; Birley 1988: 105, 108, 110, 121–129. Migliorati 2012 for the contribution that inscriptions make to the history of the reigns of Marcus Aurelius and Commodus.

²⁴ Jones 2007; Haensch 2008.

the system through which individual communities petitioned for redress of grievance to shape a central policy for the entire Empire.

It was through the system of petition and response that an emperor could make his personal values known throughout the Empire, and the sorts of requests that are made may provide a touchstone for the success of the central government in communicating its values to its subjects. It is significant, for instance, that a letter from Decius to the city of Aphrodisias (*Aphrodisias & Rome* 25) is the only one in the large dossier from that city that congratulates the city for its devotion to sacrifice, while there are no letters preserved on the archive wall of the theater that deal with the right of asylum after the triumviral period. The surviving letter of Octavian (*Aphrodisias & Rome* 8, with *AE* 1989, 684) echoes the decision made by Caesar in the case of Ephesus on 4 March, 44 BCE. Similarly it may be significant that C. Iulius Demosthenes, the great benefactor of his home city Oinoanda in planning games in his own honor, chose to include theatrical contests when he wrote to Hadrian (*SEG* 38, 1462).²⁵ In the last few months of his life Hadrian himself responded—in Greek as was the habit of the early imperial chancery when writing to Greeks—with approval to the contents of a letter from the city of Naryka in Locris (*AE* 2006, 1369 = *SEG* 51, 641; Fig. 14.4), saying:

I do not think that anyone would contest that fact that your city has what it takes to be a city since you pay your contribution to the Amphictyony, and to the Assembly of the Boeotians, to which you contribute a Boeotarch and you elect a Panhellene, send a *theekolos*, that you have a council, magistrates, priests, tribes on the Greek model, that your laws are those of the Opuntians and that you pay tribute with the Achaeans. Some of the most famous poets, both Greek and Roman, mention you as Narykeans, and among the heroes they name some come from your city. For these reasons, if you have neglected to write to the emperors and receive [assurances from them?] . . .

The reference to paying taxes with the Achaeans in this letter is perhaps especially interesting as it links the assertion of Hellenic antiquity with the facts of the Roman present. If a place was included on the tax role of the province, it must, according to Roman practice, be a real city, and that should be enough; but it is not in this case. The city wished something more and so it reminded Hadrian that it not only paid its taxes, it also sent a representative to the games that he had founded at Athens, and that it could be found in ancient poetry. In Hadrian's response all these aspects appear to be given equal weight.²⁶

Continuity of practice, with massive discontinuity of message, appears in one of the crucial epigraphic dossiers of the early fourth century from Orcistus, a small place in Galatia, which appealed to Constantine for restoration of its civic status. The dossier, in keeping with the practice of the post-Diocletianic regime, is in Latin (*CIL* III 352 +

²⁵ Wörrle 1988; Mitchell 1990; cf. Ch. 13, p. 256–258.

²⁶ Knoepfler 2005: 66–73, with photo; Jones 2006.

7000 = *ILS* 6091 = *MAMA* VII 305). The request is granted on the grounds that Orcistus has all the amenities of a real city, but, at the end, the emperor remarks that, “in addition to all these things it is a sort of blessing that all who live there are said to be followers of the most sacred religion” (panel 1, lines 39–43: *quibus omnibus quasi quidam cumulus accedit quod omnes [i]bidem sectatores sanctissimae religionis habitare dicantur*). The information could come only from the people of Orcistus, who knew, in 339 or 330, that this would be a good thing to say to their ruler.

Epigraphic texts derive increasing significance whenever their context may be broadened. An inscription may act as a spotlight shining brightly upon an isolated moment in the past, but the significance of that moment will only be grasped as the gleam from one spotlight may be picked up by another to illuminate a vast room rather than just a corner. Above all else, inscriptions are invaluable as guides to process and discourse. Implicitly rhetorical, they are nonetheless grounded in the fundamental necessities of communication in the ancient world.

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CHAPTER 18

LATE ANTIQUITY

BENET SALWAY

LATE Antiquity may be understood to comprise that post-classical but pre-medieval period which started with Diocletian and closed with Phocas, honorand of the last public monument in the Roman Forum (*CIL* VI 1200 = *ILS* 837, 1 August 608), when cultural identity remained predominantly Roman but also became increasingly Christian.¹ The epigraphy of this period differs in several respects from that of the High Empire, reflecting the changed political, economic, and cultural circumstances. Attention will focus here on the epigraphic habit of that fluctuating portion of the late-antique world that remained Roman. Despite the emergence of additional languages in the inscribed repertoire in certain regions (Syriac and Coptic),² Latin and Greek retained their hegemony as the two languages of the Roman cultural mainstream, though the balance between them fluctuated. Their basic epigraphic footprint continued to respect the long established linguistic frontier dividing the Empire's Greek East from its Latin West in North Africa and the Balkans. Nevertheless, the establishment of an imperial court, with attendant bureaucratic and military retinue, in major centres of the Greek East from the last decades of the third century coincided with a new flowering of Latin inscriptions in the region. From Diocletian to the Valentinianic dynasty official pronouncements were inscribed in Latin prose, often in multiple copies.³ After the definitive separation of the imperial government in 395, a new vogue set in amongst members of the increasingly Hellenophone governmental elite of the Empire's eastern portion for showing off their facility in the language of law and authority by the composition and display of Latin epigrams.⁴

Although the vast majority of inscriptions cannot be dated precisely, the absolute number of Greek and Latin texts inscribed in durable media declined drastically

¹ Chronology covered by A.H.M. Jones 1964.

² Syriac: Briquel Chatonnet, Debié, and Desreumaux 2004. Coptic: Krause 1991.

³ Feissel 1999; Corcoran 2000, 2007.

⁴ Feissel 2006.

in the third century, especially from the 240s to the 270s, the most acute period of the “third-century crisis.”⁵ A partial recovery followed in the late third and early fourth century, before numbers tail off again in the fifth and sixth centuries, when the epigraphic culture of the Latin West suffers in the wake of imperial contraction, while that of the Greek East displays somewhat more vitality and resilience. Not all categories of text were affected equally. Most are diminished in number, some entirely eliminated, while others continue but in a radically altered fashion, and other new categories emerge for the first time. Epitaphs (always the largest category) remain the most resilient throughout, while public dedications, especially at the municipal level, suffer the most acute decline and do not see a recovery equivalent to that for epitaphs in the fourth century. Accordingly, funerary inscriptions account for an even greater proportion of Roman epigraphy than had been the case before, while their content and style were profoundly altered by the progressive Christianization of society between the third and fifth centuries, though considerable cultural continuities may still be observed. Moreover, this phenomenon does not account for all the developments in other categories. Nor is the chronology and pace of developments synchronized across the range of inscriptional types.

The ability to examine late antique Latin inscriptions as an integrated whole is hindered by patterns of publication. The tradition inherited from Renaissance humanists to treat “Christian” texts separately from “pagan” or secular epigraphy has influenced the structure of epigraphic corpora, both Greek and Latin. Following in the footsteps of Smetius and Gruterus in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the extensive selection of Latin inscriptions by Giuseppe Gaspare Orelli, published between 1828 and 1856, excluded Christian texts. This same attitude was adopted by the original editors of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, which aims to provide a comprehensive record of Latin inscriptions to about 600 CE. Thus, even where the data had been assembled together, as for instance by Emil Hübner for the Iberian peninsula and Britain, they appeared separately: *CIL* II in 1869 and VII in 1873 separate from his respective corpora of Christian inscriptions, *Inscriptiones Hispaniae Christianae* and *Inscriptiones Britanniae Christianae*, published in 1871 and 1876. (However, for the new edition of *CIL* II, the editors decided to include Christian inscriptions up to the Arab conquest in 711.) For Rome (*CIL* VI), Wilhelm Henzen respected the limits of Christian epigraphy as defined by Giovanni Battista de Rossi for the *Inscriptiones Christianae Urbis Romae* (*ICUR*). The exclusion of Christian texts from most volumes of *CIL* means that the collection is asymmetric in its late antique sections, undermining its utility. Moreover, the distortion gives an exaggerated impression of the real decline in the Latin epigraphic habit.

The awkward divide between *CIL* and *ICUR* is mirrored by the selections of Hermann Dessau (*ILS*) and Ernst Diehl (*ILCV*), and successive introductions and handbooks to Latin or Roman epigraphy have tended to perpetuate the lopsided treatment of Late Antiquity. Most explicitly or effectively end with the third century or the reign of Constantine.⁶ Those that continue their coverage on to Theodosius, or even Phocas,

⁵ Roueché 1997: 353–354; cf. Ch. 8.

⁶ Third century: Sandys 1927; Schmidt 2004. Constantine: Bloch 1969; Meyer 1973; Susini 1982.

generally restrict themselves to narrowly secular examples.⁷ Selections and manuals of Greek inscriptions that cover the Roman period exhibit the same tendencies, terminating with Diocletian or Constantine,⁸ or focusing only on secular texts thereafter.⁹ A few honorable exceptions treat late antique secular and Christian texts together and more than cursorily.¹⁰ Students of the late antique Latin inscriptions of the city of Rome now benefit from the fact that the inscriptions of emperors, senators, and equestrian officials from the third century onwards have been re-edited with copious commentary and illustration by Géza Alföldy in *CIL VI.8.2* (1996) and *CIL VI.8.3* (2000). Outside Rome, specifically late antique corpora exist for some regions, notably in the Greek East.¹¹ Furthermore, an initiative to link the late antique texts of the Latin West that are dispersed across the electronic corpora may alleviate the obstacles posed by the printed collections.¹²

Considering the texts of the traditionally distinct sub-fields of late Roman and early Christian epigraphy as an integrated whole highlights the distinctiveness of the epigraphic landscape of Late Antiquity. Within the repertoire of Latin inscriptions in particular the changes are such that the epigraphic record no longer contributes to our historical understanding of this period in the same way as it does for the High Empire. A comparison of the basis for the entries in the *Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire (PLRE)*, covering the period 260 to 641, reveals the progressive decline of traditional categories of honorific inscriptions as a principal source for public office holders.¹³ Still, while the most famous inscribed text from Roman antiquity must be Augustus' *Res Gestae* (Ch. 10; Figs. 10.2–3), the longest is certainly Diocletian's Edict on Maximum Prices of 301, a historical source arguably of equal significance, though in quite a different way.¹⁴ The changing profile of the epigraphic record itself provides an indispensable barometer of socio-political developments and the evidence of inscriptions remains vital for the study of those periods, regions, echelons of society, and aspects of life that are poorly documented by the literary record.

GENERAL FEATURES

Although the majority of late antique public inscriptions are on stone, bronze was still used throughout the Latin West for the display of documents of the Roman state and local municipalities. A significant number of inscribed bronze plaques survive from

⁷ Cagnat 1914; Calabi Limentani 1991.

⁸ *IGRR*; Guarducci 1987; McLean 2002.

⁹ *OGIS*; *SIG*³; cf. Guarducci 1967–1977: 4.299–556, appending Christian texts to 600 CE to secular material that ends with Diocletian.

¹⁰ Diehl 1912; Gordon and Gordon 1965; Lassère 2007; Cooley 2012.

¹¹ Beševliev 1964; Sironen 1997; *IG II/III*^{2.5} (2008); *ala2004* (Aphrodisias).

¹² Witschel 2010.

¹³ In general, Barnes 1999.

¹⁴ Lauffer 1971; Giaccherio 1974; Corcoran 2000: 205–233; Crawford 2002; Salway 2010.

Italy, Gaul, and Africa from the fourth century (*CIL* VI 1684, 1689; *ILS* 6111–17; *AE* 1990, 211; 1992, 301; cf. *CIL* VIII 17896 = *FIRA* I 64, a contemporary copy of a bronze original), while in early sixth-century Rome the Ostrogothic king Theoderic is said to have ordered the publication of a pronouncement on bronze (Anon. Val., pars posterior, 69, p. 552). If the king's order was ever carried out, it is doubtful whether the text would have been engraved on a freshly cast sheet of bronze. From the start of the fourth century it is increasingly common to find texts of all sorts inscribed on bronzes and stones previously inscribed with texts now deemed redundant or expendable. This no doubt indicates a reduction of the resources that commissioners of inscriptions were willing or able to invest in this form of display. This re-use might take various forms. The cheapest option was to refashion the text by erasing and recarving a small portion. Thus the dedicatory inscription to a statue base at Aphrodisias (Fig. 18.1), which had honoured the emperor Julian, was crudely reworked to honour Theodosius I or II, as is clear in lines 2–5 of the text (*alaz004* 20, lines 2–5):

Φλ(άουιον) Κλ(αύδιον) <<Θεοδόσιον>>
 (vac) τὸν αἰώνιον
 καὶ εὖσεβέστατον
 (vac) Αὔγουστον

To Flavius Claudius <<Theodosius>> the everlasting and most pious Augustus.

Most drastic was the complete erasure of an original text, smoothing of the surface, and carving over it of a fresh text. The original dedication date on its right-hand side reveals that this is what the *praefectus vigilum* Rupilius Pisonianus did when he set up a statue of the emperor Constans (337–350) in Rome on a base that had originally supported a statue of the goddess Venus Genetrix unveiled on 26 September 269 (*CIL* VI 1157 = 40840). Most commonly, however, texts reused in Late Antiquity are epigraphic, i.e., reused by being inscribed on what was originally their reverse side. At Larinum in Samnium the bronze plaque that bore a copy of a *senatus consultum* of 19 CE governing attendance at spectacles (*AE* 1978, 145; cf. Chs. 15, 25) was turned over, cut down, and inscribed with a *tabula patronatus* dated 1 April 344 (*AE* 1992, 301). The proliferation of antique monuments in the public spaces of Constantinople is well documented.¹⁵ Similarly in Rome and Italy in the later fourth and fifth centuries certain ancient statues were rescued from dilapidated surroundings and re-erected in new contexts.¹⁶ Restoration and renewal is also a strong theme running through late antique building inscriptions, though the genuine extent of the work claimed may sometimes be doubted in the light of the archaeology (cf. Ch. 24).¹⁷

Greek and Latin epigraphy of Late Antiquity exhibits the same basic conventions in the presentation of the written word as had prevailed since the Hellenistic period. As in contemporary literary manuscripts and papyrus documents, absence of word-spacing

¹⁵ Bauer 1996: 413–421.

¹⁶ Curran 1994: 47–49; Bauer 1996: 401–412.

¹⁷ Alföldy 2001; Behrwald 2009: 49–56.



FIG. 18.1 Base of a statue of the emperor Julian, re-carved to honour Theodosius I or II. Aphrodisias, Caria. Aphrodisias Museum, Geyre, Turkey.

remains the norm, with occasional interpuncts being the only regular aid to legibility. However, there is much variation in style of script, competence of layout, and quality of execution. Greater varieties of letter-forms were employed simultaneously than in earlier times. Rather than the development of completely new scripts, there was an increase in the range and type of letter-forms considered appropriate.¹⁸ Stylistically, neither the uniformity within nor consistency between inscriptions—characteristics of early imperial epigraphy—seem to have been a priority. While changes in aesthetics

¹⁸ Greek: Roueché 1997; *ala2004* (Narrative: letter-forms); Sironen 1997: 380–383. Latin: Cardin 2008: 47–60; cf. Diehl 1912: pls 32–37; Gordon and Gordon 1965: nos. 301–365.



FIG. 18.2 Detail of the rescript of Constantine and sons to the Umbrians, Hispellum. Palazzo Comunale, Spello.

may be a factor, the greater variability in quality suggests that inscriptions were no longer carved predominantly by professional letter-carvers, but now commonly by ordinary masons. Observe, for example, the contrast between the careful scoring of the still visible guidelines and the rather haphazard carving of the lettering on the rescript of Constantine and his sons to the Umbrians from Hispellum (*CIL* XI 5265 = *ILS* 705; Fig. 18.2). Nevertheless, although the widespread transmission of professional letter-carving skills may have fallen victim to the general decrease in epigraphic production during the third-century crisis, high quality work is still apparent in some prestige projects.

In Latin, traditional squared monumental capitals continued to be employed for inset bronze letters, as on the Arch of Constantine in Rome (*CIL* VI 1139 = *ILS* 694, 315 CE), as well as for lettering on stone, as in the inscription commemorating the lavish floor and wall mosaics provided by the urban prefect Longinianus and his wife Anastasia for St. Peter's in 401/2 (*CIL* VI 41331a = *ICUR* II 4097). Also continuing a style current since the first and second centuries is the more elongated capital script used, for instance, on the statue base of the anonymous *patronus* of Saena (Siena) at Rome, dated to 1 August 394 (*CIL* VI 1793). Specific to the city of Rome is the flamboyantly serifed script of the mid-fourth-century calligrapher Furius Dionysius Philocalus, employed by bishop Damasus for his cycle of epigrams celebrating the

martyrs,¹⁹ and still being imitated in prominent epitaphs and public inscriptions of the early fifth century (*CIL* VI 40798, statue base of Arcadius, 399/400; *CIL* VI 41377, verse epitaph of Eventius, 407).

First attested by two inscriptions from third-century North Africa (*CIL* VIII 11824 = *CLE* 1238 = *ILS* 7457, the famous “Mactar harvester” inscription;²⁰ cf. *CIL* VIII 17910, Thamugadi) is the use on stone of the rounded capitals, properly a manuscript bookhand, known to palaeographers as uncial. In these examples, which both have a literary flavour, the choice of script may be a conscious affectation, but this is unlikely in the case of the version of the preamble to Diocletian’s Prices Edict from Athens,²¹ and even less so with the two copies of a letter of the emperor Julian from Lesbos (*CIL* III 14198) and Amorgos (*CIL* III 459 = *AE* 2000, 1370; Fig. 18.3). The challenge to comprehensibility is obvious even from the opening clause of the latter, which reads *ouopipi solent nonnul[le] contpouepsie que* for the correct *oboriri solent nonnullae controversiae quae* (“Some disputes are accustomed to arise that . . .”). The extraordinary appearance of these inscriptions may be attributed to the local hellenophone carvers, who, unfamiliar with the conventions of inscribed Latin, struggled to copy the half-uncial text as it appeared on the papyrus or parchment before them.²²

Similarly in the Greek East during the sixth-century the so-called “heavenly letters” (*litterae caelestes*) of the special Latin cursive script used by the imperial chancery are found faithfully reproduced on stone (cf. *AE* 2004, 1410 = *SEG* 54, 1178, 1–2 April 533, Didyma).²³ The intention was presumably to emphasize the fidelity of the publicly inscribed document to the authentic original retained in the archive of the municipality or provincial governor. In a constitution of the emperor Maurice from Ephesus, dated 11 February 585, the cursive Latin of the dating clause forms a striking contrast with the clear capital script of the body of the text in Greek (*I.Ephesos* 40; Fig. 18.4):

*dat(um) III Idus Februar(ias) Co-
nstantinupo(li) imp(er)a(toris)
d(omini) n(ostr)i [[Maurici Ti]]-
beri pe(r)pe(tui) Aug(usti) ann(o) III
5 et post cons(ulatum) eius(dem)
ann(o) I (crux)*

Given on the third day before the Ides of February in Constantinople in the third year of the emperor our lord Mauricius Tiberius, perpetual Augustus, and in the first year after his consulate.

As for Greek letter-forms, from the third century onwards an increased influence of cursive forms upon some letters of the standard epigraphic capital script is observable. Lunate forms of epsilon (€) are commonly found alongside the traditional squared

¹⁹ Ferrua 1942; cf. Ch. 21.

²⁰ Shaw 2013 (with photos).

²¹ Photo: Gordon 1983; pl. 53.

²² Marichal 1952; Feissel 2000.

²³ cf. Feissel 2004.

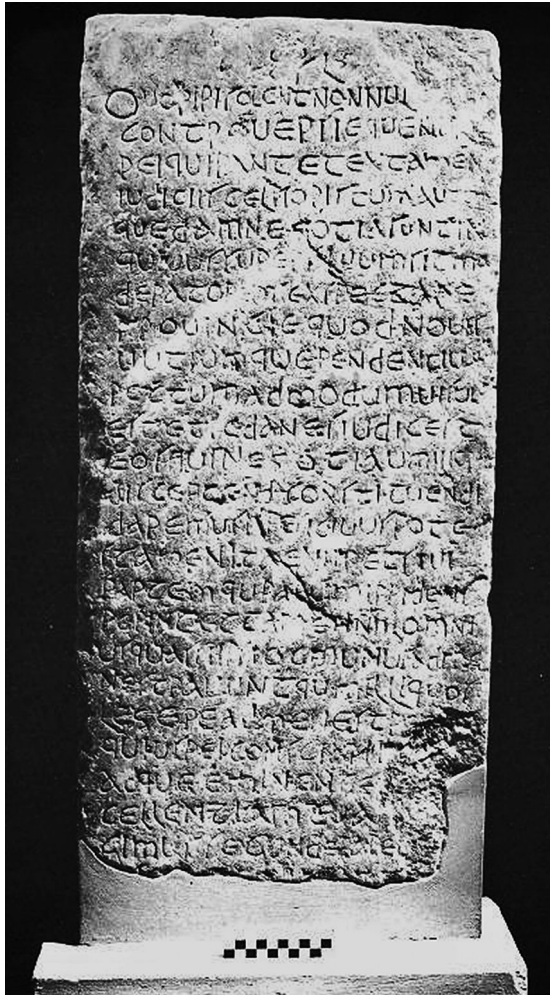


FIG. 18.3 Letter of the emperor Julian to the praetorian prefect Secundus from the island of Amorgos in the Cyclades. Epigraphic Museum, Athens (EM 10401).

form (E), while from the mid-fourth century onwards, as seen in the Aphrodisian dedication to Julian/Theodosius (Fig. 18.1), triliteral squared or lunate (C) forms of sigma and double-horseshoe (ω) forms of omega almost completely displace their respective forms standard in the Hellenistic and early imperial periods (Σ , Ω). There is also an increased tendency towards vertical elongation, perhaps reflecting the influence of Latin, and an increased abbreviation of predictable elements, which certainly represents Roman custom.

Trends in orthography can be revealing about developments in pronunciation. The one variation from classical norms that can reasonably be considered a specifically late feature is the progressive distinction of consonantal *-v-* from vocalic *-u-* in Latin. In Latin inscriptions this gives rise to an increased confusion or interchangeability of B

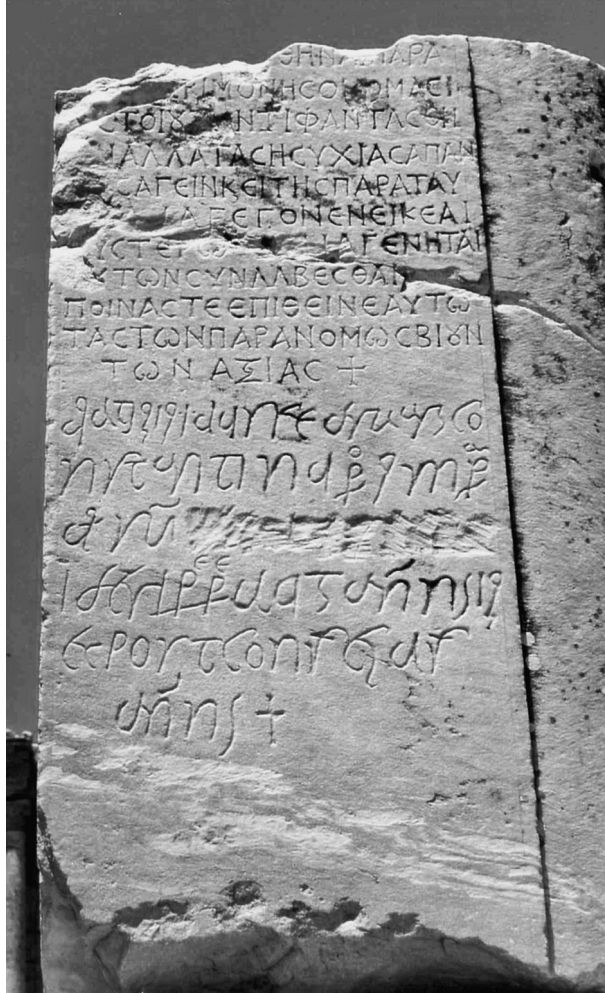


FIG. 18.4 Constitution of the emperor Maurice, 585 CE, from Ephesus, with the last six lines containing a Latin dating-formula. In situ.

and V, while in Greek it is exemplified by a switch in the standard transliteration of the Latin sound from *ou* to β , the voicing of which was itself in the process of softening from *-b-* to *-v-*. Other specifically late features that are common to texts in both languages are the use of:

- a symbol resembling a “scroll” or undulating tilde (~) as an abbreviation mark, often in a vertical position at the point of suspension so looking like a shallow S
- supralinear letters in abbreviations
- the deployment of the cross as an ornamental punctuation mark, especially to open and close texts, where previously it was normal to find a leaf (*hedera*).

The subscript of the emperor Maurice (Fig. 18.4) illustrates these phenomena.

A late antique novelty increasingly common in the fifth and sixth centuries is the use of the years of the fifteen-year fiscal cycle, the indiction, in dating formulae, especially in epitaphs. Unlike the annual consulship, as a chronological system the indiction had the advantage of having a naturally progressive sequence. However, it was the practice to indicate the number of the year within the cycle but not the number of the cycle in the series, which took its notional starting point under Constantine on 1 September 312. The system, therefore, is of limited utility in identifying a particular year in the longer term.²⁴ Without any additional chronological indicator, between Constantine and the death of Heraclius in 641, for example, an indictional dating may signify any one of twenty-two different twelve-month periods, no doubt more of a disadvantage to us than it was to contemporaries. Similarly, the lack of synchronization with the consular year (beginning on 1 January) is more awkward for us than it would have been for Roman taxpayers, for whom its annual rhythm was more relevant than the traditional civic year. Also newly emerging in the same period are a new expression in Latin for indicating the day—*sub die*—and the symbol ζ to represent the Roman numeral VI. The epitaph of a young girl from Ammaedara, in the province of Byzacena, illustrates these various features in combination (*AE* 1975, 901):

Ponti-
ca fidel(i)s
in Xp(ist)o requi-
ebit (!) in pace
 5 *s(ub) d(ie) ζ id(us) Maias*
 ind(ictione) XIII vixit
 annis V

Pontica, believer in Christ, went to rest in pace on the day 6 before the Ides of March in the 13th indiction. She lived for 5 years.

The danger of imprecision arising from dating by indiction alone was perceived by the emperor Justinian's advisers. A law of 31 August 537, the day before the beginning of the next first indiction, laid down a new system whereby henceforth, for a document to have any legal force, it had to be dated by consulship, indiction, and the emperor's regnal year (*Just. Nov.* 47.1). This was the first open acknowledgement in the imperial chancery, in the over five hundred years since the "Augustan settlement," that the regime was indeed a monarchy. The new style, well documented in papyri, is also reflected in the subsequent epigraphic record.²⁵

²⁴ cf. Lassère 2007: 911 (tabulation of cycle from 312 to 641).

²⁵ Feissel 1993.

LATE ANTIQUE SOCIETY

Epitaphs, because they represent a wider social spectrum than does the literary record, are central to the analysis of the chronological, demographic, and geographical distribution of a range of social and cultural phenomena: for example, family life and the progress of the Christianization of the general population.²⁶ Specifically Christian aspects of Latin funerary epigraphy are dealt with by Danilo Mazzoleni in Ch. 21; for Greek, Erkki Sironen provides a useful introduction.²⁷ Among the epitaphs of the Jewish diaspora a renaissance in the use of Hebrew is notable (cf. *JJWE* I 42–116, Venusia, S. Italy). Verse remained popular for epitaphs and perhaps even increased proportionally (cf. Ch. 35).²⁸ Despite the occasional self-consciously Christian touch, the sentiments eulogizing domestic virtues generally continue earlier traditions (cf. Chs. 26, 27), as in this hexameter example from the catacombs of Hadrumetum (Sousse) in Byzacena (*ILTun* 193):²⁹

*haec fuit Eusebia, fratres, rara castissima coniunx,
 quae meruit mecum vitam coniugii, ut tempora monstrant,
 annis decem sexs (!) mensibus octo et viginti diebus,
 huius, ut confiteor, vitam Deus ipse probavit,
 5 innocua vere coniunx exempli rarissimi sexus.
 oro Successus ego tabularius huiusque maritus
 eius semper meminisse, fratres, vestris precibusque.*

This, brothers, was Eusebia, a rare and most chaste partner,
 who has deserved to live with me in marriage, as the dates demonstrate,
 for sixteen years, eight months, and twenty days,
 whose life, as I bear witness, God himself approved;
 a truly irreproachable partner, most rare example of her sex.
 I, Successus, *tabularius* and her husband, beg you,
 brothers, to remember her always in your prayers too.

A number of funerary epigrams are known for high-profile members of the senatorial aristocracy, though some only survive through the copies of medieval pilgrims and Renaissance scholars, such as those from the mausoleum of Petronius Probus (*PLRE* 1, Probus 5) at St. Peter's (*CIL* VI 1756 = *ILCV* 63).³⁰ By contrast, it is only modern excavation that has reunited the strikingly traditional verse epitaph for the urban prefect of 359, Junius Bassus (*PLRE* 1, Bassus 15), with his famous sarcophagus, which enjoyed a prime position behind the high altar of the original Constantinian basilica on the

²⁶ Shaw 1984; Liebeschuetz 1977.

²⁷ Sironen 1997: 384–400.

²⁸ Bernt 1968.

²⁹ Pikhhaus 1994: no. B10.

³⁰ Trout 2001; Matthews 2009: 135–137.

Vatican (*CIL* VI 41341a; cf. VI 32004 = *ILS* 1286 = *ILCV* 90 = *ICUR* II 4164).³¹ Similarly, discovery of a fragment of the inscribed funerary epigram for the Gallic aristocrat and bishop of Clermont-Ferrand in the late fifth century, Sidonius Apollinaris (*PLRE* 2, Apollinaris 6), has restored faith in its authenticity (*CLE* 1516 = *ILCV* 1067 = *RICG* VIII 21).³² Pagan cultural references remained acceptable in verse, even within an ecclesiastical milieu. Sidonius' epitaph describes his literary works as "gifts of the Graces" (*dona Gratiarum*) and a fifth/sixth-century inscription from the Lateran quotes Vergil, *Aeneid* 1.274–278, with its description of Romulus' building of the city's *Mavortia moenia* (*AE* 1989, 75). Vergil was accorded the status of an honorary Christian, but here it may be more significant that these lines preface Jupiter's famous prediction for Rome of *imperium sine fine*, a message not unwelcome to the city's bishops.

In the Greek East a fashion for adorning statue bases with honorific verses for living subjects arose in the second century and continued to flourish in Late Antiquity, but never caught on in a big way in the Latin West (cf. *CIL* VI 1693 = *ILS* 1241, c. 352 CE; *CIL* VI 1710 = *ILS* 2949 = *IGUR* I 63, c. 402 CE, two verses in Greek).³³ These Greek epigrammatists, whether employing Christian or traditional mythological imagery, generally favoured the so-called "modern style," typified by Nonnus and his school.³⁴ This form was popular because its simple rhythmic structure (with stress accents signalling the main caesura and line-ends) allowed the poet to combine a high literary register with a direct style, readily comprehensible to less educated audiences.

Changes in personal naming practices are observable in late antique epigraphy and are a key indicator of social and cultural developments (Appendix III). For many Romans the *nomen gentile* shifted from indicating a family relationship to marking social status as a long-term consequence of the *constitutio Antoniniana* of 212. Transformations in the standard canon of personal names (*cognomina*) are partially attributable to the progressive Christianization of society in the fourth century.³⁵ By the fifth century Roman names were effectively reduced to single personal names for most, but epigraphic evidence still occasionally reveals the polyonymy of members of the Roman or Constantinopolitan elite, otherwise known only by single personal names.³⁶ Thus it is only from recent epigraphic finds that the consuls of 463 (Vivianus), 511 (Felix), and 521 (Valerius) are shown to glory in the names Flavius Antoninus Messala Vivianus (*AE* 2008, 1764), Arcadius Placidus Magnus Felix (*EAOR* VI 17.67a–f), and Iobius Philippus Ymelco Valerius (*EAOR* VI 17.72a–g) respectively, and Justinian's notorious praetorian prefect, John the Cappadocian (*PLRE* 3, Ioannes 11), to have styled himself in full as Fl(avius) Marianus Michaelius Gabrielius Archangelus Ioannes (*AE* 2004, 1410 = *SEG* 54, 1178, lines 42–44).³⁷

³¹ Matthews 2009: 133–134; cf. Malbon 1990: 115 (translation).

³² Montzimir 2003.

³³ Robert 1948.

³⁴ Agosti 2008.

³⁵ Salway 1994: 136–143; Kajanto 1997; Solin 2005; Salomies 2012.

³⁶ Rome: Cameron 1985. Constantinople: Laniado 2012.

³⁷ Feissel 2004: 333–335.

A striking development in Latin epigraphic practice is the prefacing of honorific texts with a form of nickname known as the *signum*.³⁸ Attested from the start of the third century, they are most noticeable epigraphically as a common affectation in dedications to members of the Roman senatorial aristocracy of the fourth and fifth centuries.³⁹ Morphologically these names are formed with the adjectival suffix *-ius*, their meanings often expressing some personal quality, and are frequently Greek by etymology; one early example is even inscribed in the Greek alphabet on an early third-century statue base from Utica in Africa Proconsularis (AE 1964, 179; cf. 1973, 575): Εὐκόμι // C(aiae) Sulpiciae [?Di]/dymianaē c(larissimaē) [f(eminaē)] / coniugi Q(uinti) Vin(ii) / Victorini c(larissimi) v(iri) fil(iae / C(ai) Sulpici(i) Iusti c(larissimi) v(iri) / Calpurnius Gabini[us] / patronae (“Well-haired one! Calpurnius Gabinius (set this up) to his patron Gaia Sulpicia Didymiana, *clarissima femina*, wife of Q. Vinius Victorinus, *vir clarissimus*, daughter of C. Sulpicius Iustus, *vir clarissimus*”).⁴⁰ Originally these *signa* were employed in the vocative to form an imprecation, suggesting an address to the statue with which each was associated. They were normally carved detached from the main body of the text, often on the cornice of the statue base, as for Sulpicia Didymiana (PIR² S 1029) and on that for L. Aradius Valerius Proculus *signo* Populonium, dating to c. 340 (CIL VI 1690 = ILS 1240), or even on the plinth of the statue itself, as in the case of the statue labelled *Dogmatii*, found near the base for Caelius Saturninus of 324/337 (CIL VI 1704 = ILS 1214).⁴¹ By the later fourth century, *gentilicia*, which mostly shared the *-ius* termination with the genuine *signa*, can be found standing in as a detached *signum* in order to conform to the fashion, as on the cornice of the posthumous base dedicated to Vettius Agorius Praetextatus: *Agorii* (CIL VI 1778, 1 February 387).⁴² The consistent use of terminations in *-i* in these fourth-century examples looks superficially similar to the earlier *signa* in the vocative, but grammatically they are in the genitive, suggesting that the understanding of the function of these headings has shifted. They now function as labels of the images to which they relate, i.e., “(statue) of X.” By the fifth century, not just a single name but the honorand’s full names might be repeated in detached form at the head of the dedication, as in that from Trajan’s Forum to the panegyrist and poet Claudian from c. 402 CE: [Cl(audi)] *Claudiani* v(iri) c(larissimi) / [Cla]udio *Claudiano* v(iro) *clarissimo tri/[bu]no et notario*... (CIL VI 1710 = IGUR I 63 = ILS 2949; cf. VI 1725 = ILS 1284 = Fig. 18.5).

Another shorthand method of identification that emerges in the epigraphic record in late antiquity is the monogram. This usually takes the form of a design comprising the letters of a name within a circle or connected by a square.⁴³ From the fourth century they are common on seal rings and in the fifth and sixth can be found as graffiti,

³⁸ Kajanto 1966: 42–90.

³⁹ Chastagnol 1988a: 38–41.

⁴⁰ Photo: Lassère 2007: 86, fig. 37.

⁴¹ Photo: Lassère 2007: 719, fig. 118.

⁴² Photo: Gordon and Gordon 1965: no. 339.

⁴³ Roueché 2007a: 231–234.

coin designs, and monumental decoration, as on the pillars from the church of St. Polyeuktos, built in Constantinople in the early sixth century by the wealthy aristocrat Anicia Iuliana. Since they were designed to be recognizable rather than decipherable, these monograms cannot always be fully understood. In this case a plausible resolution might be ἀγίου Πολυεύκτου (“of St. Polyeuktos”).⁴⁴

Vertical links between patron and client continue to be a common reason for epigraphic commemoration. As well as individuals, cities, and even provinces, in the fourth century the *collegia* of the city of Rome are notable for erecting dedications to the urban prefects: for example, the *corpus coriariorum* (CIL VI 1682 = ILS 1220) or the *mensores et codicarii* (VI 1759 = ILS 1272). The *corpus suariorum et confecturariorum* (“guild of pork butchers and sausage makers”) was responsible for two dedications—in prose and verse—to the prefect, Valerius Proculus (CIL VI 1690, 1693 = ILS 1240, 1241). That relations between the prefects and tradesmen were not always so cosy is demonstrated by three fragmentary copies of the same edict of Tarracius Bassus (PLRE 1, Bassus 21), the prefect of 375–376, naming and shaming a list of shopkeepers (*tabernarii*) who, in contravention of expected behaviour (*disciplina Romana*), had become accustomed to claim handouts, seats at games, and bread “in dereliction of prefectural edicts” (*derel[ictis edictis praef[ectorum]*) or “having quit Rome” (*derel[icta urbe Roma]*) (CIL VI 41328–30).⁴⁵

The allocation of seating, in the Flavian Amphitheatre in Rome at least, was a serious enough business to warrant the carving of permanent place markers for senatorial spectators, as the series of inscribed seats stretching from the fourth to sixth century demonstrates (Ch. 25).⁴⁶ Extending through the social orders, the “circus factions” (the hippodrome teams and their supporters) leave a considerable trail of inscriptions in the Greek East, from formal honours to simple graffiti.⁴⁷ As well as in the hippodrome, their presence was felt in the theatre, and they seem to have been used as a basis for the organization of public ceremonial. One of the activities in which they become engaged is the shouting of acclamations. These are chants that express approval or support, a genre which enters the epigraphic record in the later third century and continues into the early seventh.⁴⁸ Acclamations also appear in the portico of the south agora at late antique Aphrodisias, such as a text hailing a local magnate and benefactor, Albinus (*ala2004 83.xv*):⁴⁹

αὔξι Ἀλβίνου
ὁ κτίστης καὶ τοῦτου
τοῦ ἔργου.

Up with Albinus! The builder of this work too!

⁴⁴ Harrison 1986: 130, 5.a.iii. For 415 designs, mostly of names and offices, PLRE 3.1556–73.

⁴⁵ Purcell 1999: 144–145.

⁴⁶ EAOR VI (ed. S. Orlandi), superseding Chastagnol 1966.

⁴⁷ Cameron 1973; Roueché 1993, 2007a.

⁴⁸ Roueché 1984, 2007b: 183–186; Wiemer 2004.

⁴⁹ cf. Roueché 1984: 190–194.

In the economic sphere, Diocletian's Maximum Prices Edict, with its listing of a ceiling price for nearly fourteen hundred separate goods or services, under seventy chapter headings, is an invaluable resource for the modern scholar, although the recovery of its full text is only now nearing completion (cf. n. 14). As in earlier periods, inscribed artefacts (*instrumentum domesticum*) are most informative about commerce and manufacture. In contrast to the environs of Rome, where brick-stamps show that the workshops (*figlinae*) come under the control of the urban prefects from Diocletian onwards, brick production seems to have remained in private hands in fifth- and sixth-century Constantinople.⁵⁰ A unique insight into the agrarian society and economy of late antique North Africa is provided by a cache of forty-five writing tablets relating to a certain *fundus Tuletianus* in the mid-490s (the so-called "tablettes Albertini"). These show that over fifty years into the Vandal period tenant-landlord relations were still being governed by the *lex Manciana* of the first century CE and the use of Roman forms for transactions, including a slave-sale, with school-teachers and a priest, rather than professional notaries, acting as scribes.⁵¹

THE IMPERIAL STATE

Despite the decline in the epigraphic habit, inscriptions still provide some essential information for political and military events, especially for periods in the third and fourth century for which no extensive historical narrative survives.⁵² Inscriptions, especially epitaphs in the Latin west, are essential for establishing the consular *fasti*, sometimes the only clue to shifting political alliances.⁵³ For example, it is only epigraphy that has preserved the identity of Arcadius son of Theodosius II (*PLRE* 2, Arcadius 1), a short-lived member of the Theodosian dynasty, too junior to feature in the numismatic record (*CIL* XI 276 = *ILS* 818 = *ILCV* 20, a mosaic from the church of St. John the Evangelist, Ravenna),⁵⁴ and recorded the posthumous rehabilitation of Virius Nicomachus Flavianus (*PLRE* 1, Flavianus 15), a pagan senator and supporter of the usurper Eugenius (*CIL* VI 1783 = *ILS* 2948, Trajan's Forum, Rome).⁵⁵ The decline in many categories of public text at the provincial and municipal level gives a new prominence to inscribed copies of acts of central government.⁵⁶ As already noted, there is an efflorescence in the fourth century in the inscribing of imperial pronouncements in their original elaborate Latin form in multiple copies over the provinces of the Greek

⁵⁰ Rome: Steinby 1986; Constantinople: Bardill 2004; cf. Ch. 31.

⁵¹ Courtois et al. 1952; for a slave sale: *ibid.* no. 2; cf. Wessel 2003.

⁵² Barnes 1982, 2011.

⁵³ Bagnall et al. 1987: 58–66; Salway 2008: 300–309.

⁵⁴ Barnes 2007.

⁵⁵ Hedrick 2000.

⁵⁶ Feissel 1995, 2009.

East.⁵⁷ The most extreme example is Diocletian's Edict on Maximum Prices, attested in as many as forty-five separate copies.⁵⁸

In the Early Empire much information can be derived from the formal imperial titulature found in the headings of official acts (Ch. 10). A development that allows a crude differentiation of texts of Christian emperors from those of pagan ones, but only in the Greek East, is Constantine's replacement of Σεβαστός, the traditional equivalent of the Latin *Augustus*, by the simple transliteration Αὔγουστος.⁵⁹ The inclusion of multiple titles commemorating military victory reaches the height of its complexity in the Tetrarchy and thereafter, as in the heading of Diocletian's Prices Edict (*ILS* 642).⁶⁰ Such prolixity may have encouraged some inscribers to omit the heading entirely in favour of the bald descriptor *e(xemplum) s(acrarum) l(itterarum)*, as was done in the copy of the Prices Edict from Stratonicea in Caria (*AE* 2008, 1396). As well as the titles themselves, the order of seniority and composition of the imperial college are valuable indicators of the niceties of imperial politics. For instance, the two-man college of Galerius and Maximian that issued the letter confirming city status to the town of Heraclea Sintica in Macedonia in 307/8 (*AE* 2002, 1293 = 2004, 1331) reveals a low-point in diplomatic relations between Diocletian's successors.⁶¹

It may appear that there was a decline in the use of full imperial titulature, but this may simply result from the fact that official documents were less often inscribed on durable materials. The opening of a letter of 337 from Constantine and his Caesars to the Senate at Rome, acknowledging the virtues of Valerius Proculus (*PLRE* 1, Proculus 11) and probably granting the Senate's request for the erection of a public statue in his honour, shows not only the full panoply of imperial epithets, powers, and victory titles in use but also the traditional formal epistolary greeting ("if you and your children are faring well, it is good; we and our army are faring well") addressed to the Senate and magistrates: *consulibus, praetoribus, tribunis plebis, senatui suo salutem dicunt: si vos liberique vestri valetis, bene est; nos exercitusque nostri valemus* (*CIL* VI 40776). The sporadic survival of inscriptions makes arguments *e silentio* fragile. For example, the argument that Theodosius deliberately dropped the title *pontifex maximus*, based only on epigraphic material, may be mistaken. The title is last attested by an inscription dedicating the *pons Gratianus* in Rome by Valentinian, Valens, and Gratian in 369 (*CIL* VI 1175 = *ILS* 771; *CIL* VI 31250); but, when manuscript evidence is taken into consideration, it seems to have lived on at least into the sixth century, with slight restyling as *pontifex inclitus* (cf. *Collectio Avellana* 113, letter of Anastasius of 516).⁶² On the other hand, the disappearance under Theodosius I of the formula *devotus/dicatus numini maiestatique eius/eorum* ("devoted to his/their divine aura and majesty"), first attested

⁵⁷ Corcoran 2007: 224–226.

⁵⁸ Feissel 1995: 43–45; Crawford 2002: 147 n. 6, 156 n. 27.

⁵⁹ Rösch 1978; Salway 2007.

⁶⁰ Lauffer 1971: praef., sections 1–5; Roueché 1989: no. 231, panel i, lines 1–7.

⁶¹ Mitrev 2003.

⁶² Cameron 2007.

for the Severans, may reflect new religious sensibilities (cf. *CIL* VIII 22671 = *IRT* 476, Lepcis Magna; VIII 10489 = *ILS* 779, Gigthis, 378 CE).

A specifically late imperial category of inscribed material is that of silver plate distributed as largesse, presumably to high-ranking civil and military officials. About twenty examples survive, from the *decennalia* of Licinius (317/318) to the consulship of Fl(avius) Ardabur Aspar (434), and all but this last celebrating imperial anniversaries.⁶³ The (often optimistic) slogans on these objects generally follow simple formulae paralleled in other media: for example, the *sic X / sic XX // Licini Augusti semper vincas* (“Thus 10, so 20. Licinius Augustus, may you be victorious forever!”) inscribed on the bowls celebrating Licinius’ *decennalia* from Naissus (Niš);⁶⁴ but an example from Kaiseraugst sports two lines of hexameter verse: *Augustus Constans dat laeta decennia victor / spondens omn[i]bus ter tricennalia faustus* (*ILS* 1299: “Constans victorious Augustus gives (this) for a joyous ten years, (and), having been blessed, promising (it) to all three times over for the thirty-year anniversary”).⁶⁵ In return it is the probable beneficiaries of this largesse who were overwhelmingly responsible for dedications of statues or other monuments to the emperors with their ever more elaborately flattering introductory formulae, as when Licinius is described as *devictor omnium gentium barbarorum et super omnes retro principes providentissimus* (“defeater of all tribes of barbarians and most provident above all past emperors”) at Tarraco (*CIL* II 4105 = *II*²/14, 939).⁶⁶

Although the emperors continued to sponsor public building in Rome, their general absence from the city gave more prominence to their local representatives, the *praefecti urbis*, as their agents.⁶⁷ Inscriptions of the urban prefects attest significant rebuilding activity after the Gothic sack of 410, and again after that by the Vandals in 455 (*CIL* VI 40803 = 31419 [410/423]; 31890 = 37106 = 41403, 1788 = 31891 = 41404, 41405 [456]).⁶⁸ Official regulation of the interface between the people and subordinate officials of prefects and provincial governors is attested by inscribed edicts of the fourth and fifth centuries, which fix the fees and gifts that administrators might lawfully accept (*CIL* VIII 17896 = *FIRA* I 64, Thamugadi, 362/363; *AE* 2003, 1808, Caesarea Maritima, 465/473; cf. *Bull. ép.* 2004, 394).⁶⁹ The activity of central and provincial officials can be traced through the seal-impressions on lead *bullae*, which proliferate in the sixth and seventh centuries.⁷⁰ A cache of Latin *ostraka* from Carthage document the state’s requisitioning of olive oil in the late fourth century.⁷¹ Beyond the major urban centres, various central government activities have left their trace. For example, tetrarchic land-surveyors left

⁶³ Leader-Newby 2004: 11–59.

⁶⁴ Chastagnol 1988b; Leader-Newby 2004: 18.

⁶⁵ Leader-Newby 2004: 25.

⁶⁶ Chastagnol 1988a: 19–26; for such titles, cf. Ch. 10.

⁶⁷ Chastagnol 1960; Curran 2000: 1–115; Behrwald 2009: 46–59; Chenault 2012.

⁶⁸ Behrwald 2009: 132–146.

⁶⁹ cf. Chastagnol 1978: 75–88; Stauner 2007.

⁷⁰ For example, the *commercarii*: *PLRE* 3, 1485; Zacos and Vegler 1971; Oikonomides 1995.

⁷¹ Peña 1998.

cippi across the Syrian provinces, Palaestina, and Arabia; Volcei in Lucania benefited from an *alimenta* scheme under Constantine and Licinius (*CIL* X 407 = *Inscr.It.* III.1, 17, 323 CE); and detailed tax-registers were engraved across the province of Asia in the Valentinianic period.⁷²

The largest arm of the imperial state remained the military and, outside papyri from Egypt, inscriptions remain the main source for knowledge of all grades below the most eminent generals.⁷³ With the suppression of the praetorian cohorts in 312, the last individual bronze diplomas disappear but the conferral of tax privileges by Licinius on his troops collectively in 311 is now attested by two bronze plaques (*AE* 1937, 232 = *FIRA* I 93, Brigetio, Pannonia; *AE* 2007, 1224, ?Durostorum, Moesia). The renewed (and sometimes extreme) geographical mobility of soldiers of all ranks, provoked by the development of the *comitatus*, is documented by epitaphs (cf. *AE* 1981, 777; *CIL* III 14406 = *ILS* 8454).⁷⁴ Inscribed regulations of Anastasius on soldiers' allowances from Pamphylia, Arabia, and Libya detail the internal hierarchy of the legions c. 500.⁷⁵ With Christianization, the dedication by military units of altars on behalf of the emperors' well-being gives way to acclamations to the Christian God and for the emperors' long reign, such as that found on Constantinople's Porta Aurea (*CIL* III 7405 = *ILS* 9216).

Following the separation of military and civilian career paths, the generals (*magistri militum*) lagged behind in the receipt of honours, but in the early 400s Stilicho was honoured by two statues in the Forum Romanum (*CIL* VI 1730–31 = *ILS* 1277–78) and the loyalty and courage (*fides virtusque*) of his soldiers were the subject of a third monument (*CIL* VI 31987 = *ILS* 799). By the mid-fifth century generals are attested as donors to churches (*ILS* 1293, Lateran, Rome; 1294, St. Agatha, Rome; *CIL* V 3100 = *ILS* 1297, St. Justina, Padua) and in the seventh century as church builders (*AE* 1973, 245, Torcello, 638/639; *CIL* VIII 2389 = *ILS* 839, Thamugadi, 641/646). It is a feature typical of Late Antiquity that sixth-century generals celebrated the restoration of vital infrastructure with inscribed verses: for example, the *pons Salarius* in Rome (*CIL* VI 1199 = *ILS* 832, 565 CE; cf. *CIL* II 3420 = *ILS* 835 = *ILCV* 792, lines 8–9, Carthago Nova, 589).

THE IMPERIAL ELITE

Even if in much reduced numbers, the continued tradition of honouring members of the equestrian and senatorial elite with statue bases permits career-patterns to be traced through the dark days of the third into the later fourth century.⁷⁶ At Rome, despite their physical absence, the emperors maintained control over the erection of honours in public

⁷² Millar 1993: 535–544; Harper 2008.

⁷³ Officers from *duces* and *comites* down are listed in *PLRE* 1. 1116–27; 2. 1295–1306; 3. 1511–37. Lower ranks: Elton 1996: 274–277.

⁷⁴ Wilkinson 2012; cf. Ch. 30.

⁷⁵ Feissel 2009: 124, 126–127.

⁷⁶ Christol 1986; Kuhoff 1983.

Table 18.1 Senatorial and equestrian grades from the late second century onwards

	late 2nd–mid-4th century	mid-4th–mid-5th century	mid-5th century onwards
senatorial grades	<i>v(ir) c(larissimus)</i>	<i>v(ir) inl/ill(uster/tris)</i> <i>v(ir) sp(ectabilis)</i> <i>v(ir) c(larissimus)</i>	<i>v(ir) exc(ellentissimus)</i> <i>v(ir) gl(oriosus/issimus)</i> <i>v(ir) magn(ificus/centissimus)</i> <i>v(ir) inl/ill(uster/tris)</i> <i>v(ir) sp(ectabilis)</i> <i>v(ir) c(larissimus)</i>
equestrian grades	<i>v(ir) em(inentissimus)</i> <i>v(ir) p(erfectissimus)</i> <i>v(ir) e(gregius)</i>	<i>v(ir) p(erfectissimus)</i>	<i>v(ir) d(evotus/issimus)</i> <i>v(ir) l(audabilis)</i> <i>v(ir) st(renuus)</i> <i>v(ir) h(onestus/issimus)</i>

spaces, so many of the statue bases put up by clients to their patrons originate from the private space of aristocratic mansions, sometimes explicitly so (*CIL* VI 31940 = 41331 [374/380 CE], 1793 [392], 41382 [416/421]).⁷⁷ Although the aristocracy of Rome were slow to adopt the practice, the increasing ubiquity of the senatorial epithet *vir clarissimus*, thanks to the widespread award of honorary senatorial status and the upgrading of formerly equestrian posts, led to the development of a range of epithets that distinguished those who had held genuinely high office from the mass of *viri clarissimi*. The promotion to senatorial status of the offices of the traditional equestrian service in turn provoked the emergence of new grades of sub-senatorial status (see Table 18.1).

At Rome honorific statues continued to be dedicated to senators until the practice largely halted with the Vandal sack.⁷⁸ However, from the later fourth century onwards the dedicatory texts change in format and content. Minor senatorial magistracies are no longer enumerated and a much more allusive and verbose style, reminiscent of the municipal honorific decrees of an earlier age, comes into vogue.⁷⁹ The statue base for Fl(avius) Olbius Auxentius Draucus (*PLRE* 2, Draucus) from the 440s illustrates this (*CIL* VI 1725 = *ILS* 1284; Fig. 18.5). His early career, comprising the urban magistracies (*quaestor, praetor, consul suffectus*), now of purely local significance, is paraphrased by *senatus munia* (line 3), after which come a series of ranks and offices in imperial service, either at court (then in Ravenna) or at Rome, culminating in the urban prefecture, which earned him the title *vir inlustris*. The complexity of the text's grammar has proved a challenge to translators:⁸⁰

Fl(avi) Olbi Auxenti Drauc[i v(iri) c(larissimi)]
Fl(avio) Olbio Auxentio Drauco v(iro) c(larissimo) et inl(ustri) patriciae familiae
viro, senatus mun<i>is prompta devotione perfuncto,

⁷⁷ Niquet 2000.

⁷⁸ Machado 2010: 255–257.

⁷⁹ Roda 1977: 93–108; Delmaire 2004.

⁸⁰ cf. Gordon 1983: 182–183, no. 97; Lassère 2007: 740–742.

5 comiti ordinis primi et vicario urbis Romae, comiti
sacri consistorii, praefecto urbis Romae, ob egregia
eius administrationum merita, quae integritate
censura et moderatione ita vigerunt ut sublimissimae
10 potestatis reverentiam honorifica eius auct-
ritas custodiret et humanitatem amabilis censura
servaret, petitu senatus amplissimi, qui est iustus
arbiter dignitatum, excellentibus et magnificis
15 viris legatione mandata ut inpetratorum digni-
tas cresceret, quae paribus studiis amore iustitiae
et providentiae desiderabantur, dd(omini) nn(ostr) Fll(avii)
Theodosius et Placidus Valentinianus invicti
ac triumphatores principes semper Augusti



FIG. 18.5 Base of a statue honouring the Roman senator Flavius Olbivus Auxentius Draucus, from Rome.

*ad remunerationem titulosque virtutum, quib(us)
circa rem publicam eximia semper probitas
invitatur, statuam auro fulgentem erigi
conlocarique iusserunt.*

20

Of Flavius Olbius Auxentius Draucus *vir clarissimus*. To Flavius Olbius Auxentius Draucus *vir clarissimus* and *illustrer*, a man of patrician family, having fulfilled all the senate's obligations with unhesitating devotion, *comes* of the first rank, *vicarius* of the city of Rome, *comes* of the imperial consistory, prefect of the city of Rome, on account of the outstanding merits of his periods of office, which were so strong in integrity, judgement, and moderation that his honorific authority maintained respect for the most sublime power and (his) amiable judgement preserved human kindness, by request of the most ample senate, which is the proper arbiter of honours, the delegation having been mandated to excellent and magnificent men so that the dignity of the rewards be increased—(rewards) that were desired with equal zeal by a love of justice and foresight—our lords the Flavii Theodosius and Placidus Valentinianus, unconquered and triumphant leaders forever Augusti, have ordered, for the remuneration and record of the virtues by which outstanding probity with regard to the republic is always encouraged, that a statue shining with gold be erected and put in place.

The emergence of this more florid style more or less coincides with another new phenomenon: the production of luxury two-leaf writing tablets (diptychs) in ivory. A significant number are souvenirs commemorating public games given by members of the fifth- and sixth-century civilian and military elite of both Rome and Constantinople during their tenure of the praetorship (at Rome) or the consulship (*ILS* 1298, 1300–1312).⁸¹

PROVINCES AND MUNICIPALITIES

At the municipal level in many regions Late Antiquity is an epigraphic desert, excluding epitaphs. In the Latin West, the North African cities manifest the most resilient epigraphic culture.⁸² At Mustis a fourth-century cycle of epigrams attests to local pride in the urban landscape.⁸³ Here as elsewhere, however, the effect of increasing burdens on the curial class and the diversion of municipal revenues to imperial coffers severely curtailed private and civic benefaction. Nevertheless, imperial rescripts inscribed by successful petitioners demonstrate the continued desire of communities from the third into the sixth century for a civic charter, especially when autonomy might be a way to be free of other burdens (*CIL* III 6866 = *ILS* 6090, Tymandus, Pisidia, ?tetrarchic; *AE* 2004, 1331, Heraclea Sintica, Macedonia, 308; *MAMA* VII 305, Orcistus, Phrygia, 324/326; cf. Ch. 17; *AE* 2004, 1410 = *SEG* 54, 1178, Didyma/Iustinianopolis, Caria, 533). The continued existence in the fifth century of patron-client relationships between the aristocracy and cities in the Latin

⁸¹ Delbrück 1929; Cameron 2013.

⁸² Lepelley 1981a.

⁸³ Schmidt 2008.

West is well attested, often by the bronze commemorative plaques that adorned the mansions of the *patroni* (for example, *ILS* 6111–17).⁸⁴ Although there is evidence into the later fourth century of euergetism by local worthies, funding entertainments (*IRT* 567, Lepcis Magna; *CIL* X 6565 = *ILS* 5632, Velitrae, 364/367) and public buildings (*AE* 1903, 97; cf. *CIL* VIII 4878 = *ILS* 2943, Thubursicu Numidarum, 326/333 CE; *AE* 1972, 202, Asola, N. Italy, 336), inscriptions reveal that the imperial treasury, through the agency of provincial governors, had become the primary funder of public building.⁸⁵ Communities fortunate enough to become the chief cities of newly created provinces, such as Antioch in Pisidia, saw considerable investment by the authorities in new public buildings and monuments (*AE* 1999, 1611–1620).⁸⁶ Even Ephesus, long established as the premier city of Asia, underwent significant remodelling to accommodate statues and other inscribed monuments commemorating the activities of emperors and proconsuls.⁸⁷ Generally provincial governors became the most frequent recipients of municipal honours,⁸⁸ though these were habitually offered not by the council and people but by senior officers of the civic administration. The epigraphic record documents the subordination of the wider *curia* and annual magistrates to narrower groups of liturgists, known as *decemprimi* (δεκάπρωτοι), and senior officials, known as *principales* (πρωτεύωντες), respectively, and the regular institution of a *curator rei publicae* (λογιστής) appointed from amongst the latter as a *de facto* mayor.⁸⁹ From the mid-fifth century, another occasional official, the *pater civitatis*, is attested in inscriptions in the eastern part of the Empire, as, for example, Fl(avius) Athenaeus on a statue base from Aphrodisias (*ala2004* 62). In the Latin West, the municipal *pontifices* or *flamines perpetui* of the imperial cult continued to perform a role long after the neutralization of their religious functions (cf. *CIL* VIII 10516 + 11528 = *ILCV* 388, Ammaedara, 526); and tenure of the office of high priest (*coronatus* or *sacerdos*) at the annual regional or provincial council remained an important occasion for the staging of spectacles (cf. *CIL* XI 5265 = *ILS* 705 = *EAOR* II 20, the Hispellum rescript; Fig. 18.2).⁹⁰ The new hierarchy of honours is documented by the rare survival of an inscribed register of the council of Thamugadi in Numidia, c. 362/3 (*CIL* VIII 2403 [= *ILS* 6122], 17903 + *AE* 1948, 118).⁹¹ The example of Aurelius Antoninus (c. 337) offers a good illustration of a late antique municipal career (*CIL* XI 5283 = *ILS* 6623, Hispellum):

C(aio) Matrino Aurelio
C(ai) f(ilio) Lem(onia tribu) Antonino v(iro) p(erfectissimo)
coronato Tusc(iae) et Umb(riae)
pont(ifici) gentis Flaviae

⁸⁴ Chausson 2004.

⁸⁵ Cecconi 1994: 117–121.

⁸⁶ Christol and Drew-Bear 1999.

⁸⁷ Bauer 1996: 422–426.

⁸⁸ Horster 1998; Slootjes 2006: 129–153.

⁸⁹ Lepelley 1981a, 1981b; Laniado 2002: 201–211.

⁹⁰ Chastagnol and Duval 1974; Lepelley 1997: 339. Barnes 2011: 20–23 for the dating of the rescript.

⁹¹ Chastagnol 1978; Horstkotte 1988.

- 5 *abundantissimi muneris sed et*
 praecipuae laetitiae theatralis edi[t]o[r]i
 aedili quaestori duumviro
 iterum q(uin)q(uennali) i(ure) d(icundo) huius splendidissimae
 coloniae curatori r(ei) p(ublicae) eiusdem
 10 *colon(iae) et primo principali ob meritum*
 benevolentiae eius erga se
 [ple]bs omnis urbana Flaviae
 Constantis patrono
 dignissimo

To C. Matrinus Aurelius Antoninus, son of Gaius, of the Lemonia tribe, *vir perfectissimus*, high priest of Tuscia and Umbria, *pontifex* of the Flavian *gens*, producer of a most abundant arena-show as well as of an outstandingly enjoyable theatrical performance, aedile, quaestor, twice quinquennial *duumvir* with judicial power of this most splendid *colonia*, *curator rei publicae* of the same *colonia* and first *principalis*, on account of the merit of his benevolence towards them, as a most worthy *patronus*, the whole urban populace of Flavia Constans (set this up).

On the domestic front, Late Antiquity sees an upsurge in the commissioning by the elite of mosaics incorporating labels and commemorative texts to decorate their homes across the Empire from Britain to Syria.⁹² Labelling of the luxury tableware in their dining rooms seems to have been equally popular, offering another opportunity for an inscribed epigram: for example, the names on the Hoxne hoard from Britain and the elegiac couplet on a silver plate from the Sevso treasure.⁹³ The Chi-Rho symbol regularly accompanies ownership inscriptions on gold and silver plate from the fourth century onwards, whereas, except for the use of crosses as punctuation, public inscriptions remain relatively free of Christian vocabulary and symbolism until the reign of Justinian. Divine favour is explicitly invoked in the formulae of the inscriptions recording the refortification of African cities by the central Byzantine government after the reconquest from the Vandals (*AE* 1911, 118, Thamugadi, 539/544 CE).⁹⁴ Similarly, sometime in the later sixth century the dedication of the NE gate of Aphrodisias was over-carved with a prominent Christian emblem and the naming of the city was adjusted to obscure the memory of Aphrodite (*ala2004* 22).⁹⁵

EPILOGUE

The unusual spectacle of a marble plaque bearing a copy of a papal letter-forms an appropriate end to this chapter (*ICUR* II 423; Fig. 18.6). The letter, dated 22 January

⁹² Leader-Newby 2007.

⁹³ Tomlin 2010; Mango 1994: 77–83.

⁹⁴ Durliat 1981: no. 19.

⁹⁵ Roueché 2007b: 186–189.

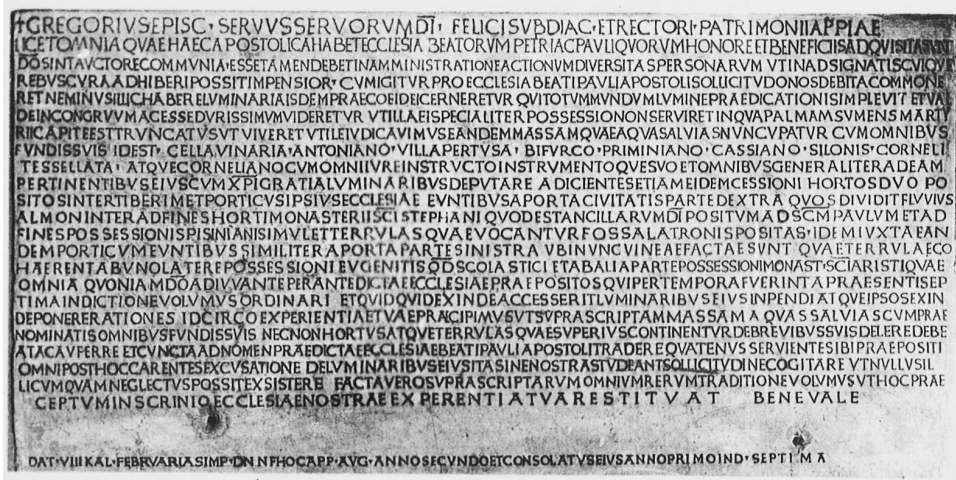


FIG. 18.6 Inscribed copy of a letter of Gregory the Great to the subdeacon Felix. Church of S. Paolo fuori le mura, Rome.

604, is an ordinance addressed to the subdeacon managing the church's estates along the Via Appia, allotting the revenues of certain properties to provide lighting for the basilica of St. Paul Outside-the-Walls (S. Paolo fuori le mura). The care of its layout and carving confounds prejudices about the appearance of late antique inscriptions. Its opening and closing preserve elements of the diplomatics of the document that are either abbreviated or omitted in the version transmitted in the manuscript collection of Gregory the Great's letters (*Ep.* 14.14). It shows the pope's self-styling as *episc(opus) servus servorum D(e)i* ("bishop and servant of the servants of God"), reproduces what would have been his personal subscription, *bene vale* ("farewell"), and shows the papal chancery utilising the fullest form of dating as required for legal validity by Justinian's legislation (whereas the letter collection simply files it by indiction):

dat(a) VIII kal(endas) Februarias imp(eratoris) d(omini) n(ostri) Phoca p(er)p(etui) Aug(usti) anno secundo et consulatus eius anno primo ind(ictione) septima

Given on the eighth day before the kalends of February in the second year of the emperor our lord Phocas perpetual Augustus and the first year of his consulship, in the seventh indiction.

Here we find the *rector patrimonii Appiae* (the controller of the property along the Via Appia) adopting the long-standing practice of enhancing the utility and authority of the letter as a document of reference by ensuring its record in permanent inscribed form for public display.

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*Inscriptions and Religion in
the Roman Empire*

CHAPTER 19

RELIGION IN ROME AND ITALY

MIKA KAJAVA

WHILE *inscriptiones sacrae*—mostly dedications to deities or other texts dealing with their cults—traditionally occupy the first section of epigraphic corpora such as individual *CIL* volumes, the other sections also provide much evidence for religious beliefs and practices in the Roman world. Thus dedications to deities, religious calendars, sacred regulations, and curse tablets provide an obvious starting-point for the study of Roman religion.¹ Nevertheless, other inscriptions can enrich our understanding of such topics as cultic personnel, sacrifices, temples, religious festivals, funerary rituals, and concepts of death and the afterlife.

Most religious texts were not aimed at the general public but were intended to be read by a limited audience. Votive dedications addressed to deities were most frequently set up by private individuals. Other genres—sacred regulations, priestly commentaries, inventories, calendars, etc.—were produced by cultic associations, priestly *collegia*, cult personnel, or magistrates responsible for religious affairs. Such texts on the whole were not originally intended to be preserved for posterity as monumental inscriptions, but were written on perishable materials such as wooden tablets, papyrus, or parchment.² What was eventually transferred onto stone or bronze was decided upon by the individuals or bodies with authority so to do.

Even if many epigraphic categories are potentially relevant to our knowledge about Roman religion, there are limits to this evidence. While inscriptions provide invaluable information about the names of deities, their cults and temples, as well as the origin, gender, and status of their worshippers, the same texts rarely reveal anything about personal beliefs and experiences because of their formulaic style. It is also difficult to know how representative the surviving epigraphic evidence is. Not only are the thousands of preserved religious dedications only a fraction of those that once existed,

¹ General introductions: Beard, North, and Price 1998; Ando 2003; Scheid 2003; Rives 2007; Rüpke 2007a; Scheid 2012.

² Haensch 2007: 177.

but the dedicators who could afford, and wished, to set up a monument to a god represent a tiny minority of the entire population. Surviving evidence suggests that gods like Mithras and Silvanus were relatively popular among the lower classes and soldiers (p. 408, 413), but only a fraction of the devotees of these gods ever erected an inscribed monument to them. On the other hand, the same person could offer two or more dedications to his or her preferred deity. For example, Iulius Anicetus dedicated an altar to the Sun (Sol) in Trastevere outside the Porta Portese in Rome (*CIL VI 709 = ILS 4336*):

*C(aius) Iulius Anicetus
aram sacratam Soli divino
voto suscepto animo libens d(ono) d(edit)*

C. Iulius Anicetus, in accordance with a vow he had made, willingly gave as a gift this altar consecrated to divine Sol.

The same man had paid to refurbish a portico of the nearby temple of Sol in 102 CE (*CIL VI 31034*); he even published a plea, at the behest of the god (*ex imperio Solis*), to refrain from defacing the walls of the sacred building with graffiti (*CIL VI 52 = ILS 4335*).

Any attempt to gain a comprehensive picture of cult practices is further complicated by the fact that religious dedications and votive inscriptions are unevenly distributed both geographically and chronologically. However, besides the numerous cases where inscriptions are almost the only source on various aspects of Roman religion (for example, on local cults, worshippers, the organization of cult activity), they frequently add further information to what is known from literary, iconographical, and archaeological sources. For some topics, inscriptions provide extremely significant, even unique, evidence, such as the calendar from Antium or the Acts of the Arval Brethren (p. 403, 400). In other cases, when they survive in bulk (dedications, tombstones), inscriptions not only reveal the geography and popularity of some cults across various social classes but may also provide general insights into cultural habits and societal norms.

THE CITY OF ROME

As the centre of the Roman world, the city of Rome enjoyed an extraordinary position not just in political and administrative terms but also in regard to religion.³ With Rome's expansion, many of the deities venerated in other parts of Italy and the western provinces were the same as, or interpreted as identical to, those worshipped in Rome in the archaic period, whatever their origins: Roman, Latin, Sabine, Etruscan, or Greek. Just as Rome tended to appropriate Greek gods, gods from the surrounding region of Latium, or still others from further afield, so the gradual spread of Roman culture to new regions meant the adoption there of Roman cult practices and Roman-style religious

³ North 2000; cf. works cited n. 1.

dedications in Latin. Epigraphic texts of religious importance are similar in form all over the Roman world; their significant differences are mostly related to their content. However, the city of Rome demonstrates a degree of particularity since many of its cults, priesthoods, and ritual practices were not replicated elsewhere. Much can be learned from literary sources, especially Varro, Livy, and Ovid, about religious conditions in Rome, but inscriptions frequently provide invaluable, direct information.

Regarding major and minor urban priesthoods, inscriptions provide evidence for the names of individuals who officiated as *pontifices*, *augures*, *quindecimviri sacris faciundis*, *septemviri epulonum*, *virgines Vestales*, *reges sacrorum*, *flamines*, *fratres Arvales*, *sodales Augustales*, *sodales Flaviales*, *fetiales*, *luperci*, or *salii*, as well as for their staff of servants (*ministri*) or the so-called *apparitores*, public attendants of priests and magistrates, who were paid by the state. Most priesthoods had to be held by patricians, but especially after the fourth century BCE some priests could also be plebeians. By the late Republic, the *luperci* even included ex-slaves. Temple-officiants (*sacerdotes*), their assistants, and official diviners (*haruspices*), who specialized in the inspection of the entrails of sacrificial animals, are also well known from inscriptions.⁴ While the servants and normal priests are usually known from tombstones or dedications they made to gods, the religious posts held by senators and other leading Romans were normally recorded in honorific inscriptions or in religious contexts such as dedications of altars or temples to deities. For example, the senator Scipio Orfitus, styling himself simply as *augur*, dedicated a monument to Jupiter Optimus Maximus Sol Sarapis, which may be interpreted as a syncretised multiple divinity (*CIL VI 402 = ILS 4396*). In 295 CE, the same man as *augur* dedicated two joint altars to Cybele and Attis (*CIL VI 505 = ILS 4143*; Fig. 19.1; cf. *CIL VI 506 = ILS 4144*):⁵

M(atris) d(eum) M(agna)e I(daeae) et Attinis
L(ucius) Cornelius Scipio Orfītus
v(ir) c(larissimus) augur taurobolium
sive criobolium fecit
 5 *die IIII Kal(endas) Mart(ias)*
Tusco et Anullino co(n)ss(ulibus)

(Monument of) the Great Idaean Mother of the Gods (i.e., Cybele) and Attis. L. Cornelius Scipio Orfitus, *vir clarissimus*, augur, carried out a bull-killing or ram-killing four days before the Kalends of March (i.e., 26 February) in the consulship of Tusco and Anullinus (i.e., 295 CE).

Many inscriptions concerning the Vestal Virgins have been found in the House of the Vestals in the Roman Forum, where they were normally honoured by their relatives, slaves, clients, or friends (Ch. 27). For example, an inscription from 240 CE reveals that Aemilius Pardalas became tribune of a military cohort thanks to the efforts of the

⁴ Priests: Rüpke 2005, 2008; cf. Beard 1990; Richardson and Santangelo 2011: 25–332. Diviners: North 1990; Haack 2006; cf. Horster 2007. Cultic personnel: *ThesCRA* 5.66–116.

⁵ Vermaseren 1977: 101–102 no. 357.

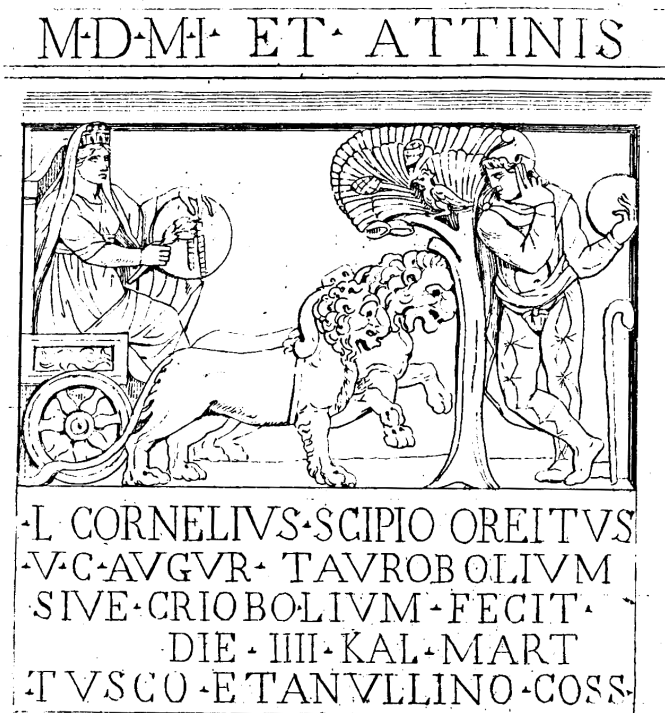


FIG. 19.1 Altar dedicated to Cybele (Magna Mater) and Attis at Rome by a Roman augur, 295 CE. The relief shows the goddess in a chariot pulled by lions approaching a figure of Attis behind a tree. Villa Albani, Rome. Engraving by G. Zoega (1808).

chief Vestal (*virgo Vestalis maxima*) Campia Severina (CIL VI 2131 = ILS 4929: *trib(unatu) coh(ortis) I Aquitanicae petito eius ornatus*). The same Vestal ensured that another man was named financial supervisor of the imperial libraries (*procurator rationum summarum privatarum bibliothecarum Aug(usti) n(ostri)*), by recommending him directly to the emperor (CIL VI 2132 = ILS 4928). However, these texts are not particularly instructive about sacrifice and other ritual details, as they rarely reveal anything beyond the priest's or priestess's name. One must resort to other inscriptions to further our understanding of such issues.

The Acts of the Arval Brethren (*fratres Arvales*, or “Brotherhood of the Cultivated Fields”), an ancient priestly college transformed by Augustus into a distinguished sodality of twelve members, represent the largest single set of epigraphic documents related to Roman religion, extending from Augustus to the early fourth century CE.⁶ They were discovered in the sacred grove of Dea Dia at Magliana Vecchia on the outskirts of Rome.

⁶ Scheid 1998 (= CFA, standard edition), 1990 (discussion); cf. Beard, North, and Price 1998: 2.194–196.

Roman writers occasionally refer to the fertility rituals performed in May by the Arvals, and many imperial and senatorial members of the sodality are known from honorific inscriptions and literature, but only the inscribed proceedings give us insight into their activities. The rites were originally addressed to Dea Dia, but from Augustan times, like other older colleges, the Arvals were mainly involved in the cult of the emperor and his family. Many annual or occasional rituals are described in detail: sacrifices offered to Dea Dia and other gods on behalf of the imperial house (especially on imperial birth-days and anniversaries of accession); vows pronounced and expiatory rites performed for the emperor's safety and victory at the start of his reign and annually on 3 January; sacrificial banquets. The rituals were often performed in Rome in the house of the *magister* presiding over the college. A characteristic passage of the Acts for 87 CE, reporting on the second day of the festival, 19 May, records that, after various animal sacrifices, the Arval Brethren (CFA no. 55, col. II, lines 23–40):

sat down in the *tetrastylum* and banqueted off the sacrifice, and putting on their *togae praetextae* and their wreaths of ears of grain with woollen bands, they exited and went up to the grove of Dea Dia with an attendant clearing the way and through the agency of Salvius Liberalis Nonius Bassus, acting in place of the master, and Q. Tillius Sassius, acting in place of the *flamen*, they sacrificed a well-fed lamb to Dea Dia and, after completing the sacrifice, they all carried out a libation using incense and wine. Then, once wreaths had been brought in and the statues anointed, they appointed Q. Tillius Sassius master for the year starting from the upcoming Saturnalia to the following one.

The most famous element on record is the *carmen Arvale*, an archaic hymn to Mars and the Lares, preserved in the proceedings for 218 CE, which the priests recited while performing a three-step dance (CFA no. 100a, lines 32–38; orthographic variations in the Latin are not indicated in the text quoted):

enos Lases iuvate! (3 times)
neve lue rue Marmar sins in currere in pleores! (3 times)
satur fu, fere Mars! limen sali, sta berber! (3 times)
Semunis alternei advocapit conctos! (3 times)
enos Marmor iuvato! (3 times)
triumpe! (5 times)
 Help us, Lares!
 And Marmar, let not disease and ruin attack the multitude!
 Be satisfied, fierce Mars! Leap the threshold and stay there!
 Invoke all the Semones (i.e., gods of sowing) in turn!
 Help us, Marmor!
 Triumph!

This is reminiscent of the archaic hymn of the Salii (the “leaping priests” of Mars), who used to sing it while dancing through the city in ancient armour and

brandishing weapons (Liv. 1.20.4).⁷ Fragments of the song (*carmen Saliare*) are known only from literature (Varro *LL* 7.26–27), but it may have been recorded epigraphically just like the archaic song of the Atiedian Brethren, preserved on the Iguvine bronze tablets written in Umbrian between 200 and 70 BCE and recording in great detail the activities of this priestly brotherhood.⁸

Another unique category is that of the Secular Games (*ludi saeculares*), celebrated, according to the instructions of the Sibylline Books, over three days and nights from 31 May to 2 June every 100 or 110 years after the first games had been organized in 249 BCE. The ceremonies of the festival are partly known from literary and numismatic evidence, but those for the years 17 BCE and 204 CE are exceptionally well documented epigraphically (17 BCE: *CIL* VI 32323 = *ILS* 5050; *CIL* VI 32324; 204 CE: *CIL* VI 32326–36; cf. *ILS* 5050a).⁹ The games of 17 BCE, revived and reorganized by Augustus, were presided by the *princeps* himself in his capacity as *magister* of the *XVviri sacris faciundis*, the priestly college in charge of the Sibylline Books. All free inhabitants of Rome were involved in purification rituals, marking the end of the past era (*saeculum*), accompanied by public thanksgivings (*supplicationes*) offered for the success of the Roman race. The inscribed records provide important evidence for the prayers, sacrificial animals, and various types of sacrifices (nightly and daily) to different (mainly Greek) deities, as well as for the way the sacrifices were performed: for example, *Graeco ritu* or *Achivo ritu*, “according to Greek or Achaean rite.” This implies a Roman sacrificial ceremony partly complemented by Greek elements, like the wearing of a laurel wreath on an unveiled head.¹⁰ The documents show that sacrifices were followed by stage performances in a temporary theatre, and once the major sacrifices were over, the *ludi* were sometimes accompanied by additional entertainments such as chariot races and wild-beast hunts.

Sacred hymns sung by *matronae* and groups of children were a highlight of the festival. The one recited by a choir of twenty-seven boys and twenty-seven girls, both on the Palatine and on the Capitol, on the last day of the *ludi* of 17 BCE, was composed by Horace. The inscribed proceedings just record the occasion (line 149: *carmen composuit Q. Horatius Flaccus*), but the famous hymn, in the form of a prayer addressed to Apollo and Diana, is published with the *Odes* in modern editions of Horace’s works. The hymn of the *ludi* of 204 CE is very fragmentary; it names Bacchus (lines Va 60–71).

There are many other examples where literary and epigraphic sources complement each other. Some epigraphic dedications “to the nymphs consecrated to Anna Perenna” (*AE* 2003, 252–253: *Nymphis sacratis Annae Perennae*), whose festival is described at

⁷ There were also female Saliae in Rome: Glinister 2011; cf. *CIL* VI 2177, a municipal Salia, the lead-dancer (*praesula*) of the Tusculan priests.

⁸ Poultney 1959; Prosdocimi 1984a; cf. Weiss 2010 (ritual protocols) and Ch. 32.

⁹ Pighi 1965. Celebration in 17 BCE: Schnegg-Köhler 2002; cf. Feeney 1998: 28–38. Claudius’ celebration in 47 CE: *CIL* VI 32325.

¹⁰ Schnegg-Köhler 2002: line 91; Pighi 1965: lines IV 6 and Va 49; cf. Scheid 1995.

length by Ovid (*Fasti* 3,523–710), show that in the second century CE the goddess's cult site was located in the modern Parioli district of Rome.¹¹

Calendars (*fasti*) were a peculiarity of Rome and peninsular Italy, the most remote Latin instance occurring in the province of Sicily, at the colony of Tauromenium (Taormina), where Roman time-reckoning was adopted after 44 BCE (*Inscr.It.* XIII.2, 60).¹² In the Greek world, “calendars” were quite different, being mainly lists of what to sacrifice to which deity and when; for example, the calendar from the Attic deme of Thorikos (*IG I³ 256bis = SEG 33, 147*). Originally, each town in Latium probably had its own calendar, but only one republican example has survived: the painted *fasti Antiates Maiores* from Antium (Anzio), dating some time between 84 and 55 BCE before Caesar's calendar reform (*Inscr.It.* XIII.2, 1 = *ILLRP* 9). Besides various technical details, this calendar records the dates and names of numerous religious festivals and public sacrifices in the city of Rome as well as the juridical character of every single day, indicated by an abbreviation: F = *dies fastus* (when public business was allowed); N = *dies nefastus* (when it was prohibited); C = *dies comitalis* (when meetings of public assemblies were permitted); NP must indicate *feriae* (a religious holiday), but its precise meaning has been much debated.¹³ Information of local significance is completely absent, and thus the calendar from Antium cannot be indicative of the nature of the now lost calendars of Latium.

On the other hand, the calendar from Praeneste (*fasti Praenestini*), dating from c. 6–9 CE, presents a mixture of local and Roman affairs (*Inscr.It.* XIII.2, 17). Composed by the scholar Verrius Flaccus, and seemingly marking a transition from a local Latin calendar to one modelled upon Rome, these *fasti* have a clearly exegetic and mythographic character, in that they explain and reflect on existing cults and rituals.¹⁴ The other (fragmentary) inscribed calendars, numbering about forty and all dating from the early Principate, merely record selections of the official religious festivals of the city of Rome (*Inscr.It.* XIII.2, 2–43).¹⁵ The emergence of similar inscribed calendars from Rome and elsewhere reflects the significant impact of Roman culture on all regions of Italy under Augustus, but the phenomenon is also a product of the “epigraphic boom” in that same period. These inscribed calendars reveal a great deal about the temporal organization of civic and religious life in the city of Rome.

DIVINITIES IN ROME AND ITALY

Most of the major Graeco-Roman deities worshipped in Rome and Italy are epigraphically attested from mid- or late republican times through the imperial period. Yet some

¹¹ Piranomonte 2002, 2010: esp. 199–201; Wiseman 2006.

¹² In general, Gordon 1990: 184–187; Rüpke 1995; Cooley 2006: 237–243; Rüpke 2011 (an updated, abridged version of Rüpke 1995, eliminating the description and analysis of all surviving calendars).

¹³ Rüpke 1995: 258–260 = 2011: 50–53.

¹⁴ Scheid 1993: 114–115.

¹⁵ Rüpke 1995: 45–164.

of them are mentioned in early inscriptions only in Latium. For example, while the early presence of Apollo and Juno Lucina in Rome is firmly documented only by archaeological or literary sources (cf. *LTUR* s.v.), Apollo is attested in an early fifth-century Faliscan text (*CIL* I² 2912, Falerii Veteres), while Juno Lucina is found in third-century inscriptions from Norba (*CIL* I² 359–360 = *ILLRP* 162–163). Similarly, Ceres, the Italic goddess of grain and fertility, was worshipped on the Aventine (together with Liber and Libera) from the beginning of the fifth century BCE, and from the latter part of the third century according to Greek ritual (*Graeca sacra Cereris*) together with her daughter Proserpina.¹⁶ The goddess is epigraphically well attested not only in Latin republican inscriptions of central Italy, but also in an early Faliscan text (*CIE* 8079 = Vetter no. 241, c. 600 BCE) and in several Italic inscriptions (*Cer(r)ia, Keri, Kerri*).¹⁷

Castor and Pollux, who received a temple in the Roman Forum allegedly in 484 BCE, appear as dedicatees on a late sixth-century bronze plaque from the shrine of the thirteen altars at Lavinium (*CIL* I² 2833 = *ILLRP* 1271a): *Castorei Podlouqueique / quois* (“to the youths Castor and Pollux”).¹⁸ Based on archaeological data, Mater Matuta was worshipped in the archaic sanctuary of S. Omobono near the Forum Boarium, but besides archaeological and literary evidence, epigraphy demonstrates that she was also worshipped at Satricum in S. Latium, as in a late fourth-/early third-century dedication in Greek (*SEG* 43, 670: Ματρ[ι?] Μα[τυται? - - -δ]ῶρον δίδωτ<ι>; “[- -] gives a gift to Mater Matuta”). Moreover, the foundations of her temple there included a reused stone base, the so-called *lapis Satricanus* (*CIL* I² 2832a; Fig. 34.3), a dedication to Mars by the companions (*suodales*) of Poplios Valesios (Publius Valerius), who, it has been suggested, was the consul of 509 BCE, although this remains uncertain.¹⁹ From the city of Rome there are inscribed republican dedications to Mars (for example, *CIL* I² 18, 49, 609, 970, 991 = *ILLRP* 217–221), but none of these come from as early a period as the *lapis Satricanus*. Mars is also mentioned in the text of the *carmen Arvale* (p. 401), which preserves antiquarian material that may allow the cult to be traced back to early Rome.

Inscriptions—Italic (especially Oscan) and Latin—are equally crucial for our knowledge of pre-Roman cults and sanctuaries in central-southern Italy and their subsequent Roman phases. Examples include the Samnite federal sanctuary of Pietrabbondante, the cult-site of the Auruncan goddess Marica on the border between Latium and Campania, or the cult of Mefitis, the goddess of healing sulphuric waters, who was venerated at various sites in Italy. The latter’s sanctuary at Rossano di Vaglio in Lucania, in use between the fourth and first centuries, is particularly well documented.²⁰ Many Oscan dedications to the goddess are known, revealing such syncretisms as “Mefitanian Mamers” (Mars Mefitanus) (*ST Lu* 36 = *Imag. It. Potentia* 19) and “Mefitanian Venus” (Venus Mefitis) (*ST Lu* 31 = *Imag. It. Potentia* 22). From c. 100 BCE,

¹⁶ Spaeth 1996: 6–12; Orlin 2010: 104–105.

¹⁷ Bakkum 2009: 393–406.

¹⁸ Ross Holloway 1994: 128–134, with fig. 10.6 (photo).

¹⁹ Prosdocimi 1984b; Ross Holloway 1994: 142–155; Cornell 1995: 143–145.

²⁰ Pietrabbondante: La Regina 1966; Marica: Livi 2006: 105–113; Mefitis: Lejeune 1990. Italic dedications: Poccetti 2009.

the inscriptions are in Latin; later, in the imperial period, the cult was transferred to the neighbouring town of Potentia (Potenza), where Mefitis continued to be honoured with public dedications as in an example from the first century CE (*CIL* X 131 = *ILS* 4027):

Mefiti Utianae
sacr(um)
M(arcus) Helvius M(arci) f(ilius) Pom(ptina)
Clarus Verulanus Priscus
5 *aed(ilis) IIIIvir q(uaestor) quinq(uennalis) flamen*
Romae et divi Augusti curator
rei publ(icae) Potentinorum
d(e) s(ua) p(ecunia)

Dedication to Mefitis Utiana. M. Helvius Clarus Verulanus Priscus, son of Marcus, of the (Roman voting tribe) Pomptina, aedile, quattuorvir, quaestor, *quinquennalis* (i.e., local censor), *flamen* of Roma and the Deified Augustus, curator of the community of Potentia, (set this up) at his own expense.

While many of the major cults are attested all over Italy, some were characteristically local. In addition to Marica, the Sabine goddess Feronia, publicly venerated in Rome from the third century, was popular in Sabine territory (*CIL* I² 1832–34, 1847–48, 2867–69 = *ILLRP* 90–92, 486, 93, 93a–b) but also in Tarracina in S. Latium.²¹ Fortuna Primigenia was the principal deity at Praeneste, where her oracular sanctuary attracted numerous external visitors, as a large sample of surviving dedications testify (*CIL* I² 60, 1445–57, 3044–79; *ILLRP* 101–110; *CIL* XIV 2861–88).²²

Inscriptions, together with archaeological and literary sources, demonstrate that various cults arrived in Rome and Italy from the East in several phases between the later Republic and the second or third centuries CE: Isis and Sarapis, Mithras, Sabazius, Jupiter Dolichenus. The cult of Magna Mater (also known as Cybele), which, according to Livy (29.10–11, 14), had been brought from Phrygia to Rome as early as 204 BCE, later spread to other towns in Italy, as shown by numerous inscriptions.²³

Cults of several deities, oriental, Greek, or Roman, are also documented by Greek inscriptions, especially in Rome but also in cities with Greek origins and traditions (like Naples) or with commercial significance such as Portus, the deep-sea harbour of Ostia. Sometimes, however, Greek inscriptions found their way into regions where Latin was the predominant language. A particularly interesting set of Greek dedications to Heracles and Zeus, and a Latin one to Janus Pater (*AE* 1996, 370 = 2004, 385), dating from the second or early third centuries CE, are known from the territory of Signia in S. Latium. One of the texts is a hymn-like epigram to Heracles Monoikos, praising the god as the saviour of shipwrecked seamen during a voyage along the Mediterranean coast to central Italy (*AE* 1997, 278 = *SEG* 47, 1517). Remarkably, the ship

²¹ Boccali 1997: 181–187.

²² Coarelli 1987: 35–84.

²³ Vermaseren 1977; cf. Roller 1999: 263–325; Orlin 2010: 76–84, 156–157.

seems to have been sailing somewhere near Portus Herculis Monoeci (Monaco) when a storm fell upon it, and it was evidently there that the crew found shelter. Consequently, a thanksgiving monument was set up to Heracles, probably in what was a countryside villa in S. Latium, in gratitude for his help during the chequered sea voyage.²⁴

The Bacchanalian affair of 186 BCE is relevant in the context of Greek influences on Roman religion. It is not only reported by Livy (39.8–19) but is also documented by a senatorial decree, the *SC de Bacchanalibus*, a copy of which, engraved on bronze, was discovered in 1640 in S. Italy (*CIL* I² 581 = *ILLRP* 511 = *ILS* 18).²⁵ The measures taken against the followers of Bacchus were reportedly caused by their criminal activity and sexual licentiousness; according to Livy (39.18.5), a number of people throughout Italy were executed. Presenting the episode as caused by the sudden appearance of a strange cult, the Augustan historian maintained that the repressive decree attempted to control the infiltration of Greek influence in Roman religion. This is hardly correct, since not only did the cult of Bacchus live on, but various other Greek elements also continued to be present in Roman cults after the episode. The inscribed document shows that the cult was not completely prohibited, but its rites were regulated. Probably the main aim was to curb the perceived negative social and political side-effects associated with Bacchic groups.

The imperial cult is well documented by inscriptions and widely discussed in modern scholarship.²⁶ Numerous dedications to the emperor and members of his family survive, but inscriptions reveal that deities, who were requested to provide safety for the emperors, were commonly addressed with the epithet *Augustus/Augusta*.²⁷ In 3/2 BCE, for example, two *magistri* of a neighbourhood (*vicus*) on the Aventine dedicated a joint monument to Volcanus Quietus Augustus and Stata Mater Augusta, both deities concerned with fire prevention (*CIL* VI 802 = *ILS* 3306):

*Volcano Quieto Augusto
et Statae Matri Augustae
sacrum
P(ublius) Pinarius Thiasus et
M(arcus) Rabutius Berullus
5 mag(istri) vici Armilustri anni V*

Dedication to Vulcan of Augustan Tranquility and Augustan Stata Mater (i.e., mother goddess with stabilizing powers). P. Pinarius Thiasus and M. Rabutius Beryllus, leaders of the Vicus Armilustri, in the fifth year (set this up).

The cult of “Augustan” gods began to be diffused in Italy and elsewhere from the mid-Augustan period, perhaps inspired by the emperor’s introduction of the cult of

²⁴ Kajava 1997; cf. 2009b (a joint-hymn, it seems, to Heracles and Zeus).

²⁵ North 1979: 86–98; Pailler 1988; Beard, North, and Price 1998: 91–98; Orlin 2010: 165–168.

²⁶ Fishwick 1987–2005 (esp. vol. 2.1 for Rome and Italy); Gradel 2002 (focusing on Italy).

²⁷ Panciera 2003; Cooley 2006: 246–252; Gregori 2009.

the Lares Augusti in 7 BCE.²⁸ Inscriptions from municipalities in Italy and the western provinces also provide a wealth of evidence for the institution of the *Augustales* (or *seviri Augustales*), who mostly were freedmen. Some of these were associated with local imperial cult activities, but they seem more frequently to have been involved in various civic projects as benefactors and sponsors of entertainments and public building.²⁹

PRIESTS AND WORSHIPPERS

Without inscriptions, not only would the cultic map of peninsular Italy remain largely unknown, but we would understand very little about the organization of religion in Italy outside Rome.³⁰ It is mainly inscriptions that document that a variety of civic priesthoods based on Roman models were established in Italian municipalities: for example, *augures*, *flamines*, *haruspices*, *luperci*, *pontifices*, *reges sacrorum*, *salii*, *Vestals*, and various *sacerdotes*.³¹ Some of these were associated especially with the imperial cult: male *flamines*, female *flaminicae*, and many *sacerdotes*. At Praeneste, for example, a group of worshippers of Jupiter Arcanus (i.e., the god protecting the *arca* that contained the lots of the local oracle) based in the area of the market in 243 CE honoured their patron, P. Acilius P.f. Paullus, who had held positions as *IIIIIVir (sevir) Augustalis*, *flamen* of the Deified Augustus, as well as a series of magistracies in the colony (*CIL* XIV 2972 = *ILS* 6253).

Worshippers are typically attested in dedicatory inscriptions.³² Even if sometimes only the divine dedicatee is recorded, the name of the dedicator normally constitutes one of the three standard elements of these texts: name of the deity; name of the donor; dedicatory formula, often abbreviated, like *d(ono) d(edit)* or *v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*. For instance, a text from Aquileia in NE Italy records that a woman called Lutatia Tyche had dedicated something (perhaps the inscribed altar itself) to the Egyptian god Anubis Augustus, thereby “discharging the vow freely and deservedly” (*CIL* V 8210 = *ILS* 4371): *Anubi Aug(usto) sac(rum) Lutatia Tyche v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*. While most of the dedications were public in the sense that they could be seen by people visiting the sanctuary, the dedicators were either private persons—from slaves to senators—or public bodies such as cities, regional communities, and associations. A dedication made by a senatorial or equestrian official was more public than one offered by a slave or freedman, since high dignitaries often dedicated altars and shrines in their capacity as holders of priesthoods. Municipal public dedications

²⁸ Scheid 2001; for the *vici*, where “Augustan” cults in particular were promoted, Lott 2004; cf. Ch. 22.

²⁹ Abramenko 1993; Ch. 12.

³⁰ Buonocore 2009.

³¹ Municipal and provincial priesthoods: *ILS*, Index VIII.D; *ThesCRA* 5.116–130.

³² Bodet and Kajava 2009.

frequently ended in a formula such as *d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)* (“by decree of the decurions”), indicating that the monument had been erected with the formal authorization of the local council. Deities receiving this sort of dedication mostly enjoyed an official city cult; i.e., a cult officially recognized and administered by the local council, as illustrated in the *lex coloniae Genetivae* (RS 25, chs., 64–65, 69, 70–72).³³

From the names of the dedicators, and from further explicit information (if given), the gender, ethnic background, and social status of the worshippers may be inferred.³⁴ This sometimes helps to establish that religious affiliation could depend on the rank and status of the adherents. The cult of Mithras, for example, appealed to the lower classes, especially soldiers.³⁵ So at Aquileia, a standard-bearer of the Legio VI Hispana, in the 240s CE made a dedication to Mithras (*I. Aquileia* I 310 = *CIMRM* 745):

D(eo) I(nvicto) M(ithrae)
L(ucius) Sept(imius) Cas-
sianus sig(nifer)
leg(ionis) IIIIII His(panae)
 5 *agens in*
lustrum P(ubli)
Por[c]li Fausti
p(rimi) p(ili) v(otum) p(osuit) l(ibens) m(erito)

To the Unconquered God Mithras. L. Septimius Cassianus, standard-bearer of the Legio VI Hispana, involved in the *lustrum* (i.e., collection and transport of provisions) conducted by P. Porcius Faustus, *primus pilus* (i.e., chief centurion), set up a vow willingly for a deserving god.

However, no cult was the preserve of any specific class. Thus isolated examples can be found of Roman senators and equestrians making dedications to the rural god Silvanus, even though he is predominantly associated with slaves, freedmen, and other individuals of lower rank.³⁶

Apart from the inscribed monument itself (usually an altar or statue base, or a plaque attached to a monument), it is often unclear what was dedicated, since dedications rarely name the objects being offered, either because it was enough that they were visible at the moment of dedication or because they were recorded in related documents. But when the offerings are mentioned, the information is valuable, as in a dedication from Signia by a *magistra* of Bona Dea to her goddess, who dedicated “two tunics and a cape, both of thin (fine) and greenish-blue cloth and a lamp of bronze” (*EphEp* VIII 624: *tunicas duas et palliolum, rasas caleinas et lucerna(m) aeria(m)*).³⁷ Sometimes people just offered money to gods. An interesting group of late republican inscriptions shows that adherents

³³ Rüpke 2006.

³⁴ Schultz 2006: 47–94 (on women); Bömer 1981 (slaves; cf. Ch. 28).

³⁵ Liebeschuetz 1994: 195–216; Ch. 16; Fitz 1972.

³⁶ Dorsey 1992: 115; cf. Ch. 28, p. 614.

³⁷ Kajava 1987: 216. *Donaria: ILS*, Index XVII, p. 912–914, including clothing, jewelry, lamps, statuettes, tableware, and weapons.

of deities and visitors to sanctuaries contributed financially to cults by throwing money into receptacles (*thesauri*).³⁸ This was perhaps a ritual tax to be used for cultic activities and the organization of festivals. The practice was well known in the Greek world.

A dedication to a deity implied that sacrifice and prayers took place as well, but even though the inscribed text, or a version similar to it, could be uttered aloud during the dedicatory ritual, inscriptions, with the exception of priestly commentaries like the *Acta* of the Arval Brethren, are not particularly eloquent on such issues. In fact, epigraphic documents are generally silent about the rituals observed in Roman *municipia* and colonies in Italy; neither do they, or any other written source, provide information about the particulars of public sacrifice outside Rome, although texts sometimes refer to sacrificial kitchens (*culinae*).³⁹ Occasionally, however, inscriptions offer glimpses of cultic practice, such as the mention of the type of wine to be offered in front of a statue (*CIL* VI 9797 = *ILS* 5173) or the clothing of golden images within a shrine (possibly of the emperor: *CIL* XIV 2416, Bovillae). A particularly important piece of evidence is the *feriale Cumanum* (*Inscr.It.* XIII. 2, 44), a sacrificial calendar from Cumae, showing the local habit of celebrating imperial birthdays and other anniversaries with the bloodless rite (*supplicatio*) of public thanksgivings and collective prayers to traditional Roman gods such as Vesta or Mars or abstract divinities such as Spes (Hope) or Iuventas (Youth). An animal victim was reserved for Augustus' birthday (23 September). Religious iconography sometimes accompanies apparently simple inscriptions. A Julio-Claudian altar from Caere in Etruria, showing a detailed sacrificial scene perhaps related to the cult of the emperor's *genius*, bears a straightforward text (*CIL* XI 3616 = *ILS* 6577; Fig. 19.2):⁴⁰

*C(aio) Manlio C(ai) f(ilio) cens(ori) perpet(uo)
clientes patrono*

To C. Manlius son of Gaius, (local) censor in perpetuity. His clients (set this up) for their patron.

Vows and dedications to gods involved several ritual stages. Initially a worshipper would make a conditional vow to dedicate something to a divinity if the latter granted his or her wish. There is little firm evidence that inscribed dedications were set up at this stage, although in theory this is possible. Rather, we hear about these vows once the person felt that the god had fulfilled the request and the danger was over, as, for example, after a safe return home from a sea-voyage or recovery from disease. Yet even in these cases it was rare for dedicators to reveal their motives. These have to be inferred from texts set up once a vow had been granted and the dedicator discharged the promise made to the deity (*votum solvit*), by offering something in thanks for what he or

³⁸ Catalli and Scheid 1994, listing inscribed *thesauri* from Italy; Stek 2009: 180–184.

³⁹ Lepetz and Van Andringa 2008: 52.

⁴⁰ Gradel 2002: 251–260; cf. *CIL* VI 445, 30957 = *ILS* 3613, 3615, from Rome, showing *vicomagistri* pouring libations or sprinkling incense; Fishwick 1987–2005: 2.508–511.



FIG. 19.2 Elaborately decorated altar dedicated to C. Manlius, a local censor, by his clients, from Caere (Etruria). Musei Vaticani (inv. 9964).

she has been granted. When motives are specified, they mostly concern the health and welfare of the dedicators themselves or of their relatives, friends, dependants or superiors. For example, a public slave from Rome, abandoned by doctors after ten months, sacrificed a white heifer to Bona Dea after the goddess had restored his eyesight (*CIL VI 68 = ILS 3513*; see Fig. 19.3):⁴¹

Felix publicus
Asinianus pontific(um)
Bonae Deae agresti Felicu(lae?)
votum solvit iunicem alba(m)

⁴¹ Brouwer 1989: 53–54 no. 44.



FIG. 19.3 Votive plaque set up at Rome by a public slave to “rustic” Bona Dea to commemorate a sacrifice thanking the goddess for restoring his eyesight after doctors had been unable to heal him. Musei Vaticani (inv. 6855).

- 5 *libens animo ob luminibus
restitutis derelictus a medicis post
menses decem beneficio(!) dominaes(!) medicinis sanatus per
eam restituta omnia ministerio Canniae Fortunatae*

Felix Asinianus, public (slave) of the *pontifices*, discharged his vow to rustic Bona Dea Felicula by sacrificing a white heifer willingly in mind on account of the restoration of his eyesight after he had been abandoned by doctors after ten month thanks to the good service of the goddess, cured by the remedies administered by her. Everything was restored during Cannia Fortunata’s term as *ministra*.

Similarly, individuals made vows for the good health of the imperial family. For example, L. Accius Iustus and his family (*c(um) s(uis)*) made a vow to ensure the well-being, victory, and safe return of Septimius Severus, Caracalla, Geta (though his name was later erased), Iulia Mamaea, and the whole of the imperial *domus*, which resulted in a gift (*donum*) being set up accompanied by the following inscription (CIL VI 3768 = 31322):⁴²

*pro salute et victoria et reditu / Imp(eratorum) Caesar(um) L(uci) Septimi Severi Pii /
Pertinacis et M(arci) Aureli Antonini Augg(ustorum) / [[et L(uci) Septimi Getae Caes(aris)
fili(i)]] et [[fratris]] et Iuliae / Aug(ustae) m(atris) k(astrorum) totiusq(ue) domus divinae
numeroque eorum / L(ucius) Accius Iustus ex voto d(onum) d(at) c(um) s(uis)*

⁴² For vows *pro salute* in inscriptions, Marwood 1988; Cattaneo 2011.



FIG. 19.4 Graffito from the Palatine, Rome, showing a man, Alexamenos, worshipping a human figure with a donkey's head in a Christ-like pose on a cross. Antiquario Palatino, Rome.

Typologically very different are the graffiti related to religion, pagan or Christian, that have been found scratched on the walls of numerous buildings, sanctuaries, and catacombs as well as on dedicatory, funerary, and other monuments. They frequently illustrate the beliefs and literary abilities of the adherents of various cults. A famous graffito from the Palatine (Fig. 19.4), perhaps from the second or third century CE, shows a man named Alexamenos in the act of worshipping a crucified human figure with a donkey's head. The text in Greek beneath the cross, reading: "Alexamenos worships (his) God" (Ἀλεξάμενος / σέβετε / θεόν), would seem to mock a follower of Christ.⁴³

CULT PLACES AND RELIGIOUS ASSOCIATIONS

Cult places and their infrastructure are at times recorded in inscriptions (cf. *ILS*, Index XVII, p. 877–906), and although so-called *leges sacrae* are much commoner in the Greek world, some Latin sacred regulations survive concerning sanctuaries. One of them, related to the dedication in 58 BCE of a temple of Jupiter Liber in the *vicus* of

⁴³ Solin and Itkonen-Kaila 1966: 209–212 no. 246; Sacco 1997.

Furfo in Sabine territory, defines the sacred area and contains detailed instructions on the destiny of the objects donated to the shrine as well as on the selling and leasing of the temple's property (*CIL* I² 756 = *ILLRP* 508 = *ILS* 4906).⁴⁴ Other texts list sanctions against those who performed profane acts in sacred places. The so-called *lex Lucerina*, from Luceria in N. Apulia, perhaps from the late third century BCE, states that "in this grove no person shall pour out manure nor shall cast away a corpse nor shall conduct sacrifices for the deceased ancestors. If anyone acts contrary to these rules, let there be a laying of hands upon him by whoever wishes, as on a person adjudged guilty, in the amount of fifty sesterces. Or if a magistrate wishes to fine him, let this be allowed" (*CIL* I² 401 = *ILLRP* 504 = *ILS* 4912: *in hoc loucarid stircus / ne [qu]is fundatid neve cadaver / proiecitad neve parentatid. / Sei quis arvorsu(m) hac faxit, [ceiv]ium / quis volet pro ioudicatod n(umum) [L] / manum iniect[i]o estod. Seive / mag[is]teratus volet moltare, / [li]cetod*).⁴⁵

Statutes and records of many religious associations are also attested epigraphically, like those of the worshippers of Asclepius and Hygia from Rome (*CIL* VI 10234 = *ILS* 7213, 153 CE) or of the *collegium* of Diana and Antinous from Lanuvium (*CIL* XIV 2112 = *ILS* 7212, 136 CE; cf. Ch. 23). At their six annual meetings, the members of the latter were supposed to banquet in peace and good cheer, celebrating the birthdays of both Diana and Antinous, Hadrian's deified lover, as well as those of their local sponsor and his family members. The inscribed statutes also list detailed prescriptions for membership fees, common meals, and burials; the association was supposed to guarantee a proper burial for its monthly contributing members.⁴⁶ The finances of religious associations are further illustrated by an inscription dated to 60 CE related to the activities of the worshippers of Silvanus (*familia Silvani*) from Trebula Mutuesca in the Sabine region (*AE* 1929, 161; cf. 2006, 7), with detailed information on the entry fee, funeral grants, individual contributions whenever a member died, and various financial sanctions.⁴⁷ The membership profile of such associations was varied, with slaves and freedmen being among the standard participants.

Many other local societies or groups taking their name directly from various deities are known (for example, *cultores Herculis*, *Apollinares*, *Mercuriales*), as are those worshipping the Genius or the Lares of the emperor or of private individuals. At Rome, for instance, the *cultores Larum et imaginum domus Augustae* (*CIL* VI 958 = 40500) are attested, while at Brixia (Brescia) a group of *cultores Larum* of the Roman senator M. Nonius Arrius Paulinus Aper set up a dedication to him (*CIL* V 4340 = *Inscr.It.* X.5, 134). Many *collegia* were quite large, being governed by an administrative body and officers (*magistri*, *ministri*).⁴⁸ So, for instance, an epitaph was set

⁴⁴ Aberson and Wachter 2010.

⁴⁵ Bodel 1986 [1994]; cf. *CIL* I² 366a = *ILS* 4911, Spolegium, late third century BCE.

⁴⁶ Bendlin 2011, with text and translation. Religious associations: Egelhaaf-Gaiser and Schäfer 2002; Rives 2007: 122–128. Banqueting and *collegia*: Donahue 2004: 84–89.

⁴⁷ Buonocore and Diliberto 2002–3.

⁴⁸ Clark 2011.

up at Rome “by order of the councillors of the (college of the) Volusian Lares” (*CIL VI* 10266 = *ILS* 3606):

*T(ito) Flavio Phileto et Statiliae
Paulae et Statiliae Spatale
vixit ann(os) XX iussu decur(ionum)
Larum Volusianorum*

ORACLES, DREAMS, AND CURSES

Unlike in the Greek world, fixed oracles were a relatively rare institution in the Latin-speaking West. Besides some epigraphic evidence for the famous oracular sanctuary of Fortuna Primigenia in Praeneste (p. 405), a number of late republican inscribed lots (*sortes*), Italic and Latin, are known. Some of them probably derived from local sanctuaries where they were delivered as responses to consultations, while others may have belonged to diviners not officially connected to cult-places. These texts typically offer advice and give orders or express warnings. Some of the responses are less promising, stating, for example, that it was useless to consult because it was too late to resort to the oracle, as in two examples perhaps from the Veneto region (*CIL I²* 2185, 2189 = *ILLRP* 1084, 1087a):

nunc me rogitas, nunc consulis? tempus abit iam.

Now you keep asking me, now you consult? The time is already past.

quid petis posttempus consilium? quod rogas non est.

Why are you seeking advice when it's too late? What you are asking does not exist.

Another response seems to test the wisdom of the faithful: “Be careful, if you are sensible, that things that are uncertain don't become certainties.” (*CIL I²* 2175 = *ILLRP* 1074: *de incerto certa ne fiant, si sapis, caveas*). Divination by lot is also well attested by the appearance of diviners (*sortilegi*) in late republican and early imperial epigraphic and literary sources.⁴⁹

Inscriptions also widely attest that people addressed dedications to deities after they had experienced a divine vision or command, possibly in a dream, and in their uncertainty they frequently asked oracular and other gods to which deity they should sacrifice or pray.⁵⁰ In these inscriptions, the terms *ex visu* or *ex iussu* are used to

⁴⁹ *Sortes*: *ILLRP* 1079-87a. Roman and Italic lot divination and *sortilegi*: Grottanelli 2005; Klingshirn 2006.

⁵⁰ Renberg 2003 (commands and dreams); Kajava 2009a (oracular dedications); Versnel 2011: 45-49 (Greek enquiries about which deities should receive prayers and sacrifices); cf. Ch. 20.

express the instructions received from a divinity, as in an example from Rome (*CIL* VI 572 = *ILS* 4385):

Deo Serapi / M(arcus) Vibius / Onesimus / ex visu

To the God Serapis. M. Vibius Onesimus (set this up) following a vision.

Another category of inscriptions illustrating private religious behaviour are the widely employed curse tablets (*defixiones*), known from all over the Graeco-Roman world.⁵¹ The curses or spells, always strictly private, were typically engraved on thin lead sheets, which were rolled up and either deposited underground (preferably near recently buried corpses) or thrown into wells or water. A series of *defixiones* were found at the shrine of Anna Perenna in Rome deposited in a cistern.⁵² Such texts usually called on one or more demonic or chthonic powers for assistance. This could involve possessing other people sexually or “binding” (i.e., frustrating) a rival in love or in business. Spells purporting to destroy competing charioteers and their teams were also common (Fig. 22.3).⁵³

Many people making curses hoped that their adversaries might perish wretchedly, and thus the tablets sometimes give detailed lists of the organs and parts of the target’s body to be hurt by the demonic forces. An early imperial lead tablet from Nomentum near Rome records that Malc(h)io, slave or son of Nico, and a female public slave called Rufa were both cursed in a most explicit manner (*AE* 1901, 183 = *ILS* 8751).⁵⁴ In Malc(h)io’s case, the anonymous person cursing him wanted to “nail down to these tablets” (*defigo in (h)as tabel(l)as (!)*) numerous parts of his body: “eyes, hands, fingers, arms, nails, hair, head, feet, thigh, belly, buttocks, navel, chest, nipples, neck, mouth, cheeks, teeth, lips, chin, eyes, forehead, eyebrows, shoulder-blades, shoulders, sinews, guts, marrow (?), belly, cock, leg,” and the list concluded by cursing the victim’s “occupation, income, health” (*quaestu(m), lucru(m), valetudines*).

Finally, there is evidence that a curse could be directed even against a city and region. In the third century CE, a foreigner, probably a slave, wishing to return to his fatherland, called on eight demonic powers and cursed not only a military doctor, perhaps his master, but also the land of Italy and the gates of Rome (*SEG* 14, 615, from a cemetery near the Porta Ardeatina outside Rome).

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⁵¹ Audollent 1904: 179–286 nos. 123–212; Gager 1992 (general survey); cf. Ch. 20.

⁵² Blänsdorf 2010.

⁵³ Audollent 1904: 207–246 nos. 155, 159–187; selection in Gager 1992.

⁵⁴ Audollent 1904: 191–193 no. 135, emended by Solin 1989: 195–196.

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CHAPTER 20

RELIGION IN THE ROMAN PROVINCES

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WITHOUT inscriptions, the study of religion in the Roman provinces would scarcely exist. Such a blanket statement is of course an exaggeration: much could still be learned from the rich material remains about sanctuaries, iconography, and even cult practices. But apart from a few scattered and incidental references in literary sources, we would know almost nothing of the names of the deities worshipped, very little of religious organization and cult personnel, and far less about key issues such as the interaction of local and imperial religious traditions. The study of religion in the Roman provinces is thus to a large extent an intrinsically epigraphic area of research. That said, however, the sorts of things that we can learn about religion from inscriptions are in some ways quite restricted.¹ If we want to know what deities were worshipped in a particular area, or what sorts of people worshipped them, or what religious institutions existed there, epigraphic evidence can be very helpful. But if we want to know about the personal experiences or beliefs of individuals, then we can easily find inscriptions a frustratingly limited source of information. Many inscriptions were formal public documents and as a result tend to employ stereotyped language and convey conventional sentiments; they were not meant as vehicles for the expression of personal experience and belief. Yet if we cannot learn much about the religious experience of individuals, we can, if we ask the right questions, learn a great deal about cultural norms and societal expectations. In what follows, this chapter will not only survey some of the major categories of data that we can gather from inscriptions, but also point out a few of the less obvious insights into ancient conceptions of the divine that we can gain from them.

DEITIES

One of the most important contributions made by inscriptions to our knowledge of religion in the Roman provinces is simply an appreciation for the great variety of deities

¹ Rives 2001. In general, Beard, North, and Price 1998: esp. 1.313–363 and vol. 2 (a sourcebook, with many relevant inscriptions translated); Rives 2007.

that were worshipped. In literary sources the most prominent deities are the major gods of the mainstream Graeco-Roman tradition: Jupiter/Zeus, Venus/Aphrodite, Diana/Artemis, Apollo, and so forth. A few writers occasionally refer to deities whose worship was more grounded in the local or regional traditions of the provinces, as when Lucan refers to the Gallic gods Teutates, Esus, and Taranis (*Bell. Civ.* 1.445–446). Literary conventions, however, dictated that even in these cases indigenous names were normally “translated” into more seemingly Latin or Greek equivalents by a process known as *interpretatio Romana*, as when Caesar tells us that the chief gods of the Gauls were Mercury, Apollo, Mars, Jupiter, and Minerva (*B Gall.* 6.17.1). The section on “deities of Gaul and Germania” in Dessau’s *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, however, includes a host of unfamiliar names: Adido (*ILS* 4665), Baco (*ILS* 4667), Bacurdus (*ILS* 4668), Lanovalus (*ILS* 4677), Letinno (*ILS* 4679), Moritasgus (*ILS* 4682), Rubacascus et Rubeo (*ILS* 4683), Ouniorix (*ILS* 4692), and Uxsacanus (*ILS* 4693), to name just a few. For example, a man in what is now central France discharged a vow to thank the god Alisanus for his son Contedius by a bronze bowl (*patera*) with letters punched into its surface (*CIL* XIII 2843 = *ILS* 4666):

*Deo Alisano Paullinus
pro Contedio fil(io) suo
v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*

It is only from inscriptions like this one that we get some sense of the enormous range of deities worshipped throughout the Empire, a range vastly greater than anything we could ever have inferred from literary sources. Most of these unfamiliar divine names appear in only one or two inscriptions, so that it is difficult to assess their significance, but some occur in dozens, indicating a deity with an extensive if localized following. Thibilis in Numidia has yielded over seventy-five dedications to the god Bacax; the god Endovellicus is named in seventy or more inscriptions from a sanctuary in Lusitania; some one hundred and fifty altars and other artefacts dedicated to the goddess Nehalennia have been found at a site on the coast of Germania Inferior.²

There are also examples, particularly from the eastern provinces, of deities whose worship was more widespread. One such case is that of the Anatolian god Mên, whose cult is attested by some 270 inscriptions from a wide swathe of western Asia Minor. Rather different is the case of the divine epithet Hypsistos, “the Highest,” which appears in some three hundred inscriptions ranging from Macedonia and mainland Greece through Asia Minor and Syria. In some inscriptions it appears as an epithet of Zeus, in some as an epithet of an otherwise unspecified *theos*, and in some as a title on its own. Stephen Mitchell, in the most recent studies of these inscriptions, has proposed that they provide evidence for a widespread and long-lasting popular cult of a non-anthropomorphic supreme god, one that cross-fertilized with Judaeian cult but remained a distinct development.³

² Bacax: Cid López 1987; Endovellicus: Guerra 2007; Nehalennia: Stuart and Bogaers 2001.

³ Mên: Lane 1971–78; Hypsistos: Mitchell 1999 (with a catalogue of inscriptions), 2010.

Inscriptions have also been crucial in demonstrating the spread of the so-called “oriental” cults. Although the Egyptian goddess Isis, for example, is well represented in literary texts such as Plutarch’s essay *On Isis and Osiris* and Book 11 of Apuleius’ *Metamorphoses*, it is only through inscriptions that we can get a sense of how far-flung her cult really was, even in areas like the Danubian provinces that were far from the Mediterranean world of Plutarch and Apuleius. For example, at the Roman legionary camp at Moguntiacum (Mainz) in Germania Superior, an imperial freedwoman and imperial slave set up a dedication to Isis Panthea to ensure the well-being of the ruling emperors, the Roman state, and the army (*AE* 2004, 1016):

*pro salute Augustorum et
s(enatus) p(opuli)q(ue) R(omani) et exercitus
Isidi Pantheae Claudia Aug(usti) l(iberta) Icmas
et Vitulus Caes(aris) sacer(dote) Claud(io) Attico lib(erto)*

For the well-being of the emperors, the Senate and People of Rome, and the army. Claudia Icmas, imperial freedwoman, and Vitulus slave of the emperor (set this up) to Isis Panthea (i.e., “all-encompassing goddess”) during the priesthood of Claudius Atticus, freedman.

We also learn from inscriptions that the theologically elaborate statement of her identity and powers that Apuleius puts in the mouth of Isis (*Met.* 11.5) was not simply his own invention, but was instead based on a widespread form that apparently derived from Egyptian tradition (“I am Isis”: cf. *I.Kyme* 41).⁴ In contrast, the “Persian” god Mithras receives only scant attention in surviving literary works, yet the more than a thousand extant inscriptions that refer to him are proof of his extensive appeal, even if none of them are as elaborate as the Isiac texts. For example, a number of Mithraic dedications have been found along Hadrian’s Wall, not least in the Mithraeum discovered at Brocolitia (Carrawburgh) (*RIB* 1545 = *CIMRM* 846):

*d(eo) In(victo) M(ithrae) s(acrum)
Aul(us) Cluentius
Habitus pra(e)fectus)
coh(ortis) I
5 Batavorum
dom(o) Vulti-
n(ia) colon(ia)
Sept(imia) Aur(elia) L(arino)
v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*

Dedication to the Unconquered God Mithras. A. Cluentius Habitus, prefect of the First Cohort of Batavians, (of the Roman voting tribe) Voltinia, whose hometown was the Colonia Septimia Aurelia Larinum, discharged a vow willingly and deservedly.

⁴ Vidman 1969; Mora 1990; Takács 1995 (esp. 145–203 for the Danubian provinces); Bricault 2001, 2005; cf. Versnel 1998: 39–45 (on “I am Isis”).

In the case of Mithras, however, and in the cults of other “oriental” deities as well, the iconographic and architectural evidence is as important as the epigraphic; hence Maarten Vermaseren catalogued the different types of materials all together in his collection of evidence for the cult of Mithras.⁵ Vermaseren’s corpus provided a model for others to come; he eventually founded an entire series, “*Etudes préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l’empire romain*” (EPRO), which, although it included a wide variety of studies, specialized in surveys of the evidence for “oriental” cults within particular regions and in collections of evidence pertaining to particular deities such as Jupiter Dolichenus and Mên.⁶ But the amount of work cataloguing the evidence for these cults, while valuable in and of itself, has unfortunately resulted in a tendency to overvalue their importance. Although many of them were indeed geographically widespread, they did not dominate the religious landscape to the extent that the massed volumes of Vermaseren’s series might suggest. Géza Alföldy has calculated that the “oriental” deities actually account for no more than 10 percent of all the divine names that occur in the inscriptions of the western provinces, ranging from 2.5 percent in Germania Inferior to 16 percent in Pannonia.⁷ For this reason, regional surveys that are not limited solely to “oriental” cults do a much better job of revealing actual patterns of worship.⁸

The divine names that appear most frequently in the epigraphic record of the provinces are in fact those of the same Graeco-Roman gods that are familiar from literary sources. Their predominance in the western provinces has been clear since Jules Toutain’s pioneering survey, and has been presented in a concise tabular form by Ramsay MacMullen (Fig. 20.1). Jupiter appears in Latin inscriptions more often than any other deity in every part of the western Empire except Africa, where Saturn is most popular, and he is followed by Mercury, Hercules, Mars, and Fortuna. Although it is virtually impossible to make similar calculations for the Greek-speaking provinces of the eastern Empire, a more impressionistic survey suggests a similar pattern: Zeus is by far the most frequently evoked in inscriptions, with Aphrodite, Apollo, Artemis, Asklepios, Athena, Dionysos, Hera, and Tyche also well represented. Still, there are surprises. The literary sources would certainly not lead us to expect the widespread popularity in the Latin-speaking provinces of the old Italian god Silvanus, or even that of Hercules.⁹ More importantly, they do not prepare us for the wide range of local epithets that could be attached to these familiar Graeco-Roman names. Some of these associate the deity in question with a particular region or town, such as Jupiter Optimus Maximus Karnuntinus, whose temple near Carnuntum in Pannonia

⁵ Vermaseren 1956–60, updated by Beck 1984: 2008–2056; cf. Claus 1992.

⁶ Regions: Turcan 1972; Sfameni Gasparro 1973; Berciu and Petolescu 1976; Tacheva-Hitova 1983. Jupiter Dolichenus: Hörig and Schwertheim 1987. Mên: Lane 1971–78. EPRO was succeeded by a new series, “Religions in the Graeco-Roman World” (RGRW), which continues the numeration of volumes from the earlier series.

⁷ Alföldy 1989: 74.

⁸ For instance, Belayche 2001; Spickermann 2003, 2008.

⁹ Toutain 1907–20; Silvanus: Dorsey 1992; Hercules in Gaul: Moitrioux 2002.

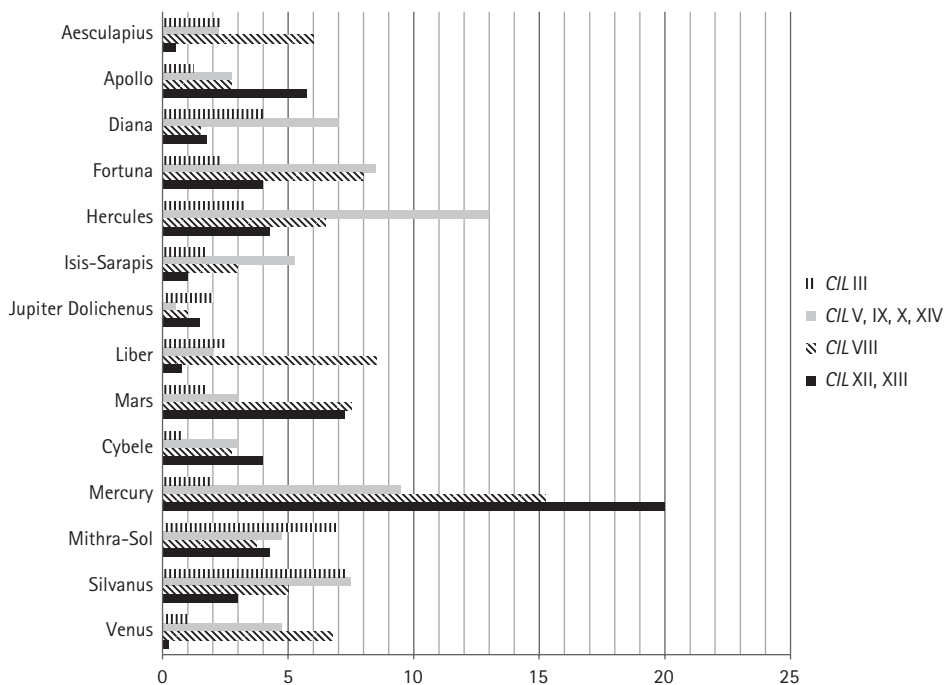


FIG. 20.1 Frequency of epigraphic attestations of various gods in several regions of Italy and the Latin-speaking provinces expressed as a percentage of those of the most common god, Jupiter. Redrawn after R. MacMullen, *Paganism in the Roman Empire*, New Haven 1981, 6, based on the indices of the respective *CIL* volumes.

Superior has yielded over 350 inscriptions, or Jupiter Optimus Maximus Dolichenus, an “oriental” god especially popular with soldiers, whose name connects Jupiter to the site of Doliche in Commagene. Other epithets apparently originated as the names of local deities, such as those of Zeus Panamaros, who had a major cult centre near Stratonicea in Caria; Sulis Minerva, worshipped in Bath; and Apollo Grannus, whose worship was concentrated in the Moselle and upper Rhine valleys.¹⁰ So, for example, in the province of Raetia, a father and two sons dedicated a statue along with a statue base to Apollo Grannus in honour of the imperial family (*domus divina*), after they had been instructed so to do in a dream (*ex visu*) (*CIL* III 5870):

in h(onorem) d(omus) d(ivinae)
Apolli(ni) Granno
Baienius Victor
et Baienius Victor

¹⁰ Jupiter Karnuntinus: Piso 2003; Jupiter Dolichenus: Hörig and Schwertheim 1987; Zeus Panamaros: Laumonier 1958: 221–343; Sulis Minerva: Cunliffe 1985–88; Apollo Grannus: Weisgerber 1975.

5

*et Baienius Victo-
rinus fili(i) eius ex
vis{s}u signum cum
base*

Such combinations of Graeco-Roman and local divine names highlight a key issue in the study of religion in the Roman provinces. How can we best understand the interplay of local and Graeco-Roman religious traditions? We know from literary sources that Romans and Greeks tended to identify the deities of other peoples with the ones that they themselves worshipped and to “translate” foreign divine names with familiar Latin or Greek ones; we have seen (p. 421) a typical example of this practice from Caesar’s *Gallia War*. Modern scholars, borrowing a phrase from Tacitus (*Germ.* 43.3), conventionally describe it as *interpretatio Romana* or *Graeca*. That this practice was also adopted by provincials, however, is something we know only from inscriptions. The most obvious cases are those of combined names like Sulis Minerva and Zeus Panamaros. But even in inscriptions that use only a Latin or Greek divine name without any local epithet, iconography or other indicators can strongly suggest that the people responsible actually had in mind a local or regional deity. The cult of Saturn that was so popular in North Africa, for example, is generally understood to be a continuation of the worship of the old Punic deity Ba’al Hammon. The distinctive rider-god who is named Herakles on a number of votive stelae from western Asia Minor appears in other virtually identical stelae as Kakasbos. A particularly striking example of this phenomenon occurs in the monuments with representations of a figure known as the “Thracian Rider,” of which over two thousand examples have been found in the southeastern Balkan region. Some of these monuments include inscriptions, which reveal that they could serve as funerary offerings as well as votive dedications and that, in the latter case, the dedicators associated this figure with a wide variety of divinities. One example from Odessus in Moesia Inferior was dedicated in the late second century CE to the hero Manimazos (*IGBulg* I 78 = *CCET* I 40; Fig. 20.2):

Ἡρωι Μανιμαζῶι
[relief]
Ἑστιαῖος Νεικίου ὑπὲρ
τῶν υἱῶν Νεικίου καὶ Ἄγα-
θήνορος χαριστήριον

To the hero Manimazos. [relief] Hestaios son of Nikias (set up this) thanks-offering on behalf of his sons Nikias and Agathenor.

Identical images were employed in dedications to other local gods such as Karabasmos and Dosaenos as well as to Greek deities such as Apollo and Asklepios.¹¹

¹¹ Saturn: LeGlay 1961–66, 1966; cf. Cadotte 2007; Herakles/Kakasbos: Delemen 1999: 5–38, 91–164. “Thracian Rider”: Gočeva and Oppermann 1979–84; Hampartumian 1979; Cermanović-Kuzmanović 1982; for a valuable analysis, Dimitrova 2002, esp. 211–213 for the example cited here.



FIG. 20.2 Votive dedication to the hero Manimazos with a relief showing the “Thracian Rider” from Odessus, Moesia Inferior. National Museum of Archaeology, Sofia.

The phenomenon of *interpretatio Romana/Graeca* has in recent years been the subject of considerable scholarly debate. Much of the controversy centres on issues of cultural identity. That a Latin- or Greek-speaker would replace a foreign divine name with a more familiar Graeco-Roman equivalent is understandable; but what did it mean when an African invoked Saturn or an Anatolian invoked Herakles? Did they have in mind the actual Graeco-Roman deity, or had they merely taken up the Graeco-Roman practice of translating local divine names with Graeco-Roman ones? If the latter, does it mean that they were adopting a Graeco-Roman cultural persona or maintaining the worship of traditional deities under a Graeco-Roman veneer? Does the practice of combining Graeco-Roman and local names signify a peaceful blending of Graeco-Roman and local traditions or an insidious form of cultural imperialism? As noted above, questions like these, which often focus on the religious beliefs and personal identity of individuals, are difficult to answer on the basis of epigraphic evidence. Yet if we approach the evidence from a somewhat different angle, it can be highly revealing.

Although in most instances we cannot know what a given individual thought, we can document a fundamental and apparently widespread cultural assumption about the nature of the divine. Any deity might have multiple manifestations and yet in some way also remain the same. The name “Jupiter Optimus Maximus Karnuntinus,” for example, combines that of the great patron deity of Rome, whose temple stood on

the Capitoline Hill, with a local epithet that linked the god specifically to the area of Carnuntum. In the same way, the name “Apollo Grannus” combines the Greek “Apollo” and the Celtic “Grannus,” presumably regarded as two different names for the same god. *Interpretatio Romana/Graeca* is thus in a very important sense simply one particular manifestation of a more general way of thinking about the divine that was apparently widespread throughout the Empire.¹² Beyond the mere variety of deities, then, inscriptions also serve to reveal with particular force the fluid conceptions that their worshippers could have of them.

WORSHIPPERS

Most of our data about divine names comes from dedicatory inscriptions, which are by far the most common type of inscription that concerns religious life in the provinces. As already suggested, dedicatory inscriptions provide valuable information not only about gods but also about their worshippers. In evaluating this information, however, we must keep in mind two important points. First, inscriptions, even those of poor quality, cost money, and were consequently beyond the means of most people. Secondly, the practice of inscribing dedications on stone or some other permanent medium was to a large extent a distinctively Graeco-Roman one. In most parts of the West, with a few exceptions like Punic North Africa, there is little evidence for this practice prior to Roman occupation. In the East, although some cultures had their own tradition of monumental inscriptions, the practice certainly became much more widespread with the spread of Greek culture. Most provincials who erected dedicatory inscriptions were thus adopting a Graeco-Roman cultic practice, whether consciously or not. We must accordingly be aware that, for both reasons, the data provided by dedicatory inscriptions concern a particular segment of the population. Nevertheless, the information that we can derive from them is of a sort that would otherwise be completely unavailable.¹³

The only essential element of a dedicatory inscription was the name of the deity to whom it was offered, and in some instances that is all we have. Although even in those cases we can infer a certain amount about the dedicator simply from the quality of the inscription, we can obviously obtain much more information when the dedicator included his or her name. From a name we can normally determine the dedicator’s gender and occasionally something about his or her social status and cultural background as well: whether the dedicator was indigenous or immigrant, citizen or peregrine (cf. Appendix III). Some dedicators provided further information about themselves, such as their rank, if in the army, or their public offices, if civilians, or their

¹² Ando 2005; Rives 2011.

¹³ Bodel and Kajava 2009, esp. 17–30 (Bodel), 31–41 (Rüpke).

origin, if immigrants. For example, we can learn a good deal from the small votive altar that a Roman army officer and his men dedicated to the local god Hercules Saxanus, “Hercules of the Rocks,” in the valley of the Brohl, a small tributary that flows into the left bank of the Rhine just north of Koblenz (*CIL* XIII 7700 = *ILS* 3455):

Herculi / Saxsano / C(aius) Mettius / Seneca (centurio) / leg(ionis) XV et / vexillari(i) / leg(ionis) eiusdem / v(otum) s(oluerunt) l(ibentes) m(erito)

To Hercules Saxanus. C. Mettius Seneca, centurion of the Legio XV (Primigenia), and a detachment of the same legion discharged their vow willingly and deservedly.

The unusual epithet, derived from the Latin word *saxum*, “rock,” links the god to the tufa quarries that were common in this area in the Roman period. The soldiers had apparently been assigned to quarry-duty, making the dedication to Hercules Saxanus particularly appropriate. Since the legion was created by Gaius (Caligula) and disbanded in 70 CE after surrendering to the rebel leader Iulius Civilis, this inscription can be dated fairly precisely; it is one of the earliest documents of Roman activity in this area.¹⁴

Although inscriptions like this can individually provide fascinating glimpses into religious life in the provinces, their real value emerges when they are analyzed in aggregate; the significance of the dedication to Hercules Saxanus, for example, becomes more apparent in the context of other similar dedications, as two further examples illustrate. First, of the hundreds of votive stelae from North Africa dedicated to Saturn, only a handful was set up by men of high social status; the vast majority of dedicators were people of humble background. From these data Marcel LeGlay concluded that the appeal of Saturn was particularly strong among the indigenous and rural elements of the population, who cultivated an intensely personal relationship with him.¹⁵ Second, a survey of dedications to Mithras reveals that this cult was particularly popular among soldiers, minor functionaries in the imperial administration, and slaves and freedmen of the imperial household. Scholars have called attention to the fact that these were all men accustomed to operating within strongly hierarchical systems not unlike that which informed the cult itself; it thus seems that the cult’s appeal lay in providing its followers not with an escape from the structures of their everyday lives but rather with an affirmation of it.¹⁶

Dedicatory inscriptions can also provide valuable insights into the ways that people in the Roman Empire conceived of their relations to the gods. Again, if we expect to find evidence for personal experience, we are likely to be disappointed. One element that we might assume to be commonplace in dedicatory inscriptions is some reference to the specific benefit that the worshipper had received or hoped to receive from the god. We do on occasion find this sort of thing. For example, in the province of Aquitania Ti.

¹⁴ Matijević 2010: no. 14, with discussion at 192–226.

¹⁵ LeGlay 1966: 401–406; for some qualifications, Rives 1995: 142–149.

¹⁶ Clauss 1992, summarized in Clauss 2001: 33–41; cf. Gordon 1972.

Claudius Faustinus made a dedication fulfilling a vow to Mars Lelhunnus in thanks for his good health and that of his family and dependents (*CIL* XIII 423 = *ILS* 4534):

ex voto / Marti Lel/hunno ob / sanitatem / suam et suor(um) / Tib(erius) Claudius / Faustinus / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)

Similarly, C. Iulius Libosus, from Auzia in Mauretania, erected an altar to “Caelestis Augusta, the Bringer-Back-Home and Preserver of his household, because he found his parents, C. Iulius Victoricus and Caecilia Namphamina, safe and sound” (*CIL* VIII 20743 = *ILS* 4431: *Caelesti Aug(ustae) Reduci et Conservatrici domus suae / quot salvos incolumesque C(aium) Iulium Victoricum et / Caecilia(m) Namphamina(m) parentes invenerit*). But this kind of explicit reference to specific circumstances is in fact quite rare. What we normally find instead are stereotyped phrases: *votum solvit libens merito*, “he/she willingly and deservedly discharged his/her vow,” so common that it was often abbreviated to *v. s. l. m.*; *pro salute sua suorumque*, “on behalf of his/her own well-being and that of his/her dependents,” or the variant *pro se suisque*, “on behalf of him/herself and his/her dependents”; *ex visu* or *ex iussu*, “as the result of a vision/command (of the deity).” A similar set of stereotyped terms and phrases occurs in Greek dedicatory inscriptions: the worshipper has “set up” or “dedicated” (ἀνέθηκεν) the offering, which is described as a “prayer” (εὐχή) or a “thanksgiving” (χαριστήριον); it may be ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας, “on behalf of the well-being,” or simply ὑπὲρ, “on behalf,” of someone; it may have been made κατ’ὄναρ or κατ’ἐπιταγήν, “in accordance with a dream/command.”

Yet phrases like these, although formulaic, can tell us a great deal about widespread cultural assumptions concerning relations between the divine and human spheres. For example, the regular recurrence of phrases like *pro salute* or ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας is suggestive of the extent to which people regarded their personal welfare as lying in the hands of the gods. Although this may not in every particular instance have been a heartfelt belief, it was clearly a normative assumption that people regularly acted on. Moreover, when inscriptions of this sort provide more detailed information about the dedicator and the people on whose behalf he or she erected the dedication, we can gain some interesting insights into the way that people used religion to structure their social relationships. *Pro salute* dedications turn out to be bivalent: people erected them either for themselves and their dependents (for example, heads of households on behalf of their families) or for their superiors (for example, freed people on behalf of their patrons). In both cases, they served to delineate and reinforce hierarchical social relationships. Particularly common are dedications made “on behalf of the well-being of the emperor,” which are found throughout the Empire, as we have already seen in the dedication to Isis Panthea from Moguntiacum (p. 422). Such dedications reveal how the emperor could be inserted into the relationship between people and gods, in such a way that the gods look after the emperor and the emperor, we may assume, looks after the people.¹⁷

¹⁷ Marwood 1988: 37–52; Moralee 2004 (focusing on Greek inscriptions from the Near East).

More obviously intriguing are phrases that refer to a “vision” or a “command” as the occasion for the dedication, as in the dedication to Apollo Grannus quoted earlier (p. 424). So, for example, P. Metilius Secundus, the commander of the Roman forces in Africa, made a dedication at the legionary camp of Lambaesis “at the warning of Apollo” (*CIL VIII 2591 = ILS 3229: monitu Apollinis*), and another legionary legate in Dacia (whose name was later erased from the inscription) made one at Apulum to Jupiter “the Warner and Preserver” after he had been “warned in a dream” (*CIL III 1032 = ILS 3019: Iovi Monitori / Conservatorique / [[- - - -]] / leg(atus) Aug(usti) leg(ionis) XIII Gem(inae) / somno monitus*). Similarly, in Augusta Treverorum (Trier) C. Candidius Piscator was “warned in a vision” to make a dedication to Hecate (*CIL XIII 3643 = ILS 3274: visu monitus*), and Dekmia Epiktosis erected one in Nicopolis ad Istrum to Zeus Keraunios “in accordance with the command of a dream” (*IGBulg II 670*).¹⁸

In some inscriptions, particularly from Greek-speaking areas, accounts of interactions with deities involve not simply brief phrases but more elaborate narratives. It was customary in the cult of healing deities, Asklepios in particular, that those who had successfully appealed to the god for relief would testify to his miraculous intervention in accounts that are conventionally called aretalogies. The cult personnel would then have these testimonials inscribed and kept on public display in the god’s shrine, as the following extract from such a text from Epidauros, dated c. 160 CE, reveals (*IG IV² 1, 126*):

Ἐπὶ ἱερέως Π. Αἰλ. Ἀντιόχου
 Μ. Ἰούλιος Ἀπελλάς Ἰδριεὺς Μυλασεὺς μετεπέμφθη
 ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ, πολλάκις εἰς νόσους ἐνπίπτων καὶ ἀπεψί-
 αις χρωμένος. κατὰ δὴ τὸν πλοῦν ἐν Αἰγείνῃ ἐκέλευσέν
 με μὴ πολλὰ ὀργίζεσθαι.
 ἐκέ-
 λευσεν δὲ καὶ ἀναγράψαι ταῦτα. χάριν εἰδὼς καὶ ὑγιῆς γε-
 νόμενος ἀπηλλάγην.

In the priesthood of P. Aelius Antiochus, I, M. Iulius Apellas, an Idrian from Mylasa, was summoned by the god, since I was frequently falling sick and suffering from dyspepsia. During my journey to Aegina, the god told me not to get so angry . . .

[27 lines of actions that the narrator took during his stay at the shrine of Asklepios follow here.]

In addition he ordered me to inscribe this. I departed fully aware of my gratitude and having regained my health.¹⁹

Closely related to aretalogies but constituting a very distinct category of their own are some 120 inscriptions from Lydia and Phrygia that are conventionally called “confession-texts.” These describe how a particular person had offended a deity, how

¹⁸ Renberg 2003 (with a fundamental epigraphic catalogue); cf. Weber 2005–6.

¹⁹ For text and translation, Edelstein and Edelstein 1945: 247–248, no. 432; cf. Longo 1969 (discussion and collection of texts, many from the Hellenistic period).



FIG. 20.3 “Confession text” from Soma in SE Mysia, describing how a man was punished and eventually redeemed by Zeus Trôsou. Manisa Museum, Turkey.

the deity had in return punished that person, and lastly how the person had eventually atoned for the original offence. The text on the following stele from Soma in Mysia is in many ways typical (see Fig. 20.3):²⁰

Mediôn son of Menandros held a drinking party in the Temple of Zeus Trôsou, and his servants ate unsacrificed meat, and he (i.e., the god) made him dumb for three months and appeared to him in his dreams (to bid him) set up a stele and inscribe on it what had befallen him, and (only) then did he begin to speak (again).

²⁰ Petzl 1994: 1–2, no. 1, transl. Gordon 2004: 189, cf. Belayche 2008: 185–186; on the similarities of the “confession steles” with aretalogies, Belayche 2006.

The image carved above the inscription, a disembodied right arm making an offering to an eagle perched on an altar, is a visual confirmation of the religious principle that underlies the narrative: the gods (in this case a local Zeus, represented by the eagle) must receive their due when mortals celebrate. Although narratives like this one seem to bring us more fully into the world of personal religious experience, they, no less than inscriptions that allude more briefly to divine visions and commands, employ stereotyped language and formulae. We consequently cannot be confident that the dedicator in any one of these instances really did have a personal encounter with a deity, and was not simply employing conventional phraseology. But again, what these inscriptions do provide is solid evidence for the cultural assumption that people could and did have this sort of personal contact with the gods, an assumption so widespread and familiar that people all over the Empire could casually refer to it in their dedications and even draw on formulaic language in order to do so.

Radically different from dedicatory inscriptions in many crucial respects are the inscriptions generally described as curse tablets or *defixiones*. Whereas dedicatory inscriptions are usually public documents, meant for display in a sanctuary or some other public venue, *defixiones* are private: inscribed on small pieces of lead or some other material, they were typically rolled up and hidden, either dropped into a body of water or buried underground. They also differ in being much more precise about the often intensely personal circumstances that occasioned their creation: desires to possess another person sexually, to hinder business rivals and the opposing teams in chariot races, to obtain justice against thieves.²¹ *Defixiones* thus apparently give us more insight into the everyday concerns that led people to invoke superhuman aid. Yet they too employ formulaic language; some of them seem in fact to have been copied from pre-existing exemplars, with only the specific names and details added. As in the case of dedicatory inscriptions, however, the very fact that this sort of formulaic language existed provides important evidence for widespread cultural assumptions.

Defixiones also shed light on the relationship between “magic” and “religion” in the Roman world, since examples from different parts of the Empire seem to fall on very different parts of the magic/religion spectrum. For example, the *defixiones* found in Africa Proconsularis and Syria tend to exemplify many of the traits that scholars associate with magic. They are usually intended to inflict harm, especially on charioteers from competing teams; they are self-consciously exotic, invoking an array of beings with ostentatiously “foreign” names and peppered with unintelligible words; and they were typically placed in graves and other locations associated with the underworld. By contrast, the many *defixiones* found in the northern European provinces tend to be petitions for divine redress against thieves, which H.S. Versnel has termed “prayers for justice”; they are normally directed towards deities who were publicly worshipped in the community; and they were typically placed in these deities’ sanctuaries.

²¹ General overview (with selection of translated texts): Gager 1992. The major textual edition remains Audollent 1904. More recent discoveries: Brodersen and Kropp 2004; Marco Simón and Gordon 2010.

Two particularly striking sets of examples are known from England: the sanctuary of Sulis Minerva in Aquae Sulis (Bath), with some 130 tablets, and that of Mercury at Uley, with some eighty. A more recent discovery is a shrine in Mainz, apparently dedicated to Magna Mater and Isis, where thirty-four tablets have been found, dating to the late first and early second centuries CE, that invoke Magna Mater, Attis, and Adonis.²² The following example, from the sanctuary of Sulis, illustrates some of the distinctive features of this type of *defixio* (AE 1983, 636, revised Tomlin 1988: no. 10, with his translation; Fig. 20.4):

*Minerv(a)e / de(ae) Suli donavi / furem qui / caracallam / meam invo/lavit si ser(v)us
si liber si ba/ro si mulier / hoc donum non / redemat nesi (!) / sangui(n)e[su]o*

To Minerva the goddess Sulis I have given the thief who has stolen my hooded cloak, whether slave or free, whether man or woman. He is not to buy back this gift unless with his own blood.

The range of *defixiones* thus illustrates very effectively the fuzziness of the boundary between “magic” and “religion.”

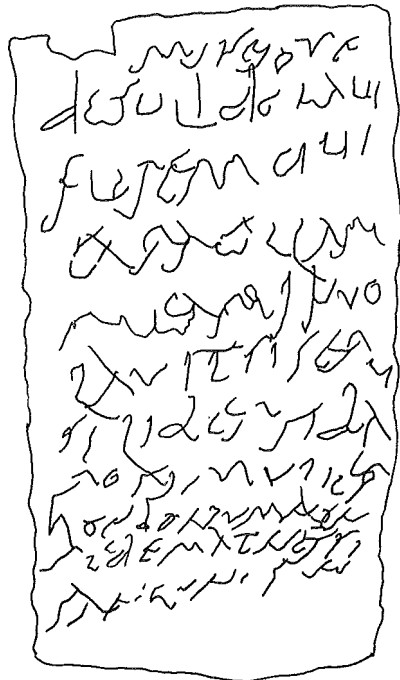


FIG. 20.4 Line-drawing of a curse-tablet from Aquae Sulis (Bath) directed at a thief.

²² “Prayers for justice”: Versnel 1991 and 2010; Bath: Tomlin 1988; Uley: Tomlin 1993; Mainz: Blänsdorf 2010.

INSTITUTIONS

Since inscriptions were usually intended for public monuments, they are on the whole a much richer source of evidence for institutions than for the personal beliefs and religious lives of individuals. Even in this regard, however, there are inevitably certain limitations. For example, the Greek-speaking areas of the Empire, Asia Minor in particular, have yielded a number of long inscriptions, conventionally called *leges sacrae*, which contain detailed regulations for the conduct of festivals and the use of sanctuaries; these provide extremely valuable insights into the organization of public cults.²³ Although a few similar inscriptions in Latin survive from the western parts of the Empire, such as the regulations for the cult of the *Numen Augusti* in Narbo (*CIL* XII 4333 = *ILS* 112) or those of the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus in Salona on the Dalmatian coast (*CIL* III 1933 = *ILS* 4907), they are very much the exception rather than the rule.²⁴ Again, inscriptions play a crucial part in allowing us to identify the deity to whom a shrine was dedicated or even to locate sanctuaries in the absence of structural remains. Striking examples of the latter are the rural sanctuaries of Saturn in North Africa that are marked by the presence of hundreds of votive stelae, such as the 400 from the Djebel bou Kornein across from Carthage, and a similar number from a site near the inland town of Thignica.²⁵ Yet our understanding of sanctuaries, their development, and their cultural significance ultimately depends much more on their physical remains than on any associated inscriptions. Nevertheless, despite these limitations, inscriptions remain our most important source of evidence for religious organization even in the western provinces of the Empire.

At the provincial level, the only framework for any sort of formal organization at all, apart from that of Roman administrative structures, was in fact a cultic framework, the worship of the emperor. A glance at the magisterial study of Duncan Fishwick quickly reveals how dependent we are on inscriptions for our knowledge of the provincial imperial cult in the western Empire. For example, from literary sources we have scant references to just three provincial priesthoods: from the Tres Galliae (*Liv. Per.* 139), from Hispania Citerior Tarraconensis (*Plin. Ep.* 2.13.4: *flamen Hispaniae Citerioris*), and from Africa (*August. Ep.* 138.19; cf. *Apul. Flor.* 16.38). In striking contrast, inscriptions provide information on more than 220 provincial priests (*flamines*), including twenty-two female *flaminicae*, in a total of sixteen provinces.²⁶ So, for example, from Augusta Emerita, Albinus the son of Albuus, a *flamen* of the provincial cult of the

²³ Major collections: Prott and Ziehen 1896–1906; Sokolowski 1955, 1962, 1969; Lupu 2005; cf. Guarducci 1977: 3–45.

²⁴ Richter 1911; for Narbo, Cels-Saint-Hilaire 1986; Gradel 2002: 239–240.

²⁵ LeGlaz 1961–66: 1.32–73, 125–202.

²⁶ Fishwick 2002–5: Part 2; cf. Alföldy 1973 (Hispania Citerior).

Deified Augustus and the Deified Livia in Lusitania during the reign of Claudius, made a dedication to these deities (*AE* 1997, 777, revising *CIL* II 473):²⁷

*divo Augusto [et divae Aug(ustae)]
Albinus Albui(filius) flamen d[ivi Augusti et]
divae Aug(ustae) provinciae Lusitan[iae dedicavit]*

In addition to inscriptions like this one, which commemorate the names and actions of individual priests, a long inscription on a bronze plaque from Gallia Narbonensis preserves a number of regulations concerning the privileges and obligations of the provincial priest and his wife (*CIL* XII 6038 = *ILS* 6964).²⁸ It is thus only from inscriptions that we get a real sense of the importance of this priesthood, that we learn that it was open to women as well as men, and that we can understand the social status and roles of the men and women who held it. Epigraphic evidence likewise plays a crucial part, along with archaeological and numismatic evidence, in the identification of provincial cult centres and in the reconstruction of ceremonial. It is not too much to say that without inscriptions we would be almost completely ignorant of how widespread and important an institution the provincial cult of the emperors actually was.²⁹

It is also from inscriptions that we get much of our evidence for the religious institutions of individual cities. For this topic, Greek inscriptions from the eastern parts of the Empire are especially rich sources of information. Two particular types of institutions may be singled out for the sake of example. First, it is only from inscriptions that we get any real sense of the centrality of religious festivals to the public life of Greek cities under the Roman Empire, and of their enormous richness, variety, and social and cultural significance. In this case we have a double advantage, since relevant inscriptions not only survive in great numbers but are in some cases extremely long and detailed. A few, such as those recording the foundations of C. Vibius Salutaris in Ephesus and of C. Iulius Demosthenes in Oinoanda, are themselves sufficient to allow for in-depth studies of the social structure and cultural self-fashioning of their respective cities.³⁰ Although civic festivals like these varied widely, they all tended to revolve around one of the city's chief deities, whose associations with that particular community were unique and extended back into its legendary past. They thus evoked a strong sense both of the community's unique identity and of its continuity through time. In the imperial period most festivals also honored the Roman emperor, thereby balancing a city's sense of its own unique identity with an equally strong sense of its participation in the wider community of the Roman Empire. Lastly, many religious festivals involved competitions of some sort, either athletic or artistic or both; competitions like these showcased the physical and intellectual skills that had been crucial

²⁷ Edmondson 1997.

²⁸ Fishwick 2002–5: 2.3–15; Williamson 1987.

²⁹ Provincial emperor cult in the East: Price 1984; Friesen 1993; Burrell 2004.

³⁰ Salutaris: Rogers 1991; Demosthenes: Wörrle 1988; Mitchell 1990.

to Greek cultural identity since the archaic period, and thus served to affirm a city's claim to that identity.³¹

The other institution of the eastern provinces whose importance is highlighted by inscriptions is the oracle. Literary sources, such as Plutarch's essay *On the Obsolescence of Oracles*, create the impression that oracles in the imperial period had lost the vibrancy and cultural importance that they possessed in the archaic and classical periods. Epigraphic sources reveal how one-sided that impression is. Although they may no longer have ruled on momentous matters of war and peace and political upheavals, we know from inscriptions that they continued to be consulted on a wide array of topics from the immediately practical to the highly abstract. As an example of the former, we may note a number of responses given by the oracle of Apollo at Claros in response to urgent entreaties for advice on dealing with a plague. Examples survive from several different cities in western Asia Minor and Thrace and include prescriptions ranging from the performance of sacrifices and hymns to the erection of apotropaic statues.³² Some scholars have associated these inscriptions with the plague that ravaged the Roman Empire in the reign of Marcus Aurelius, but the connection is far from certain.³³ Other inscriptions have also been connected to the Antonine plague, such as a series of plaques set up in Latin at various places in the western provinces "to the gods and goddesses according to an interpretation of the oracle of Apollo at Claros" (*diis deabusque secundum interpretationem oraculi Clari Apollinis*); in these cases, however, the uncertainties are even greater.³⁴ As regards more abstract issues, we may consider a famous inscription from Oinoanda in Asia Minor:³⁵

Self-born, untaught, motherless, unshakeable, giving place to no name, many named, dwelling in fire, such is God: we are a portion of God, his angels. This, then, to the questioners about God's nature the god replied, calling him all-seeing Ether.

The phenomenon of what are conventionally known as "theological oracles," oracular responses to questions about the nature of the divine, has long been known from literary sources. Porphyry wrote an entire work entitled *Philosophy from Oracles*, now known only from later citations, and the oracle inscribed at Oinoanda was also quoted by Lactantius (*Div. Inst.* 1.7) and other Christian writers. Nevertheless, inscriptions provide the crucial evidence for the on-going importance of oracles in the lives of both individuals and communities.³⁶

For cities in the western provinces, the most substantial and in some ways most significant inscriptions are the town charters that survive from Spain (Table 15.2),

³¹ Robert 1984; van Nijf 2001.

³² Merkelbach and Stauber 1996: nos. 2, 4, 8, 9, 11, 18. English translation and discussion: Parke 1985: 15–17.

³³ For example, Graf 1992; cf. Graf 2007, reversing his earlier view.

³⁴ Jones 2005, 2006; *contra* Bruun 2012.

³⁵ Robert 1971, transl. Lane Fox 1986: 169; cf. Hall 1978.

³⁶ A vivid account of oracles in the imperial period in Lane Fox 1986: 168–261.

especially the colonial charter of the Colonia Genetiva Iulia (*CIL* II 5439 = *CIL* I² 594 = *ILS* 6087 = *RS* 25, with a new plaque: *AE* 2006, 645; Fig. 15.1). This document contains a wide range of regulations that concern the organization of public religion: magistrates were to supervise public sacrifices (chapter 128) and stage games in honour of the Capitoline Triad and Venus (70–71); there were to be *pontifices* and augurs, three each, who served for life and were granted various privileges (66–68); the town council was to determine the dates and organization of festival days and public rituals (64). The charter has proved to be a rich source for thinking about civic religion in the western provinces, providing as it does a framework within which to understand the organization of public religion both in new foundations and in indigenous settlements that were granted Roman status.³⁷

Although the local *pontifices* and augurs mandated by the charter are attested epigraphically in other western cities as well, they constitute a very small minority of known civic priests. Much more frequently encountered are priests of the emperors, who in the Latin-speaking provinces usually had the title of *flamen* or, in the case of female priests, *flaminica*.³⁸ So, for instance, at Eborā (Évora in Portugal) Laberia Galla, a *flaminica* of the *municipium*, who also held the flaminicate of the province of Lusitania, was honoured with a statue by five of her freedmen (*CIL* II 114):

	<i>Laberiae L(uci) f(iliae)</i>
	<i>Gallae flami-</i>
	<i>nicae munic(ipii)</i>
	<i>Eborensis fla-</i>
5	<i>minicae provin-</i>
	<i>ciae Lusitaniae</i>
	<i>L(ucius) Laberius Artemas</i>
	<i>L(ucius) Laberius Gallaecus</i>
	<i>L(ucius) Laberius Abascantus</i>
10	<i>L(ucius) Laberius Paris</i>
	<i>L(ucius) Laberius Lausus liberti</i>

Again, it is only from inscriptions like this one that we have any idea of how widespread and numerous these priesthoods were. A study of the imperial priesthoods in the African provinces, for example, lists some 275 municipal *flamines* for Africa Proconsularis alone.³⁹

Inscriptions also provide important evidence for the diversity of civic religious officials. Although *pontifices* and augurs and, to some extent, *flamines* were based on Roman models, there were other civic priesthoods in the provinces that had no analogues in Rome. One of the most important in Roman Carthage, for example, was that of Ceres, held on an annual basis by leading men of the city.⁴⁰ In Rome, the only

³⁷ Rives 1995: 28–51; Scheid 1999; Rüpke 2006.

³⁸ *Flaminicae* in the Latin west: Hemelrijk 2005, 2006, 2007.

³⁹ Bassignano 1974.

⁴⁰ Gascoü 1987; for civic priests in general, Ladage 1971; Delgado Delgado 2005.

priesthoods dedicated to individual gods were the ancient flaminates of Jupiter, Mars, and Quirinus, positions that were held for life. An annual priesthood was a very different institution, one apparently based more on Greek than on Roman models. Civic priesthoods can thus provide a striking indication of the extent to which provincial cities were free to determine their own religious institutions.

Inscriptions also provide us with some insight into the fuzzy line between “private” and “public” religious institutions in the cities of the Empire. We may take as an example the following dedication from Sarmizegethusa in Dacia (*CIL* III 7954 = *ILS* 4341):

diis patriis / Malagbel et Bebellaha/mon et Benefal et Mana/vat P(ublius) Ael(ius) Theimes Iiviral(is) / col(oniae) templum fecit solo et / inpendio suo pro se suisq(ue) / omnibus ob pietate ipsorum / circa se iussus ab ipsis fecit / et culinam subiunxit

To the ancestral gods Malagbel and Bebellahamon and Benefal and Manavat, P. Aelius Theimes, *duoviralis* of the colony, constructed a temple on his own land and at his own expense on behalf of himself and all his household because of the piety of those around him at their insistence and constructed a kitchen alongside.

Here we have a clear example of a private cult: Theimes, a native of Palmyra, built a shrine for his native gods on his own property for the use of his own household. Nevertheless, his status as a former chief magistrate of the city, and his care in advertising this status in his dedicatory inscription, lends the foundation a certain public air. From other inscriptions we may deduce that private shrines like this could at times acquire closer ties to public authorities. The small shrine of Sarapis in Carthage, for example, was apparently established by a private association of Greek-speaking residents, possibly merchants from Alexandria. Yet several of the dedicatory inscriptions from the shrine (for example, *CIL* VIII 1002, 1004 = *ILS* 4390, 4388) were made *d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)* (“by decree of the town council”), which implies some degree of public endorsement or at least approval of the cult.⁴¹

These examples from Sarmizegethusa and Carthage also illustrate another important phenomenon: the tendency for people to maintain the worship of their ancestral deities even when living in other parts of the Empire. As late as the early third century CE, for example, we find a group of Syrian auxiliaries serving at the camp at Intercisa in Pannonia Inferior venerating their local god Sol Elagabal (*RIU* V 1104 = *ILS* 9155; Fig. 20.5):

Deo / [So]li {A}Elagabalo pro / [s]alute Imp(eratorum) L(uci) Sep(timi) Severi / [Pi]i et M(arci) Aur(eli) Antoni(ni) Pii e/[t] C(ai) Sep(timi) Gatae (!) Caes(aris) Augg(ustorum) / [c]oh(ors) (milliaria) Anto(niniana) Hemes(enorum) c(ivium) R(omanorum) s(agittaria) / [c]ui sub Baebio Caeciliano / [leg(ato) A]ugg(ustorum) pr(a)eest Q(uintus) Mod(ius) Q(uinti) f(ilius) Quirina Rufinus trib(unus) / [te]mplum a solo extruxit

To the God Sol Elagabalus for the well-being of the emperors Septimius Severus, Caracalla, and Geta, the Antoninian milliary cohort of the Hemesenian archers, Roman citizens, commanded by the tribune Q. Modius Q.f. Rufinus (of the Roman

⁴¹ Rives 1995: 185–186, 212–214.



FIG. 20.5 Dedication to the Syrian god Sol Elagabal, set up by a cohort of Syrian archers at their camp at Intercisa, Pannonia. Hungarian National Museum, Budapest.

voting tribe) Quirina under the imperial governor Baebius Caecilianus, constructed a temple from the ground up.

The most familiar of such diaspora cults is that of the Jews, who tended to maintain distinct social and religious communities wherever they lived. Since literary sources contain only brief and usually hostile references to Jews, especially in the western parts of the Empire, we are again largely dependent on inscriptions for knowledge of their community organization, social practices, and geographical spread.⁴²

CONCLUSION

In such a brief survey it is not possible to do more than touch on a few aspects of what we can learn from inscriptions about religion in the Roman provinces. For some topics, inscriptions provide the crucial or even sole source of evidence: the variety of gods and the extent of their worship, the number and social location of their worshippers, the organization of religious institutions. Less obviously, inscriptions can also provide valuable insight into cultural assumptions about the nature of the gods and their

⁴² *JJWE* I–II (W. European provinces); *IJO* I–III (E. Europe; Asia Minor; Syria/Cyprus). Egypt: Horbury and Noy 1992. Africa: Le Bohec 1981, updated in Stern 2008.

interactions with mortals, and can help us explore, if not resolve, issues of cultural and religious identity. The important thing is to take care in framing the questions that we ask about religion in the Roman provinces; to the right questions, inscriptions can provide answers in abundance.

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CHAPTER 21

THE RISE OF CHRISTIANITY

DANILO MAZZOLENI

THE concept of “Christian epigraphy” as used in this chapter includes all epigraphic documents connected with early Christian communities. Traditionally its chronological limits run from the beginnings of Christianity to the end of the sixth century, the time of Pope Gregory the Great (590–604), which also marks the endpoint of the academic discipline known as “Early Christian Archaeology.”¹ Those written in Latin constitute the largest group of Christian inscriptions, and will be the main focus here. However, they represent only one section of Christian epigraphy, which also includes texts in Greek, Syriac, and Coptic.² Funerary inscriptions are by far the most numerous type, but there are also many dedications, building inscriptions, votive, exegetical, and devotional texts, as well as texts of good augury. It will be helpful to summarize briefly each of these types before concentrating on epitaphs.

Dedicatory inscriptions, as the term indicates, commemorate the consecration (i.e., “dedication”) primarily of cult buildings and altars containing relics. In many cases they indicate to whom the building belonged and name the bishop who presided at the dedicatory ceremony. These texts are especially common in North Africa and Spain. An inscription from Toletum (Toledo), dated to 592 by the first regnal year of the Visigothic king Reccared and by the Iberian era, is typical (*ICERV* 302): *in nomine d(omi)ni consecrata est ec(c)lesia s(an)ct(a)e Mari(a)e in catolico die pridie idus Aprilis (!) anno feliciter primo regni d(omi)ni nostri gloriosissimi Fl(avii) Reccaredi regis (a)era DCXXX.*

Votive inscriptions celebrate donations made to fulfil vows such as the gift of a liturgical object (ciborium, presbytery screen, or pulpit) or a contribution towards the costs of a mosaic floor in a church or baptistry. These become common during the fourth

¹ This discipline is specific to certain countries in W. Europe and is rarely found in anglophone settings. For an overview, Deichmann 1983.

² Early Christian Greek epigraphy: Guarducci 1978: 299–556.

century.³ An example is provided by one of the many mosaic inscriptions from the basilica of St. Euphemia at Grado (near Aquileia), dated to 579:⁴ *Iustinus notarius votum solvit* (“Iustinus, scribe, discharged his vow”).

Exegetic inscriptions explain images (mostly biblical) found in catacombs, churches, or baptistries or on small objects.⁵ Even though biblical episodes are easy to identify, such exegetic texts are often crucial for identifying the particular apostle, martyr, or clergy member depicted, except in the case of St. Peter and St. Paul, who already had a fixed iconography by the time of Diocletian.

Devotional texts took various forms. They demonstrate veneration towards certain martyrs, who are invoked to intercede on behalf of the person who set up the text.⁶ Within this category one should include those graffiti and epitaphs in which a person requested the aid of the saints to gain eternal salvation or commended a deceased relative to them. So, for example, in an inscription from the cemetery of St. Marcellinus and St. Peter in Rome one reads (*ICUR* VI 17192): *sancte Petre Marcelline suscipite vestrum alumnum* (“St. Peter, St. Marcellinus, take up your adopted son.”). Finally, those inscriptions that contain greetings or wishes for eternal life or for participation in the heavenly banquet may be classified as “texts of good augury.”⁷

Funerary inscriptions contain a great wealth of data. They contribute to our knowledge of many aspects of early Christianity which would otherwise remain unknown: the social composition of early Christian communities, and the various levels of the church hierarchy;⁸ the religiosity of individuals, including heretical and schismatic groups,⁹ their sentiments, culture, and language: for instance, everyday pronunciation and the gradual evolution of Latin (Ch. 33).¹⁰ Christian verse inscriptions, which share a number of features with non-Christian poetry, provide valuable information on culture and religious sentiment (Ch. 35).¹¹

A very small number of epitaphs include a date, which enhances their value for the social history of the early Christian community. Various dating mechanisms were used. Some include the names of the consuls, as in the cemetery of St. Valentine in Rome, in which, unusually, about one fifth of the epitaphs contain a consular date.¹² The practice of using indictions began in earnest in various regions in the fifth century;

³ Testini 1980: 484–486; Mazzoleni 1996; Carletti 2000a, 2008: 257–263; Vuolanto 2002. Eastern Empire (fourth and fifth centuries): Jouejati and Haensch 2010.

⁴ Caillet 1993: 250 no. 47.

⁵ Mazzoleni 2002: 30–33.

⁶ These can be classified as martyrial inscriptions: Testini 1980: 480–484; Carletti 2008: 265–308; Mazzoleni 2009a: 179–180.

⁷ Testini 1980: 405–412; Mazzoleni 2009a: 172.

⁸ Pani Ermini and Siniscalco 2000; Mazzoleni 2002: 39–48, 73–84.

⁹ Heretical groups: Mitchell 1993: 91–108 (Asia Minor); Tabernee 1997 (Montanists); Ferrua 1944 (Rome); Guarducci 1978: 530–533 (the Valentinian heresy).

¹⁰ Colafrancesco 1997.

¹¹ Catanzaro and Santucci 1993; Colafrancesco 1993.

¹² Mazzoleni 2002: 109.

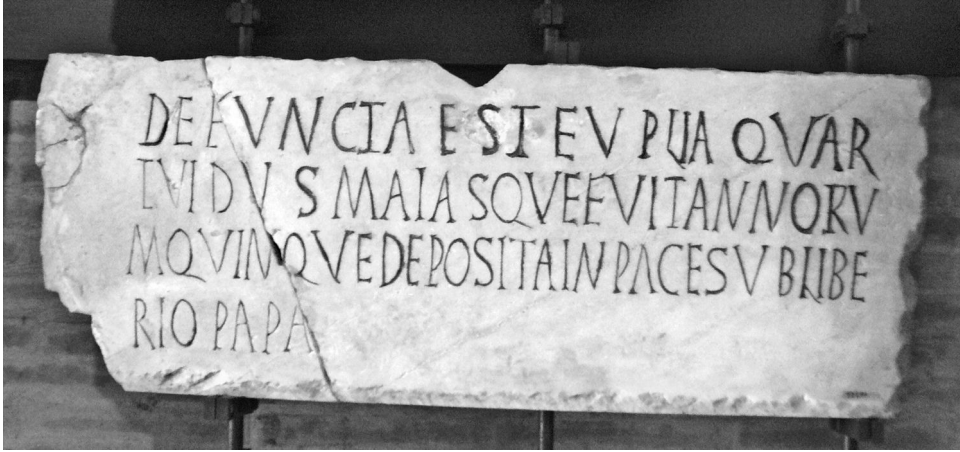


FIG. 21.1 Epitaph of the young girl Euplia, who died during the papacy of Liberius (352–366), from the catacomb of St. Callixtus, Rome. Musei Vaticani: Museo Pio Cristiano.

this system, based on a rotating cycle of fifteen years, was created by Diocletian for the purpose of taxing rural estates.¹³ It became common in the Byzantine Empire from Justinian onwards, and continued in use for a long period in many geographical regions; in Rome the last examples come from the Renaissance. A date expressed in this manner cannot, however, be precisely converted to a CE date unless other elements are present in the text. Starting in the fifth century, other methods of dating gradually began to spread, such as giving the year in office of the pope, a local bishop, or a “barbarian” ruler, or referring to a local era. So, for example, the epitaph from Rome of Euplia, who died aged five on 12 May “during the papacy of Liberius,” can be dated to the period 352 to 366, when Liberius was pope (*ICUR* IV 10852 = *ILCV* 966; Fig. 21.1):

defuncta est Euplia quartu(m) idus Maias qu(a)e fuit annorum quinque deposita in pace sub Liberio papa

In Spain the Iberian era was used, indicated by the term *æra*, which began in 38 BCE (for example, *ICERV* 302, quoted p. 445),¹⁴ while in Mauretania another era was adopted which began in 40 CE, the year in which the Roman province was constituted. Many other eras were in use in Egypt and the East, and examples of their use are found in Christian Greek epigraphy.¹⁵

In general, when a precise dating mechanism is lacking, it is not easy to date a Christian inscription (cf. Ch. 18). In Rome the majority of the epitaphs were produced

¹³ Silvagni 1944; Feissel 1993; cf. Ch. 18, p. 373.

¹⁴ Vives 1969: 177–185.

¹⁵ Leschhorn 1993; Di Vita-Évrard 1992; Lassère 2005: 909–915.

during the fourth century, because burials in catacombs came to an end in the early decades of the fifth century, when more and more worshippers were buried in tombs above ground without inscriptions. The latest dated inscription from a catacomb comes from the year 454 (*ICUR* II 4277).¹⁶

Since it is not possible to provide a thorough survey of all types of Christian inscriptions here, this chapter will focus in the main on funerary texts from the city of Rome, for which the published corpora provide exceptionally rich and exemplary tools for study, with only limited attention to the rest of Italy and the Roman Empire at large.

THE STUDY OF CHRISTIAN EPIGRAPHY SINCE THE RENAISSANCE

Interest in Christian epigraphy began in the Renaissance and one of its most important early practitioners was Antonio Bosio (1575–1629), who rediscovered many catacombs in Rome and published numerous epitaphs discovered in them in his work *Roma sotterranea*.¹⁷ In later centuries, four scholars have made particularly significant contributions: Gaetano Marini (1742–1815), Giovanni Battista de Rossi (1822–94), Angelo Silvagni (1872–1955), and Father Antonio Ferrua (1901–2003). Marini collected twelve thousand published and unpublished inscriptions from the entire early Christian world and arranged them for a publication which never took place (Ch. 2). They were divided according to genre and are contained in four Latin manuscripts preserved in the Vatican Library (BAV, *Cod. Vat. lat. 9071–74*). A small portion of them was later published in Rome by Cardinal Angelo Mai in the fifth volume of his *Scriptorum veterum nova collectio* (1831). De Rossi is considered the founder of the modern scholarly study of early Christian archaeology and epigraphy. During his lifetime he collected and commented on some twenty thousand inscriptions, which he intended for inclusion in *Inscriptiones Christianae Urbis Romae septimo saeculo antiquiores* (*ICUR*), only two volumes of which he managed to publish.¹⁸ Silvagni began as a specialist in medieval palaeography, but then took up the study of early Christian epigraphy. He was the first to teach this subject at the Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana in Rome and he continued, after a hiatus of several decades, the publication of *ICUR*. The first volume of the *nova series* appeared in 1922.¹⁹

Silvagni's successor in the Chair was his long-time assistant, the Jesuit father Antonio Ferrua. Under Ferrua's direction the publication of *ICUR* made great progress.

¹⁶ Fiocchi Nicolai 2009: 56–59.

¹⁷ Bosio 1634.

¹⁸ De Rossi 1861, 1888.

¹⁹ Mollicone 2005a.

He was able to see through to publication volumes III (jointly with Silvagni, who died in 1955) to IX. After Ferrua's death in 2003 sole editorial responsibility passed to the present author, who had become joint-editor from volume IX (1985) onwards. Ferrua contributed in a major way to the development of the field and during the twentieth century no one published more new inscriptions than he did.²⁰ While the already published volumes collected texts from the catacombs situated along the roads leading out of Rome, Volume XI (in preparation) incorporates inscriptions from the city itself, as well as necessary additions to the earlier volumes and comprehensive indices. The total number of early Christian inscriptions from Rome is now estimated to be around forty thousand.

For anyone interested in working on early Christian inscriptions in Latin from Italy and the West, the situation with regard to epigraphic corpora is very uneven outside Rome. For Italy, the series *Inscriptiones Christianae Italiae (ICI)* is in progress but very far from completion—by 2013 fifteen volumes have appeared. In France the *Recueil des inscriptions chrétiennes de la Gaule* began to appear in 1985 and so far three volumes have been published.²¹ For Spain, there are the corpora of Emil Hübner, *Inscriptiones Hispaniae Christianae (IHC)*, published in 1871 with a supplement in 1900, and José Vives, *Inscripciones cristianas de la España romana y visigoda (ICERV)*, published in 1969, both of which contain just Christian texts. Other works are now available that focus on individual regions or ancient cities, some of which include Christian texts alongside non-Christian ones.²²

In Germany, especially for the region of Trier, several good collections of Christian inscriptions have been published in recent decades,²³ while in the United Kingdom there are relatively up-to-date collections for certain areas and also some recent overviews of considerable interest.²⁴ In Croatia (ancient Dalmatia) a complete edition containing all late antique and Christian inscriptions of Salona appeared in 2010 (*Salona IV*), comprising 825 texts, 742 in Latin, 83 in Greek. Several regional corpora are available for North Africa,²⁵ and a useful survey by Noël Duval provides a synthesis of the situation within Christian communities in the region, underscoring the particular contribution to our knowledge provided by epigraphy.²⁶ Some Christian inscriptions can also be found in other epigraphic corpora and publications, such as the volumes of the *CIL* and in *L'Année Epigraphique*.

Early in the twentieth century, handbooks of Christian epigraphy were published by Marucchi, Kaufmann, and Grossi Gondi, and there is much useful material in the

²⁰ Mazzoleni 2004; Mollicone 2005b.

²¹ Gauthier 1975; Descombes 1985; Prévot 1997.

²² *IRC I–IV*; Pastor Muñoz and Mendoza Eguaras 1987; Ramírez Sábada and Mateos Cruz 2000. *CIL II*² includes Christian texts up to the end of the Visigothic period.

²³ Gose 1958; Krämer 1974; Merten 1990.

²⁴ Nash-Williams 1950; Okasha 1993; Tedeschi 1994, 1995.

²⁵ Ennabli 1975, 1982, 1991, 2000; Duval and Prévot 1975; Duval 1981; Prévot 1984.

²⁶ Duval 1988.

epigraphic section of Testini's work on early Christian archaeology.²⁷ Recently Carlo Carletti in his last work on Christian epigraphy commented on a selected group of texts dating to the third to seventh centuries from the western Mediterranean.²⁸

EARLY CHRISTIAN ONOMASTICS: DO PERSONAL NAMES REVEAL CHRISTIANS?

With a few early exceptions, Christian funerary epigraphy developed from the early third century onwards, when communal burial grounds began to be used, both above ground and below (i.e., the earliest phases of the catacombs). These inscriptions are characterized by a formulaic structure, containing just the deceased's name, sometimes combined with early Christian symbols such as an anchor, a fish, or the figure of a worshipper praying (i.e., in the *orans* pose), which all derive from the figurative repertoire of Classical art but are given a new meaning that alludes to Christ and salvation.²⁹

The onomastic practices of early Christians reveal some interesting features of their beliefs, although sometimes these have been misunderstood.³⁰ Early Christian epitaphs date to a period when the *tria nomina* system was falling into disuse. Thus, the use of a single name is predominant among both men and women, although cases of *duo nomina* are found, even during the fourth or fifth centuries; the *praenomen* is, however, exceedingly rare.³¹ Nor are cases of *duo nomina* found solely in culturally conservative or provincial contexts, as is shown by the case of the fishmonger Iulius Marius Silvanus from the catacombs of St. Peter and St. Marcellinus just outside Rome (*ICUR* VI 16291):

*Iulius Marius Silvanus
et Iulia Martina v<i>vi
fecerunt sibi ut in
deo vivant*

Iulius Marius Silvanus and Iulia Martina set this up when they were still alive so that they might live in God.

Most of the names used by Christians were also used by non-Christians, and many of them have a Greek or, occasionally, Near Eastern etymology.³² Until the end of the fifth century the use of so-called barbarian (i.e., non-Latin and non-Greek) names is still

²⁷ Marucchi 1910, 1912 (English translation); Kaufmann 1917; Grossi Gondi 1920; Testini 1980: 327–543.

²⁸ Carletti 2008; cf. Cuscito 2009.

²⁹ Carletti 1997: 144–145. *Orans* pose: Fig. 21.5.

³⁰ Kajanto 1997; Mazzoleni 2009a: 155–159.

³¹ Solin 2003b: 16; cf. Appendix III.

³² Solin 2003b: 21, indicating that Latin *cognomina* were much commoner in Christian epitaphs and represent a clear majority in the fourth century CE.

quite rare,³³ although in some regions, for instance Britain, Thrace, and North Africa, native names such as Boduoci, Buraidus, or Medden appear with a certain frequency.³⁴ In particular, two onomastic features of early Christians are somewhat surprising: the number of pagan theophoric names (sometimes borne by members of the clergy) and the relatively small number of names with a distinctly “Christian” character. Here it is obvious that, on the one hand, *cognomina* such as Dionysius, Mercurius, Posidonius, or Eros had long since become accepted as popular names and evidently no connection was being made to the pagan gods from whom they derived.³⁵

On the other hand, it was always possible for the individual believer to choose a name of a Christian nature, connected with religious concepts such as salvation, hope, or resurrection or with liturgical concepts such as Lent, Easter, or Pentecost: for example, Anastasius (alluding to the resurrection), Refrigerius (a reference to the heavenly banquet), Martyrius (relating to the faith of the martyrs), Renovatus, Renatus (“reborn to a new life”), Quadragesima (the Latin word for Lent), Paschasius (deriving from the Greek word for Easter, *Pascha*), Agape, Irene, Spes (connected to the Christian virtues of love, peace, and hope), Redemptus (“redeemed one”). These names, however, are infrequently attested and are not found in all the parts of the early Christian world.

A particular group of names contain abbreviated Christian phrases or sentences, such as Quodvultdeus (“what God wills”), Habetdeus (“God holds”), Deusdedit (“God gave”), Adeodata (“Given by God”), Deogratias (“Thanks to God”), or Spesindeo (“Hope in God”). These were favoured above all by believers in North Africa and by emigrants from that region.³⁶ Names of clear Biblical origin such as Maria, Ioannes, Helias, Susanna, or Iosephus are rare,³⁷ and the veneration of a particular saint did not markedly influence the onomastic habits of communities that thrived next to the site where the saint’s relics were preserved.³⁸ Some theophoric *cognomina* were not used exclusively by Christians; names such as Theodorus, Theodora, Theophilus, and Theophila were already known in Rome in “pagan” contexts in the first century CE.³⁹

As in non-Christian inscriptions, one also finds the use of *supernomina* or *signa* in Christian texts, albeit only sporadically. These names are joined to the *cognomen* with a formulaic expression such as *qui et vocatur* (“who is also called”), *signo* or *nomine* (“by the name of”), *id est* or *sive* (“that is so say”, “or”).⁴⁰ It has been suggested that a name such as this was bestowed at the time of baptism by adding it to the name given at birth,

³³ Mazzoleni 1976.

³⁴ Boduoci: Radford 1948: 339 fig. 5; Buraidus: Beševliev 1964: 12 no. 12; Medden: *CIL* VIII 11126 = *ILCV* 2834.

³⁵ Kajanto 1965; Solin 2003a, 2003b: 29.

³⁶ Duval 1977: 451.

³⁷ Kajanto 1997: 109.

³⁸ Mazzoleni 2009b: 677–678. However, the names of the apostles Peter and Paul, both buried in Rome, are ranked fifteenth and twenty-first, respectively, among the most frequent names in Rome’s catacombs: Solin 2003b: 29–30.

³⁹ Kajanto 1989, 1997: 109–110; Solin 2003a: 78–81, 85–87.

⁴⁰ Kajanto 1966; Ch. 18; cf. Appendix III.

but there are no clear indications that this was generally the case. The theory may, however, apply in certain individual cases, such as that of little Pascasius, “born with the name Severus,” who died on 29 April 463 eight days after receiving the sacrament of baptism (*ICUR VI 15895*):

natu Severi nomine Pascasius
dies pascales prid(ie) no<n>(as) Aprile(s)
die Iobis Fl(avio) Constantino
et Rufo v(iris) c(larissimis) cons(ulibus) qui vixit
5 *annorum VI percepit*
XI kal(endas) Maias et albas suas
octabas Pascae ad sepulcrum
deposuit d(ie) III kal(endas) Mai(as) Fl(avio) Basilio v(iro) c(larissimo)
c(o)n(s)ule]

Pascasius, born with the name Severus, during the Easter season on Thursday 4 April in the consulship of the illustrious Flavius Constantinus and Rufus, who lived six years. He was baptized on 21 April and deposited his eight-day white baptismal robes of Easter in his tomb on 29 April in the consulship of the illustrious Flavius Basilius.

It has been argued that certain single names such as *Renatus*, *Renovatus*, and *Reparatus* could have “a clear baptismal significance.”⁴¹ As regards *signa*, an unexpected feature occurs: names ending in *-ius* that appear to be male are used by women, as in the case of Iallia Clementina, whose name appears later in the same inscription from the catacombs of St. Callixtus in Rome as *Viventius* (*ICUR IV 9406*), or Statia *qui et Poemenius* (“also called Poemenius”) from the cemetery of St. Valentine (*ICUR X 27451*).⁴²

Conflicting views have developed regarding a particular category of names known as “names of humility”; i.e., names which have a degrading or unflattering etymology, or which are derived from animals that were commonly associated with negative qualities. Such names include *Iniuriosus* (“Hurtful”), *Clamosus* (“Noisy”), *Pannosus* (“Shrivelled”), *Lascivus* (“Wanton”), *Importunus* (“Troublesome”), *Calumniosus* (“Malicious”), *Furiosus* (“Mad”), *Fastidiosus* (“Disdainful”), *Molestus* (“Annoying”), and *Superbus* (“Arrogant”). In one case of the latter (*ICUR V 13954*, dated to 405 CE), the son was arrogant in name only, as is pointed out by the father who carried out his son’s burial in the catacombs of Praetextatus in Rome. Names referring to animals include *Asellica* (“Little Ass”), *Asellus* (“Ass”), *Onager* (“Wild Ass”), *Mus* (“Mouse”), and *Vespula* (“Little Wasp”).⁴³ It has sometimes been argued that certain Christians assumed such discreditable names to fulfil a vow of everlasting humility.⁴⁴ There are two main objections to this

⁴¹ Lambert 2008: 120

⁴² Kajanto 1966: 87, 90. On the use of *signa* or *agnomina* with masculine endings for women, Kajanto 1963: 41–43.

⁴³ Kajanto 1966: 325–334 (*cognomina* derived from fauna). *Asellica*, *Onager*, and *Vespula* are known only among Christian inscriptions. *Asellus* is fairly common in both pagan and Christian epitaphs; *Mus* appears mostly in non-Christian texts.

⁴⁴ Kajanto 1962; Sgarlata 1991: 134–137; Mazzoleni 2009a: 158.

explanation. First, it must often have been parents who chose such names, not the individuals themselves, and therefore its use does not always reflect personal piety or humility. Secondly, most of these names also appear in non-Christian inscriptions, where they clearly did not fulfil any religious or ideological purpose. One may thus conclude that the names had lost their original meaning and were simply the result of personal choice.⁴⁵

Rather different is another group of *cognomina* such as Proiectus, Proiecticius, Stercorius, which literally mean “exposed” or “abandoned among the rubbish.” Such names are fairly common and may have a connection to the social status of believers, who had been abandoned by their natural parents and adopted by charitable Christian families. That this was a common practice is shown by the large number of *alumni*, i.e., adopted children, mentioned in Christian epitaphs: for example, the *alumnus* Stercorius, buried in the catacombs of Praetextatus (*ICUR* V 15307).⁴⁶

EPITAPHS AND THE EXPRESSION OF CHRISTIAN BELIEFS

As Christian epitaphs became more common, certain formulaic expressions appear in them that refer to distinctly Christian concepts. Among the first such formulae is the phrase *pax tibi* or *pax tecum* (“Peace be with you,” addressing the deceased). This can be found in Rome, Volsinii (near Bolsena, with the addition *cum sanctis*, “with the righteous ones”),⁴⁷ and in Gallia Narbonensis (sometimes with the addition *aeterna*) (*CIL* XII 850, 971, 1506). These express the hope that the departed may be able to enjoy eternal peace, the supreme goal of human life. The same idea is conveyed, especially from the mid-third century onwards, with the verb *refrigerare* and the noun *refrigerium*, which reflect the desire that a loved one may partake in the heavenly banquet. Expressions such as *Dominus refrigeret spiritum tuum* (“May the Lord nourish your soul”) (*ICUR* V 15402, X 26369) or *refrigeres in nomen (!) Chr(ist)i in pace* (“May you find nourishment in the name of Christ in peace”) are used in this context.⁴⁸

By far the most common expression, however, is *in pace*, which, depending on the context, can have three slightly different meanings. If it occurs with verbs like *quiescere*, *requiescere*, or *dormire*, it refers to eternal rest. This is illustrated in the fourth-century epitaph for Germanio from Aquileia, in which the expression *fedelis in pace receses* (for *recessit*) appears (*CIL* V 1664 = *I.Aquileia* III 3076; Fig. 21.2):

*benemeritus Germa-
nio qui bix(i)t annus (!) XXX
me(n)sis III dies VII fede-*

⁴⁵ Kajanto 1965: 286–287.

⁴⁶ Saviato 1999; Koskenniemi 2009.

⁴⁷ Carletti 1985: xiii.

⁴⁸ Corda 1999: TUR (Turrus Libisonis) no. 10.



FIG. 21.2 Epitaph of Germanio, who died aged 30 years, 3 months, 7 days on 7 April, including the Christian expression *fedelis in pace*. Museo Paleocristiano, Aquileia.

5 *lis in pace rece-*
 ses septimu
 idus ◁columba▷ monogramma Christi ◁columba▷
 A(p)r(i)l(es)

On the other hand, if it is joined with a subjunctive of the verb *vivere* (*vivas in pace*) and perhaps also with the genitive *Christi* or the Chi-Rho Christogram (“that you may live in the peace of Christ”), it refers to heavenly peace (for example, *ICUR VII 20366*). Finally, the expression *in pace* may be a reminder that the deceased has lived at peace with his or her own conscience, following divine precepts, where the verb is used in the perfect (*vixit in pace*), as often occurs in North Africa and occasionally elsewhere.⁴⁹ It is difficult to choose between the first and second interpretation when the sentence is elliptical (i.e., where the verb is omitted) and the inscription simply reads *Bincentia in pace* (*ICUR V 13229*) or *Proculo in pace* (*ICUR III 6873*). Furthermore, *in pace* can assume the meaning of communion with the Catholic church, as in the epitaph of the Goth Herila, who died *in pace fidei catholic(a)e*, probably after he had converted to the Catholic faith from Arianism (*ICUR X 27357a*).

The concept of peace also appears in Jewish epitaphs, sometimes in the expression *in pace*, other times as a greeting (*shalom*) placed outside the main text in Hebrew lettering, and, more often, especially when written in Greek, as a greeting “(May) your rest (be) in

⁴⁹ Prévot 1984: nos. X 13, 14, 20, 21, 23 (all from Mactar).

peace,” which harks back to passages in the Bible.⁵⁰ In Christian texts blessings such as “life in God” or “life in Christ” are found not only in epitaphs but also in non-funerary mosaic floor inscriptions, on gilded glass vessels,⁵¹ or in pious graffiti executed by believers.⁵² They are expressed in rather simple terms, such as:

Cyriace vibas (on a mosaic from Aquileia)⁵³

Fortunate, vib(as) in Chr(isto) (ICUR IX 25206, a marble plaque from the catacombs of Priscilla, Rome)

Eytyci, bibas / in Deo (ICUR X 26361, a painted inscription from the catacombs of Pamphilus, Rome) (Fig. 21.3)

Eventually other expressions turn up in Christian epitaphs, stressing belief in God, Christ, the Trinity, and life after death. These are all fundamental concepts in Christian doctrine and are often expressed in rather conventional ways, but sometimes in original and even striking phrases. Besides using standard inscriptions supplied by stonecutters, Christian believers evidently could choose to compose epitaphs according to



FIG. 21.3 A late third-century painted inscription on plaster from the catacombs of Pamphilus, Rome, containing a pious injunction urging Eutichius to live a godly life. In situ.

⁵⁰ *CIJ*, p. cxxxii–cxxxiii.

⁵¹ Morey 1959; Zanchi Roppo 1969.

⁵² Binsfeld 2001 (Trier, in the Church of Our Lady).

⁵³ Mazzoleni 1996: 221–229.

their own preferences, and the results are so varied that space does not allow a complete account of them.⁵⁴ The phrases *credesti in Deo* (“you believed in God”) and *vives in Christo* (“you will live in Christ”) appear in the fourth-century epitaph of the young girl Aproniana from the catacombs of Pamphilus in Rome (*ICUR X 26329*). Other examples include: *Quintilianus homo Dei confirmans Trinitatem, amans castitatem, respuens mundum, requiescit...* (“Quintilianus, a man of God, believing strenuously in the Trinity, loving chastity, refuting wordly matters, rests...”; *ICUR I 3221*); *Aedesius neofitus qui credidit in Patre et Filio et Spiritu Sancto natione Armenius...* (“the neophyte Aedesius, who believed in the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, of Armenian nationality...”; *ICUR V 13443*); *Lupicinus... resurrecturus cum sanctis* (“Lupicinus... is to rise again in the company of the blessed souls”);⁵⁵ *Concordia... innocens in caelis habetur* (“the innocent Concordia... is received in Heaven”);⁵⁶ *puella dulcia Adeodata a sanctis marturibus suscepta* (“the sweet girl Adeodata, received by the holy martyrs”).⁵⁷

Not infrequently one finds quotations from the Old and New Testaments. They reveal that various versions of the Bible were used: the *Vetus Latina*, the Vulgate of St. Jerome, or the Septuagint.⁵⁸ Most common are passages from the psalms, as in the epitaph from Caralis (Cagliari) in Sardinia of Gaudiosus, an *optio draconarius* (a military officer), who died at the age of 24, which in lines 1–5 cites part of Psalm 50 from the Roman Psalter (Fig. 21.4):⁵⁹

*miserere mei Deus secundum magna(m)
misericordiam tuam et secundum
multitudinem miserationum tuarum
dele iniquitatem meam. amplius laba me
5 ab iniustitia mea et a delicto meo munda m{a}e.*

In its readings *ab iniustitia mea* and *a delicto meo* the text differs from the Vulgate version, which reads *ab iniquitate mea* and *a peccato meo*.

Christian inscriptions also contain prayers of various kinds. Some are addressed to God and the martyrs on behalf of the deceased, others to the departed, asking that they intercede on behalf of their surviving relatives. Sometimes the inscription may quote the deceased, soliciting the prayers of the living. A few examples provide an idea of the various types that are encountered (as well as of the level of the Latin): *martures / sancti boni / benedicti bos (!) / atiutate (!) Quiracu (!)* (“Holy martyrs, good and blessed, help Cyriacus!”) (*ICUR X 26350*); *commando Bassila innocentia (!) Gemelli* (“I recommend, Bassilla, the innocence of Gemellus!”) (*ICUR X 27034*); *C(h)riste, ora pro tuos omnes* (“C(h)ristus, pray for all your family members!”) (*ICUR VII 20390*); *pete*

⁵⁴ Mazzoleni 2009a: 172–173.

⁵⁵ Descombes 1985: no. 49.

⁵⁶ Ristow 1980: 70 fig. 71.

⁵⁷ Manconi 2006: 231–233.

⁵⁸ Felle 2006.

⁵⁹ Corda 1999: CAR (Calaris) no. 32.



FIG. 21.4 Epitaph of a military officer from Caralis, Sardinia, fifth century CE. The first five lines cite part of Psalm 50. Museo Archeologico, Cagliari.

pro parentes tuos Matronata Matrona (“Plead for your parents, Matronata Matrona!”) (*ICUR I 1692*); *vos precor, o fratres, orare huc quando veni[tis] et precibus totis patrem natumque rogatis ut Deus omnipotens Agapen in saecula servet* (“I beseech you, brothers, to pray when you come here and that in all your prayers you ask the Father and the Son that Almighty God may preserve Agape for ever!”) (*ICUR IX 25962b*).

In addition to such prayers and indications of strong religious belief, there are examples of human grief, the pain at having lost a loved one, often prematurely. Thus, at Aquileia, the veteran [Au]relius Fortunatus turns to his wife, with whom he had had six children: *non gratulor quod ante tempus me decipisti et natos tuos nutricos* (“I am sorry that before the proper time you abandoned me and the children you brought up” (*I. Aquileia III 2924*),⁶⁰ and the parents of the young Aurelia Maria confess that *dum vivent habent magnum dolorem* (“while alive, they feel great pain”), but then turn straight to the martyrs: *martures sancti, in mente havite (!) Maria(m) (!)* (“Holy martyrs, remember Maria!”) (*I. Aquileia III 2925*).⁶¹

⁶⁰ Vergone 2007: 197–199 no. 76.

⁶¹ Vergone 2007: 70–74 no. 8.



FIG. 21.5 Epitaph of Leo, emphasizing his date of death. The plaque includes key elements of Christian imagery with a Christogram (XP), a praying male figure in the *orans*-pose with arms outstretched, and a dove. Musei Vaticani: Museo Pio Cristiano.

Another question connected with Christian funerary formulae concerns the date of deposition in the tomb, which normally coincided with the date of death; if not, the difference in date seems to have been mentioned (for example, *ICI X 22a*, Tolentinum in Picenum). Scholars used to think that this practice was peculiar to Christian epitaphs,⁶² but this has recently been questioned; and it has also been argued that the terms *depositus/a* and *depositio* appear in Christian epitaphs only from the last decade of the third century onwards.⁶³ It is true that from the second century until the Constantinian period the date of deposition is mentioned in a few funerary inscriptions that are not explicitly Christian,⁶⁴ but for at least some of these, especially from the third century, it cannot be excluded that they were produced in a Christian environment, as, for example, at Clusium (*ICI XI 41–42*). Yet in some cases the date of death is indeed mentioned in pagan Latin inscriptions (this does not occur in Greek texts), but the proportion of such texts among the mass of non-Christian epitaphs is minuscule, while in Christian epigraphy it is so common as to be one of the most frequent formulaic features.⁶⁵ This is because the day on which death occurred was considered the *dies natalis* of the person in question, the day of birth into the afterlife, an event to be remembered with joy by parents and friends of the deceased. For example, in a fourth-century epitaph in the Vatican Museum, the date of death of Leo on 24 June is emphasized by its placement in the first line (*ICUR VI 15620*; Fig. 21.5):

ottabu (= octavo) calendas Iulias Leo(nti) benemerenti qui vixit annus (!) XXVI dies XXX

⁶² Testini 1980: 394–395.

⁶³ Lambert 2008: 34.

⁶⁴ Carletti 2004, 2008: 45–46.

⁶⁵ Carletti 2008: 47.

EPITAPHS AND THE CULT OF MARTYRS AND SAINTS

References to the cult of martyrs, expressed in various ways in inscriptions, are among the most important characteristics of early Christian discourse, especially from the fourth century onwards.⁶⁶ Above all the epigrams by Pope Damasus (366–384) played an important role in this process. The pope did his utmost to promote the veneration of the memory of these witnesses to the faith, assisted by the calligrapher Furius Dionysius Philocalus.⁶⁷ The elegant letters which the latter designed and employed to inscribe Pope Damasus' verses are quite distinct and later imitations do not reach the level and technical mastery of the originals. The quality of Damasus' poetry is not comparable to that of the golden period of Latin poetry, but his verses reveal a high level of classical learning and express powerful sentiments. In addition, they provide otherwise unknown information about martyrs. Only two stone slabs with his poems have survived more or less intact;⁶⁸ fragments of some other compositions of various lengths are preserved, while still more are known solely through transcriptions in epigraphic manuscripts.⁶⁹

Epitaphs also contain useful information on martyrs, for instance, regarding the site of their tombs. Thus, in the catacombs of Priscilla, the married couple Felicissimus and Leoparda state that they have acquired a tomb for two people (a *bisomum*) close to the entrance to the chamber of the martyr Crescentio (*at Criscent[ionem in] introit[u]* or *at Criscent[ionis] introit[um]*; *ICUR IX 25165*), while the *arcosolium* of Iovina in the catacombs of St. Callixtus was located next to the tomb of St. Gaius, previously pope (*arco[s]olium in Callisti at domn[um] Gaium*; *ICUR IV 9924*). Such a location was considered a great privilege, as apparently stated on an inscription from Velitrae recording that a woman received a tomb [*intra l]imina sanctorum*, a privilege "which many wish for, but few receive" (*[quod multi cupiu]n(t), sed rari accipiun(t)*; *ICUR I 3127 = ILCV 2148*, dated to 382).⁷⁰ Concerning indirect references to martyrs, the case of Iulia Asinia Felicissima from Clusium in Etruria is quite unusual; it is claimed that she was a relative of the martyr Mustiola, after whom catacombs outside the town were named: *ex genere Mustiol(a)e sanctae* (*ICI XI 1*).

References to saints are also found in votive inscriptions. In the catacombs of St. Alexander on the Via Nomentana a worshipper Delicatus donated the marble screen (*transenna*) of an altar in honour of two local martyrs Eventius and Alexander (*ICUR VIII 22958*: [*s(an)c(t)is martyrib(us) Eventio] et Alexandro Delicatus voto posuit*), while in the cemetery of Commodilla, a certain Adeostatus (i.e., Adeodatus) made

⁶⁶ Mazzoleni 2005.

⁶⁷ Ferrua 1942; Carletti 2000b.

⁶⁸ Ferrua 1942: 144–148 no. 21; 175–178 no. 37.

⁶⁹ Mazzoleni 2008.

⁷⁰ Carletti 1994.

a similar offering to honour the martyr Adautus (*ICUR* II 6020). In the Basilica of the Five Martyrs at Kapliuč, near Salona in Croatia, a donation is mentioned on the fifth-century mosaic floor that resulted from the fulfilment of a vow to the local martyr Asterius (*votum fecit ad martirem Asterium*) (*Salona* IV 65).⁷¹

Closely connected with the cult of the martyrs and the ensuing phenomenon of pilgrimage are the numerous graffiti found in many catacombs and other sacred sites in the early Christian world. They were inscribed both by men of the church and by ordinary worshippers, above all in the vicinity of cult places. These epigraphic records, often difficult to interpret, may serve as a useful indication of the presence (or vicinity) of the tomb of a martyr. Their content is very varied, as is their chronology. The oldest, in the so-called *triclia* (dining-room) of the Apostolic Memorial (in memory of the apostles Peter and Paul) on the Via Appia outside Rome (on the site of the later catacombs of St. Sebastian), is dated to the second half of the third century, while the most recent graffiti in the Roman catacombs come from as late as the early ninth century, when the remains of martyrs were moved to more central locations and the catacombs abandoned. Often only one name is mentioned in a graffito, sometimes with a mention of the worshipper's town of origin, while in other cases an ecclesiastical title, such as presbyter, is included. The names of monks can also be found (*ICUR* X 26315).

The graffiti are, moreover, especially valuable when they cite or refer to a martyr buried in a particular cemetery. For instance, the discovery of the name of St. Pamphilus—*s(an)c(tu)s Panfilu(s)* (*ICUR* X 26317)—scratched by an anonymous worshipper on the wall of a small room in the catacombs of the same name along the ancient Via Salaria has permitted the firm identification of the martyr venerated there.⁷² A graffito from the catacombs of Priscilla in Rome calls for the help of the martyr Crescentio, calling him “my light”: *salva me, dom(i)ne Crescentionem (!) meam (!) luce (!)* (*ICUR* IX 24853).⁷³

THE SOCIAL HISTORY OF THE EARLY CHRISTIANS

Christian epitaphs also allow us to understand various aspects of social history. With greater frequency from around the mid-fourth century they provide information about the professions of Christian worshippers. Non-Christian epitaphs also mention occupations, but Christians attributed particular significance to work. To be engaged in useful labour was considered a social obligation; such an occupation provided the only acceptable means by which to support oneself and allowed one to engage in acts

⁷¹ Caillet 1993: 387–388.

⁷² Mazzoleni 1990–91: 108–113; 2002: 97–106.

⁷³ The author, we must presume, intended to use the vocative case throughout.



FIG. 21.6 Funerary plaque of the Christian grain merchant Maximinus, showing him alongside a grain-measure (*modius*) overflowing with grain. The epitaph reads: *Maximinus qui vixit annos XXIII / amicus omnium*: “Maximinus who lived twenty-three years, everybody’s friend (is buried here).” Musei Vaticani: Museo Pio Cristiano.

of charity through the donation of part of one’s earnings. At the same time idleness and laziness were harshly condemned and were considered serious faults in a Christian believer.⁷⁴

The occupations practised by the early Christians could also be emphasized by a figural illustration that accompanied the text, scratched on its inscribed surface. Thus one finds representations of Christians engaged in their profession or the tools that they used: scales, chisels, casks, axes, scissors, pruning-hooks, hammers, surgical tools, and musical instruments. An example is provided by the epitaph of Maximinus, a grain merchant at Rome (*ICUR* I 1695; Fig. 21.6).⁷⁵ Numerous professions and activities are mentioned in commerce and manufacture, in the liberal professions, and in the offices of the imperial bureaucracy; even members of the equestrian or senatorial order can be found.⁷⁶ Sometimes occupations are mentioned that are otherwise unattested, as

⁷⁴ Mazzoleni 2009a: 160–161.

⁷⁵ Bisconti 2000.

⁷⁶ Mazzoleni 2002: 39–48, 73–84.

in the case of the *elefantarius* Olympus from the cemetery of Commodilla at Rome (*ICUR* II 6111)—he was either a merchant of ivory objects or an elephant trainer for the circus games—or the *pr(i)m(icerius) pe(n)sorum* Barsaina from Tergeste (Trieste) (perhaps the foreman of those involved in weighing the fish-catches in the town),⁷⁷ or the *lagunara* Leontia from the catacombs of Praetextatus (*ICUR* V 15389): a seller of bottles (*lagoenae*) or of pancakes (*lagana*).

Such inscriptions permit the rejection of certain commonly held notions: for instance, (1) that Christians did not engage in any activities connected with public spectacles, an idea that derives from the works of certain uncompromising early Christian writers such as Tertullian, and (2) that they did not embark on military careers, allegedly because they were conscientious objectors. Regarding the former, there is undeniable proof to the contrary, namely inscriptions of mimes (*ICUR* V 13655), tight-rope walkers (*catadromarii*) (*ICUR* V 13698), and charioteers (*aurigae, agitatores*) (*ICUR* II 4905; *I.Aquileia* III 2929) that show that Christians were able to engage in such activities, obviously provided that they did not contravene any of the rules of their religion. As for enrolment in the army, Christians can be found in practically every kind of unit, from the praetorians (*ICUR* VIII 21683) to the *equites singulares* (until they were dissolved by Constantine) (*ICUR* VIII 21973), from the cavalry (*ICUR* IX 25033, 25302, 25346) to members of the imperial guard, the *protectores domestici* (*CIL* VI 32939 = *ICUR* II 5195 = *ILS* 2785a = *ILCV* 467).

Inscriptions show that the role of women was not restricted to small-scale commercial or artisanal activities. Some women had jobs of clear distinction among their contemporaries, like Irene, *condu(c)t(rix) m(assae) Trapeianae*, who was a lessee of a large estate in the territory of Tropea, in Calabria (*ICI* V 14). Many female members of senatorial families engaged in acts of euergetism, for instance as donors of mosaic floors in religious buildings, like the two *clarissimae feminae* Toribius and Immola in the Basilica of St. Felix and St. Fortunatus at Vicetia (Vicenza).⁷⁸

Not surprisingly, there are also references in Christian epigraphy to members of the ecclesiastical hierarchy. On this topic one may usefully consult the volumes in the series *Prosopographie chrétienne du Bas Empire*, which is based at least in part on epigraphic material.⁷⁹ The earliest dated inscription mentioning a member of the clergy is thought to be the epitaph of Pope Anteros (not surprisingly written in Greek), who was buried in the so-called Crypt of the Popes in the catacombs of St. Callixtus in 236 (*ICUR* IV 10558). In the same cemetery one encounters the first known instance of the title *p(a)p(a)*, namely in the funerary inscription of the deacon Severus, in which Pope Marcellinus (296–304) is referred to in this manner (*ICUR* IV 10183).

Starting in the second half of the third century, but above all in the fourth, various levels in the ecclesiastical hierarchy begin to be mentioned in epitaphs, both so-called major offices (presbyters, archdeacons, deacons, subdeacons, acolytes), as

⁷⁷ Caillet 1993: 284 no. 15.

⁷⁸ Caillet 1993: 90 no. 4; Vuolanto 2002: 277. General discussion: Mazzoleni 1996; Vuolanto 2002.

⁷⁹ Italy: Pietri and Pietri 1999–2000; North Africa: Mandouze 1982.

well as “minor” ones (lectors, exorcists, door-keepers or *ostiarrii*).⁸⁰ Our documentation is, however, rather uneven. Many bishops appear (in some metropolitan dioceses, like Ravenna, there was instead an *archiepiscopus*, archbishop) and even more *presbyteri* (“priests”) or deacons, while relatively few acolytes (*ICUR* I 3542, IV 12303; *CIL* VIII 13426), exorcists (*ICUR* VI 15700, X 27138; *CIL* V 5428), and *ostiarrii* (*CIL* III 14305 = *Salona* IV 271) are known, as is to be expected when we are dealing with lower ranks.

For a certain period of time, *fossores* (“grave-diggers”), who were responsible for digging the catacombs, also found a place in the ecclesiastical hierarchy, albeit on the third level up from the bottom. The Church also entrusted them with the task of selling the tombs in the cemeteries.⁸¹ There are many attestations of such *fossores*, both in epitaphs, sometimes accompanied by images in the form of graffiti (*ICUR* II 6446, IV 12228), and as sellers of tombs in the various catacombs, or as witnesses to such transactions (*ICUR* I 1282, II 6077, 6102, IV 11751).

There is also epigraphic evidence for occupations that served the Church: for example, *cubicularii*, who were established in the times of Leo the Great (440–461) to guard the *cubicula* (resting places) of the martyrs and their relics (*ICUR* VII 17759, 17865), notaries, who guarded the interests of individual churches (*ICUR* IX 25812), and, among female worshippers, widows, who formed organized communities perhaps already before the Constantinian period (*ICUR* I 1705, X 26377, 27148), and some deaconesses (often encountered in the East, but much less in the West), whose duties included social assistance and charity (*CIL* III 12885, 13845, both from Dalmatia).

EPIGRAPHY AND CHRISTIAN SACRAMENTS

There are occasional references to Christian sacraments, above all baptism, and sporadically also confirmation, the Eucharist, and penance.⁸² Those newly baptized are called *neophiti* (“neophytes”), but it is not known for how long after baptism they kept this epithet. The expressions used in these contexts vary, but they all include the phrase “receive the grace of... (a sacrament)” with verbs like *percipere*, *consequi*, *suscipere*, which are used alone or with the noun *gratiam*, or with expressions of a similar meaning, like *fidem accipere* (literally “receive the faith”).⁸³ Some examples are instructive: the girl Candidilla, who died at Arretium (Arezzo) in 407 before her second birthday, was able to rest in peace only because she had already been baptized (*non completo bimatu percepit et sic in pace quievit*),⁸⁴ while Iulia, born in Rome, ends her epitaph declaring: “Now I have received the grace of God (i.e., baptism) and I have

⁸⁰ On all levels of Christian clergy, see the relevant sections of Rüpke 2005, 2008.

⁸¹ Conde Guerri 1979.

⁸² Vogel 1966.

⁸³ Carletti 2008: 181.

⁸⁴ Melucco Vaccaro 1991: 171 no. 8.

been received in (eternal) peace as a neophyte” (*ICUR* IV 11927). In the catacombs of Priscilla the little girl Tyche was buried; she had died on the very day on which she had been baptized (*ICUR* IX 25562). At Salona a girl Flavia is commemorated by her parents Flavianus and Archelais; she died at the age of three years, ten months, and seven days and had received her baptism in the “glorious fount” on Easter Day, but she survived for only five months “after holy baptism” (*CIL* III 9586 = *Salona* IV 442):

Flaviae infanti dulcissimae quae sa/na mente salutifero die Paschae glo/riosi fontis gratiam con[sec]rata est / supervisitque (!) post baptismum sanctum / mensibus quinque vix(it) ann(os) III m(enses) X d(ies) VII / Flavianus et Archelais parentes filiae / piissimae / depositio XV kalendas Septembres.

Very few inscriptions contain precise references to confirmation (*confirmatio*), which during the early Christian period was administered at the same time as baptism. One such case, preserved in the catacombs of St. Christina at Volsinii, is that of Alexander. His epitaph reveals that he had been *signatus munere Crhisti(!)* (“marked with the gift of Christ”), i.e., the sign of the cross had been drawn on his forehead during the baptismal rite (*ICI* I 8). Another example comes from the sarcophagus of Flavius Catervius at Tolentinum in Picenum, which contained the remains of the parents and their only son (*ICI* X 22b). The inscription mentions that they had all been baptized and received confirmation from Bishop Probianus (*quos Dei sacerdos (!) Probianus lavit et unxit*).

The earliest epigraphic allusion to the Eucharist occurs in line 16 of the funerary inscription of Abercius, Bishop of Hierapolis in Phrygia, dated to between 161 and 190. This is in general a very important text, because it is the oldest Christian inscription so far known, even though its content is somewhat convoluted and obscure (*SEG* 30, 1479):⁸⁵

The citizen of a notable city I made this (tomb) in my life-time; that in due season I might have here a resting-place for my body. Abercius by name, I am a disciple of the pure Shepherd, who feeds His flocks of sheep on mountains and plains, who has great eyes looking on all sides; for He taught me faithful writings. He also sent me to royal Rome to behold it and to see the golden-robed, golden-slippered Queen. And there I saw a people bearing the splendid seal. And I saw the plain of Syria and all the cities, even Nisibis, crossing over the Euphrates. And everywhere I had associates. In company with Paul I followed, while everywhere faith led the way, and set before me for food the fish from the fountain, mighty and stainless (whom a pure virgin grasped), and gave this to friends to eat always, having good wine and giving the mixed cup with bread. These words I Abercius, standing by, ordered to be inscribed. In truth I was in the course of my seventy-second year. Let every friend who observeth this, pray for me. But no man shall place another tomb above mine. If otherwise, he then shall pay two thousand pieces of gold to the treasury of the Romans, and a thousand pieces of gold to my good fatherland Hierapolis.

⁸⁵ Text and (German) translation: Merkelbach and Stauber 2001: 182–185, no. 16/07/01; cf. De Rossi 1888. Discussion: Filippi 1997: 220–222. The translation is from Lightfoot 1885–90: 2.1.496 (revised).

In addition, the fourth-century Greek epitaph of Pectorius of Augustodunum (Autun) in Gaul also refers to the Eucharist, using more developed symbolic language to describe the rite (CIG IV 9890 = IG XIV 2525).⁸⁶ Among other relevant texts is a fragmentary verse inscription from Rome (ICUR VII 18324) that includes the sentence: *[ver]us in altari cruor est vinu(m)q(ue) [videtur]*, “(on the altar) what seems to be wine is real blood.” In the few references to the sacrament of penance, one above all finds the expression *post acceptam penitentiam*, “after penance had been received” (i.e., after having finished the period of atonement of one’s own sins).⁸⁷

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⁸⁶ Guarducci 1978: 487–494.

⁸⁷ Vogel 1966.

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*Inscriptions and Roman
Social and Economic Life*

CHAPTER 22

THE CITY OF ROME

CHRISTER BRUUN

WHAT IS PARTICULAR ABOUT ROME?

THE richness of epigraphic discoveries in the very cradle of Roman civilization is no surprise. Some inscriptions shed important light on the beginnings of Rome. The archaic graffito reading *REX* on a piece of bucchero pottery from the Regia next to the Forum Romanum (*CIL* I² 2830) may not refer to one of Rome's legendary kings, but at least it brings material to the debate about the transition from monarchy to Republic and the institution of the *rex sacrorum* priesthood.¹ Early Etruscan and Greek inscriptions (mostly graffiti on small objects) provide evidence for how Rome already in the beginning was influenced from near and afar.²

References to the Eternal City in literary sources abound,³ and archaeologists continue to unearth previously unknown material and to analyze findings.⁴ This chapter instead shows how epigraphy can help our understanding of the city of Rome, and the perspective is thus fairly different from many otherwise useful surveys of the *Urbs*.⁵ Rome has produced a vast variety of unparalleled epigraphic discoveries, such as the consular *fasti* (*Inscr.It.* XIII.1), the *elogia* of great men of the past exhibited in Augustus' Forum (*CIL* VI 40931–41021),⁶ or the detailed records of meetings of the priesthood known as the Arval Brethren (*CFA*; Ch. 19). The sheer mass and variety of the epigraphic evidence is equally important. Insights gained from Rome, which has preserved by far the greatest epigraphic patrimony of any place or region in the Roman world, helps us understand Roman society and culture in a wider sense.

¹ Ross Holloway 1994: 63.

² Wiseman 1989: 131–132; Ross Holloway 1994: 70–72.

³ Dudley 1967 for literary sources with translation.

⁴ Patterson 2010; cf. *LTUR* I–VI.

⁵ For instance, Robinson 1992; Kolb 1995; Virlouvet 1997; Harris 1999; Coulston and Dodge 2000; Lo Cascio 2001; Haselberger and Humphrey 2006; Bruun 2009; Dyson 2010; Erdkamp 2013.

⁶ Geiger 2008.

THE EPIGRAPHIC MATERIAL

Some 95,000 Latin inscriptions from Rome are known (excluding the *instrumentum domesticum*) (Ch. 8), and it is important to be able to navigate this sea of information. The collection of inscriptions from Rome coincided with the start of serious epigraphic inquiries (Ch. 2). For modern studies, volume VI of the *CIL* represents the starting point (along with volume XV, which contains inscriptions on *instrumentum domesticum*). The first fascicle covering Rome appeared in 1876, and the publication of *CIL* VI continued well beyond most other volumes in the series, with the last fascicle (VI 4.3) appearing in 1933. Therefore volume VI covers more recent discoveries than most other regional *CIL* volumes. In addition, the “rebirth” of the *CIL* project in recent decades has included Rome in the form of fascicles which contain new texts of certain types together with updates of previous finds of the same category (*CIL* VI 8.2, 1996: emperors; VI 8.3, 2000: senators and *equites Romani*).

The content of *CIL* VI can be divided under seven main headings, which give a rough idea of the range of the epigraphic record of Rome (Table 22.1, which excludes certain minor categories).

Table 22.1 The main contents of *CIL* VI

	Type of inscription	References in <i>CIL</i> VI
1	Inscriptions relating to religious cults	1–871, 3671–3744, 30682–31187, 36746–36840
2	Emperors and the imperial family (dedications, various activities by emperors and their relatives)	872–1230, 3745–3822, 31188–31536, 36880–37038, 40301–40889
3	Members of the elite: senators and <i>equites</i> (official and private contexts)	1269–1796, 3823–70, 31575–32263, 37039–37139, 40890–41434
3.1	Lower ranking attendants on magistrates (<i>apparitores</i>)	1802–1975, 3871–73, 32265–32317, 37140–37159
4	Roman priests, their organizations, the calendar	1976–2306, 3874–81, 32318–32505, 37160–73
4.1	Public slaves (<i>servi publici</i>) assisting Roman priests	2307–74, 3882–83, 32506–14, 37174–80
5	Soldiers, military matters	2375–3670, 3884–3925, 32515–33061, 37174–37300
6	Lower government officials (to which should be added sections 3.1 and 4.1), tradespeople, craftsmen, performers	8398–10228, 33711–34003, 37741–37846
7	Common epitaphs, often with little content besides the name and age of the deceased	3926–8397, 10424–15126, 34004–36745, 37301–37740, 37847–39082

Since *CIL VI* at present is far from complete in its coverage of epigraphic discoveries from about 1930 onwards, the collection alone is insufficient for any serious study aiming at completeness. Yet the sheer mass of inscriptions makes the *CIL VI* volumes more than ample for advanced teaching and a formidable treasure trove for anyone interested in what Latin epigraphy has to offer. When working with this material, whether for scholarly or pedagogical purposes, there are a few important issues to keep in mind:

- lamentably, no comprehensive index for *CIL VI* has ever been published, contrary to what can be found for almost all the other volumes of the series. Indices simply listing names appeared in two fascicles, *CIL VI* 6.1 (*gentilicia*, 1926) and VI 6.2 (*cognomina*, 1980).
- to mitigate the lack of an index, a major effort led by E.J. Jory and D.G. Moore resulted in a computer printout of all the inscriptions in *CIL VI* in a “word-in-context” form, in seven heavy tomes, in 1974–75 and 1989. Nothing similar exists on a comparable scale for any other place (cf. the *ILLPRON* project for the province of Noricum), and the volumes still have a role to play thanks, for instance, to the convenient way in which they reveal epigraphic patterns, although now the various electronic databases allow scholars to search for words in a similar fashion (Ch. 5).
- fascicle 6.3 (2006) collects all the grammatical and orthographical oddities present in *CIL VI*, which is of interest for linguists and anyone studying unusual word forms (Ch. 33).

There are other important corpora containing inscriptions from Rome that were never meant to be included in the *CIL*. Christian inscriptions are collected in the volumes of the *Inscriptiones Christianae Urbis Romae* (*ICUR*; Ch. 21), while Greek inscriptions were published in *IGUR I–IV* (*Inscriptiones Graecae Urbis Romae*, 1968–90; replacing *IG XIV* from 1890). Jewish inscriptions can be found in separate editions, even though the texts are mostly in Greek (c. 80 percent) or Latin.⁷ Latin verse inscriptions from Rome are found in *CLE* and later publications (Ch. 35). Some other individual publications have edited Latin inscriptions from particular sites or collections.⁸ Nevertheless, thousands of inscriptions from Rome are not included in any of the above mentioned corpora, but they can instead be retrieved from two major Italian journals, *Bullettino Comunale* (*BCAR*) and *Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità* (*NSA*), and numerous other publications. These inscriptions have mostly been republished by the *AE*, but it is always advisable to consult the original publication. In addition, many inscriptions remain unpublished although they have been recorded and are on file in the Department of Ancient Studies at the “La Sapienza” University of Rome. Searchable

⁷ *JIWE II* (1995) replaces *CII I* (1936); cf. Solin 2003b. Languages: Solin 1983: 701 (Hebrew is used only in short formulae).

⁸ For instance, Väänänen 1973; Avetta 1985; Panciera 1987a; Gregori 2001; Orlandi 2004.

databases—*EDCS*, *EDH*, and especially the *Epigraphic Database Roma (EDR)*—provide access to practically all of the published Latin inscriptions found in Rome.

The inscriptions from Rome constitute an especially fruitful area of study because a few of the major texts are still visible on monuments across the city (for instance, on the Pantheon, the triumphal arches, or the Porta Maggiore (Figs. 10.1 and 10.5; cf. Figs. 2.1–2) and many of them form part of Rome’s rich museum collections. The Capitoline Museum, the Vatican Museum, and the Museo Nazionale are especially important and make an epigraphic field trip to Rome particularly rewarding. Publications containing images of the complete holdings, or large parts thereof, are also available.⁹

THE ROMAN ELITE

Rome was the undisputed centre of power of the Roman world until Constantine the Great made Byzantium his new capital c. 330 CE. It is therefore no surprise that for the study of the Empire’s leading men and women, Rome should be the most important place. There are far fewer texts from the Republic than from the Empire, although over half of all known Republican inscriptions were found in Rome (Ch. 9). Senators mainly appear in epitaphs, religious dedications, and public building inscriptions. Some of the latter are rather matter-of-fact records of the supervision of the use of public money, like the inscriptions on the Pons Fabricius joining the Tiber island to the left bank (*CIL* VI 1305 + 31594 = *I²* 751 = *ILLRP* 379 = *ILS* 5892): *L(ucius) Fabricius C(ai) f(ilius) cur(ator) viar(um) / fac(iundum) coeravit*. The text, repeated four times on the bridge, announces that L. Fabricius, supervisor of roads in 62 BCE, had been in charge of the construction, while two further texts add the detail *eidemque probavit*, “the same man approved the work.”¹⁰

Other texts were intended to perpetuate the names of victorious commanders who were able to sponsor monuments and buildings, such as temples or porticoes, as a result of their success with the intention of putting a lasting mark on the cityscape. The following text, inscribed on a travertine plaque, celebrates an act of L. Mummius, conqueror of wealthy Corinth in 146 BCE (*CIL* *I²* 626 = VI 331 = *ILS* 20 = *ILLRP* 1222 = *CLE* 3):¹¹

*L(ucius) Mummi(us) L(uci) f(ilius) co(n)s(ul) duct(u)
auspicio imperioque
eius Achaia capt(a) Corintho*

⁹ Gregori and Mattei 1999; Di Stefano Manzella and Gregori 2003.

¹⁰ For the inscriptions, Orlandi 2008 (with images); for the bridge, *LTUR* IV: 109–110 (J.-M. Salamito). A later inscription (loc. cit.) on the bridge attests that the consuls of 21 BCE, M. Lollius and Q. (Aemilius) Lepidus, had approved further work based on the Senate’s instructions: *ex s(enatus) c(onsulto) probaverunt*.

¹¹ On the text and this temple, the site of which is unknown: Pietilä-Castrén 1987: 140–144; Palombi 1996; Kruschwitz 2001.

5
*deleto Romam redieit
 triumphans ob hasce
 res bene gestas quod
 in bello voverat
 hanc aedem et signu(m)
 Herculis Victoris
 10
 imperator dedicat*

When under his leadership and official command Achaia had been conquered and Corinth destroyed, L. Mummius, son of Lucius, consul (in 146), returned to Rome in triumph. On account of these successful accomplishments he, in his capacity as *imperator*, dedicates this temple and statue of Hercules Victor, which he had vowed during the war.

Few inscriptions commemorating the building activity of victorious republican generals have survived; mainly literary texts and archaeology allow us to chart this.¹² Senators, not to mention *equites*, are even less visible in building inscriptions in Rome during the Empire. The emperors were jealous of competition for renown and public favour in Rome, and after the reign of Augustus it was not possible for senators or *equites* to sponsor public construction in the city.¹³ Nor are magistrates attested epigraphically carrying out public works. The praetor L. Naevius Surdinus is one of the last to appear in this capacity, when he was responsible for paving the Forum c. 10 BCE, probably by decision of the Senate (*CIL* VI 37068 = *AE* 1968, 24; Fig. 22.1).¹⁴

The reigning emperor, and to a much lesser extent, members of the imperial family, loom all the larger in the epigraphy of Rome.¹⁵ Inscriptions commemorating emperors, both dedications in their honour and building inscriptions, provide rich material for analyzing the development of imperial titulature (Ch. 10). Unfortunately the texts are often silent about the buildings or monuments to which they were affixed, as is clear in the large inscription decorating Titus' triumphal arch (Fig. 10.1). An exception is provided by the three inscriptions above the arches of the Porta Maggiore, which describe how in turn Claudius, Vespasian, and Titus improved Rome's water supply. They are quite rare in the detailed manner in which they give accounts of imperial interventions in the sphere of public building (cf. Fig. 2.2). First, Claudius completed the Aqua Claudia and Anio Novus in 52 CE, which he paid for *sua impensa*, "with his own funds" (*CIL* VI 1256 = *ILS* 218: *sua impensa in urbem perducendas curavit*). Less than twenty years later, in 71, Vespasian paid to restore part of the aqueduct, after its sources had been out of commission for nine years: *aquas Curtiam et Caeruleam... intermissas dilapsasque per annos novem sua impensa urbi restituit* (*CIL* VI 1257 = *ILS* 218). A mere ten years later still, Titus announced that he had repaired the same tracts of the aqueduct (*CIL* VI 1258 = *ILS* 218).

¹² Pietilä-Castrén 1987: 145–153. Of twenty-four generals erecting victory monuments in Rome, only two are known from inscriptions.

¹³ Eck 1984: 136–142; Panciera 1987b: 82–83.

¹⁴ Eck 1984: 136.

¹⁵ For instance, between thirty and forty imperial inscriptions per reign from Trajan to Marcus Aurelius in *CIL* VI: Bruun 2003a: 431.



FIG. 22.1 Inscription in large bronze letters commemorating the paving of the Forum Romanum by the praetor L. Naevius Surdinus, c. 10 BCE. In situ.

This dossier provides prime material for a discussion of the historical value of epigraphic claims of public building and restoration (Ch. 24). Inscriptions of a different type play a key role in mapping the chronology of public and private construction in Rome, namely brick-stamps, which in Rome contain more text than elsewhere in the Roman world and during the second century CE often carried consular dates or are otherwise datable (Fig. 31.2).¹⁶

The impossibility of sponsoring public construction in Rome limited the visibility of senators and equestrians in the public space within the *pomerium* during the Empire. The situation was different just outside the city, where funerary monuments along the roads and on private estates commemorated the Roman elite (Ch. 29). A still growing number of extensive inscriptions provide rich material, whether one is interested in individual careers, family connections, or Roman government, as exemplified by the epitaph from the mausoleum of M. Nonius Macrinus (consul in 154 CE) on the Via Flaminia a few kilometres outside the city centre.¹⁷

¹⁶ Steinby 1974–75; Bruun 2005; Chs. 27, 31.

¹⁷ Gregori 2012.

Inside the *pomerium* senators and, less frequently, *equites Romani* are mostly encountered in honorific inscriptions on statue bases. Diverse locations were chosen for these statues, often in accordance with the importance of the honorand. So, for instance, several inscriptions announce that the emperor himself had reserved space for the statue of a victorious general, as in the following extract from a text, likely on a statue base (*CIL VI 1540 = 41145 = ILS 1112*):¹⁸

...[huic senatu]s auctoribus Imp(eratore) M(arco) Antonino / [et Im]p(eratore) Commodo Augg(ustis) Ge[rmanicis] / [Sarmat]icis statuas duas u[nam habitu] / [milita]ri in foro divi Trai[ani alte]/[ram hab]itu civili in prona[o aedis divi]/ [Pii pon]endas censuit

...The Senate decreed, on the proposal of the emperors Marcus Aurelius and Commodus [titles simplified], that two statues be erected for this man, one in military garb in the Forum of Trajan, the other in civilian attire in the porch of the Temple of the Deified (Antoninus) Pius.

Other texts were exhibited in the semi-public domain of the aristocratic *domus*. Both inscribed statue bases and inscriptions celebrating the honorand as patron (so-called *tabulae patronatus*) occur in this context. When these and other inscriptions are found in situ, they play a key role in identifying the places where the elite in Rome resided.¹⁹ Scholars are justified in looking for the residences of Rome's six hundred senators, since by imperial command senators were required to invest a certain part of their wealth in Italian land,²⁰ probably to guarantee their presence at the meetings of the Senate in Rome. Hundreds of entries registering senatorial and other residences in Rome can be found already in the topographical dictionary of Rome from 1929, and many hundreds more were added in the *LTUR* some sixty years later. Most of the new "addresses" were derived from epigraphic evidence, for instance the Acts of the Arval Brethren, clusters of inscriptions of the kind just described, and inscribed lead pipes (*fistulae*).²¹

A sometimes lively debate has been generated by the hundreds of inscribed lead pipes predominantly bearing names (in the genitive) of senators (Fig. 22.2), but also of *equites*, imperial freedmen, and lower ranking Romans. These texts are useful for identifying the neighbourhoods preferred by the elite, but the names do not always indicate ownership of a *domus*, and even when they do, they normally provide only approximate information about the location of the residence. Sometimes the water conduit supplied a different kind of building, and sometimes the person named was the pipe manufacturer or is cited in some other capacity.²² Frequently the names of emperors

¹⁸ The honours were likely for T. Pomponius Proculus Vitrasius Pollio, general and twice consul (*PIR*¹ P 558); cf. Gordon 1952: 322–330.

¹⁹ Eck 1997; *LTUR* II: 22–239 *passim*.

²⁰ Under Trajan, senators needed to invest a third of their wealth in Italian land (Plin. *Ep.* 6.19.4); under Marcus Aurelius, the requirement was reduced to one fourth (*SHA Marc.* 11.8).

²¹ Platner and Ashby 1929: 154–198; *LTUR* II: 22–217 with Bruun 1997: 396–398.

²² For the debate, Bruun 1991: 72–76, 81–95; 2003b: 36–43; Eck 1997: 172–175, 1998. Bruun 1991: 310–323 for the over 280 lead pipe manufacturers from Rome.



FIG. 22.2 Lead pipe (*fistula*) bearing the name of the senator L. Annius Maximus, *cos.* 207 CE. Musei Vaticani: Museo Gregorio Profano, inv. 10369.

and imperial relatives are found on lead pipes. In many cases the water was not destined for imperial palaces but for structures that benefited from imperial largesse, such as public baths or the *castra* of the Praetorian Guard.²³

ORDINARY PEOPLE IN ROME

Epigraphy is equally important when studying the population of Rome below the elite. During the centuries of Roman predominance, literally millions of individuals lived and died in Rome. Of this uncountable multitude, we know the names of at least 100,000 individuals from inscriptions.²⁴ In proportion to the total number of inhabitants, that number is very small, but in the context of the material to which Classics and Ancient History scholars normally have access, the number is large. No wonder, then, that studies in cultural, social, and economic history focusing on the epigraphic evidence from Rome continue to flourish.

Extracting information about tens of thousands of individuals from these inscriptions can be a daunting task (although ultimately rewarding for what they reveal), and yet from the perspective of modern demography, the epigraphic material from Rome is insufficient. It is unclear what proportion of the city's inhabitants is epigraphically documented in some way or other,²⁵ but the vast majority has left no trace of its existence, and the surviving evidence is skewed in favour of the wealthier members of the *plebs Romana*.

²³ Bruun 1991: 254–256.

²⁴ Solin 2003a: xxx, n. 19.

²⁵ Huttunen 1974: 42, 194; *contra* Duncan-Jones 1978: 195; Eck 1987, 1991; Scheidel 2012.

There is much focus in current scholarship on the living conditions of ordinary men and women.²⁶ For information about matters such as nutrition and health conditions in Rome archaeological material is paramount, thanks to ever more refined methods of studying bones and other material remains.²⁷ The occasional epigraphic exclamation such as *balnea vina Venus corrumpunt corpora nostra / sed vitam faciunt b(alnea) v(ina) V(enus)* “bathing, wine, and love-making wear down our bodies, but bathing, wine, and love make life worth living!” (*CIL* VI 15258 = *ILS* 8157 = *CLE* 1499, an epitaph, quoted partially) adds some local colour to results gained from the natural sciences.²⁸ Epigraphic evidence from Rome has also been used to investigate the extent of the so-called Antonine Plague, probably the most serious outbreak of disease during the Principate, which reached Rome late in 166 CE. The ensuing debate demonstrated that inscriptions, even when used to create statistics and to show trends, cannot provide sufficient unequivocal evidence for such specific historical events.²⁹

Certain aspects of Roman everyday life thus remain hidden from view, regardless of the rich epigraphic evidence. Some fairly random “voices from the street”—if this is the correct label for ancient graffiti—can however be heard in Rome, not just in Pompeii, which is more famous for this kind of text (Chs. 12, 23). A number of walls have been found standing, and more have been uncovered in recent times, with their decoration in the form of scratched messages more or less intact (Ch. 34 with Fig. 34.1).³⁰ Electioneering texts of the kind known from Pompeii are missing, but genuine popular tastes seem to be represented by a number of graffiti cheering on gladiators, race horses, charioteers (*agitatores, aurigae*), or racing teams (*factiones*). Curses of rivals also occur (Fig. 22.3).³¹

That some charioteers were widely renowned in their day due to their many victories can be gauged from inscriptions, which include *agitor* and *auriga* among the surprisingly numerous professional designations known from Rome (Ch. 25). Drawing primarily on the inscriptions in section 6 of *CIL* VI (cf. Table 22.1). Susan Treggiari drew up a list of some 160 different terms denoting artisans and shopkeepers of all kinds in the capital, from *acutarii* (sharpeners) to health professionals such as midwives (*obstetrices*) to *vitriarii* (glaziers).³² The number is not small, which goes some way towards testifying to the sophistication of society and economy in imperial Rome. As a comparison, there were only 101 officially sanctioned professions in thirteenth-century Paris (among which three different kinds of rosary makers).³³

²⁶ Carcopino 1940 is a classic; cf. other works cited in n. 5.

²⁷ Gowland and Garnsey 2010.

²⁸ Kajanto 1969 for the expression *balnea vina venus* and similar themes in inscriptions.

²⁹ Originally advocated by Duncan-Jones 1996; *contra* Greenberg 2003; Bruun 2003a.

³⁰ Solin and Itkonen-Kaila 1966; Castrén and Lilius 1970; Chini 1995; Solin 2005; Brandt 2008.

³¹ Solin and Itkonen-Kaila 1966: 219, 226–231, for scratched inscriptions and images; Castrén and Lilius 1970: 73–75 (commentary) and nos. 30, 39, 46, 66, 84, 86, 90 (all anepigraphic images); Jordan 2002.

³² Treggiari 1980: 56 n. 43, 61–64; augmented by Joshel 1992: 176–182.

³³ Treggiari 1980: 56.

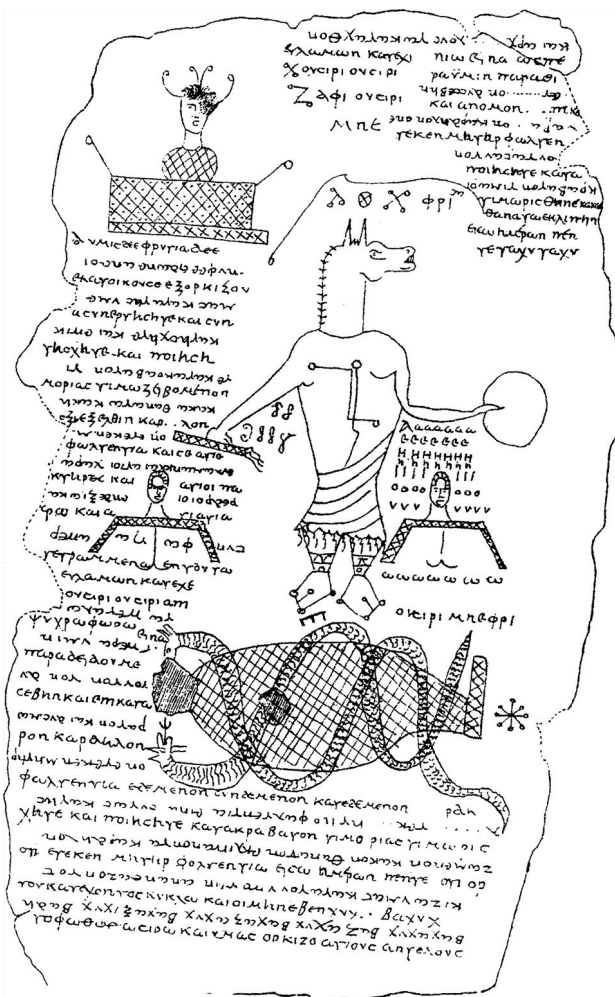


FIG. 22.3 Lead tablet cursing the charioteer Cardelus. Via Appia, Rome.

At the risk of being anachronistic, one may call these artisans and traders of Rome the city's “professional middle class”. What were their beliefs, their hopes, and their purpose in life? As we have just seen (p. 479), some Romans preferred a life of easy living and amorous delights, but generally it is difficult to answer the question, in the absence of any substantial autobiographical writings or letters, such as can be found on papyri or in the epigraphic material from Vindolanda (Fig. 27.1). Something of the religious beliefs of individuals are revealed in the numerous religious dedications from Rome, when they were erected not by official decree but for private reasons (Ch. 19). In cases where the deity carries a personal epithet, like Diana Cariciana, who was venerated by the *aquarius* (water seller/cARRIER) M. Aurelius Caricus (*CIL* VI 131 = *ILS* 3253),

we are justified in assuming a personal experience of some kind as the motive for this act of piety.³⁴

ASSOCIATIONS AND THEIR ACTIVITIES

Like their medieval counterparts, and like trained professionals everywhere, at Rome individuals of the same profession often formed an association or club (*collegium*, *corpus*), evidently for mutual support and enjoyment. The *collegia*, which were regulated by imperial legislation, represent a phenomenon of considerable interest in itself and also because those who investigate the social context of the first Christian congregations have devoted much attention to Roman associations. This is most clearly manifested in a series of translated inscriptions with commentary, although no Christian congregations yet appear in our epigraphic evidence.³⁵ Apart from the legal sources, information about the activities of *collegia* and *corpora* is provided almost exclusively by inscriptions. Epigraphic texts relating to professional associations abound in Rome, while the widest selection of lists of members of *collegia* is found in Rome's port Ostia, and the most explicit text concerning the communal life of a *collegium* comes from Lanuvium (*CIL* XIV 2112 = *ILS* 7212, 136 CE; Chs. 19, 23). Rome has to offer documents such as the fragmentary statute (*lex*) of the *collegium* of Aesculapius and Hygia (*CIL* VI 10234 = *ILS* 7213), the *lex* of a *conlegium aquae* (*CIL* VI 10298), and the dossier involving a long-lasting quarrel between the fullers (*fullones*) and Rome's municipal authorities (*CIL* VI 266).³⁶

A special case is represented by the organization of performing athletes who mostly originated in the East and in any case conducted most of their business in Greek, to judge from surviving inscriptions. Their organization can be assigned a place in the urban topography, since as becomes clear in their correspondence with the emperor Hadrian, they had their clubhouse (the *curia athletarum*; *CIL* VI 10154) in the immediate vicinity of Trajan's Baths.³⁷ Numerous *scholae* (clubhouses) are mentioned in Roman inscriptions, and it is sometimes possible to identify actual physical remains.³⁸

Best known among Rome's professional associations are the *fabri tign(u)arii* (from *tignum*, "beam," "timber log"), commonly thought to have been owners of construction businesses. The association was founded in 7 BCE and many inscriptions from a period of several centuries testify to their activities, although most texts merely list the leaders of the *collegium*.³⁹ In contrast to the rich evidence for Rome's builders, one

³⁴ Bruun 1991: 192–193; cf. Hercules Hesychianus (*AE* 2000, 153).

³⁵ Ascough, Harland, and Kloppenborg 2012 with earlier bibliography.

³⁶ The so-called *lis fullonum*: Tran 2007.

³⁷ Caldelli 1992; Rausa 2004; cf. Ch. 25.

³⁸ Epigraphic and archaeological evidence: Bollmann 1997, 1998; *LTUR* IV: 243–261 s.v. *schola* (over thirty entries).

³⁹ Panciera 2006: 307–317, 449–452; Royden 1988: 127–136; cf. Brunt 1980: 87.

group within the Roman “middle class” is completely absent from Rome, namely the *Augustales*; their organizations only functioned outside the capital (Ch. 12). The considerable presence of imperial slaves and freedmen (*CIL* VI 8398–9101) is another distinctive feature of the *urbs*.

THE ROMAN MASSES, SILENT YET NOT ANONYMOUS

When an individual’s name is accompanied by a professional designation, the text can immediately be situated in a context of wider historical significance. But what can be done with the much greater number of epitaphs that contain no information besides the name of the deceased and, possibly, some family ties? The inscriptions in section 7 of *CIL* VI enable scholars to study family and other relationships as they appear in funerary commemorations, and nowhere is there more useful material available than at Rome.⁴⁰ The archaeological context, if known, can provide important additional information, and this is why Rome’s *columbaria* (collective burial sites, a conspicuous feature in the capital), many of which were summarily investigated in the nineteenth century, are receiving renewed attention (Ch. 29; inscriptions in *CIL* VI 3926–4326, 6213–6640, 7281–7393).⁴¹

It is important that the Roman masses, encountered in so many thousands of inscriptions, are not anonymous; their names in themselves are revealing. The family name, the *gentilicium* (Appendix III), may provide material for the study of immigration, if the name is rare and typical of a certain region.⁴² Yet there are limits to the conclusions that can be drawn on the sole basis of *gentilicia*, as the number of individuals is so large that the Roman concept of *gens* (agnatic lineage) loses much of its meaning during the imperial period. It would be foolish to talk about “the” *gens Cornelia* when, in *CIL* VI, there are around 1,250 Cornelii. It is much like finding two individuals named Smith, Lee/Li, or Patel in a random modern N. American population sample; the odds of there being some kind of relationship are very slim. As a result, more work has concentrated on *cognomina*, the most distinctive part of a Roman’s name. Scholars have provided different interpretations of the fact that the majority of all *cognomina* in Rome, 60 per cent or more, are Greek.⁴³ At the beginning of the twentieth century Tenney Frank, a leading Roman historian of his age, formulated a wide-ranging hypothesis about the fate of Roman civilization based on this distribution of *cognomina*. He argued that the onomastic material from Rome’s cemeteries showed that the capital had been overrun

⁴⁰ For instance, Rawson 1966; Treggiari 1975; Saller and Shaw 1984; Ch. 26.

⁴¹ General overview: Bodel 2008; cf. Hasegawa 2005.

⁴² On the “onomastic profile” of a locality, Salomies 2002 (focusing also on Ostia).

⁴³ Solin 1971: 112; cf. Bruun 2013: 23.

by “orientals” (a concept that included Greeks), most of whom were brought to Rome as slaves, while their offspring, after the parents had gained their freedom, eventually came to dominate Roman society in every way. Although not denying cunning and business acumen in these newcomers, Frank argued that the “oriental” domination led to the demise of the old Roman virtues, which in the end brought about the downfall of the western Empire.⁴⁴

For quite some time, this theory has been no more than a curiosity. It is now considered certain that a Greek name in Rome is less the sign of a family origin in the eastern Mediterranean than an indication of slave or freedman status (of the individual or an ancestor).⁴⁵ The fact that so many individuals carry Greek names need not mean that Rome was taken over by former slaves and their descendants, while the original population dwindled, but may have more to do with the habit among *liberti* of erecting durable funerary commemorations (Ch. 8). This explanation represents the standard view, although it may need fine tuning in some regards.⁴⁶

Undoubtedly very large numbers of foreigners arrived in the capital, most of them as slaves. In inscriptions, hostages,⁴⁷ envoys, and other travellers are also encountered; they are clearly overrepresented in the surviving sources compared to imported slaves. It is impossible to say how many slaves were brought to Rome from abroad each year, on average, and how many new slaves on the contrary were house-born (*vernae*). The lively discussion has not produced a firm consensus⁴⁸ and epigraphy cannot help solve the problem.

Instead, those individuals who explicitly indicate that their origin is elsewhere can be studied, often through the use of the ablative *domo* or *natione*, as in the case of a praetorian soldier from the province of Macedonia (*CIL VI 2767 = ILS 2032*):⁴⁹

C(aius) Iul(ius) / Zoili filius / Fabia / Montanus / domo Heraclea / Sentica / miles coh(ortis) XII pr(aetoriae) / 7 (centuria) Lartidi / militavit annis XII / vixit annis / XXX / h(ic) s(itus) e(st)

C. Iulius Montanus, son of Zoilus, of the voting tribe Fabia, from Heraclea Sentica, a soldier in the Second Praetorian Cohort, in the *centuria* of Lartidius, who served for twelve years and lived thirty years, is buried here.

In other cases, the epigraphic context in which a person appears indicates that we are dealing with a foreigner; overall, the numbers are small.⁵⁰ The carrying of an ethnic *cognomen*, such as Hispanus, Bithynicus, or Africanus, is not in itself enough to allow the conclusion that its bearer originated from that particular region. Nor does the fact

⁴⁴ Frank 1916.

⁴⁵ Solin 1971, 2007: 1370–71.

⁴⁶ Bruun 2013.

⁴⁷ Ricci 1996.

⁴⁸ Scheidel 2005.

⁴⁹ Commentary in Passerini 1939: 53 n. 2.

⁵⁰ Noy 2000: 289–324.

that an inscription is written in a language other than Latin, mostly Greek, prove foreign origin, as the author may have been born into an established minority community at Rome.⁵¹

GOVERNING THE WORLD AND ADMINISTERING ROME

Important visitors who arrived in Rome on official business are much easier to identify in the epigraphic sources. Rome grew to become the centre of the Mediterranean already during the Republic, and therefore foreign delegations of various kinds began to appear in the capital. It is symptomatic that in 155 BCE the heads of Athens' three main philosophical schools visited Rome (Gell. *NA* 6.14.8–10; Plut. *Cat. Mai.* 22). This event is known only from literary sources, but the surviving epigraphic record of foreign embassies to Rome is rich especially in the Greek East, where some two hundred inscriptions illuminate this aspect of Rome's foreign relations during the Republic alone.⁵²

Such evidence is much scarcer in Rome itself, but several honorific dedications survive, erected by foreign embassies in honour of great conquerors of the Republic and of the rulers of the Principate. So for instance, embassies from Seleucia Pieria and Damascus in Syria arranged for two honorific monuments to be set up in Rome during Augustus' reign, one carrying texts in Greek and Latin honouring M. Licinius Crassus Frugi (consul in 14 BCE), the other honouring the emperor and his family *c.* 5 CE (*CIL* VI 41052, 40313 = *IGUR* I 64, 28). Another example is the series of late republican dedications to L. Aelius Lamia, father of a consul of 3 BCE with the same name, erected by several communities from the Iberian Peninsula whose *patronus* he was, one of which can be restored as follows (*AE* 1992, 169 = *CIL* VI 41036; Fig. 22.4):⁵³

*L(ucio) A[elio L(uci) f(ilio) Lamiae pr(aetori)]
XV vir(o) [sacr(is) fac(iundis) leg(ato) pr]o pr(aetore)
Carietes V[- - patrono]*

Other foreigners arrived in Rome on business, then joined together with merchants from their home town and founded *stationes*, places for business, social meetings, and cultic activities, a phenomenon known from the Middle Ages and more recent

⁵¹ Greek and Greeks in Rome: Moretti 1989; the epigraphic evidence for Jews: *JWE* 2 (almost all epitaphs), Solin 1983: 655–658, 2003b; Jews and Syrians: Solin 1983: 655–725 (separating epigraphic and literary evidence).

⁵² Canali de Rossi 1997 lists some 780 instances of embassies to Rome during the Republic; no. 136 is the Athenian one from 155 BCE.

⁵³ Alföldy 1992: 116–123; the other inscriptions make the restorations certain.

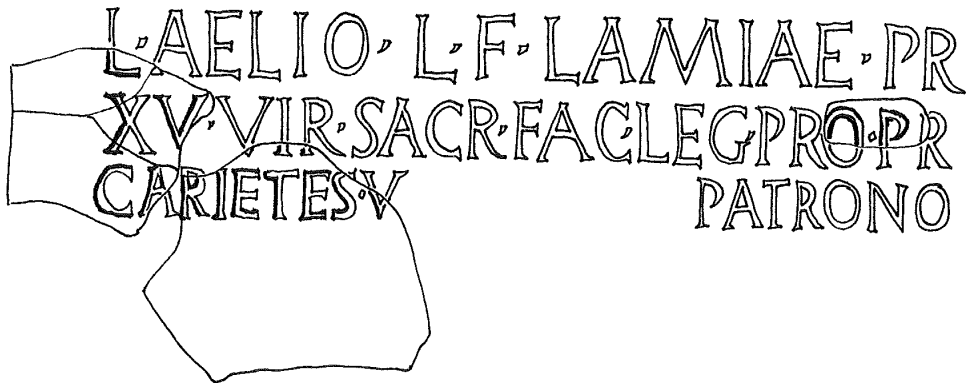


FIG. 22.4 Restoration of one of a series of marble plaques set up by various Hispanic communities to honour their patron, the Roman senator L. Aelius Lamia. Largo di Torre Argentina, Rome.

times. Some ten foreign localities are attested in our evidence, which is exclusively epigraphic and often in Greek, employing the term *στατίων*. The *statio* of the Tyrians provides the best example, as these Phoenician traders also had a similar institution in the port city of Puteoli, from where an inscription survives that illustrates some aspects of their activities and refers to the Roman *statio* as well (*IG XIV 830 = IGRR I 421*).⁵⁴ Associations (*corporata*) of foreign businessmen are also mentioned in some inscriptions.⁵⁵

Records of treaties, embassies, and decisions of the Senate and the People of Rome on any matter were kept in the public archives at Rome, but much to the chagrin of modern scholarship nothing of this survives. Nor do we possess even the smallest fragment from what must undoubtedly have been very extensive archives of the emperor and his administration. However, copies of such documents or extracts from them sometimes survive on bronze or stone from elsewhere in the Empire and very occasionally in Rome itself (Chs. 14, 15). Equally disappointing, if not surprising, is that of the hundreds, if not thousands, of imperial constitutions recording the grants of Roman citizenship to auxiliary soldiers, originally displayed on bronze plaques, not one has survived. Surviving military diplomas testify to the existence of these constitutions (Ch. 16) and specify where they were exhibited in Rome.⁵⁶ The coveted metal used for these and other *tabulae* caused them to fall prey to scavengers in later times.

Rome is sometimes said to have been a militaristic civilization, but no soldiers were stationed in the capital before the reign of Augustus. For the study of the legions, the auxiliary cohorts, or the navy Rome is of importance only insofar as certain insights

⁵⁴ Moretti 1958; *IGUR I*, 70 with nos. 78–93; Papi 1999 (a narrow view on the term *statio*); Noy 2000: 160–163. Sosin 1999 on the Tyrian *stationes*.

⁵⁵ Examples: *CIL VI* 1620, 1625, 1935; cf. Ricci 2005: 60.

⁵⁶ Corbier 2006: 131–146.

can be gained from the inscriptions citing careers of senators, *equites*, and professional officers. The matter is different regarding those soldiers and officers who served in the praetorian and urban cohorts, created by Augustus, and in some smaller elite units, especially the *equites singulares* (the imperial Horse Guard), of which a large number of funerary monuments survive, sometimes bearing images of cavalymen (Table 22.1, section 5).⁵⁷

The military units were stationed in Rome to preserve peace and tranquillity and thus to safeguard the ruling dynasty. This perhaps thinly veiled iron fist was not the only method for securing the teeming metropolis. Epigraphy reveals many other methods emperors devised for preserving their power. The creation, by 7 BCE, of neighbourhood organizations headed by *magistri vici* aimed to create bonds between the common people and the ruler. These *vicomagistri*, who usually were freedmen, oversaw local cultic events that focused on imperial loyalty. Many altars have been found containing dedications to the Lares Augusti or other divinities, often carrying the epithet Augustus/a, as well as the names of sundry *magistri*. In the most extensive list, over fifty neighbourhoods (*vici*) are listed (*CIL VI* 975 = 31218 = *ILS* 6073, 136 CE).⁵⁸

The activities of the *vicomagistri* give the impression that harmony characterized the relationship between rulers and ruled in Rome. Suspicions that the reality was at least occasionally different are raised by a number of references in our literary sources.⁵⁹ In antiquity anonymous and furtively erected inscriptions in Rome revealed popular discontent, as we read in the selfsame literary texts (for example, Suet. *Dom.* 13.2–3), but they have all long since disappeared and were undoubtedly removed as soon as the authorities became aware of them (although Augustus is said to have tolerated certain public criticism; Suet. *Aug.* 55–56.1).⁶⁰

Pursuing further the topic of communication between government and people, some attention should be paid to the numerous inscribed tokens, known as *tesserae* and often of lead, that have been found in Rome. Their function is not always clear, but they are often connected to public spectacles, amenities, and to the well known distributions of grain, other foodstuffs, or money to the public.⁶¹ Handing out *tesserae* for various purposes was part of what can properly be called urban (or municipal) government in Rome. Undoubtedly the distribution of grain (*frumentum*) to the people of Rome is one of the best known aspects of urban administration. This activity (*frumentatio*) represents one part of Juvenal's *panem et circenses* ("bread and circus games," *Sat.* 10.81), the method by which the imperial government secured the loyalty of the urban population. The distribution took place in the *porticus Minucia frumentaria* in the Campus Martius, overseen by *praefecti frumenti dandi* or *praefecti Minuciae*.⁶²

⁵⁷ Bellen 1981; Durry 1938; Passerini 1939; Freis 1967; Speidel 1994; Sablayrolles 1996.

⁵⁸ Lott 2004 for the evidence up until the 50s CE; Frascchetti 2006; cf. *LTUR V*: 151–201 (*vicus*).

⁵⁹ Whittaker 1964; Sünskes-Thompson 1990, 1993.

⁶⁰ Corbier 2006: 71–73.

⁶¹ Rostowzew 1903; Rickman 1980: 244–249; Virlovet 1995; Nielsen 1990: 134 (entry to baths).

⁶² The officials are mostly known from so-called career inscriptions: Pflaum 1963; Rickman 1980;

while the high-ranking *praefectus annonae* of equestrian status was in charge of the much more arduous task of securing Rome's food supply in general.⁶³ Crucial evidence for how the *frumentationes* took place is provided by inscriptions such as the one in which the expression *die XIII ostio XLII* refers to the time when ("day fourteen" i.e., of the month) and the place where ("gate 42") the recipient received his grain (*CIL VI 10223 = ILS 6071*). A marble plaque, now in the Vatican Museum, attests one of the thousands who enjoyed this privilege (*CIL VI 10227 = ILS 6067*):⁶⁴

5
D(is) M(anibus)
Q(uinti) Terenti Prisciani
vixit annis IIII men-
sibus VII frumentum
publicum accepit men-
sibus VIII
Terentia Sabina
alumno fecit

To the Departed Spirits of Q. Terentius Priscianus who lived four years seven months. He received grain distributed to the public for nine months. Terentia Sabina made (this memorial) for her foster child.

Besides some texts which list soldiers of the night watch (*vigiles*), only about a dozen inscriptions exist that explicitly mention individuals who received *frumentum publicum*, which seems puzzling for two reasons. First, it is surprising that this right, enjoyed at any one time by 150,000 to 200,000 Romans, is not mentioned more frequently. Second, none of those explicitly mentioned as receivers fit our general idea of the composition of the *plebs frumentaria* (namely, freeborn adult males resident in Rome); the example just cited concerns a child. Possibly only those receiving *frumentum* as a special privilege saw the need to mention it.⁶⁵

Unfortunately, our evidence is silent on the activities of a number of urban officials, especially the junior ones. Nor do we find material illustrating the judicial function of the *praetor urbanus* except for a very few inscriptions in which his permission is recorded (*CIL I² 825 = ILS 5742 = ILLRP 340*; cf. Fig. 9.3). The location in Rome where the edict of the praetor was exhibited is identified in a wax-tablet from Herculaneum (*AE 1996, 407*). Some other wax-tablets from Campania mention the surprising fact that contractual parties or litigants needed to travel up to Rome in order to fulfill their obligations in front of a judge; they even specify the column or statue in the Forum Augustum where they were to meet.⁶⁶

The *praefectus urbi*, the urban prefect, was the senior senatorial official in Rome, and his function grew ever more important as the emperors eventually ceased to reside in the city in the fourth century. He wielded power within a radius of 100 miles around

⁶³ Pavis d'Escurac 1976.

⁶⁴ Virlouvet 2009: 231–234.

⁶⁵ Virlouvet 2009: 271–275, with 105–270 for the collected epigraphic evidence and discussion.

⁶⁶ Carnabuci 1996: 49–90; cf. Ch. 15.

Rome; a much narrower administrative limit was constituted by the customs border encircling Rome, known only from epigraphic evidence (Fig. 14.2). Numerous inscriptions honouring urban prefects were erected in central locations, and the clustering of such inscriptions has also allowed scholars to advance suggestions for the location of the prefect's "office," sometimes called the *scrinium tellurense*.⁶⁷

Direct epigraphic documentation for the activities of the prefect is less abundant outside the sphere of building repair and the erection of statues in Late Antiquity,⁶⁸ but indirect evidence from inscriptions have led to the conclusion that by 331 CE he had taken control over many other departments in the administration of Rome.⁶⁹ Primarily the reference is here to three branches, called *curae*, which during the Principate were headed by high-ranking senators and handled some aspects of urban infrastructure.⁷⁰ The *curator alvei et riparum Tiberis et cloacarum urbis* was, among other matters, in charge of keeping the banks of the Tiber free of intrusive structures, for which reason he limited this area with a series of inscribed markers (*cippi*), many of which have survived (*CIL* VI 1234 = 31540; cf. *ILS* 5922–34).⁷¹ The activities of the two curators in charge of temples (*aedes sacrae*), public works (*opera publica*), and public spaces (*loca publica*) can be followed through a number of inscribed permissions to erect statues or other structures on public ground.⁷² Officials in other government branches could also give permission to use space in Rome.⁷³ In one case, these curators are part of a unique administrative dossier, preserved on stone, involving the correspondence between a lowly imperial freedman official and bureaucrats of the imperial "finance department" (*rationales*) regarding the conditions under which the freedman was allowed to occupy some public space on which to build his residence next to the Column of Marcus Aurelius (*CIL* VI 1585 = *ILS* 5920).⁷⁴

The richest and most varied epigraphic evidence concerns the *cura aquarum*, the administration of Rome's water supply, and here modern scholarship is much assisted by the survival of Frontinus' work on Rome's aqueducts.⁷⁵ In its archive, the *cura aquarum* undoubtedly preserved maps of the supply network, and while this evidence is lost, an inscribed fragment of a water distribution scheme with a rudimentary map, likely showing the outskirts of Rome, is known (*CIL* VI 1261, now lost). The most famous surviving map of Rome is the so-called *Forma Urbis* from the Severan period,

⁶⁷ Inscriptions: Chastagnol 1962; offices in or by the Baths of Trajan: Marchese 2007; cf. Wojciech 2010: 227.

⁶⁸ In general Chastagnol 1960; cf. Wojciech 2010 (juridical sources); Marchese 2007: 619 (epigraphic evidence).

⁶⁹ Chastagnol 1960: 45–53, 409.

⁷⁰ Overview in Bruun 2006.

⁷¹ Le Gall 1953: 149–166.

⁷² Kolb 1993; Daguet-Gagey 1997, cf. Bruun 2006.

⁷³ An *adsignatio* by an imperial *procurator patrimonii* in *CIL* VI 30983 = *ILS* 3840. Permission to use private land is a different matter, often expressed with terms such as *concessu*, *permissu*, although also the verb *adsignare* may occur (*CIL* VI 10257).

⁷⁴ Daguet-Gagey 1998; cf. Haensch 2006: 154–155.

⁷⁵ Bruun 1991, 2007.

once displayed over an area of 18 x 13 metres and containing hundreds of explanatory captions on a wall in the *Templum Pacis* in the very centre of Rome. Besides its monumental function it must also have served some administrative purpose.⁷⁶ Several inscribed fragments of smaller ancient maps of Rome have also been found.⁷⁷ Their importance for our understanding of Roman topography can hardly be overvalued, although there are also some inscriptions, for example *ICUR* II 4790, which provide detailed topographical descriptions without images. In fact many buildings or sites in Rome are known only from inscriptions, such as the Temple of Mater Matuta in *regio VI* (*ILS* 9346 = *CLE* 1961 = *AE* 1996, 105), the decorated garden called Memphi, probably of an Egyptianizing kind (*CIL* VI 461 = *ILS* 3361), and many baths.⁷⁸ When an iconographic or archaeological component is found combined with a text, these pieces of evidence remind scholars that the study of ancient Rome is interdisciplinary in the truest sense of the word. Epigraphy has a major role to play but needs to be supplemented by expertise from other fields. On the other hand, almost no aspect of the city of Rome can be successfully studied without including the epigraphic evidence.

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⁷⁶ Carettoni et al. 1955; Rodríguez-Almeida 1981; 2002: esp. 1 (the dimensions). Images of the *Forma Urbis*: <http://formaurbis.stanford.edu>.

⁷⁷ Rodríguez-Almeida 2002.

⁷⁸ *LTUR* V: 275 (Mater Matuta); *LTUR* III: 241 (Memphi). Baths: *LTUR* I: 156–166 (*balneum*).

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CHAPTER 23

SOCIAL LIFE IN TOWN AND COUNTRY

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THE social life of the mass of common people and slaves in the Roman world remains largely obscure to us. The literary sources, produced overwhelmingly by members of the privileged and educated classes, show little direct interest in the masses. The commoners make appearances in these sources as a faceless mob, usually to be disparaged as feckless and fickle. Seneca's advice to Nero that a prince "should look with favour on some of the citizenry, since they are useful and good; the rest he should leave to make up the numbers" (Sen. *Clem.* 1.5.7) typifies the elite's attitude.¹ Comedic, satiric, or fictional sources offer something of a counterweight, since they are often set in the milieu of the Roman world's social basement. Thus, Petronius' *Satyrica* and Apuleius' novel *The Golden Ass* contain much useful information about how the masses lived, as do satirists such as Juvenal or Martial.² Nevertheless, there tends to hang even over these sources a distinct miasma of condescension, and careful interpretative strategies are required to sort out the typical from that which has been exaggerated or parodied for effect.

Epigraphy can offset this bias to some degree, since some of the material comes directly from the lower orders, if not from the very lowest. These inscriptions might appear to have no overt social filter, but even so they are often influenced by the epigraphic culture of the elite. More importantly, inscriptions can impart information—or at least allow interesting inferences—about how the various strata of Roman society interacted in the kind of mundane contexts habitually overlooked by elite literary authors. Public documents, such as the statutes of *collegia* or the commemoration of benefactions, reveal the links between different strata of Roman society or how the ordinary people were entertained at public social events and received a variety

¹ MacMullen (1974: 138–141) offers a "lexicon of snobbery" and compiles the pejoratives used by the elite to denote the lower orders. Perceptive comments in Peachin 2010.

² Petronius: Veyne 1961; D'Arms 1981: 97–120; Bodel 1994; Schmeling 2011; Apuleius: Millar 1981; Riess 2001; Bradley 2012. On social life in Juvenal, Mayor 1889 is still valuable; cf. Braund 1989. Martial: Sullivan 1991.

of benefits that ameliorated their everyday life thanks to the generosity of the elite. Gravestones can be used to elucidate the working life, habits, and living conditions of humbler Romans. Most direct of all are graffiti, through which some commoners themselves gain a voice, although these texts are sometimes difficult to interpret.

ASSOCIATIONS AND SOCIAL LIFE IN THE ROMAN CITY

Societies and associations (*collegia*) were a common feature of social life among the freeborn *plebs*, freedmen, and slaves, since they were both practical and offered a way for the undifferentiated masses to lay claim to the sort of social distinctions and exclusivity that pervaded the upper orders. This fact in itself is significant, as it shows that rather than trending toward egalitarianism, the masses organized themselves along the same hierarchical lines as the larger society of which they were a part. Stratification as a keynote of social thought reached all the way down to the bottom, or at least as far down as we can view from the surviving evidence.

Collegia were built around professions—smiths, carpenters, musicians, scribes, among others—or religious cults.³ The terms “funerary associations” or “burial clubs” are often used to describe *collegia*, but this is misleading since their purpose was never restricted simply to provide funerary services.⁴ Such associations normally met in a specific venue, an excellent example of which is the so-called *sacellum* of the *Augustales* from Misenum.⁵ An inscription from Tolentinum (*CIL* IX 5568 = *ILS* 7256) records the construction of a *schola* for the *collegium* of builders (*fabri tignuarii*) “from the foundations up” (*ab inchoato*) on land supplied by one T. Furius Primigenius, who was probably the patron of the *collegium*. Furius also established a foundation of 10,000 *sestertii*, the interest on which was to pay for a banquet for the membership every year on his birthday. The phrase with which the inscription opens, *ex s(enatus) c(onsulto)*, provides an indication that that permission had to be obtained from the Roman senate before a new *collegium* could be set up:⁶

*ex s(enatus) c(onsulto) / schola Aug(usta) colleg(ii) fabror(um) / tignuar(iorum)
impendi(i)s ipsorum ab inchoato exstructa solo dato ab T(ito) Fu(r)io Primigenio qui et*

³ Fundamental collections of inscriptional material: Waltzing 1895–1900; De Robertis 1973; cf. Patterson 1994. Associations in the cities of the Greek East: van Nijf 1997.

⁴ Ausbüttel 1982, followed by Slater 2000: 111; Bendlin 2011. The misleading older view is found in, e.g., Hopkins 1984: 211–217.

⁵ Miniero 2000: 45–77 (contributions by F. Zevi, P. Pensabene, and S. Adamo Muscettola); cf. D’Arms 2000.

⁶ Archaeological and epigraphic evidence for *scholae*: Bollmann 1998. Permission by the Senate: Bendlin 2011: 237–247.

dedic(at)ione eius HS X(milia) n(ummum) ded(it) / ex cuius summ(ae) redit(u) omnib(us) annis XII k(alendas) August(as) / die natalis sui epulentur

Following a decree of the Senate, the Augustan hall of the association of builders was built at their own expense from the foundations up, after T. Furius Primigenius had donated a plot of land. At the hall's dedication, he also gave 10,000 sesterces, so that from the interest on which every year on the 21 July, his birthday, (the members) might feast.

The texts on a pair of statue bases set up at Puteoli in 139/140 to honour the emperor Antoninus Pius (*CIL X 1642 = ILS 335*) and his wife Faustina (*CIL X 1643*; Fig. 23.1) by the *collegium scabillariorum* (i.e., an association of those musicians who wore clackers attached to their shoes to accompany theatrical performances; cf. Cic. *Cael.* 27, 65; Suet.



FIG. 23.1 Statue base honouring Faustina the Elder, 139/140 CE, set up at Puteoli by the association of *scabillarii*. Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Naples.

Calig. 54) confirm that the association was “permitted to meet thanks to a *senatus consultum*” (*quibus s(enatus) c(onsulto) coire licet*):

Faustinae Aug(ustae)
Imp(eratoris) Caesaris
T(iti) Aeli Hadriani
Antonini Aug(usti) Pii p(atris) p(atriciae)
 5 *tribunic(ia) pot(estate) III co(n)s(ulis) III*
collegium
scabillariorum
quibus s(enatus) c(onsulto) coire licet
l(ocus) d(atus) d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)

To Faustina Augusta (wife) of (the emperor) Antoninus Pius, father of the fatherland, holding the tribunician power for the third time, consul three times, the association of clacker-players, who were authorized to meet by a decree of the Senate (dedicated this). Space (for the statue) given by decree of the decurions.

The surviving statute (*lex*) of the *collegium* of Diana and Antinous at Lanuvium (*CIL* XIV 2112 = *ILS* 7212 = *FIRA* III 35; cf. Ch. 19) tells us much about the membership of that particular association.⁷ The fee to join was one hundred sesterces, plus an amphora of wine, with monthly dues of five *asses* after that. This would put membership well within the financial range of many commoners. More surprisingly, slaves could join. Slave members who were manumitted had to donate an amphora of wine. Officials called “dinner masters” (*magistri cenarum*), who were presumably slightly better off than the average member, were required to provide an amphora of good wine, as well as bread, sardines, couch covers, and warm water (to be mixed with the wine). Those who were made dinner masters but did not perform these duties were fined thirty sesterces. There were also officials called *quinquennales* (“five-yearly officers”), and they presumably also hailed from the more elevated end of the membership’s social scale, since on the birthdays of Diana and Antinous (the society’s patron deities) these men had to provide oil for the entire membership at the public baths prior to the celebratory banquet.⁸

What these inscriptions reveal is that the members of such societies could hail from an impressive span of the social spectrum, all of them below the level of the senatorial or equestrian elite, but still sufficiently stratified so that some members faced the burden of provisioning for the rest. Members of the elite could act as patrons of the entire club.⁹ There is no indication that on the festive occasions mentioned in these texts—dinners, baths, festive days, banquets—access to the events was restricted in any way, even if some members got less money or less food than others. The inscriptions,

⁷ Bendlin 2011 for full discussion.

⁸ A *lex* of another *collegium*, the *familia* of Silvanus, from Trebula Mutuesca, dated 60 CE, in *AE* 1929, 161 = *FIRA* III 37; cf. Buonocore and Diliberto 2002–3.

⁹ Clemente 1972; for the Greek East, van Nijf 2003.

therefore, imply a degree of social mixing within these *collegia* on these occasions, even as an effort was made to preserve the appropriate distinctions.¹⁰

PRIVATE MUNIFICENCE AND PUBLIC PLEASURES: BANQUETING AND BATHING

Another type of public inscription that elucidates urban social life are those commemorations of benefactions that provided pleasures for the inhabitants of the community concerned. Although there was a wide variety of ways in which private munificence could manifest itself, two categories of commemorative text are particularly instructive: inscriptions pertaining to public banquets and bathing benefactions. Typical of the former is an inscription carved on a rock-face within a carefully prepared frame outside the walls of Ferentinum (Ferentino) in southern Latium (*CIL* X 5853 = *ILS* 6271):

A(ulo) Quinctilio A(uli) f(ilio) / Pal(atina) tribu) Prisco, / IIIIvir(o) aed(ilicia) potestate, IIIIvir(o) i(ure) / d(icundo), IIIIvir(o) q(uin)q(uennali), adlecto ex s(enatus) c(onsulto), / pont(ifici), praef(ecto) fabr(um). / [hu]ius ob eximiam munificent(iam), quam in munic(ipes) suos contulit, senat(ores) statuam publice ponend(am) in foro, ubi ipse / vellet, censuere. h(onore) a(ccepto) i(mpensam) r(emisit)... ex quorum reditu de HS IV m(ilia) CC / quod annis VI id(us) Mai(as) die natal(i) suo perpet(uo) daretur praesent(ibus) / municipib(us) et incol(is) et mulierib(us) nuptis crustul(i) p(ondo) I, mulsi hemin(a), / et circa triclin(ia) decurionib(us) mulsum et crust(ulum) et sportul(as) HS X n(ummum), / item puer(is) curiae increment(is), et VIvir(is) Aug(ustalibus) quibusq(ue) u(na?) v(escendum?) e(st?) crust(ulum) / mulsum et HS VIII n(ummum); et in triclin(io) meo ampl(ius) in sing(ulos) h(omines) HS I n(ummum); et in orn(atum) / statuae et imag(inum) mear(um) r(es) p(ublica) perpet(uo) HS XXX n(ummum) impend(at) arbitr(atu) IIIIvir(or)um, / aedilium cura. favorabil(e) est, si puer(is) plebeis sine distinctione liber/tatis nucum sparsion(em) mod(iorum) XXX et ex vini urnis VI potionum / eministration(em) digne incrementis praestiterint.

To A. Quinctilius Priscus, son of Aulus, of the voting tribe Palatina, *quattuorvir* with power of an aedile, *quattuorvir* for the administration of justice, five-yearly *quattuorvir* (= with local censorial power), adlected (i.e., to the local senate) by decree of the senate (of Ferentinum), (local) pontifex, *praefectus fabrum*. The senators decreed that, on account of the outstanding munificence he conferred on his fellow townspeople, a statue be set up at public expense in the forum, wherever he himself wished it to be. He accepted the honour and remitted the cost of the statue... [There follows a record of a fund established by Priscus from specified landholdings.]... From the interest on this sum (i.e., 70,000 *sestertii*) amounting to 4,200 *sestertii*, every year in perpetuity on 10

¹⁰ Tran 2006 for the range of social statuses among members of *collegia* in Italy and the Gallic provinces.

May, his birthday, such townspeople, residents, and married women as are present are to be given a pound of pastries and a measure of honeyed wine; and that around the dining-couches (*triclinia*), honeyed wine and pastries and cash handouts of ten *sestertii* be given to the decurions; likewise for the boys marked out as of potential decurional status; and that pastries and honeyed wine and a cash handout of eight *sestertii* be given to the *seviri Augustales* and those who are to dine with them; and a further one *sestertius* per person be given to those dining on my set of dining-couches; and the community is to spend thirty *sestertii* toward the decoration of my statue and images as instructed by the *quattuorviri* under the supervision of the aediles. It is good if they (i.e., the local officials) offer to the plebeian boys, without distinguishing freeborn from freedmen, a distribution of nuts weighing thirty *modii* and to those of potential decurional status a serving of drinks from six urns of wine administered in a dignified fashion.

The inscription reveals much about the social dynamics of ancient benefaction and the practicalities of how this sort of communal social event was staged.¹¹ In the first place, the inscription marks the endpoint of a process: the recognition by the town of Priscus' past generosity in paying out sums of money in unspecified acts of munificence. Such acts would have been obvious to the townspeople of Ferentinum, and perhaps commemorated with inscriptions of their own in situ (a text on a building Priscus had restored, for instance), but now lost. The text outlines in detail the honours that the town paid to Priscus for his generosity: a statue to be erected at public expense. In fact, a statue base survives from Ferentinum that shows that he was also *patronus* of the *municipium* (*CIL X 5852*). We are also informed in the inscription how he then, in gratitude for these honours, established a foundation, the interest on which was to be spent on an annual public banquet, staged presumably in the forum, to mark his birthday. Much detail is then provided about how the banquet was to be held. The inscription, therefore, offers a snapshot of a communal social event in which most members of the community got to participate (unmarried women were apparently excluded entirely), but in a manner that carefully maintained the appropriate social distinctions.¹² Ancient images of public banqueting corroborate the picture painted by inscriptions and show some people reclining at *triclinia* while others (of lower social status) are seated at tables, with servants seeing to the diners' needs.¹³

By the first century BCE, the public bathhouse had become a node of social life in Roman communities and the habit was exported to all corners of the Empire in the course of the imperial period.¹⁴ Inscriptions provide a remarkably vivid window onto

¹¹ Epigraphic evidence for public banqueting: Mrozek 1987; Pudliszewski 1992; Slater 2000; Donahue 2004a.

¹² Donahue 2004a: 163–239 for some of the most representative and informative public dining inscriptions from the Latin West. Note also examples included in the price lists of Duncan-Jones 1982: 89–119 (North Africa) and 156–237 (Italy).

¹³ Dunbabin 2003: 72–102.

¹⁴ The archaeology of Roman baths in general: Yegül 1992, 2010; Nielsen 1993. Regional studies: Farrington 1995; Fernández Ochoa and García Entero 2000; Thébert 2003; Reis 2004; Guérin-Beauvois and Martin 2007.

the social role of the baths in Roman towns. Honorific inscriptions, for instance, record beneficent grants of free bathing or distributions of olive-oil. The identification of the beneficiaries can be vague: free bathing given “to the people” (*populo*) (*CIL XIV 3015 = ILS 6256, Praeneste*).¹⁵ But some inscriptions are more specific, such as this example from Suasa in ancient Umbria, probably of Augustan date (*CIL XI 6167 = ILS 5673*):

L(ucio) Octavio L(ucii) f(ilio) Cam(ilia tribu)
Rufo trib(uno) mil(itum) leg(ionis) IIII
Scythicae praef(ecto) fabr(um)
bis duomviro quinq(uennali) ex
 5 *s(enatus) c(onsulto) et d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) auguri ex d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)*
(vac) creato (vac)
qui lavationem gratuitam
municipib(us) incolis
hospitib(us) et adventorib(us)
 10 *uxsorib(us) serveis ancilleis-*
que eor(um) in perpetuom
dedit d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) publ(ice) patrono

To L. Octavius Rufus, son of Lucius, of the voting tribe Camilia, military tribune of the Legio IIII Scythica, *praefectus fabrum* twice, five-yearly *duumvir* (i.e., with local censorial powers) by resolution of the (local) senate and decree of the decurions, appointed augur by decree of the decurions, who gave in perpetuity free bathing to the citizens of the town, the residents, guests, and visitors, their wives, their slaves, and their female slaves. (This monument was erected) in honor of our patron by decree of the decurions from public funds.

This inscription specifies the various categories of person to whom the offer of free bathing applied, namely, citizens of Suasa (*municipes*), resident aliens (*incolae*), guests of the town (*hospites*), visitors (*adventores*), the wives (*uxores*) of all the preceding, and—most interestingly—their males and female slaves (*servi* and *ancillae*). This latter notation would seem to make explicit the likelihood that at least some slaves could use public baths as customers; otherwise they were to be found at the baths as attendants on the customers.¹⁶ The inscription also reveals the sort of social mix that could be found in a typical Roman public bath, and there is no indication that the status groups were separated in any way as they bathed in contrast with the situation at formal events, such as the public banquets just reviewed or the seating arrangements at spectacles. While literary sources offer vignettes and anecdotes set against the backdrop of the baths (e.g., Plin. *Ep.* 3.14; SHA *Hadr.* 17.5–7), inscriptions like this provide very direct testimony as to who got to use a community’s bathing facility. Even more direct are graffiti (on which, see p. 503).

Benefactions could be combined, of course, as when a prominent local priestess at Cartima in Baetica carried out various constructional repairs on baths and other

¹⁵ Further discussion, and translation: Fagan 1999a: 300 no. 197.

¹⁶ Further discussion: Fagan 1999a: 302 no. 206; 1999b.

buildings in her town, funded spectacles, and put on a public banquet in the forum (*CIL* II 1956 = *ILS* 5512 = *EAOR* VII 7).¹⁷ The inscription offers a fine example of how a local magnate could benefit her town in a variety of ways that included communal social events for the townspeople. As these inscriptions illustrate, it was habitual in the ancient world for those with money to spend their private wealth for public benefit, a process known as “euergetism,” a term introduced by Paul Veyne and widely adopted by subsequent scholars.¹⁸ The return on such investments lay not in the financial realm, but in the social. The generosity of the benefactors earned them respect, influence, and prominence within their communities, and was publicly acknowledged with statues and commemorative inscriptions.

SEX IN THE CITY: BROTHELS, BARS, AND BOARD GAMES

The scribblings of ordinary Romans offer a particularly vivid medium whereby the voices of humbler ancients can echo across the centuries. Technically, different categories should be distinguished among these texts. Some were painted on plastered walls (often known as “dipinti”), while true graffiti were scratched on walls (and hence are sometimes referred to by epigraphers as “tituli scarifati”). The chances of survival for such texts are limited. The most informative material comes from the Vesuvian cities, in particular in the form of “dipinti,” while substantial concentrations and isolated examples of graffiti survive from other sites: for instance, on the Palatine in Rome.¹⁹ At Pompeii external plastered walls were covered with all sorts of written material, from advertisements to spectacle announcements to election posters (*programmata*) in support of various candidates for local office. These were published in a separate volume of the standard corpus of Latin inscriptions: *CIL* IV, fascicles of which appeared between 1871 and 1970, with a new one currently in preparation.²⁰ The social bonds that lie behind these notices remain obscure—the political support expressed in them appears to rest variously on neighbourhood loyalties (*CIL* IV 3775 = *ILS* 6409), business arrangements (*CIL* IV 103 = *ILS* 6410), personal ties (*CIL* IV 3294 = *ILS* 6414), or the expectation of favours (*CIL* IV 429 = *ILS* 6412e).²¹

¹⁷ Fagan 1999a: 253 no. 71; Donahue 2004b.

¹⁸ Veyne 1976; Ch. 24.

¹⁹ Solin and Itkonen-Kaila 1966; Castrén and Lilius 1970; Solin 2005 (the graffiti from a house near Stazione Termini in Rome). Provincial examples: Leynaud 1922 (Africa); Zucca 2000 (Sardinia); Guillier and Thauré 2003 (Gallia Lugdunensis). For a useful survey of figured graffiti, some with inscriptions, including many examples from the provinces, see Langner 2001; cf. Baird and Taylor 2011.

²⁰ cf. Diehl 1930; Canali and Cavallo 1991.

²¹ The *programmata*: Castrén 1975; Franklin 1980; Mouritsen 1988; Ch. 12.

Such electoral notices, however, are only the tip of the iceberg. We know from graffiti that an egg-seller had a stall outside the Forum Baths at Herculaneum (*CIL* IV 10603), while another stall selling nuts, bread, cutlets, lard, sausages, and drinks stood in a room adjacent to the entrance of the Suburban Baths in the same town—the owner etched his price list into the wall (*CIL* IV 10674; an alternative reading sees the list as a tally of food consumed by a bather).²² It is not surprising that much ancient graffiti, like its modern counterpart, was concerned with sex. From the Suburban Baths in Herculaneum come a couple of texts recording vigorous visits to the baths by two imperial slaves (*CIL* IV 10678): *Apelles Mus cum fratre Dextro / amabiliter futuimus bis bina(s)* (“We, Apelles ‘the Mouse’ and his brother Dexter, lovingly fucked two women twice”). Apelles identifies himself as an imperial *cubicularius* (chamberlain) in an adjacent graffiti (*CIL* IV 10677).²³ It seems that the cemeteries outside the city were favored locations for sexual encounters, often described with eye-popping candour and in poor Latin (and, be warned, the translations reflect the crass vulgarity of the original Latin):

Martialis cun(n)uli(n)gus (*CIL* IV 1331)

Martial, the cunt-licker.

L(ucius) Habonius sauciat / irrumat Caes(i)um / Felic(e)m (*CIL* IV 10232a; cf. IV 5408, IV 10233)

L. Habonius ploughs and fucks Caesius Felix in the ass.

These graffiti might be little more than calumnies against the named parties, of course, but the same cannot be said of one of the brothels at Pompeii (Region VII, *insula* xii, 18–20, according to the traditional topographical reference system), which was festooned with over one hundred examples of graphically sexual graffiti, including the following:

hic ego puellas multas / futui (*CIL* IV 2175)

I’ve fucked lots of girls here!

Felix / bene futuis (*CIL* IV 2176)

Felix, you fuck well!

Arphocras hic cum Drauca / bene futuit denario (*CIL* IV 2193; Fig. 23.2)

Arphocras (i.e., Harpocras) had a good fuck with Drauca here for a *denarius*.

pedicare volo (*CIL* IV 2210)

I want to fuck ass!

Fortunata fellat (*CIL* IV 2259)

Fortunata gives head!

Murtis bene / fel(l)as (*CIL* IV 2273)

Myrtis, you give good head!

Many of the graffiti from this place (*CIL* IV 2173–2296) are simply the names of customers or prostitutes, but examples like those above leave little to the imagination.²⁴

²² Fagan 1999a: 323–324 nos. 276–277, with commentary.

²³ Fagan 1999a: 324, nos 278–279.

²⁴ Varone 2002. McGinn 2004 on prostitution discusses much epigraphic evidence.

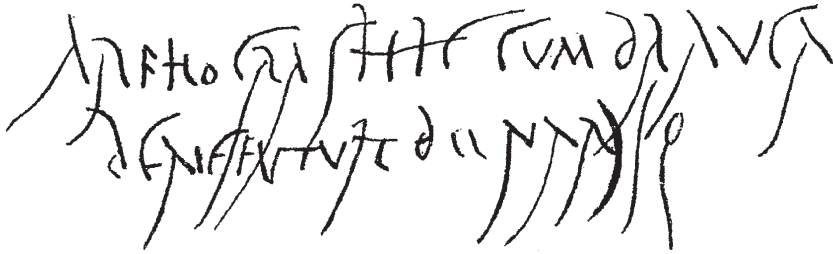


FIG. 23.2 Graffito with erotic content from one of the many brothels in Pompeii.

Aside from brothels and sexual encounters in general, taverns were places of regular social gathering for the lower orders in Rome.²⁵ The graffiti from such places have a predictable banality that, at the same time, lends life at the Roman tavern a striking immediacy. At Pompeii we read that “Ampliatius was here with his mates” (*CIL IV 3941: Ampliatius cum / suis sodalibus hic*), while in a tavern on the Via degli Augustali the barmaid (*vinaria*) (H)edone informs her customers about the price of various wines served there (*CIL IV 1679*):

(H)edone / dicit / assibus hic / bibitur / dipundium / si dederis meliora / bibes / quartus / si dederis vina Falerna bib(es)

Hedone says: Drinks served here for an *as*. If you pay double, you’ll drink better. If you pay quadruple, you’ll drink Falernian.

In another tavern in the sixth region of the town a series of painted images with scribbled dialogue records a dispute over a board game involving dice. A figure seated at a table says *Exsi!* (“I’m out”), having apparently thrown the dice. His opponent, standing, declares *Non! / tria duas / est!* (“No, it’s three two’s!”). In the next scene the two players are shown fighting and cursing each other as the bartender approaches saying, *itis foras / rixsatis* (“You’re going outside to quarrel”) (*CIL IV 3494a–i*).²⁶ The cause of this dispute was most likely *alea*, a game combining the chance of dice throws with the skill of moving playing pieces strategically around a board (rather like backgammon). It was an immensely popular pastime among ancient Romans of all classes, but was especially associated with the *plebs*, who played it above all in the tavern (Mart. 5.84). As a result, *alea* was associated with gambling, drunkenness, and wasting time, and that naturally attracted the opprobrium of the moralizing bloviators.²⁷ Both the boards (*tabulae lusoriae*) and the gaming pieces (*tesserae*) could be inscribed. The latter usually bore evocative, jocular, or obscene labels: *nugator* (“Joker”), *argute* (“Crafty”), *arpax* (“Rapacious”), *fur* (“Thief”), *ebriose* (“The Drunk”), *lupa* (“She-Wolf” or “Whore”), *patice* (“Catamite”), or *cunnio* (“Cunty”) (*ILS 8625*, with many other examples from

²⁵ Kleberg 1957; Hermansen 1982: 185–205; Toner 1995: 65–88; Fagan 2006: 373–376.

²⁶ Langner 2001.

²⁷ Purcell 1995: esp. 6–16.

Rome, Perugia, and Florentia). Inscribed gaming boards have three pairs of six-letter words in three rows that demarcate the playing field and at the same time spell out aphoristic sayings, such as:

P	A	R	T	H	I		O	C	C	I	S	I
B	R	[I]	T	T	[O]		V	I	C	T	V	S
L	V	D	I	T	[E]		[R]	O	M	A	N	I

The Parthians are killed; the Briton is conquered; play, Romans! (*ILS* 8626a, Rome)

I	N	V	I	D	A		P	V	N	C	T	[A]
I	V	B	E	N	T		F	E	L	I	C	E
L	V	D	E	R	E		D	O	C	T	V	M

The grudging dots [of the dice] compel the expert to play with luck. (*CIL* VIII 7998 = *ILS* 8626c, Rusicade, Numidia)

C	I	R	C	V	S		P	L	E	N	V	S
C	L	A	M	O	R		P	O	P	V	L	I
[G	A	V	D	I	A]		C	I	V	I	V	M

Circus full, applause of the people, citizens enjoying themselves! (*CIL* IX 4907 = *ILS* 8626e, Trebula Mutuesca, Samnium)

T	A	B	V	L	A		C	I	R	C	V	S
B	I	C	T	V	S		R	E	C	E	D	E
L	V	D	E	R	E		N	E	S	C	I	S

The board is a circus. If you lose, go home. You don't know how to play. (*AE* 1949, 82, Rome)

The first allegorizes the board game as warfare; the second alludes to the competing principles of luck and skill that were the essence of play; and the third and fourth refer to the related pastime of watching chariot races in the circus. Chariot racing, like playing the board game, was a prime locus of gambling in ancient Rome, appealed to the same instincts, and attracted the same classes of people. A board carved into the pavement at Timgad in N. Africa sums it all up (*CIL* VIII 17938 = *ILS* 8626f): *venari / lavari / ludere / ridere / occ est / vivere* ("Hunting, bathing, playing, laughing—that's living!").²⁸

²⁸ Ferrua 1946; Purcell 1995: 17–28.

THE COUNTRYSIDE

It has been widely observed that inscriptions were predominantly an urban phenomenon.²⁹ They were found in the countryside too, however, usually associated with villages (*vici*) and rural districts (*pagi*), and they contain useful information about social life there.³⁰ Rural shrines and altars were places of social interaction, as illustrated by the group of almost one hundred votive altars from the shrine of Endovellicus in São Miguel da Mota near Alandroal (Portugal).³¹ Rural forts could serve as meeting-places for a variety of individuals. So, for instance, a dedication to Hercules for the health of Antoninus Pius was erected by “the veterans, Roman citizens, and settlers” (*veterani et cives Romani et consistentes*) at a fort near Abritus in Moesia Inferior (*AE* 1957, 97).³² The inscription implies a fairly high degree of interaction among the named groups, at least in the religious sphere. Occasionally rock-cut inscriptions reveal much about cult activities in the countryside, as in the bilingual Latin/Lusitanian inscription from Panóias in northern Portugal.³³

More informative inscriptions come from *vici* or *pagi* located in the territories of larger urban centers. Many of these are epitaphs, dedications, or records of building activity. Notices of work commissioned and overseen by village authorities echo those of the larger urban centers, as in a late republican example from Peltuinum in the central Apennines (*CIL* I² 1803 = IX 3435 = *ILLRP* 637):³⁴

P(ublius) Novelledius V(ibi) f(ilius) T(itus) Cominius Sal(vi) f(ilius) / a(ediles) v(ici?) F(urfensis?) o(pus) d(e) v(ici) s(ententia) c(oeraverunt)

P. Novelledius son of Vibius and T. Cominius son of Salvius, aediles of the village of Furfo, oversaw the work following a decision of the village.

Simple dedications from rural communities (for example, *CIL* II 743 = *ILER* 670; *CIL* XIII 5076 = *ILS* 7012) or building inscriptions that list *magistri* of a *vicus* or a rural cult provide insight into the prosopography of village life, as, for instance, in an inscription commemorating the construction of a temple of Hercules by a group of freedmen and a slave who were all *magistri* of the cult at Iulium Carnicum in N. Italy (*CIL* V 1830). An advertisement for a bath-building on a rural estate at Ficulea, a small town NE of Rome,

²⁹ Bodel 2001: 8–10; cf. Shaw 1984: 478–481.

³⁰ Tarpin 2002: 305–416 provides a useful catalogue of texts relating to *vici* and *pagi*. An important collection of articles on rural epigraphy: Calbi, Donati, and Poma 1993. Rock-cut inscriptions are usually found in the countryside (see, for instance, Gasperini 1992; Rodríguez Colmenero and Gasperini 1996), but they are not often particularly revealing about social life.

³¹ *IRCP* 482–565; cf. Dias and Coelho 1995–1997; Guerra 2007.

³² Further examples: Bérard 1993: 84–90.

³³ Alföldy 1997.

³⁴ Other examples: *CIL* IX 5052 = *ILS* 5404 = *ILLRP* 152 (Picenum); *CIL* XI 3040 = *ILS* 106 (Viterbo); *AE* 1987, 321 (Samnium).

makes the claim that rural inhabitants could enjoy the pleasures of bathing there as in the city (*CIL* XIV 4015 = *ILS* 5720):

in [h]is praedis Aure/liae Faustinianae / balineus (sic), lava(tur) mo/re urbico et omnis / humanitas praesta/tur

On the property of Aurelia Faustiana is a bath, where one bathes in the manner of the city and every refinement is available.

In the territory of Arelate (Arles) in Gallia Narbonensis an inscription was set up by the inhabitants (*pagani*) of a rural *pagus* (the *pagus Lucretius*) to honour the freedman Q. Cornelius Zosimus, a *Vivir Augustalis* of Arelate. The latter had undertaken to represent the *pagus* in bringing notice of a grievance to the provincial governor and then to the emperor Antoninus Pius in Rome. The issue centered on the withdrawal of a grant of free bathing and, probably, of an oil distribution that the villagers had enjoyed for some forty years (*CIL* XII 594 = *ILS* 6988).³⁵ The inscription reveals much about how the ties of patronage bound a notable from the urban centre to this outlying community.

Similar bonds stand behind inscriptions from other cities, such as Ostia, where prominent residents are reported to have held local office in the nearby *vicus Augustanus* in the Laurentine territory. This is the same place the consular Pliny the Younger would visit to bathe, if the facilities in his nearby villa were not ready (Plin. *Ep.* 2.17.26). In addition, M. Cornelius Valerianus Epagathianus, a councilman (*decurio*) at Ostia and patron of the ferrymen's association there, was also a *decurio* and possibly a *quattuorvir* in this nearby village (*CIL* XIV 341 = *ILS* 6144).³⁶ Tapping the resources of the nearby urban rich appears to have been a widespread practice of rural communities. These inscriptions further remind us that a nexus of social interactions must be discerned behind even the most seemingly mundane text, and they illustrate how patronage functioned to tie urban centres to the outlying communities within their ambit, and vice versa.

Also instructive are the rural calendars (*menologia rustica*) set up in small towns that contain much information about the organization of time, agricultural tasks, and, implicitly, social activities.³⁷ So, for example, one such calendar (known as the *Menologium rusticum Colotianum*, now in the Museo Archeologico Nazionale in Naples) reads, in part (*CIL* VI 2305 = *ILS* 8745 = *Inscr.It.* XIII.2, 47; cf. Ch. 31):

mensis / Ianuar(ius) / dies XXXI / non(ae) quint(anae) | dies hor(arum) (9¾), / nox hor(arum) (14¼). / Sol / Capricorno / tutela / Iunonis. / palus / aquitur, / salix / harundo / caeditur, / sacrificant / dis / Penatibus.

mensis / Februar(ius) / dies XXVIII / non(ae) quint(anae) / dies hor(arum) (10¾), / nox hor(arum) (13¼). / Sol Aquario / tutel(a) Neptuni. / segetes / sariuntur, vinearum /

³⁵ Fagan 1999a: 304–305 no. 211.

³⁶ *Vicus Augustanus Laurentium*: Simonazzi Masarich 1973; decurions or patrons of this *vicus*: *CIL* XIV 347, 2045 = *ILS* 6150, 1534.

³⁷ Broughton 1936.

superfic(ium) colit(ur), / harundines / incendunt(ur). / Parentalia, / Lupercalia, / Cara Cognatio, / Terminalia.

Month of January. Thirty-one days. The Nones fall on the fifth. $9\frac{3}{4}$ hours of day, $14\frac{1}{4}$ hours of night. The sun is in Capricorn, under the protection of Juno. The stake is sharpened, the willow and reed cut. They sacrifice to the Penates.

Month of February. Twenty-eight days. The Nones fall on the fifth. $10\frac{3}{4}$ hours of day, $13\frac{1}{4}$ hours of night. The sun is in Aquarius, under the protection of Neptune. The fields are weeded; the upper part of the vines is tended; the reeds are burned. The festivals of the Parentalia, Lupercalia, Dear Relatives' Day, and Terminalia.

The inscription charts the rhythms of rural life and also allows us to imagine how the community worked together at the various necessary tasks prescribed for each month. The religious festivals would be marked by communal festivities of all sorts. The Floralia (celebrated in April or May, and listed in this calendar) involved bedecking in flowers, dancing, and drinking, while banquets (*epula*) for Minerva and Jupiter are also listed in the text. Another text, from the village of Foruli near Amiternum, records how a procurator addressed "the entire population of villagers, or the countryfolk of Foruli when they had gathered together in great numbers at the imperial banquet [presumably a banquet honoring the emperor]" (*AE* 1937, 121 = *Suppl.It.* 9, *Amiternum*, no. 35: *cum universi pagani seu vicani Forulani in [e]/pulo Aug(usteo?) frequentes obvenissent*).³⁸ We can thus gain an impression of how social life played out in the small towns and villages that dotted the Roman countryside.

Markets were a regular feature of Roman life and took place every nine days (*nundinae*), i.e., every eight days by modern reckoning. Inscribed marble slabs with peg holes to mark market days (*parapegmata*) have been found.³⁹ One such (*CIL* VI 32505 = *Inscr.It.* XIII.2, 49; Fig. 23.3) includes a list of market days down the right-hand margin: *nundinae / Aquini / in vico / Interam(nae) / Minturn(is) / Romae / Capuae / Casini / Fabrat(eriae)* ("Markets: at Aquinum, in our town, at Interamna, Minturnae, Rome, Capua, Casinum, Fabrateria") with the pegholes to the left of each name. All of these towns are in or around Latium, evidently reachable from the (unknown) place the inscription was set up.⁴⁰ The inscription may have benefited producers of goods or travelling salespeople, indicating where they should travel to next. Whatever the case, market days in rural communities were especially sociable occasions for the local population, with hucksters and traveling entertainers on hand and newcomers coming to town, or conversely, they offered locals a chance to travel to other towns and sample their amenities. Local services would be in demand and the local economy would benefit.

³⁸ Tarpin 2002: 396 no. IV.32.3. Further examples of banquets for *vicani* and *pagani*: *CIL* IX 1503 = *ILS* 6508; *CIL* XI 2998; *AE* 1979, 147.

³⁹ MacMullen 1970; Frayn 1993: 39–42; Ker 2010: 376–384; Lo Cascio 2000; cf. *Inscr.It.* XIII.2, 50 (= *CIL* IX 2318), 52, 53 (= *CIL* IV 8863). Epigraphic evidence for rural markets: Mitchell 1999: 35, with Table 3 (province of Asia); Shaw 1981 (Africa).

⁴⁰ MacMullen 1970: 340–341; cf. *ILMN* 612 (with a photograph of the surviving fragment); Tarpin 2002: 330 no. I.A.21.1.

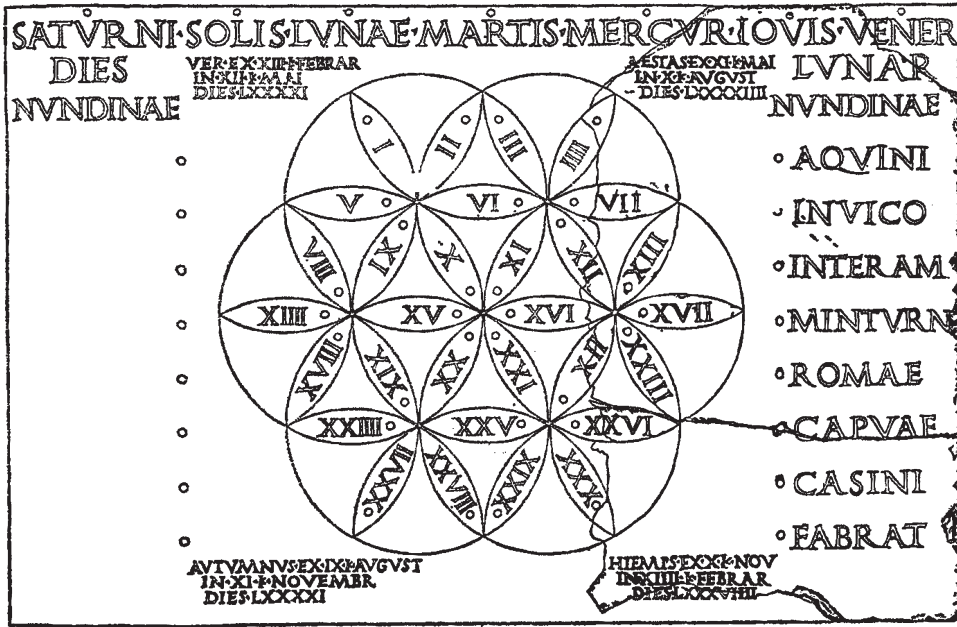


FIG. 23.3 Marble plaque with a list of market locations in S. Latium and Campania. Line-drawing incorporating the surviving fragment (now in the Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Naples) and with the rest restored.

A rather unusual inscription from Aesernia in Samnium appears to record a transaction conducted by one such traveller in the countryside and in a certain way sums up a number of themes discussed in this chapter. A relief at the bottom of the stone shows a man taking money from a hooded and cloaked traveller in the centre, with a saddled mule to the right. The text reads (*CIL IX 2689 = ILS 7478*; Fig. 23.4):

*L(ucius) Calidius Eroticus
sibi et Fanniae Voluptati v(ivus) f(ecit).
copo, computemus.
habes vini (sextarium) I, pane(m)
5 a(ss)e I, pulmentar(ium) a(ssibus) II. convenit. puell(am)
a(ssibus) VIII. et hoc convenit. faenum
mulo a(ssibus) II. iste mulus me ad factum
dabit.*

The opening line is a straightforward funerary formula: “L. Calidius Eroticus made (this monument) for himself and Fannia Voluptas while he was alive.” But the rest of the text is a conversation involving all three of the figures pictured below:

“Innkeeper, let’s settle up!” [Presumably this is the hooded traveller speaking.]
“You have one *sextarius* [a measurement of liquid] of wine and bread: one *as*.
Relish: two *asses*.” [Presumably this is the figure to the left speaking: the *caupo*.]



FIG. 23.4 An inscribed relief mentioning L. Calidius Eroticus and Fannia Voluptas and showing (below) an innkeeper and a hooded traveller with a mule. Aesernia, Samnium. The Louvre (inv. MA 3165).

“Agreed.”

“The girl: eight *asses*.”

“Agreed again.”

“Hay for the mule: two *asses*.”

“That mule will be the ruin of me!”

The humorous conversation is deeply incongruous with the solemn funerary tone set by the opening line. If this is a gravestone, perhaps the deceased Eroticus just had a good sense of humour, or maybe the entire stone is a joke, set up outside a tavern to advertize its services. Whatever the case, it suggests something of the experience of travelling in the countryside in the ancient world.⁴¹

⁴¹ Flobert 1980; Terenziani 2008. Travel more generally: Casson 1974; Matthews 2006; Ch. 30.

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CHAPTER 24

URBAN INFRASTRUCTURE AND EUERGETISM OUTSIDE THE CITY OF ROME

MARIETTA HORSTER

THE ROMAN EMPIRE: EUERGETISM IN A WORLD OF CITIES

At its peak the Roman Empire comprised a mosaic of some two thousand flourishing cities.¹ For the establishment and maintenance of their infrastructure, they benefited in large part from the contributions of wealthy citizens and, in some situations, of outside sponsors. This chapter explores the connection between the monumentalization of cities, the use of local resources, and the involvement of benefactors in civic building operations. Important questions worth exploring include:

- What financial resources did the cities have at their disposal?
- Who was responsible for benefactions that benefited the communities and their inhabitants?
- What did these benefactors donate? What were their motives?
- Where and when did this phenomenon occur?
- What did this munificence mean for the cities?

This is a process that is particularly well attested in inscriptions, and one that is commonly referred to as “euergetism.”

¹ Boatwright 2000: 4. In general on urbanism, Gros and Torelli 2007; for the West, Edmondson 2006: 260–272; for the East, Gleason 2006.

The modern pseudo-Greek term “euergetism” (“doing good deeds”) was coined by the historian Paul Veyne in the 1970s to describe the social practice of an individual providing financial support and benefactions for a civic community. It is based on the Greek verb *euergetein* (“to do a good deed”) and noun *euergetes* (“benefactor”). The title of Veyne’s 1976 monograph on the phenomenon focused on *panem et circenses* (“bread and circuses”; i.e., food and games), as the key “gifts” that members of the civic elite, Hellenistic kings, Roman emperors, or members of senatorial and equestrian orders would present to their fellow citizens or subjects. Equally often euergetism was channelled towards projects of a more lasting nature, namely public buildings. These gifts were part of a specific social and civic ideology in which all sections of civic society participated in a web of expectations and obligations.² Scholars today agree that euergetism was crucially important for Roman civilization.³

Excavations provide most of the data for general patterns and individual examples of urbanism, but the inscriptional evidence is crucial in fleshing out the otherwise voiceless archaeological remains. Without an inscription, we would not know that there was a shrine of Mater Magna at Atina in southern Italy, together with a portico, nor that a private individual, likely an *Augustalis*, was responsible for its construction, nor that its inauguration was accompanied by the offering of cake and honeyed wine sponsored by the same local benefactor (*CIL X 333 = ILS 5418 = Inscr.It. III.1, 127*):⁴

A(ulus) Antonius Horus
aedem Matri magnae
et porticum qui (!) est ante
aedem et cellam sacerd(otis?)
 5 *ab solo pec(unia) sua fec(it)*
d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)
cuius dedicatione
decurionibus et Augustalib(us)
et populo crust(u)lum et mulsum dedit

A. Antonius Horus constructed from the ground up with his own money a shrine of Magna Mater and the portico which is in front of the shrine and an abode for the priest by decree of the decurions. At its dedication he gave cake and honeyed wine to the town councillors, the *Augustales*, and the people.

Even though the epigraphic documentation is not full enough to give an overview of all the procedures involved in funding building projects and other civic benefactions, it does provide a window into the quantity, quality, and variety of such gifts to the community. On the basis of excavations and archaeological finds, and thanks to the abundant inscriptional material collected and documented over many centuries, scholars have been able to write histories of the urban development of particular cities and

² Veyne 1976, 1990.

³ Christol and Masson 1997, esp. Alföldy 1997; Eck 1997; Panciera 1997.

⁴ On the archaeology of Atina, V. Bracco at *Inscr.It. III.1, 127*; Mancini 1994.

regions and of their civic life, including the voluntary financial commitments within the community and from the outside.⁵

The enormous variety in the size and internal layout of the cities has also been discussed.⁶ Urban landscapes are shaped not only by monumentalization and public buildings, but even more by the way people live in a city. Housing and residential quarters (*insulae*) or zones dominated by small traders have left little trace in the epigraphic record and so are not treated here, but their significance for the image and character of a city should not be forgotten.⁷

URBANIZATION AND URBAN INFRASTRUCTURE

The city of Rome became a model for cities in other parts of the Roman world. From the Augustan period on, the principal monumental and architectural features of Rome, as well as its predominant tastes in architectural ornamentation and decoration, spread across the urban landscapes of Italy and the western provinces.⁸ The use of marble decoration and new types of buildings and monumental structures, such as honorific arches or amphitheatres, and a new and different design of the main public spaces of a city made their appearance not only in the western provinces, but also, albeit to a lesser extent, in the cities of Greece and the East. According to Paul Zanker, the “abstract ideals in the built environment” defined the Romanness of a city in the Roman Empire.⁹ However, apart from a few programmatically designed urban landscapes (in particular in Roman colonies), most features of the cities in the Roman Empire were not the result of any preconceived specific plan, but rather developed along lines determined by a shared cultural viewpoint of what a city should contain. Aside from their judicial status, it was the existence of a monumental urban centre with specific public buildings that turned a settlement into a city. In Roman *coloniae* a central position was often

⁵ Regional studies, Italy and Cisalpine Gaul: Gabba 1972; Delplace 1996; Alföldy 1999; Pobjoy 2000; Goffin 2002; Lomas and Cornell 2003; Hispanic provinces: Trillmich and Zanker 1990; Melchor Gil 1994; Panzram 2002; Andreu Pintado 2004; Gallic provinces: Frézouls 1985–87; Dacia: Diaconescu 2004; North Africa: Jouffroy 1986; Wesch-Klein 1990; Britain: Blagg 1990; the Greek East: Zuiderhoek 2009: 78–85.

⁶ Public architecture: Barton 1989a; Gros 2011; town-planning: Gros and Torelli 2007.

⁷ Houses: Gros 2001; for social life and living conditions in cities, Chs. 22–23; Pompeii: Allison 2007; Herculaneum: Dickmann 2007; Ostia: Meiggs 1973: 235–262; Hermansen 1981.

⁸ MacDonald 1986; Pfanner 1990; Zanker 2000. The impact of Roman-style urbanization in Italy and the provinces: Woolf 1998: 106–141; Fentress 2000; Gros and Torelli 2007 *passim*.

⁹ Zanker 2000: 25.

reserved for the local Capitolium with its cult of the three main divinities (Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva) in conscious emulation of the city of Rome.¹⁰

A large variety of buildings are attested epigraphically, whether in formal building inscriptions or in other types of text. A useful guide is provided by the section “Tituli operum locorumque publicorum” in Dessau’s *ILS* (5317–5921), where over forty different types of structure are mentioned, including *moenia*, *turris*, *porta*, *plateum*, *forum*, *via*, *clivus*, *campus*, *compitum*, *templum*, *aedes sacra*, *signum*, *area*, *aerarium*, *tabularium*, *curia*, *secretarium*, *tribunal*, *basilica*, *porticus*, *chalcidicum*, *arcus*, *fornix*, *macellum*, *fullonica*, *ponderarium*, *schola*, *horologium*, *septizonium*, *amphitheatrum*, *theatrum*, *circus*, *sphaeristerium*, *palaestra*, *thermae*, *balneum*, *aquaeductus*, *pons*, *munitio riparum*, *horreum*.

The choice of what to build, where, when, and how to pay for these buildings was not only a question of available financial resources, but also a product of prevailing ideological and cultural views.¹¹ The development of a city’s monumental structure may thus reflect changes both in its economic or political fortunes and in the self-confidence of its citizenry. The monumentalization of cities through large-scale building was a sign of prosperity and success, and sometimes competition between neighbouring towns could lead to conspicuous investments in urban infrastructure, some of which were ill-advised.¹²

A few elements of the urban structure and infrastructure of Roman towns should be singled out, either because of their ubiquity in the imperial period (temples, baths, porticoes) or because of the efforts that were required to complete them (aqueducts or amphitheatres). True to the importance of religion, temples remained a standard element in all local communities, although cults and the physical features of sanctuaries varied regionally and over time.¹³ Guaranteeing the water supply of a Roman town through the construction and upkeep of one or more aqueducts was normally much costlier than the building of an individual temple, but archaeological and epigraphic evidence from the first to third centuries CE shows the emphasis that towns placed on this aspect of urban infrastructure.¹⁴ Some Roman cities, however, managed without an aqueduct (primarily relying on wells and rainwater), and the construction of an aqueduct was sometimes not an absolute need, but rather an element of conspicuous consumption and display.¹⁵ Public baths (*thermae* and *balnea*) enhanced the quality of life, providing a location for leisure and improving individuals’ well-being, as celebrated in numerous inscriptions.¹⁶ On the contrary, sewers and drains are generally not mentioned in inscriptions, but are known almost only from archaeological discoveries.

¹⁰ Crawley Quinn and Wilson 2013.

¹¹ Zanker 2000.

¹² On competition between cities, see Robert 1977; Syme 1981. For bad decisions regarding building, p. 523–524.

¹³ Barton 1989b; cf. Ch. 20.

¹⁴ For an overview, Hodge 1989; for technical aspects, Hodge 2002 (without much use of epigraphy).

¹⁵ Leveau 1991: 158 (with earlier literature); Shaw 1991: 67–68, 71.

¹⁶ The archaeology of baths: Nielsen 1990; Yegül 2009. For the epigraphy, Fagan 1999: esp. 225–347; cf. Ch. 23.

Rarer on the ground and in inscriptions are large entertainment buildings, primarily circuses, amphitheatres, or theatres, but because of their cost and importance in local political and social life, they deserve attention (Ch. 25). Streets were visually upgraded by means of archways, impressive façades, fountains, and a variety of honorific monuments. These features focused attention on a new style of living, attesting that the elite were able and willing to invest in the elegance and beauty of their city. Changes in the design of public spaces and the shift in function of the central forum, with all its honorific monuments, articulated the new role of the city's benefactors (cf. Fig. 8.2).¹⁷

In the imperial period, anyone who walked through a Roman city was confronted with masses of inscriptions relating to public building activities, often the result of private munificence. Such texts invited the passer-by to stop, look, read, and admire.¹⁸ Even those of limited literacy might be able to recognize monumental capital letters, even if they could not read a more complex text (cf. Petr. *Sat.* 58.7: *lapidarias litteras scio*). In Italy and the provinces, as in Rome, major public buildings normally bore prominent inscriptions. They were easy to read; they had large letters (often 20 to 25 cm tall) and were usually short. Some examples are the theatre in Emerita (Mérida) (*CIL* II 474 = *ILS* 130), the imperial cult temple (the "Maison Carrée") in Nemausus (Nîmes) in Gallia Narbonensis (*CIL* XII 3153–56), and the theatre of Lepcis Magna in Africa Proconsularis, with three copies of its dedicatory inscription in Latin paralleled by neo-Punic texts (*IRT* 321–323; Fig. 24.1).

The inscription on the Capitolium at Brixia (Brescia) has two lines of text, commemorating the fact that the emperor Vespasian provided the funds for the building (*CIL* V 4312 = *Inscr.It.* X. 5, 88; Fig. 24.2):

[Imp(erator) Caes(ar) Ves]pasianus A[u]gust[us]
[pont(ifex) max(imus) tr(ibunicia) pote]st(ate) IV imp(erator) X p(ater) p(atriciae)
co(n)s(ul) I[II]I censor

Such inscriptions emphasize that public buildings were sometimes sponsored by emperors, members of the imperial family, or by Roman senators or equestrians, who may or may not have had a family connection in the region. The Roman state also occasionally provided funds, as with the arches set up by the Senate and People of Rome (*SPQR*) at Beneventum (*CIL* IX 1558 + 5998 = *ILS* 296) and Ancona (*CIL* IX 5894 = *ILS* 298). Considering the number of buildings erected and quantity of inscriptions relating to them set up, from the Augustan period onwards cities in the Latin-speaking West became what Greek-speaking cities in Greece and Asia Minor had been for several centuries already: a world of the written word.¹⁹

¹⁷ *Fora* in North Africa and their ensemble of honorific statues: Zimmer 1989 (using much epigraphic evidence); late antique Lepcis Magna: Tantillo and Bigi 2010.

¹⁸ Discussion of the buildings and inscribed monuments along the important processional route at Ephesus: Rogers 1991: 128–135.

¹⁹ The visibility of the written word in cities: Corbier 1987 and 2006: 53–75; Alföldy 1997.



FIG. 24.1 Bilingual inscription in Latin and neo-Punic (IRT 322) over the entrance to the orchestra in the theatre at Lepcis Magna. 1/2 CE. In situ.



FIG. 24.2 Inscription on the architrave of the Capitolium at Brixia (Brescia), Cisalpine Gaul, commemorating Vespasian's funding of the temple, 73 CE. In situ.

MUNICIPAL INSTITUTIONS, PUBLIC FUNDS, AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF LOCAL URBAN INFRASTRUCTURE

Across the Roman world settlements with official civic status (*municipia*, *coloniae*, or *poleis*) were all organized in a similar way. The elected magistrates (for instance, *quaestores*, *aediles*, *duumviri*, *archontes*, *stephanephoroi*) and local council were responsible for everything connected with public finance and property.²⁰ Citizens were not expected to pay direct taxes on income or property. A city's revenues were generated from a variety of sources: leases of public land and buildings, concessions to build on public land, water concessions, fishing rights, market concessions, customs duties, fines, and fees, such as the *summa honoraria* paid by each new decurion as he became a member of the town council.²¹

The inscribed municipal laws of the late republican and imperial periods, namely the *lex coloniae Genetivae Iuliae* and *lex Flavia municipalis* (RS 25 + AE 2006, 645; AE 1986, 333; Ch. 15), show something of the administrative mechanisms by which Roman towns handled matters pertaining to their urban infrastructure. Despite the difference in time and juridical status (*colonia* versus *municipium*), many of the regulations at Urso and Irni are similar, including those on matters of public finance and construction. These legal texts show a specific interest in the physical infrastructure of these towns, while a number of inscriptions reveal some of the expenses that faced Roman communities.²² Decurions and the senior magistrates were responsible for the construction and upkeep of the streets, ditches, and drains (*lex col. Gen. 77*; cf. *lex Flav. mun. 19, 82*):²³

si qu<a>s vias fossas cloacas duumvir aedil(is)ve publice / facere inmittere commutare aedificare mu/nire intra eos fines, qui colon(iae) Iul(iae) erunt, volet, / quot eius sine iniuria privatorum fiet, it is face/re liceto

If a *duumvir* or aedile shall wish to make, bring in, change, build, or construct roads, ditches, or sewers with public money within the territory of the *colonia Iulia*, whatever of this work shall occur without injury to private citizens, this let them be permitted to do.

The water supply of Roman towns must have been of equal importance, but the surviving sections of the municipal laws contain very little in this respect (cf. *lex col.*

²⁰ Cébeillac-Gervasoni 1998: 80–86.

²¹ cf. Liebenam 1900: 1–173; Virlovet 1999; Goffaux 2001; Lo Cascio 2006.

²² Duncan-Jones 1982: 63–119 (North Africa), 120–237 (Italy); and Curchin 1983 (Hispanic provinces) present useful lists of costs, thus providing an idea of the expenses that towns could face. Most of the evidence concerns expenditure by private individuals.

²³ Liebenam 1900: 402–406.

Gen. 100).²⁴ Numerous inscriptions of various kinds instead show how much importance Roman towns attributed to their water supply and hydraulic works (such as *castella, cisternae, fontes, lacus*), and no sector of urban infrastructure is better illustrated in the epigraphic material.²⁵ The supervision of the water supply was apparently entrusted to regular magistrates (such as *duumviri*, aediles, or quaestors), since very few municipal *curatores aquarum* (“water commissioners”) are found in inscriptions, and none outside Italy.²⁶ The well-known edict on the aqueduct of Venafrum complements our knowledge in this field (*CIL* X 4842 = *ILS* 5743); issued by Augustus, it explains the conditions under which Venafrum on the border between Samnium and Campania is to use the water brought in by the aqueduct financed by the emperor.²⁷

In general, building inscriptions start to appear in the late second century BCE and document the activities of magistrates (*duumviri* or *quattuorviri*) in the building process.²⁸ In these inscriptions, most often the name of the magistrate(s) is in the nominative case, the gerundive verb form follows, indicating the nature of the involvement (*faciendum, reficiendum*), combined with the main verb *curare / coerare* or *locare*. Sometimes the approval of the work is mentioned, especially if the building-process was finished by magistrates other than those who had assigned the work-contracts. The authorizing local institution is often mentioned (*de / ex decreto decurionum, ex senatus consulto, de senatus sententia*), and sometimes the source of funding (*pecunia publica*—public money). For example, in Pompeii around 80 BCE, the *duumviri* L. Caesius, C. Occius, and L. Niraemius attended to the building of baths near the forum. The local senate had approved the project and it was then paid for out of public funds (*CIL* I² 1628 = *ILS* 6356 = *ILLRP* 641).²⁹

L(ucius) Caesius C(ai) f(ilius) d(uum)v(ir) i(ure) d(icundo)
C(aius) Occius M(arci) f(ilius)
L(ucius) Niraemius A(uli) f(ilius) I(v)ir(i)
d(e) d(ecurionum) s(ententia) ex peq(unia) publ(ica)
 5 *fac(iundum) cura(ve)r(unt) prob(averunt)que*

Magistrates approved the contracts for the work with entrepreneurs or single craftsmen, expressed epigraphically by the term *faciendum curavit / curaverunt*, and ensured that they were carried out. The inscribed *lex parieti faciendo* dated to 105 BCE from Puteoli (*CIL* I² 698, cf. p. 839 = *FIRA* III 153 = *ILS* 5317 + 5389 = *ILLRP* 518) demonstrates

²⁴ Municipal water concessions: *CIL* X 4654 (Cales); *CIL* X 4760 = *ILS* 6296 (Suessa Aurunca); *CIL* VIII 51 = *ILS* 5777 (Thysdrus, North Africa).

²⁵ *ILS* 5729–98 for a selection.

²⁶ Municipal *curatores aquarum*, Corbier 1984.

²⁷ Braund 1985: no. 793 (translation); Bruun 2012: 14–15 (discussion).

²⁸ Cébeillac-Gervasoni 1998: 66–79.

²⁹ The *Ilvir iure dicundo* is a superior magistrate to the two *Ilviri*, which seems here to designate aediles: Mouritsen 1988: 77, 198 n. 284.



FIG. 24.3 Text recording the building of, and approval process for, a temple of Castor and Pollux at Cora, Latium, supervised by two sets of successive local magistrates.

the precision with which the detailed specifications and guidelines for the building and renovation process were laid down.³⁰

Sometimes inscriptions record more or less explicitly that building work took longer than a single term of office, as when several inscriptions about the same building feature different names of magistrates and different verbs describing their duties (for example, “made the contracts,” “supervised the work,” “dedicated the building”). In Cora, for example, in the early first century BCE in accordance with a decree of the local senate (*de senatus sententia*) one pair of magistrates had supervised the letting of a contract for and most of the construction of (*faciendum coeravere*) a temple of Castor and Pollux. The following year a different pair gave final approval of the construction (*probaverunt*) and had the honour of dedicating the building in a grand ceremony (*dedicaverunt*) (CIL I² 1506 = ILS 3386 = ILLRP 60; Fig. 24.3):

[- -] Calvius P(ubli) f(iilius) P(ubli) n(epos) C(aius) Geminius C(ai) f(iilius) Mateiclus aed[em] / Castoris Pollucis de s(enatus) s(ententia) faciendam pequn(ia) sac(ra) coeraver[e] / [M(arcus)] Calvius M(arci) f(iilius) P(ubli) n(epos) C(aius) Crassicius P(ubli) f(iilius) C(ai) n(epos) Verris d(e) s(enatus) s(ententia) prob[aver]unt] d[edicar]unt]q[ue]

Under the Principate, the absolute number of inscriptions referring to publicly funded building work rises, but their proportion decreases relative to the mass of inscriptions documenting buildings funded by private benefactions. It is difficult to conclude whether this apparent decline in public sponsorship reflects the actual situation—either in the Republic or in the Principate. In general, the wording of public building inscriptions remained similar to those set up in the republican period. Most inscriptions were placed on the friezes or architraves over the main entrance to a building. In many publicly financed construction projects, the texts of the building inscription do not mention either the building concerned, as this was obvious to anyone viewing the text, or the exact character of the work, and they do not specify the amount that the city contributed.

Some building inscriptions reveal that there had been control from above and that the publicly funded construction had to be approved by the imperial administration.³¹

³⁰ Text with photo: Bodel 2001: 53–55. In general Martin 1989.

³¹ Legal sources and Pliny the Younger’s correspondence with Trajan about building projects in Pontus–Bithynia (Plin. *Ep.* 10.37–40, 49–50, 70–71, 90–91, 98–99) offer better information than inscriptions: Jacques 1984: 664–666, 685–686; Kolb 1995; Goffaux 2001: 269; on the Greek East, Mitchell 1987.



FIG. 24.4 Moulded plaque commemorating the repair of an aqueduct called the Aqua Titulensis. Lambaesis, Numidia, late third century CE.

High costs, unpaid bills, budget overruns, unfinished building projects, and neglect of necessary renovation and rebuilding work were probably the crucial points at which emperors (especially from the early second century on) intervened to establish closer control over cities' finances and construction projects by appointing officials known as *curatores rei publicae*.³² They had a supervisory function only and did not usually contribute their own funds towards public building in the community to which they were appointed. For example, at the civilian settlement at Lambaesis in Numidia in the late third century CE Aelius Rufus as *curator rei publicae* oversaw the repair of the aqueduct known as the Aqua Titulensis in collaboration with the governor (*praeses*) of the province of Numidia (CIL VIII 2661 = ILS 5788; Fig. 24.4):

*Aquam Titulensem quam ante annos
plurimos Lambaesitana civitas in
Terverso ductu vi torrentis amiserat
perforato monte instituto etiam a*
5 *solo novo ductu Severinius Apronianus v(ir) p(erfectissimus) p(raeses)
p(rovinciae) N(umidiae)
pat(ronus) col(oniae) restituit cur(ante) Aelio Rufo v(iro) e(gregio) fl(amine)
p(er)p(etuo) cur(atore) r(ei) p(ublicae)*

Severinius Apronianus, *v(ir) p(erfectissimus)*, governor of the province of Numidia, patron of the colony, restored the Aqua Titulensis, which the community of Lambaesis had lost use of many years before in the Terversus section as a result of the force of a torrent, after a completely new stretch had been created by tunnelling through the mountain. Aelius

³² Burton 1979; Camodeca 1980; Jacques 1984.

Rufus, *v(ir) e(gregius)*, *flamen* in perpetuity, and curator of the community, oversaw the project.

However, even though public funds probably often fell short, there were at least two other sources of income that added to a city's wealth and its monumental appearance. The first was the obligation on magistrates holding office to spend a certain amount of their private money, as far as we know, on games (*ludi*) and sacrifices (*lex col. Gen.* 70–71; Ch. 25). In some cases, a magistrate decided to spend his money not on games, but on something else, such as a small building project, as at Pompeii when T. Atullius Celer, *duumvir*, was allowed by the local council to pay for a block of stone-seats (*cuneus* no. 55) in the amphitheatre instead of financing games (*pro lud(is)*) (*CIL* X 854):³³

T(itus) Atullius C(ai) f(ilius) Celer IIv(ir) pro lud(is) LV cun(eum) f(aciendum) c(uravit) ex d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)

In other cases, such compulsory payments were combined with voluntary payments, so that the games could include more combatants or the building's decor could be made more elaborate.³⁴

The second source of income was the so-called *summa honoraria*, attested in the imperial period in Italy, Africa, and some other provinces.³⁵ Magistrates, priests (especially those of the imperial cult), and later even ordinary decurions had to pay an entrance fee prior to assuming office. This payment *ob honorem* was not merged into the general public budget: the elected official or priest could use it for specific purposes for the public good. Some magistrates, priests, or decurions added substantially to the often rather small *summa honoraria*. In this way they were able to pay for larger benefactions *ob honorem*. Because they had the honour of election to an office (*honos*), they were willing, or had even promised in advance in the course of the election campaign (a process known as *pollicitatio*), to pay for a larger benefaction for their home town.

There was no strict dichotomy between *summa honoraria* and benefactions, because frequently both appear together, as in the following example from Corduba. L. Iunius Paulinus, the newly elected priest (*flamen*) of the provincial imperial cult of Baetica, paid for various public spectacles and a statue-group the extraordinary sum of 400,000 sesterces, likely very much larger than the sum he paid *ob honorem* (*CIL* II 5523 = II²/7, 221 = *ILS* 5079; Fig. 24.5):³⁶

Colonia Patric(ia) / L(ucius) Iunius P(ubli) f(ilius) Ser(gia) Paulinus pontif(ex) flamen perpet(uus) IIvir c(olonorum) c(oloniae) P(atriciae) flam(en) provinc(iae) / Baet(icae) edito ob honorem flaminatus munere gladiatorio et duabus lusionib(us) / statuas quas ob honores coniunctos promiserat ex HS CCCC(milibus) posuit et factis circiens(ibus) ded(icavit)

³³ Mouritsen 1988: 99–100.

³⁴ Cébeillac-Gervasoni 1998: 118–125; Panciera 1997.

³⁵ Duncan-Jones 1962, 1982: 82–88, 108–110, 147–155, 215–216; Garnsey 1971.

³⁶ More evidence from Italy and North Africa: Duncan-Jones 1982: 107–108 (ranging from 1,000 to 90,000 sesterces), 216–217 (ranging from 6,000 to 50,000 sesterces).

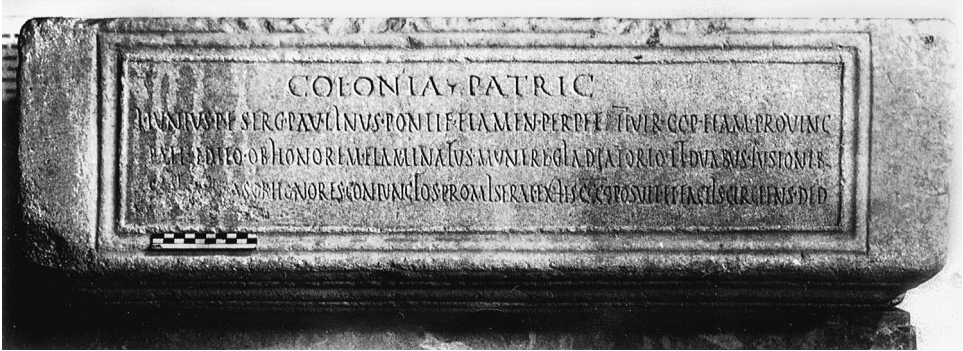


FIG. 24.5 Small pedestal from Corduba (the Colonia Patricia) commemorating the generosity of a member of the local elite. Museo Arqueológico Provincial, Córdoba.

The Colonia Patricia (i.e., Corduba). L. Iunius Paulinus, son of Publius, of the (voting tribe) Sergia, *pontifex, flamen* in perpetuity, *duumvir* of the colony, *flamen* of the province of Baetica, put on a gladiatorial presentation and two sets of games to mark his holding of the flamate. He set up the statues that he had promised for holding these various offices at a sum of 400,000 sesterces and he put on chariot-races at their dedication.

THE ROMAN ELITE AS BENEFACTORS IN URBAN COMMUNITIES

As has become clear above, the three uppermost social strata in the Roman world—the emperor, the imperial elite (senators and *equites*, plus a very small number of imperial freedmen), and local magnates—all contributed to the acts of euergetism from which towns and their residents benefitted. Of these groups, the most frequently attested in inscriptions is the local elite, and it is generally believed that they made the most important contribution in the majority of cases. The commonest terms used in Latin inscriptions for this practice and mentality were *liberalitas*, *munificentia*, and *largitio* (in this order; sometimes *largitas* in Late Antiquity).³⁷ Alternatively, phrases like *sua pecunia* (“with his/her own money”), *sumptu proprio* (“at his/her own expense”), or *de suo* (“from his/her own financial resources”) indicated that the person(s) named in the nominative at the beginning of the inscription was responsible for the costs of a building or an act of munificence. An added verb often defined the kind of activity that was financed, for instance *dare* (donate), *facere* (build), *reficere* or *restituire* (renovate), or *sternere* (pave). These terms appear in more or less the same format notwithstanding the status of the donor.

³⁷ Forbis 1993.

Emperors contributed to public building all over the Empire, although evaluating the relative epigraphic sources poses some challenges. In texts conventionally known as “building inscriptions” (“Bauinschriften” in German), the emperor when he had acted as donor normally appears in the nominative. The emperor’s name could, however, be attached to a building for other reasons: primarily for honorific purposes (to give the sense “in honour of the Emperor, so-and-so restored or dedicated . . .”; in this situation, the emperor’s name is normally in the dative or genitive) and/or as a dating mechanism (when the emperor’s name is normally in the ablative) (Ch 10). Especially when an inscription is fragmentary, there may be much uncertainty about the significance of the mention of an emperor. As a result, in a study of imperial benefactions in Italy and the western provinces it seemed prudent to include a few texts in which the name of the emperor did not appear in the nominative.³⁸

The emperors’ building operations and benefactions in Italy and the provinces have received even more attention in ancient literary sources, especially in histories and biographies, because these benefactions by the emperors were regarded as an important part of their imperial virtues as patrons of all citizens and all cities (*pater patriae*).³⁹ In building inscriptions involving the emperor, *sua pecunia* indicates the “private” character of the emperor’s generosity.⁴⁰ Compared to the mass of inscriptional records of public funding and private munificence, the number of attested gifts of buildings by emperors in cities throughout the Empire is quite low. However, in new colonies, the fortification works and the principal public buildings were often paid for from the imperial budget.⁴¹

While imperial building inscriptions are found all over the Empire throughout the Principate, they are not evenly distributed chronologically or geographically, as they adhere to the general survival trends of epigraphic material.⁴² In addition, some emperors seem to have shown particular generosity towards certain towns or regions, underlining their political priorities. It is no surprise that, besides his hometown Italica in Baetica, the philhellene Hadrian appears to have favoured Athens, while Septimius Severus financed conspicuous public building in Lepcis Magna, his town of origin.⁴³ Hadrian is in general an emperor for whom a large number of interventions are known in Italy and elsewhere.⁴⁴ His successor Antoninus Pius can also be connected to many building projects in Italy, while the number of such imperial interventions both before

³⁸ Horster 2001: esp. 39–48.

³⁹ Horster 1997.

⁴⁰ Panciera 1998 (with a catalogue of examples from Augustus to the late fourth century CE). Imperial building in Italy and the provinces: Boatwright 2000; Horster 2001; cf. Mitchell 1987 (Greek East).

⁴¹ For the debate about the financial resources at the emperor’s disposal (*patrimonium*, *res privata*, and *fiscus*): Millar 1992: 175–201; Eck 2000: 246–249; Lo Cascio 2005: 150–155.

⁴² For Italy and the western provinces, Horster 2001 provides numerous statistical tables.

⁴³ Boatwright 2000: 144–157 (Athens), 162–167 (Italica). Septimius Severus and Lepcis Magna: Ward-Perkins 1993.

⁴⁴ Boatwright 1989.

and after these two emperors is lower. It is questionable what larger historical conclusions can be drawn from this pattern of imperial public building and munificence.⁴⁵

A survey of senatorial involvement presented one hundred instances from Italy, over forty from the western provinces, and almost sixty from the East.⁴⁶ While Pliny the Younger (C. Plinius Caecilius Secundus) appears as the most conspicuous senatorial benefactor in Italy (p. 529), second place is held by Matidia the Younger, a woman of senatorial rank from the second century CE.⁴⁷ Also leading Roman equestrians, holding positions in the imperial administration all over the Empire, can be found as local benefactors.⁴⁸ One example is Q. Naevius Cordus Sutorius Macro, prefect of the night-watch (*praefectus vigilum*) and then praetorian prefect under Tiberius, who provided funds in his will for the building of an amphitheatre at Alba Fucens in Samnium, as demonstrated by a monumental inscription on the exterior (*AE* 1957, 250). Their involvement may be explained by the local origin of the family, the ownership of land in the region, or the holding of office in the region. All of these factors may also have led to an imperial grandee assuming the position of *patronus* of the town, which would have raised the expectation of some benefaction.⁴⁹

Most often acts of munificence in Roman towns, however, were initiated by members of the local elite, sometimes including women and, very occasionally, even children.⁵⁰ In this context we find the greatest range of donations: from the construction of new buildings and repair of old ones to the offering of games and plays in amphitheatres and theatres; from handouts of money (*sportulae*) to the sponsorship of public banquets (*epula*), though often smaller scale distributions of *crust(ul)um et mulsum* (“cake and honeyed wine”) or sometimes *visceratio* (a “distribution of meat”) took place.⁵¹ Donations of oil for the public baths and indeed free entry to these establishments constituted another kind of non-permanent benefaction.⁵² Local notables were thus aiming for a direct impact, be it ever so small, on a multitude of individuals in their immediate social environment. Donors and recipients likewise advertised such larger and smaller benefactions in kind or money in inscriptions.

Benefactors gained recognition, social appreciation, and prestigious rewards.⁵³ This is epigraphically documented in the form of honorific decrees, portrait-statues displayed in public, crowns, honorific seats in the first rows of the city’s theatre, as occurs in a decree of the town council of Cumae (*AE* 1927, 158),⁵⁴ or exemptions from local taxes

⁴⁵ Duncan-Jones 1996, countered by Bruun 2003; Greenberg 2003.

⁴⁶ Eck 1980: 295–309.

⁴⁷ Thus Duncan-Jones 1982: 31; Matidia’s benefactions: Bruun 2010.

⁴⁸ Wesch-Klein 1999.

⁴⁹ City patrons: Duthoy 1984–86.

⁵⁰ Women: Boatwright 1991; van Bremen 1996. Children: Ch. 12 on *CIL* X 846 = *ILS* 6367, Pompeii.

⁵¹ Sums distributed: Duncan-Jones 1982: 105–106 (North Africa), 188–200 (Italy); *visceratio*: Kajava 1998.

⁵² Cenerini 1987–88; Fagan 1999.

⁵³ Full discussion: Forbis 1996.

⁵⁴ Sherk 1970: 39 no. 41.

and office-holding. In addition, they were allowed to present their names in building inscriptions that were often placed over the front entrance of the newly constructed or repaired monuments that they had paid for. Roman law required that once a private sponsor had contributed to a public building his or her name should never be removed from that building in later phases of redesign or repair (*Dig.* 50.10.7.1).⁵⁵

Portrait statues—voted by the decurions to honour and reward the benefactor—were placed either in a prominent place like the agora or forum, or in or beside the building that the benefactor had paid for. The bases of these statues bore inscriptions in which the name of the benefactor was emphasized; it usually appears in large letters in the first two lines.⁵⁶ Furthermore, some such honorific inscriptions inform the reader about the benefactor's personal status (especially the offices and duties held) and his praiseworthy deeds. One example, in this case one of the few for a woman, records a full five honorific statues for the benefactor Annia Aelia Restituta, a lifelong priestess (*flaminica*) of the imperial cult. This was the social reward for what she had promised (*promisso*) of her free will (*sponte*): to give 400,000 sesterces for the construction of a theatre in the Numidian *municipium* of Calama, because she wanted to adorn her home town (*CIL* VIII 5366 = *ILAlg* I 287: ... *theatro pecunia sua exornanda[pat]riae s[p]onte p[rom]isso* ...; cf. *CIL* VIII 5365 = 17495 = *ILAlg* I 286: ... *ob insignem liberalitatem pollicitationis eius*, “on account of the outstanding generosity of her pledge”).

Major figures such as senators sometimes made more substantial contributions to the civic amenities of their home town. The already mentioned Pliny the Younger (p. 528) made a series of donations to his hometown of Comum during his lifetime and left further funds in his will to support the community in various ways. Only the upper-left corner of a text commemorating Pliny's benefactions is preserved (in the portico of the basilica of St. Ambrose in Milan), while significant further parts of the inscription were recorded in the fifteenth century (*CIL* V 5262 = *ILS* 2927). The full text can be restored as follows:⁵⁷

C(aius) Plinius L(uci) f(ilius) Ouf(entina tribu) Caecilius [Secundus co(n)s(ul)] / ... (7 lines follow listing Pliny's public offices) / ... therm[as ex HS - -] adiectis in / ornatum HS CCC(milibus nummum) [- - - et eo amp]lius in tutela[m] / HS CC(milibus nummum) t(estamento) f(ieri) i(ussit) [item in alimenta] libertor(um) suorum homin(um) C / HS XVIII(centena) LXVI(milia) DCLXVI (nummum) rei [p(ublicae) legavit quorum inc]rement(a) postea ad epulum / [p]leb(is) urban(ae) voluit pertin[ere - - -?vivu]s dedit in aliment(a) pueror(um) / et puellar(um) pleb(is) urban(ae) HS [D (milia nummum) - - - et] in tutelam bybliothe/cae HS C (milia)

C. Plinius L.f. Caecilius Secundus of the (voting tribe) Oufentina, consul, ... ordered in his will that baths should be constructed at a cost of [- - -] sesterces with 300,000 sesterces added for decoration and that an additional 200,000 sesterces should be reserved for its upkeep. For the sustenance of one hundred of his own freedmen he bequeathed

⁵⁵ Wesch-Klein 1989: 188–189.

⁵⁶ For references to such statues, *ILS* III, Index XVII, p. 900.

⁵⁷ See further Duncan-Jones 1982: 17–32; Eck 2001.

1,866,666 sesterces to the community, from the interest on which he wished would be used afterwards for a banquet for the urban plebs (i.e., of Comum). [While still alive (?), he gave 500,000 sesterces for the sustenance of boys and girls of the urban plebs and 100,000 sesterces for the upkeep of the library.

This is an exceptional case, in that some of these bequests are also mentioned in a literary source, Pliny's correspondence (Plin. *Ep.* 7.18), which helps to flesh out the motivations that lay behind such benefactions, namely that public and everlasting interests (*utilitates publicae... aeternae*) ought to outweigh private, temporary ones (*privatae... mortales*). In another of Pliny's letters (*Ep.* 5.11), he explicitly comments to his father-in-law Calpurnius Fabatus on the social impact of such gifts: "... you announced the completion of your earlier benefaction by immediately beginning a new one. I am delighted to hear it, firstly, because of the reputation (*gloria*) you will secure...; secondly, because I know that the name of my father-in-law will last by these beautiful works (*memoriam... pulcherrimis operibus proferri*).” According to Pliny, such donors will become part of local collective memory, which was likely to be reinforced by building inscriptions with their names and by decrees in their honour inscribed on statue bases.⁵⁸

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF ROMAN EUERGETISM

It remains to evaluate the significance of this activity for the urban development of Roman towns and the standard of living for their population. Yet before we can reach firm conclusions, there are several methodological issues to be aware of, connected with the nature of our epigraphic evidence. There is the “epigraphic habit” to consider, namely the fact that the production rate of inscriptions fluctuated over time and the survival of the evidence varies regionally (Ch. 8). Nevertheless, the pattern that emerges seems to reflect historical reality: euergetic activities connected to new constructions decreased during the later Principate.

It is impossible to determine the exact proportion of building operations that were privately financed rather than paid for out of public funds.⁵⁹ Inscriptions tell only part of the story and provide us with a distorted picture, because stone inscriptions set up in public were largely initiated by private individuals and so present an exaggerated picture of the importance of benefactions as a funding mechanism. Building inscriptions, including those set up to celebrate work paid for by towns, are generally less numerous than honorific ones. However, privately funded building work is cited not only in texts connected to the buildings themselves, but also on honorific monuments.

⁵⁸ Benefactors' motivations, Quass 1993: 210–229; Goffin 2002: 20–33.

⁵⁹ Duncan-Jones 1990: 174–185; Eck 1997.

Furthermore, individual benefactions may also be mentioned in municipal decrees and sometimes even in literary sources.⁶⁰ As a result, private funding is over-represented in our sources compared to public financing.

When money was donated or food distributed to the local population, inscriptions sometimes record the precise sums involved. Less often, the sums spent on building activities, decoration, or repair are mentioned.⁶¹ However, neither building inscriptions nor honorific texts normally tell us anything about the precise nature and dimensions of a construction project. For example, when *thermae* are being mentioned, we would like to know whether the building measured a mere 260 m², like the first-century baths at Calleva (Silchester) in Britain, or might have been huge with lavish decorations like the large Hadrianic Baths in Lepcis Magna, built c. 126 CE and covering 5,460m².⁶² No building inscription from Calleva or Lepcis Magna informs us about the size of these baths, or the details and costs of their decoration.⁶³ In most cases, as at Calleva, no inscriptions attached or adjacent to the monument have survived at all. In some cases, archaeologists can establish successive phases of the building works and often try to match them to inscriptions referring to rebuilding or additional embellishment, but this is an enterprise fraught with risk, since it is often too tempting to connect archaeological and epigraphic data, which can lead to a circular argument. Due to the imprecise nature of building inscriptions, there is a debate about what value to attach to such evidence. For example, the term *vetustate dilapsum* (“decayed due to old age”) is the most common formula used in many inscriptions commemorating repairs or rebuilding projects as a rationale for the intervention. A rather agnostic view is that the value of such expressions is very low, while a more persuasive line of argument emphasizes that there were limits to what could be claimed in a public inscription. Social conventions would not have permitted outright lies and wild exaggerations to be displayed in public.⁶⁴

Some general features may be extracted from the epigraphic data on building operations. Publicly financed construction concentrated on the development and maintenance of the infrastructure (streets, water supply, sewers, a few public buildings like *curiae* or central sanctuaries) and on fortification works. Private benefactors paid for the construction, reconstruction, or ornamentation of all kinds of buildings for their cities. No matter what the actual (but unknown) proportion between publicly and privately funded building operations was, a pedestrian walking through a Roman town was probably most of all impressed by all those inscriptions publicizing the local elite’s financial contributions—if he or she was able to read. Inscriptions concerning construction work were not meant to provide factual information on the character and

⁶⁰ Hence Jouffroy 1986 also uses literary sources; imperial sponsorship: Horster 1997.

⁶¹ Building costs: Duncan-Jones 1982: 90–93 (North Africa), 157–162 (Italy).

⁶² DeLaine 1992: 264–265.

⁶³ A fragmentary inscription of 127 CE from the façade (*IRT* 361) provides little useful information about the building.

⁶⁴ The agnostic view, Thomas and Witschel 1992; *contra* Fagan 1996; Horster 2001: 19–20.

details of their financing, but to promote and publicize the commitment of citizens to their communities, as magistrates or as private individuals.

Benefactors gained renown and social prestige. Their reputation in posterity depended on permanent public commemoration. Therefore, inscriptions set up in public that recalled these deeds for the reader, as well as other verbal, visual, and ritual forms of commemoration, were of vital interest to benefactors. Building inscriptions were one such form of commemoration, known from the republican period onwards. Honorific inscriptions became popular only later, from the late first century BCE, but soon developed as an important tool for long-lasting public praise and permanent private self-advertisement. Patriotism, the desire for the well-being of one's home town, and prestigious rewards meant that cities could count on benefactors, as long as economic conditions allowed them to retain a surplus that could be used for such commitments and the central administration left enough of the elite's income in the local region.

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CHAPTER 25

SPECTACLE IN ROME, ITALY, AND THE PROVINCES

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THE city of Rome and other urban communities throughout the Empire were alive with spectacles of all kinds. Triumphs, funerals, executions, and religious festivals with their various games (*ludi*) are only examples of some of the grandest.¹ This chapter considers the critical role that inscriptions play in our understanding of Roman spectacles. It focuses in particular on spectacles in the theatre (*ludi scaenici*), circus (*ludi circenses*), athletic stadium, and especially the amphitheatre (*munera* and *venationes*).² Epigraphic discoveries of many types continue to add new details and insights that our moralizing literary sources simply ignore: tombstones of spectacle performers; statue bases honouring local elites who sponsored spectacles; building inscriptions from theatres, amphitheatres, and circuses; senatorial decrees, imperial edicts/letters, and municipal laws regulating public spectacle; announcements of upcoming spectacles; curse tablets; and inscribed artifacts depicting gladiators, actors, and charioteers. Although new finds keep adding to the picture, Dessau's *ILS* provides an excellent selection of relevant inscriptions: on *ludi* in general (*ILS* 5051–82), gladiators (5083–5163), athletes, ball-players, boxers (5164–76), poetic competitions (5177–79), *ludi scaenici* (5180–5276), and *ludi circenses* (5277–5316). The discovery of much of this material in municipal contexts in Italy and the provinces helps offset the bias of our literary sources, which concentrate on spectacles put on in Rome by state magistrates and, later, by the emperors. For example, Louis Robert's ground-breaking collection of epigraphic evidence for gladiatorial *munera*, wild-beast hunts (*venationes*), and executions from the cities of mainland Greece, Macedonia, Thrace, Asia Minor, and

¹ Bergmann and Kondoleon 1999; Köhne and Ewigleben 2000.

² *Ludi*: Bernstein 1998. Theatre: Dupont 1985; Leppin 1992. Circus: Cameron 1976; Horsmann 1998. Gladiators: Ville 1981; Junkelmann 2008, 2010. *Venationes*: Ville 1981: esp. 88–99, 106–116, 123–173, 220–223. Athletics: Thuillier 1996; Newby 2005. Aquatic spectacles: Coleman 1993; Berlan-Bajard 2006.

Syria threw the minimal references to such events in literary sources into high relief. It demonstrated that Roman-style entertainments spread widely and gained significant popularity in the Greek East, forcing scholars to revise the way in which they conceptualized Greek-Roman cultural relations.³

PERFORMERS

Although a few famous actors, gladiators, and charioteers are mentioned in literary texts (Cic. *Q. Rosc.*; Tac. *Ann.* 1.54; Mart. 5.24; 10.50, 53), it is inscriptions, especially epitaphs of those who experienced relatively successful careers, that are most useful in reconstructing the many types of spectacle performers and their social and geographical origins. Several epigraphic catalogues constitute required starting-points for further study. On the Greek East, Christian Mann has now published a study updating Louis Robert's, based on a corpus of 198 gladiators known from funerary monuments.⁴ For the Latin West, scholars must turn to the volumes of the series *Epigrafia anfiteatrale dell'Occidente romano (EAOR)*, which since 1988 have critically re-edited all known texts on gladiators and the arena from a given region.⁵ These volumes underscore the increasingly variegated types of gladiators, evolving from the limited republican repertoire of "Samnites," "Gauls," "myrmillons," and "net-men" (*retiarii*) to a dizzying array of performers under the Principate: Samnites, Gauls, Thracians, myrmillons, *retiarii*, *contraretiarii*, *secutores*, *provocatores*, *essedarii*, (*h*)*oplomachi*, *spatharii*, *equites*, *velites*, *dimachaerii*, *sagitarii*, *scissores*, and more besides. In the Greek East the Latin terms for these combatants were simply transliterated into Greek characters, emphasizing that gladiatorial combat was quintessentially a Roman cultural product.⁶ Some took on "stage-names" such as "Panther" (*Pardus*), "Tiger" (*Tigris*), "Flame" (*Flamma*), "Pearl" (*Margarites*), "Emerald" (*Smaragdus*). Mythological names such as "Atlas," "Hermes," or "Achilles" were also popular;⁷ and female gladiators called "Achillia" and "Amazon" are attested at Halicarnassus in Caria.⁸

Many gladiators' tombstones were embellished with an image of the deceased with his armour and weaponry, which has helped scholars reconstruct the armaments of each type of gladiator.⁹ These epitaphs often mention the number of combats fought and victories and crowns won, as well as the gladiator's rank: *tiro* ("raw recruit") all the way up to *primus palus*.¹⁰ Left-handed gladiators were sufficiently

³ Robert 1940; cf. 1946, 1948, 1949, 1950.

⁴ Mann 2011: esp. 182–272; cf. Carter 2009; Mann 2009; and the works cited in Edmondson 2011: 738 n. 4.

⁵ cf. Fora 1996 (Italy); Ceballos 2004 (Hispania).

⁶ Robert 1940: 27, 39–40; Mann 2011: 96–103, 125–129.

⁷ Robert 1940: 297–302; Ville 1981: 308–310; Mann 2011: 129–133, 152–155.

⁸ Robert 1940: 188–189, no. 184; Coleman 2000. In general, Briquel 1992; Brunet 2004; cf. Ch. 27.

⁹ Junkelmann 2008, 2010.

¹⁰ Carter 2003: 87–98.

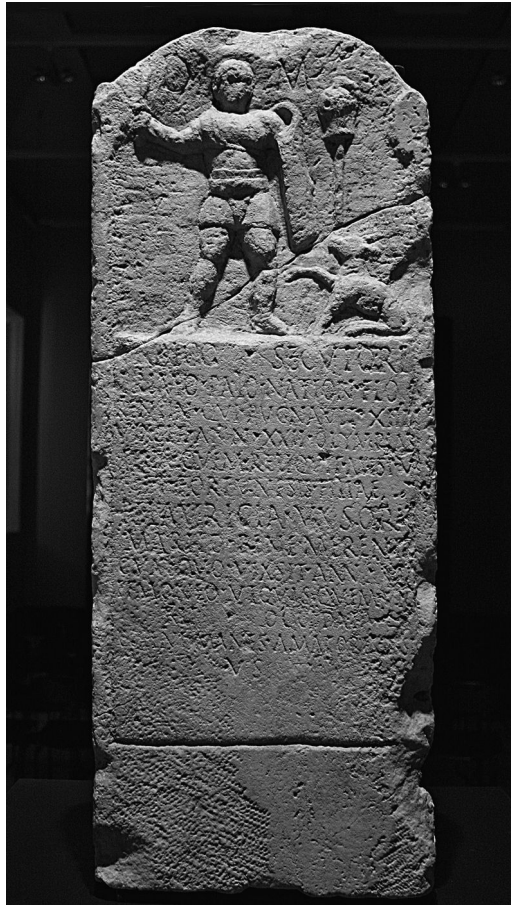


FIG. 25.1 Funerary stele of the gladiator Urbicus (a *secutor*), commemorated by his daughter, his daughter's slave, and his wife, from Mediolanum, late second/early third century CE. Antiquarium "Alda Levi," Milan.

distinctive to be designated as such by the term *scaeva* (cf. *CIL* VI 10180, 10196 = *EAOR* I 75, 95) or, in Greek, *σκευᾶς*.¹¹ The monument commemorating the *secutor* Urbicus from Mediolanum (Milan) illustrates the rich possibilities for social history that such gladiatorial epitaphs provide (*CIL* V 5933 = *ILS* 5115 = *EAOR* II 50; Fig. 25.1):

D(is) M(anibus)
Urbico secutori
primo palo nation(e) Flo-
rentin(o) qui pugnavit XIII
vix{sit}it ann(os) XXII Olympias

5

¹¹ Robert 1940: nos. 34 (Philippopolis, Thrace), 178 (Iasos), 238 (Smyrna).

filia quem(!) reliquit me(n)si(bus) V
et Fortunensis filiae (serva)
et Lauricia ux{or}
marito bene merenti
 10 *cum quo vix{it} ann(is) VII*
te moneo ut quis quem vic[e]-
rit occidat
colent Manes amatores ipsi-
us

To the Gods and Departed Spirits. For Urbicus, *secutor*, *primus palus*, a Florentine by birth, who fought thirteen times and lived twenty-two years. Olympias, his daughter, whom he left behind five months old, and Fortunensis, his daughter's slave, and Lauricia, his wife, set this up for a well-deserving husband, with whom she lived for seven years. I warn you! Kill the opponent whom you defeat, whoever he may be! His fans will cherish his departed spirit!

Information on the recruitment of gladiators for the imperial training-schools (*ludi*) can be gleaned from attestations of equestrian *procuratores ad fam(ili)as glad(iatorias)*, dating from the mid-second to the mid-third century CE. Earning salaries of 60,000 sesterces *per annum* and hence relatively junior in the equestrian career structure (cf. Chs. 11, 14), they were each responsible for a particular region: (a) Italy, including Transpadana and Liguria, sometimes also encompassing Pannonia and Dalmatia (EAOR I, 21, II 2–4, III 3, VII 4, VIII 1); (b) the Gauls, the Hispaniae, and Britain, in some cases including the Germanies and Raetia (AE 1996, 1603; CIL III 6753 = ILS 1396); and (c) Asia and neighbouring provinces (CIL III 6994, 6753 = ILS 1396).¹² Epigraphy also throws light on the organization of the imperial training-schools in Rome: the Ludus Magnus for gladiators, the Ludus Matutinus for wild-beast-hunters (EAOR I 23, 26, 27–31; I 22, III 4; cf. EAOR VII 6, VIII 2, for provincial *ludi*). There is much less epigraphic evidence for the administration of *ludi scaenici*.¹³

Valuable catalogues are also available for charioteers and actors. Gerhard Horsmann's 1998 study of chariot-racing is based on a catalogue of 229 known charioteers—*agitatores* (star-charioteers who drove *quadrigae*, four-horse chariots) and *aurigae* (who drove two-horse chariots, *bigae*).¹⁴ Funerary monuments often provide very detailed accounts of a charioteer's career, such as a large late second/early third-century example from the Via Praenestina just outside Rome (CIL VI 10049 = ILS 5286 = IGUR III 1171):

M(arcus) Aur(elius) Polynices nat(ione) ver-
na qui vixit ann(is) XXIX mens(ibus)
IX diebus V qui vicit palmas
n(umero) DCCXXXIX sic in russeo n(umero)
 5 *DCLV in prasino LV in vene-*

¹² Pflaum 1950: 76–77.

¹³ Gregori 2011: 171–177, on imperial slaves and freedmen as administrators of *ludi scaenici*.

¹⁴ Horsmann 1998; cf. Decker 2001. *Agitatores/aurigae*: Thuillier 1987.

to XII in albo n(umero) XVII prae-
 mia XXXX n(umero) III XXX XXVI pu-
 ra n(umero) XI octoiug(e) n(umero) VIII dec(emiug)e n(umero)
 VIII seiug(e) n(umero) III

M. Aurelius Polynices, a houseborn slave, who lived 29 years, 9 months, 5 days, won 739 palms as follows: 655 in the Red faction, fifty-five in the Green faction, twelve in the Blue faction, seventeen in the White faction. He won prizes of 40,000 sesterces three times, prizes of 30,000 sesterces twenty-six times, lesser prizes eleven times. He won eight-horse chariots eight times, in ten-horse chariots nine times, in six-horse chariots three times.

Polynices was commemorated by his father, another “famous charioteer,” alongside his brother, M. Aur(elius) Mollicius Tatianus, who died just before reaching the age of 21 after winning 125 victory palms, including two prizes of 40,000 sesterces, in a career that had already seen him drive for all four factions.¹⁵ Both sons were *vernae* (housebred slaves), each bearing the names *M(arcus) Aur(elius)*, which might suggest that they, like the charioteer Ti. Claudius Aug. lib. Epaphroditus (*CIL* VI 10061), were raised in the imperial household.¹⁶ They were not the only charioteers to have started their careers so young. From his tombstone we can calculate that the slave Crescens from Mauretania, who died aged 22 in 124 CE, began racing when he was 13 (*CIL* VI 10050 = *ILS* 5285).¹⁷

The most detailed of all charioteers’ epitaphs remains the huge funerary monument from Rome of the Lusitanian C. Appuleius Diocles, reported by Smetius and other humanists (*CIL* VI 10048 = *ILS* 5287; cf. *CIL* XIV 2884, a dedication to him and Fortuna Primigenia set up by his two sons at Praeneste).¹⁸ He was active from 122 CE, moving from the Whites to the Greens in 128 and then to the Reds in 131 before his death aged 42 in 146. His epitaph enumerates his career victories and details about the types of races “the most distinguished of all charioteers” (*omnium agitatorum eminentissimus*) had won and his prize money, comparing his record with specific charioteers from the past.

This information about the charioteering factions, the various types of races, the prizes, and even sometimes the lead-horses of famous charioteers (cf. *CIL* VI 10056 = *ILS* 5290) is simply unavailable in the literary sources.¹⁹ Inscriptions also give a sense of the ancillary personnel of the factions (*ILS* 5278–79, 5295, 5304–10, 5313), as well as faction officials (*magistri* and *domini*: *ILS* 5296–97; *CIL* VI 10061), and the officials (*decuriones*) and staff (*familia*) of the individual stables connected to each faction (cf. *ILS* 5312–13, marking burial-plots for the stable staff).²⁰

¹⁵ Horsmann 1998: nos. 134, 161–162.

¹⁶ Status of charioteers: Horsmann 1998: 19–40.

¹⁷ Horsmann 1998: 193–194 no. 37.

¹⁸ Horsmann 1998: 194–198 no. 38.

¹⁹ Factions: Cameron 1976; Thuillier 2012. Horse-names: Darder Lissón 1996.

²⁰ cf. Nelis-Clément 2002.

Similarly rich information is available from inscriptions mentioning performers who appeared on the stage. Harmut Leppin collected the relevant evidence for his 1992 analysis of actors in the Roman West, while several studies have focused on Greek actors, some active in the Roman period.²¹ Many types of actors, musicians, and dancers are attested—from generic *comoedi*, *scaenici Latini*, *thymelici*, *musicarii*, and *saltatores/saltatrices* to much more specific types: among actors not just *Atellani*, but even one “Maccus,” one of the stock characters in Atellan farces (*CIL* VI 10105 = *ILS* 5219), a *stupidus*, one of the traditional mime-roles (*CIL* XI 433 = *ILS* 5224, Ariminum), and even a travelling player (*sc(a)enicus viarum*, *CIL* VIII 7151 = *ILS* 5223, Cirta). Particularly prominent are mime-actors (*ILS* 5208–17) and, most of all, pantomimes (*ILS* 5182–97). Attestations of *archimimi* and *archimimae* (“chief mimes”), a *secunda mima* (“second mime”) (*AE* 1993, 912, Emerita; Fig. 27.3), and pantomimes *secundarum*, *tertiarum* or *quartar(um)* (*sc. partium*) reveal the hierarchies within actors’ troupes (*greges*, literally “flocks”), with specialists in the lead-roles, second parts, third parts, and so on.²² (For female performers, cf. Ch. 27, p. 591–593.) Among musical performers we find *citharoedi*, *choraulae*, *pythaulae*, *tibicines*, *symphoniaci*, and even rarer specialties such as *psilocitharoedi* (lyre-players who did not sing) (*CIL* VI 10140 = *ILS* 5245), whom we know from literary sources performed in competitions at the *agon Capitolinus*, instituted by Domitian in 89 (Suet. *Dom.* 4.4).²³ The *scabillarii*, who used wooden clappers strapped to their feet to keep the musical accompaniment to pantomime dancers in time, evidently formed associations. At Rome one such *collegium* looked after the burial of club members (*CIL* VI 10145–48, 33191–33202, 33971), while another at Puteoli dedicated monuments to Antoninus Pius, his wife Faustina, and Marcus Aurelius (*CIL* X 1642–43, 1647; cf. Fig. 23.1).

Inscriptions also provide a sense of the variety of associations of actors, poets, and musicians, which provided these performers with some collegiality and facilitated matters for organizers of *ludi* when they were recruiting performers for their shows.²⁴ Some were active during the Republic, such as the *collegium scribarum histrionumque*, *collegium poetarum*, or *societas cantorum Graecorum*, while others, such as the *synhodos Dionysiaca* or the *parasiti Apollinis*, persisted long into the Principate. The *synhodos Dionysiaca* appears to be connected to the Dionysiac artists known from the Greek East, who first performed in Rome at the votive *ludi* of M. Fulvius Nobilior in 186 BCE (Liv. 39.22.1–2). They were granted special privileges, such as immunity from liturgies, taxation, and billeting Roman troops, by Roman magistrates including Sulla under the Republic (*RDGE* 49, Cos, 84 and 81 BCE) and later by several emperors. A dossier of letters of Hadrian to the Association of Dionysiac Artists (*SEG* 56, 1359 = *AE* 2006, 1403a–c, Alexandria-in-the-Troad, 134 CE) shows how important they still were in the Principate, as the emperor intervened to insist on a strict calendaring of

²¹ Leppin 1992: esp. 189–319; cf. Slater 1994a. Greek actors: Le Guen 2001; Aneziri 2003.

²² Gregori 2011: 179–194 (epigraphic evidence for actors in Rome); Slater 1994b, 2010; Strasser 2004.

²³ Caldelli 1993, with a catalogue of all known participants.

²⁴ Jory 1970; Caldelli 2012.

the many festivals in Italy and the Greek East in which they were involved.²⁵ The “parasites of Apollo” are known predominantly from inscriptions from Rome, Latium, and Campania.²⁶ Poets who competed in the Capitoline *agon* were honoured with striking monuments: for example, Q. Sulpicius Maximus, who competed in the Greek poetry competition in 94 before his death aged 11½, at Rome (*CIL* VI 33976 = *ILS* 5177 = *IGUR* III 1336), or L. Valerius Pudens, victor at the age of 13 in the Latin poetry competition in 106, in his home-town of Histonium in Samnium (*CIL* IX 2860 = *ILS* 5178).

Such poets were honourable freeborn Romans, whereas the large majority of charioteers, gladiators, and stage performers were slaves, some of whom won their freedom as a reward for their performances. Many thousands of convicted criminals met their deaths in the arena in what Kathleen Coleman has aptly termed “fatal charades,” but not surprisingly none have left their mark epigraphically. Troupes of gladiators sometimes included convicts, as at Aphrodisias, where a “*familia* of gladiators and convicts” (φαιμιλία μονομάχων καὶ καταδίκων) was owned by Ti. Claudius Pauleinos, an imperial cult high-priest (*IAPH*2007 4.104).²⁷ Any freeborn Roman citizen who performed as an actor, gladiator, or charioteer in public for pay suffered *infamia*, i.e., loss of reputation, which brought several legal disabilities. At Sassina in Umbria an inscribed marker explicitly excluded *auctorati*—a group that included freeborn Romans who had sworn an oath of loyalty to a gladiatorial *lanista* (trainer)—from a burial-ground (*CIL* XI 6528 = *ILLRP* 662 = *ILS* 7846).²⁸ This was evidently of little concern to the performers themselves or to the majority of enthusiastic spectators. However, the Senate was so worried about upper-class youth—both men and women—appearing on stage or in the arena that several *senatus consulta* were passed in an attempt to stop them. Literary sources mention some of them (Dio 48.43.2; 54.2.5; 56.25.7–8), but we gain a much clearer idea of this legislation from the chance survival at Larinum in S. Italy of a *senatus consultum* of 19 CE (*AE* 1978, 145 = 1983, 210; rev. in *EAOR* III 2).²⁹

... [p]lacere ne quis senatoris filium filiam nepotem neptem pronepotem proneptem neve que[m cuius patri aut avo] / vel paterno vel materno aut fratri neve quam cuius viro aut patri aut avo paterno ve[l materno aut fratri ius] / fuisset unquam spectandi in equestribus locis in scaenam produceret auctoramentove rog[aret ut (?)in scaenam prodi]/ret aut pinnas gladiatorum raperet aut rudem tolleret aliove quod eius rei simile min[istraret ...]

... that it pleased them (the senators) that no one should bring on to the stage a senator's son, daughter, grandson, granddaughter, great-grandson, great-granddaughter, or any male whose father or grandfather, whether paternal or maternal, or brother, or any female whose husband or father or grandfather, whether paternal or maternal, or brother had ever possessed the right of sitting in the seats reserved for the equestrians,

²⁵ Petzl and Schwertheim 2006; C.P. Jones 2007; Slater 2008; cf. van Nijf 2012.

²⁶ Caldelli 2012: 141–146.

²⁷ Roueché 1993: 62 no. 13; cf. Robert 1940: 56–59; Coleman 1990; Carter 2003.

²⁸ *Auctorati*: Guarino 1983.

²⁹ Levick 1983; Lebek 1990; Stelluti 1997; cf. Slater 1994b (pantomimes). Women: see n. 8.

or induce them by means of a fee to [?appear on stage] or to snatch the plumes of gladiators or take the foil off anyone or to take part in any way in any similar subordinate capacity...

The regulation makes it clear that the concern was to uphold the dignity of the senatorial and equestrian orders. The elite were supposed to watch; they were not supposed to be watched. Most of all, they were expected to sponsor spectacles.

SPONSORING SPECTACLES

According to the municipal law of the Colonia Genetiva Iulia in Baetica (*CIL* II²/5, 1022 = *RS* 25 + *AE* 2006, 645) one of the key responsibilities of the colony's magistrates was to provide public entertainments. Each year the *Ilviri* were to organize four days of gladiators or *ludi scaenici* "for Jupiter, Juno, Minerva, and the gods and goddesses," while the aediles were responsible for three days of gladiators or *ludi scaenici* for the Capitoline triad, plus one day of chariot-races (*ludi circenses*) or gladiators for Venus (*lex col. Gen.* 70–71). Each *Ilvir* was to receive up to 2,000 sesterces from the public treasury, each aedile 1,000 sesterces, but all these magistrates had to contribute at least 2,000 sesterces of their own. A similar combination of public and private funding is attested at the neighbouring *municipium* of Singili(a) Barba, where M. Valerius Proculus was thanked for the "public games and also the private ones over the same number of days that he gave during his duumvirate" (*CIL* II²/5, 789 = *EAOR* VII 16: *in Ilviratu publicos ludos et totidem dierum privatos dedit*). The obligation to provide games is underlined by those occasions when magistrates were authorized to contribute towards civic building projects instead (*pro ludis*: *CIL* X 845, 853–857, Pompeii; III 12042, Cnossus; cf. *SEG* 50, 1096 = *AE* 2000, 1441, lines 27–41, a letter of Hadrian from Aphrodisias, permitting imperial cult high-priests to fund an aqueduct rather than the usual gladiatorial combats).

Details of such acts of euergetism are preserved across Italy and the provinces on countless statue bases honouring local notables and, occasionally, in their epitaphs (cf. Chs. 12, 13, 24). Spectacles that magistrates and priests were required by their office to put on are not usually attested; only those that they themselves funded merited inscribed commemoration.³⁰ Thus hardly any epigraphic record survives of the *ludi scaenici* and *circenses* that state magistrates and priests routinely put on at state festivals in Rome. An exception is the *ludi saeculares* of 17 BCE and 204 CE, for which long if fragmentary *senatus consulta* provide rich detail about the *ludi scaenici* and *circenses* and other entertainments to be staged across the city (*CIL* VI 32323; cf. *ILS* 5050 [17 BCE]; *CIL* VI 32327 + *AE* 1932, 70 = *EAOR* I 43; cf. *ILS* 5050a [204 CE]).³¹ On the other

³⁰ Chamberland 2012: esp. 264–272.

³¹ Pighi 1965.

hand, the extent to which new Roman festivals with athletic, dramatic, and musical competitions, such as the Sebasta at Neapolis (Naples), the Actian Games at Nicopolis, or the *agon Capitolinus* at Rome, were integrated into the traditional Greek festival calendar is illustrated by inscriptions honouring star performers that outline their victories at specified festivals across the Roman world: for instance, the monument set up in Sardis under Caracalla for a star athlete, the pancratiast M. Aurelius Damostratos Damas, victor at many “sacred contests” in “Italy, Hellas, Asia, and Alexandria,” the details of which are then listed (*I.Sardis* 79).³²

Inscriptions provide scant information about spectacles provided by the imperial family apart from some brief references in the *fasti Ostienses*: notably the major gladiatorial spectacles Trajan sponsored between May 107 and November 109 to celebrate his Dacian victories, with the precise number of combatants (4,941½ pairs) confirming and fleshing out Dio’s summary report (68.15) that Trajan gave *munera* on 123 days, in which 10,000 gladiators fought and 11,000 wild animals were killed.³³ In general, inscriptions shed light on just one portion of the whole range of spectacles staged across the Roman world.

Ambitious sponsors advertized their shows to attract crowds as large as possible. Such advertisements sometimes formed part of stone monuments, turning them into a permanent memorial.³⁴ More typical perhaps are the almost one hundred notices painted on Pompeii’s walls: the so-called *edicta munerum*. Most relate to *munera* to be staged at Pompeii, but some advertize spectacles at neighbouring towns such as Nola, Nuceria, and Herculaneum, as well as at more distant ones: Puteoli, Cumae, Cales, Capua, Forum Popili. These inscriptions, however interesting they may be individually, are even more valuable if studied as a corpus. Patrizia Sabbatini Tumolesi’s catalogue of them, *Gladiatorum paria* (1980), enables us to reconstruct something of the spectacle calendar in a small centre like Pompeii, as well as the generosity of certain leading local families (cf. *AE* 1990, 177b–c).³⁵ Advertisements for games to be presented by D. Lucretius Satrius Valens and his son, for example, have been discovered in four different parts of the town (*CIL* IV 3884 = *ILS* 5154 = *Glad. paria* 5; Fig. 25.2; cf. *CIL* IV 7995, 7992, 1185 = *Glad. paria* 6–8):

D(ecimi) Lucreti
Satri Valentis flaminis Neronis Caesaris Aug(usti) filii
perpetui gladiatorum paria XX et D(ecimi) Lucreti{o} Valentis filii
glad(iatorum) paria X pug(nabunt) Pompeis VI V IV III pr(idie) Idus
Apr(iles) venatio legitima

5 (vac) et vela erunt

³² Strasser 2003; van Nijf 2012: 56–58 (with translation of the text). *Agon Capitolinus*: Caldelli 1993. Sebasta in Naples: De Martino 2007.

³³ Bargagli and Grosso 1997. Fragmentary details of *ludi scaenici*, *ludi circenses*, *munera*, *venationes*, and gymnastic competitions at the *agon Capitolinus* are given in the sections dealing with the period 109 to 175.

³⁴ Robert 1940: 78–79 no. 11 (Thessalonica, 141 CE), 100–101 no. 39 (Nicopolis ad Istrum), 109–110 no. 52 (Thasos), 214–215 no. 257 (Aigai in the Aeolid); cf. Ville 1981: 359–364.

³⁵ Tuck 2008–9.

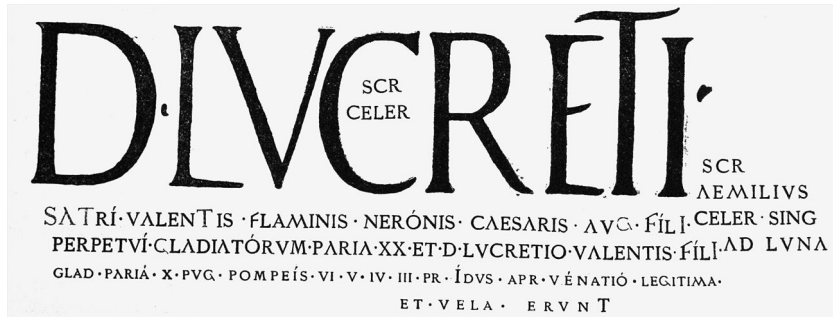


FIG. 25.2 Announcement of gladiatorial *munera* to be presented at Pompeii by D. Lucretius Satrius Valens, priest of the imperial cult, and his son (*CIL* IV 3884). Pompeii: Insula IX.8.

(The painter inserted two self-referential comments in smaller letters: *scr(ipsit) Celer* within the C of *Lucreti* in line 1 and *scr(ipsit) / Aemilius / Celer sing(ulus) / ad luna(m)* at the right edge of lines 1–3.)

Twenty pairs of gladiators of D(ecimus) Lucretius (Celer wrote this) Satrius Valens, perpetual *flamen* (priest) of Nero Caesar son of the emperor, and ten pairs of gladiators of D. Lucretius Valens, his son, will fight at Pompeii on 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 April. There will be a normal wild-beast hunt and awnings. (Aemilius Celer wrote this all alone in the moonlight.)

The father was a *flamen* of Nero Caesar, which dates this to after Nero's adoption by Claudius in 50 and before his accession as emperor in 54, when he became Nero Claudius Caesar Augustus.³⁶ Graffiti confirm the popularity of these *munera*: “[Bravo] to the priest of Nero Caesar!” (*CIL* IV 7996) or “(Bravo) to the colony's leading man!” (*CIL* IV 1185 = *Glad. paria* 8: *p(rincipi) colonia[e] (feliciter)*, painted alongside one of the advertisements for his *munus*). Inscriptions acclaiming Lucretius were even included in the wall-painting of the Pompeii amphitheatre riot of 59: *D(ecimo) Lucretio fel(i)citer* and below, in Greek, Σατρί(ψ) / Οὐάλεντι / Ὀ[γ]ούστῳ (sic) / Νήρ(ωνι) φηλύκκι(ερ) (*CIL* IV 2993x–y; *Glad. paria*, Plate I.2; cf. Tac. *Ann.* 14.17).

Lucretius' role as a *flamen* is significant. In Italy and the provinces imperial cult priests at the municipal and provincial levels were obliged to put on shows as part of the duties. At Beroia in Macedonia, the spectacles that Q. Popilius Pytho sponsored as high-priest of the provincial imperial cult in Macedonia (ἀρχιερεὺς τῶν Σεβαστῶν) are listed on an honorific statue base (*I.Beroia* 117 = *SEG* 17, 315, cited in full in Ch. 13, p. 262–264): both Greek musical (“thymelic”) and athletic (“gymnastic”) competitions, modeled on the Actian Games at Nicopolis (Actium), and Roman-style gladiatorial combats and wild-beast

³⁶ cf. *AE* 1994, 398 = 2004, 405, the epitaph of a D. Lucretius D. f. Valens, granted equestrian status at age eight by Claudius and adlected amongst the decurions. He then held local office and put on with his (unnamed) father thirty-five pairs of gladiators and a *venatio*. This may relate to the adoptive father of the *flamen* of Nero: *Camodeca* 2008: 295–322.

hunts (*munera*). In the Greek East imperial cult festivals were particularly important for the staging of Roman-style spectacles.³⁷ In the first half of the third century, an Asiarch (high-priest of the provincial imperial cult of Asia) was honoured at Smyrna (*I. Smyrna* 637 = *Bull. ép.* 1949, 148) after sponsoring a five-day show featuring gladiators “with sharpened weapons” (τοῖς ὀξέσι, line 14).³⁸ Evidently this was considered worth mentioning; by this date, we must conclude, gladiators were not usually armed with sharp blades.

A competitive urge to outdo previous officials led to an increasing diversity of spectacles and a steep rise in their costs, so that any sum allocated from public funds became less and less adequate. As a result, in 177 CE Marcus Aurelius and Commodus attempted to control the spiraling price of gladiators by persuading the Senate to set maximum prices for them on a sliding scale based on their ranking and the size of the *munus* in question. Two partial copies of the same *senatus consultum* survive from Italica in Baetica (*CIL* II 6278 = *ILS* 5163 = *EAOR* VII 3, a bronze plaque) and Sardis in Asia (*CIL* III 7106 = *ILS* 9340, four fragments of a marble stele), illustrating that this had become an Empire-wide problem.³⁹

WATCHING THE SHOW

Despite numerous inscriptions relating to public spectacles, it is difficult to conceptualize what it might have been like to watch a Roman spectacle.⁴⁰ Augustine (*Conf.* 6.8) provides one of the very few literary evocations of the arena that captures something of the electric atmosphere for spectators and the *editor* who paid for the whole show. That atmosphere almost comes to life, however, in an inscribed mosaic from Smirat in North Africa, commemorating wild-beast hunts (*venationes*) put on by a certain Magerius (Fig. 25.3). Amid a team of wild-beast-hunters—the “Telegenii,” named individually on the mosaic—busily spearing leopards (also named) stands a man holding a tray with four money-bags, each marked with the symbol ∞, denoting 1,000 *denarii*. Inscriptions alongside the images allow the mosaic “to speak,” bringing the arena scene to life (*AE* 1967, 549):⁴¹

(a) To the left of the man with a tray:

per curionem / dictum ‘domi/ni mei ut / Telegeni(i) / pro leopardo / meritum ha/beant vestri / favoris dona/te eis denarios / quingentos.’

Proclaimed by the herald (*curio*): “My lords, in order that the Telegenii should have what they deserve from your favour, for each leopard give them five hundred *denarii*.”

³⁷ Robert 1940: 269–273; Carter 2004; Mann 2011: 60–64; cf. Ville 1981: 188–193 (*Augustales* in Italy and the western provinces)

³⁸ Robert 1948: 81–82 no. 318, pl. 13.1; cf. Carter 2006.

³⁹ Oliver and Palmer 1955; Carter 2003.

⁴⁰ See now Fagan 2011.

⁴¹ Beschaouch 1966; Dunbabin 1978: 67–69 and pls. 52–53; Fagan 2011: 128–132.

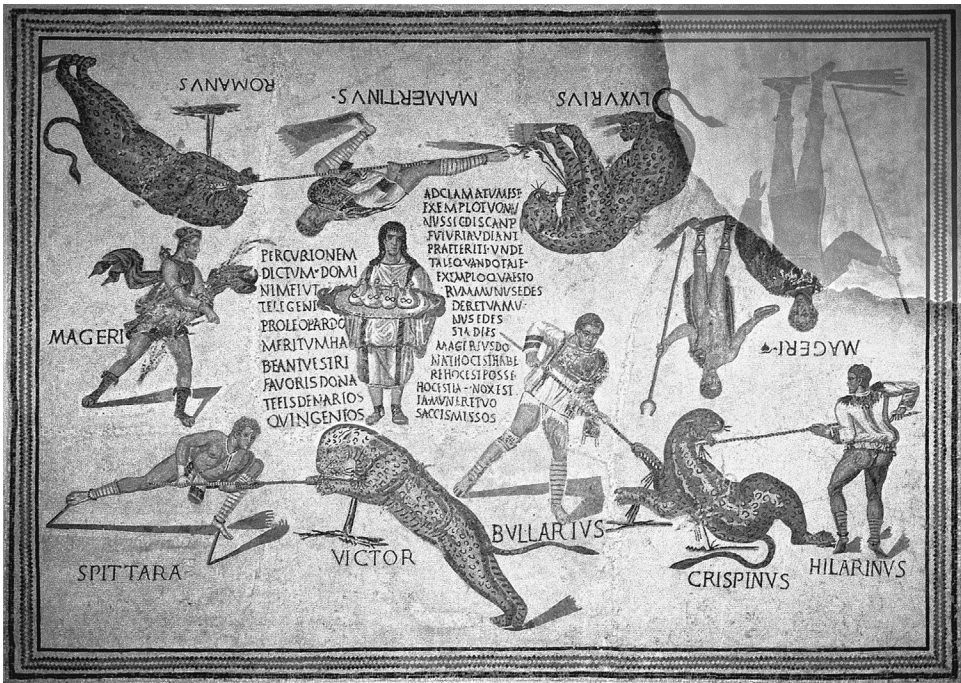


FIG. 25.3 Mosaic from a Roman villa near Smirat, Tunisia, showing *venationes* offered by Magerius, with inscriptions acclaiming him for his munificence. Third century CE. Sousse museum, Tunisia.

(b) To the right of this same man:

adclamatum est / 'exemplo tuo, mu/nus sic discant / futuri audiant / praeteriti unde / tale quando tale / exemplo quaesto/rum munus edes / de re tua mu/nus edes / (i)sta dies' / Magerius do/nat 'hoc est habe/re hoc est posse / hoc est ia(m) nox est / ia(m) munere tuo / saccis missos.'

The shout went up in reply: "Let future generations know of your *munus* because you are an example for them! Let past generations hear about it! Where has such a show, when has such a show been heard of previously? You will put on a *munus* as an example to the quaestors! You will put on a *munus* from your own resources! This is that day!" Magerius donates. "This is what it is to have money! This is what it is to have power! Now that it is night, they have been dismissed from your *munus* with bags of money."

The first inscription records the herald's proclamation to the crowd, deferentially addressed as "my lords," while the second evokes the crowd's lengthy shouts in response. The translation above may express the words' meaning but fails to capture the full force of the crowd's shouts. Their phrases are metrical and repetitive (*hoc est habere! hoc est posse!*) and seem to derive from the sort of words a crowd could have shouted, even chanted, in unison at the spectacle.⁴² They also apparently chanted

⁴² cf. Roueché 1984.

Magerius' name, since it appears twice on the mosaic in the vocative—*Mageri*. In Late Antiquity such acclamations were even inscribed on the seats in spectacle buildings, for instance, at Aphrodisias.⁴³

Where one sat at public spectacles revealed much about one's place in the Roman social hierarchy.⁴⁴ The *senatus consultum* from Larinum (above, p. 543–544) significantly defines the equestrian order as those who “possessed the right of sitting in the seats reserved for the equestrians” at public spectacles (cf. Suet. *Aug.* 44). The law of the Colonia Iulia Genetiva required that decurions have reserved seating at all *ludi* and should determine who might sit in the orchestra in the theatre, while laying down strict penalties for anyone who occupied these seats illegally (*lex col. Gen.* 125–127; cf. *lex Flav. mun.* 81). The Vespasianic law from Narbo regulating the flamine of Gallia Narbonensis included among the *flamen*'s privileges special seating for himself and his wife at spectacles (*CIL* XII 6038 = *ILS* 6964, lines 1–8). Other inscriptions confirm that honoured seating was awarded as a special privilege by town councils. A fragmentary decree of Tiberian date from Cumae (*AE* 1927, 158 = *EAOR* VIII 43), for example, attests that C. Cupiennius Satrius Marcianus, his children, and descendants were granted the right to sit with the *Augustales* at gladiatorial *munera*, while his mother could watch *munera* from a litter (*lectica*) in the amphitheatre and all *ludi* in the theatre from a special seat (*sella*).

In Rome the Acts of the Arval Brethren for 80 CE record the precise space reserved for this priestly college and their dependants in three sections of the new Flavian Amphitheatre (*CFA* 48 = *ILS* 5049 = *EAOR* VI 13). Seat-inscriptions from the later first/early second century reveal that places were also set aside for Roman equestrians, visitors from Gades (Cadiz), “clients” (?of...), perhaps *praetextati* (i.e., boys still wearing the *toga praetexta*), boys' tutors (*[paedagogis p]uero[rum]*), and public guests (*hospites publici*), while a specified footage was reserved “for those authorized to sit (here) in the theatre by law or plebiscite” (*CIL* VI 32098a–f, l–m = *ILS* 5645a–f = *EAOR* VI 14.1–6, 11a–b). From Late Antiquity two series of inscriptions on the amphitheatre's seats name many senators (*EAOR* VI 16–17). Now dated to the late third to mid-fourth and late fourth to early sixth century, they contribute major information on the prosopography of the late Roman senate, confirming its continued prestige.⁴⁵ A number of other spectacle buildings have inscriptions (often fragmentary) preserved on their seats (Table 25.1), which confirm that seating was organized according to social divisions across the Roman world.

AMPHITHEATRES, THEATRES, AND CIRCUSES

Archaeological evidence is crucial for understanding the architecture of specialist entertainment buildings,⁴⁶ but epigraphy provides useful supplementary information,

⁴³ Roueché 1993: nos. 45.3.V.2 (stadium), 46.B1, C18, E2, 9, 11, G12, J8, 13, X4, 7, 15 (theatre).

⁴⁴ Rawson 1987; Edmondson 1996: 98–111.

⁴⁵ S. Orlandi's masterly edition of these texts (*EAOR* VI 16–17) now replaces Chastagnol 1966 as the standard text, offering significant chronological revisions.

⁴⁶ Sear 2006; Golvin 1988; Humphrey 1986; Nelis-Clément and Roddaz 2008; cf. Tosi 2003.

Table. 25.1 Seat-inscriptions from Roman Amphitheatres, Theatres, Stadia**Amphitheatres**

Rome: Flavian amphitheatre	<i>EAOR</i> VI 14–17
Verona	<i>EAOR</i> II 72
Mediolanum	<i>EAOR</i> II 73
Aquileia	<i>EAOR</i> II 74
Ariminum	<i>EAOR</i> II 76
Pola	<i>EAOR</i> V 75
Syracuse	<i>EAOR</i> III 85
Carales	<i>CIL</i> X 7608–10
Augusta Emerita	<i>EAOR</i> VII 52 ^a
Italia	<i>EAOR</i> VII 53–54 ^b
Tarraco	<i>CIL</i> II ² /14, 1392–1432, revising <i>EAOR</i> VII 55 ^c
Arelate	<i>EAOR</i> V 40
Nemausus	<i>EAOR</i> V 41–46
Mediolanum Santonum	<i>EAOR</i> V 77
Lugdunum	<i>EAOR</i> V 78–79; cf. <i>AE</i> 2000, 938–944
Lutetia Parisinorum	<i>EAOR</i> V 80
Augusta Treverorum	<i>EAOR</i> V 81
Deva	<i>EAOR</i> V 82
Aquincum	<i>CIL</i> III 10493a–x
Carnuntum: military amphitheatre	<i>CIL</i> III 11253
Carnuntum: civilian amphitheatre	<i>AE</i> 1934, 263–264
Sarmizegethusa	<i>CIL</i> III 1522, 1523, 1526, 1623, 7991.7–90, 12586.2
Carthage	<i>CIL</i> VIII 24659–61
Theveste	Lequément 1968: nos. 15–57
Lambaesis	<i>CIL</i> VIII 3293

Theatres

Aquileia	<i>I.Aquileia</i> I 55–62
Casinum	<i>CIL</i> X 5262
Eporedia	<i>CIL</i> V 6799
Corduba	<i>CIL</i> II ² /7, 456, 466a–b, 571, 608, 608a; cf. Ventura Villanueva 1999
Tarraco	<i>CIL</i> II ² /14, 1364–91
Arelate	<i>CIL</i> XII 716
Arausio	<i>CIL</i> XII 1241
Lopodunum	<i>CIL</i> XIII 6421–22; Wiegels 2000: nos. 18–26
Carthage	<i>CIL</i> VIII 24664
Athens: Theatre of Dionysos	<i>IG</i> II.3 ² 5025–5164
Stobi, Macedonia	Saria 1940: nos. 1–167
Aphrodisias: theatre	Roueché 1993: no. 46
Aphrodisias: odeion	Roueché 1993: no. 47
Ephesos	<i>SEG</i> 34, 1168a–d; <i>I.Ephesos</i> 2086a–c
Miletos	<i>I.Milet</i> 940
Pergamum	<i>I.Pergamum</i> 616–619
Hierapolis	Kolb 1974: nos. 1–10

(Continued)

Table. 25.1 (Continued)

Theatres

Laodicea: larger theatre	<i>MAMA</i> VI 7 = <i>AE</i> 1940, 179
Termessos	<i>TAM</i> III.1 872
Flavia Neapolis	Magen 1984: 275
Bostra	<i>IGLS</i> 9156–9166
Alexandria	Borkowski 1981

Stadia

Aphrodisias	Roueché 1993: no. 45
Didyma	<i>I.Didyma</i> 50
Saittai	<i>TAM</i> V 74; Kolb 1990: nos. 1–40

Source: T. Jones 2008 (with additions); cf. T. Jones 2009.

^acf. Edmondson 2011: 739–740; ^bcf. Edmondson 2011: 739–740; ^ccf. Edmondson 2011: 739–740.

not least on those who funded these building projects (cf. Ch. 24). While spectacles were originally staged in temporary wooden structures, from the second century BCE stone-built theatres, amphitheatres, circuses, and stadia started to appear in the towns of Italy and then the provinces, although wooden structures were still sometimes used, even in the Principate (cf. *CIL* III 6832, Pisidian Antioch; XIII 1642 = *ILS* 5639, Forum Segusiavorum, Gallia Lugdunensis). Building inscriptions inserted into their facades or, in the case of theatres, across the *scaenae frons* or the *proscenium* floor, or atop the entrances to the orchestra provide some orientation about their original construction and/or later refurbishment.

One of the first stone-built amphitheatres in Italy was that at Pompeii, erected after a colony of veterans had been implanted by Sulla to punish this previously allied town. C. Quinctius Valgus and M. Porcius, *Ilviri quinquennales*, were responsible for its construction in the 70s BCE (*CIL* X 852 = *ILLRP* 645 = *ILS* 5627, two copies, displayed over the W. and E. entrances).⁴⁷ During their chief magistracy they also oversaw construction of the town's covered theatre (*CIL* X 844 = *ILS* 5636).⁴⁸ Imperial cult priests sometimes undertook the construction of spectacle buildings. At Lugdunum C. Iulius Rufus, *sacerdos* of Roma and Augustus, with his son and grandson, dedicated an amphitheatre at the provincial cult centre of Gallia Lugdunensis to ensure the well-being of the emperor Tiberius (*AE* 1959, 81 = *EAOR* V 75).

Close inspection of a marble block commemorating refurbishments to the Flavian Amphitheatre under Theodosius II and Valentinian III in the second quarter of the fifth century (*CIL* VI 1763=32089 = *ILS* 5633 = *EAOR* VI 3) reveals earlier dowel-holes,

⁴⁷ Golvin 1988: 33–37.

⁴⁸ For *spectacula* meaning “spectacle building,” especially amphitheatre, Etienne 1965; cf. *AE* 1988, 264 (Aquinum, Latium); *CIL* II²/5, 31 = *ILS* 5657 = *EAOR* VII 56 (Aurgi, Baetica: *loca spectacul(orum)*); *AE* 2006, 149 (Brigetio, Pannonia Superior: *podium cum suis spectaculis*).

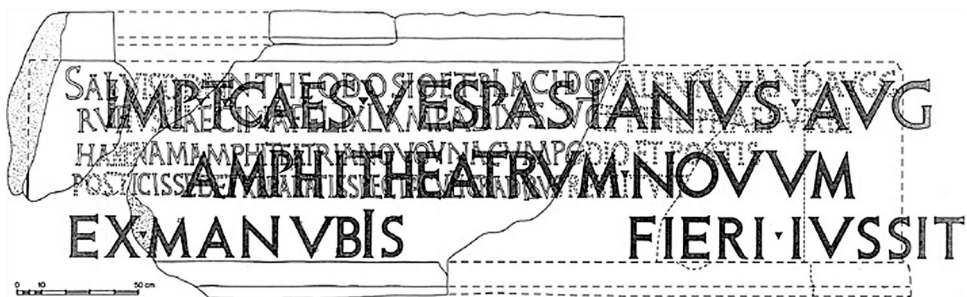


FIG. 25.4 Reconstruction by Géza Alföldy of the dedicatory inscription in bronze letters of the Flavian Amphitheatre, Rome, commemorating the emperor Titus' funding of the building, 79 CE (*CIL VI 40454b*).

which Géza Alföldy has argued once supported the bronze lettering of the amphitheatre's original dedicatory inscription. Applying a rigorous method to assess which letters might have fit into the sequence of holes, he concluded that the dedication was originally set up by Vespasian but quickly amended after his death in 79 to give the credit to Titus, his son and heir, by the simple insertion of a letter T for T(itus) in the first line (*CIL VI 40454a–b = EAOR VI 1a*; Fig. 25.4):

[*Imp(erator) T(itus) Caes(ar) Vespasi(anus Aug(ustus))*
amphitheatru[m novum(?)
[ex] manubi(i)s (vac) [feri iussit(?)

The emperor Titus Caesar Vespasianus Augustus ordered the (?) new amphitheatre to be built from the spoils.

The reading *ex manubi(i)s* in line 3, if accepted, confirms the conjecture that the building was funded from the spoils of Vespasian's and Titus' victories suppressing the Jewish revolt. The new Flavian amphitheatre along with the (lost) Arch of Titus in the Circus Maximus, the dedicatory inscription of which is known from a copy of the lost original preserved in the ninth-century Einsiedeln *codex* (*CIL VI 944 = ILS 264*), served as major monuments to the Flavian dynasty's military achievements, providing legitimation for their regime.⁴⁹

Senators and leading equestrians also provided funds for the construction of spectacle buildings in their home-towns. Q. Naevius Sutorius Macro, equestrian prefect of the Night-Watch and then Praetorian prefect under Tiberius, for example, bequeathed funds in his will to construct an amphitheatre at Alba Fucens, as four identical inscriptions set up on the interior and exterior of the two entrance arches to the building commemorated (*AE 1957, 250 = EAOR III 75*). In the late first century CE the senatorial Ummidia Quadratilla, renowned for her sybaritic tastes and indulgence towards her domestic troupe of pantomimes (Plin. *Ep.* 7.24.3–4), funded an amphitheatre and temple at Casinum (*CIL X 5183 = ILS 5628 = EAOR IV 46*) and repaired its theatre (*AE*

⁴⁹ Alföldy 1995; Millar 2005; cf. Humphrey 1986: 97–100.

1992, 244). It may be tempting to use inscriptions attesting the performance of *ludi* or *munera* in a community to argue that a monumental circus, theatre, or amphitheatre existed there, but this is methodologically unsound, since even well into the Principate such spectacles could take place in temporary facilities erected in the forum or on open ground outside the walls of a town.⁵⁰

CONCLUSION

Performers occasionally saw their status rise so high that they could cross the podium wall and become sponsors of shows. Juvenal complains (3.34–37) about men who were once trumpeters in small-town shows but now gave the shows themselves, while Dio (55.10.11) reports on *ludi* sponsored by the leading pantomime Pylades in 2 BCE. However, the civic honours won by actors—especially pantomimes—show that the elite’s contempt for such performers was not universally shared. A togate statue from the sanctuary of Diana at Nemi honoured the actor C. Fundilius Doctus, *parasitus Apollinis*, a freedman, since a herm-portrait of his *patrona*, Fundilia C.f. Rufa, is known from the same location (*CIL* XIV 4275, 4199 = *ILS* 5275–75a).⁵¹ At Puteoli the *Augustales* honoured L. Aurelius Pylades, an imperial freedman and “the leading pantomime of his time” with at least two statues between 185 and 192. The accompanying inscriptions reveal that Pylades had sponsored a *munus* and *venatio* in gratitude for receiving the status of a local decurion and *Ilvir* and a local priesthood, the augurate (*AE* 2005, 337; *ILS* 5186 = *EAOR* VIII 16a–b).⁵² He was not the only pantomime so honoured. Between 211 and 217 another imperial freedman and “leading pantomime of his time” received a statue at Lepcis Magna after being granted decurional insignia there and in Cisalpine Gaul at Verona and Vicetia, as well as membership in the youth-organization at Mediolanum (*IRT* 606; Fig. 25.5).

M(arco) Septimio Aurelio Agrippae
M(arci) Aureli Antonini Pii Felicis Aug(usti) lib(erto)
pantomimo temporis sui primo
Romae adolescentium productorum
 5 *condiscipulo ad Italiae spectacula*
a domino nostro Aug(usto) provecto
decurionalibus ornamentis Verona
et Vicetia ornato Mediolano in-
ter iuvenes recepto in Africa
 10 *Lepci Mag(na) a domino nostro Aug(usto)*

⁵⁰ Humphrey 1986: 385 is arguably too keen to argue for the existence of circuses in Hispania on the basis of such inscriptions.

⁵¹ Köhne and Ewigleben 2000: 122–123, fig. 134 (photo).

⁵² Caldelli 2005; cf. Leppin 1992: 286–287.

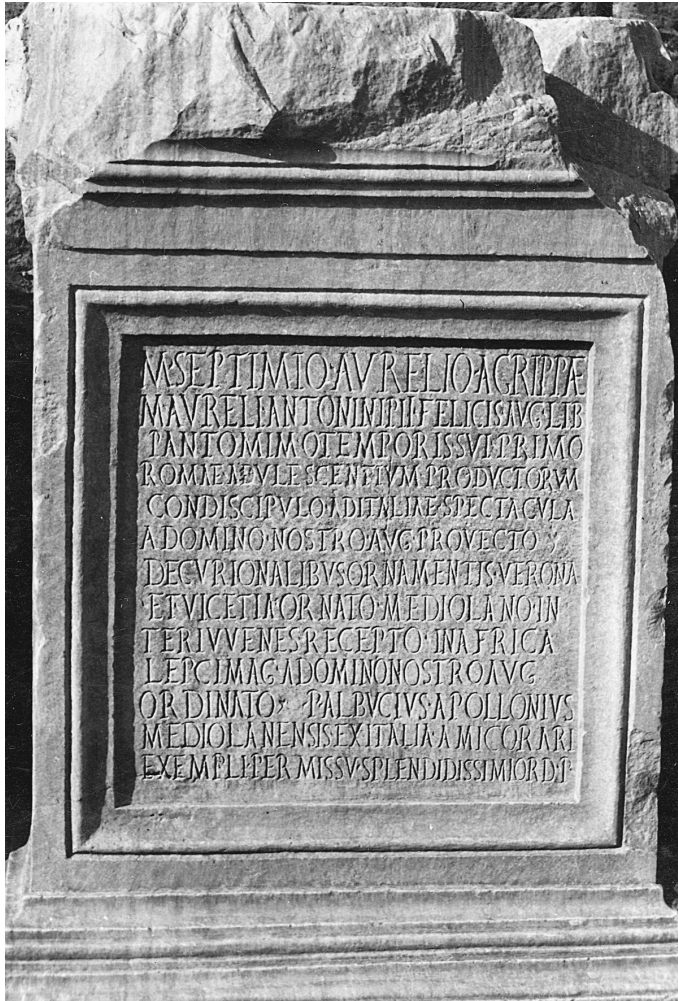


FIG. 25.5 Statue base set up to honour M. Septimius Aurelius Agrippa, leading pantomime of his day, at Lepcis Magna, Tripolitania. 211/217 CE. In situ.

*ordinato P(ublius) Albucius Apollonius
Mediolanensis ex Italia amico rari
exempli permissu splendidissimi ord(inis) p(osuit)*

To M. Septimius Aurelius Agrippa, freedman of M. Aurelius Antoninus Pius Felix Augustus, leading pantomime of his age, a fellow-pupil of the (?) educated youth at Rome, promoted by our lord Augustus, decorated with the insignia of a town-councillor at Verona and Vicetia, at Mediolanum accepted as a member of the youth organization, in Africa, at Lepcis Magna, enrolled by our lord Augustus as a town-councillor. P. Albucius Apollonius of Mediolanum, from Italy, erected (this) to a friend of a rare kind by authorization of the most splendid city council.

That stage-artists, born as slaves, could rise to such levels of respectability may have troubled the senatorial elite, but it speaks to the enormous popularity that successful performers gained across the Roman Empire. This fanaticism is further evoked by the mass of inscribed “souvenirs” with spectacle scenes: terracotta lamps with gladiators, actors, or charioteers; inscribed bone or ivory knife-handles in the form of gladiators; terracotta or glass cups depicting star gladiators or charioteers. Actual specimens have been found of cups mentioned by Petronius (*Sat.* 52, 71) with inscribed images of the gladiator Petraites.⁵³ From Gades to Dura Europos, with a particular concentration at Pompeii, fans scratched on walls sketches of their favourite athletes, charioteers, actors, or gladiators—sometimes in full-on, violent action (cf. *CIL* IV 10236–38)—or briefer tags in street-Latin praising particular actors and gladiators: “Unbeatable Paris! Triumph!” (*AE* 1985, 288: *Paris invicte nica*); “Actius, lord of stage-players, farewell!” (*CIL* IV 5399: *Acti dominus (!) scaenicorum vale*); “Heart-throb of the girls, Celadus, the Thracian!” (*CIL* IV 4397: *suspirium puellarum Celadus tr(aex)*); “Cresce(n)s, netman, doctor of night-time dolls!” (*CIL* IV 4353 = *ILS* 5142e: *Cresce(n)s retia(rius) puparum nocturnarum . . . medicus*).⁵⁴ To ensure their favourites emerged victorious, fans even commissioned frenzied curses bidding evil powers destroy the horses and charioteers of rival factions (cf. Fig. 22.3), rival pantomime actors, rival wild-beast-hunters, and even perhaps rival gladiators.⁵⁵

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⁵³ Good selection in Landes 1987; Köhne and Ewigleben 2000. Petraites: Ville 1964; Landes 1987: 126–127 nos. 25–26.

⁵⁴ Langner 2001: 45–58, with Pls. 36–73; cf. Fagan 2011: 209–229, esp. 223–224; Franklin 1987 (pantomime Actius Anicetus).

⁵⁵ Tremel 2004; Gager 1992: 42–77, esp. nos. 4–17.

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CHAPTER 26

ROMAN FAMILY HISTORY

JONATHAN EDMONDSON

SINCE the 1980s there has been a major growth in interest in family history among Roman social historians.¹ There have been significant advances in our understanding of the family's demographic regime, relations between its members at different social levels and in various parts of the Roman Empire, its economic role, and the emotional bonds that formed within families.² Literary and legal sources provide much of the evidence, with archaeological and iconographic material sometimes enlightening, but epigraphy has a crucial role to play and is especially valuable when used alongside other types of evidence.³ The Latin term *familia* was used, like the English word “family” and its cognates in other languages, to denote the freeborn members of a nuclear conjugal unit (father, mother, and children), but also more broadly to refer to this nuclear unit plus the household slaves and freed slaves (cf. *Dig.* 50.16.195, Ulpian).⁴ So it is very misleading to think of it as the equivalent of the modern “family.” Of all types of inscriptions, epitaphs have the greatest potential to throw light on individual families, as an example from the Roman colony of Augusta Emerita (Mérida) in Lusitania reveals (*AE* 1999, 876; Fig. 26.1):

P(ublius) Sertorius Niger medic(us)
sibi et P(ublio) Sertorio patri suo et Caeciliae
Urbanae uxori suae Sertoriae Tertullae sorori
suae et M(arcus) Didius Postumus sobrinus et heres
P(ubli) S[er]rtori Nigri de suo sibi statuam pos(u)it

5

¹ Rawson 1986, 1991, 2011; Andreau and Bruhns 1990; Dixon 1992, 2001; Rawson and Weaver 1997; George 2005. My thanks to Keith Bradley for comments on this chapter.

² Demography: Bagnall and Frier 1994; Scheidel 1996, 2001. Family relations: Saller and Shaw 1984; Bradley 1991. Economy: Saller 2011. Emotion: Treggiari 1991a: 229–261; Dixon 2003.

³ Legal evidence: Fayer 1994–2005; Gardner 1998; Capogrossi Colognesi 2010. Archaeological and iconographic: Wallace-Hadrill 2003; Rawson 2003: 17–92; George 2000.

⁴ Saller 1994: 74–101. Slaves/freedmen: Edmondson 2011; Mouritsen 2011.



FIG. 26.1 Marble plaque set up at Augusta Emerita (Mérida) to commemorate the doctor P. Sertorius Niger, his father P. Sertorius, his wife Caecilia Urbana, and his sister Sertoria Tertulla. First half of the first century CE. Museo Nacional de Arte Romano, Mérida.

P. Sertorius Niger, doctor, for himself and P. Sertorius, his father, and Caecilia Urbana, his wife, (and) Sertoria Tertulla, his sister. In addition, M. Didius Postumus, cousin (or nephew) and heir of P. Sertorius Niger, at his own expense set up a statue in his own honour.

A doctor, P. Sertorius Niger, set up this epitaph in his own lifetime to commemorate himself, his father, wife, and sister. His heir was his *sobrinus* M. Didius Postumus, who used part of his inheritance to erect a statue. This much is certain. Further inferences may be drawn which are plausible but not absolutely verifiable. Given its dimensions (62.5 cm high by 147 cm wide by 6.4 cm thick), the plaque was probably displayed over the entrance to the family tomb, though this cannot be confirmed since it was not discovered in its original context. The name of the doctor's sister, Sertoria Tertulla, in line 3 seems to have been added later, given the small gap in line 3 immediately before her name and the absence here of a connective *et*. The doctor presumably had no surviving children to inherit his property, since it passed to his maternal cousin or nephew (*sobrinus*), M. Didius Postumus.⁵ Like most Roman epitaphs, the text is undated, but the doctor's father lacks a *cognomen*, suggesting that he might have been one of the initial colonists when Emerita was founded in 25 BCE, since names without *cognomina* had become obsolete here by c. 25 CE. The plaque, therefore, may belong to the first half of the first century CE, and the style of the lettering is consistent with such a date.

⁵ On *sobrinus* meaning nephew in Hispania: Armani 2012.

METHODOLOGICAL ISSUES

Close, accurate readings of such inscriptions allow us to reconstruct aspects of the lives of myriads of families across the Roman world, since features observed in the commemoration of the dead may hint at how families operated in life. Inscriptions cover a much wider spectrum of families than do literary texts, which tend to focus on the Roman elite and, in large part, the city of Rome. They allow us to catch glimpses of families in Italy and the provinces and to probe further down the social scale, although how far down remains controversial. The chronological limits of family history are also extended by the use of inscriptions, since many belong to the second century CE, when literary evidence is scarcer than for earlier periods. To derive full value from them, historians need to gather and compare large numbers of inscriptions to identify broader patterns relevant to family history.

Several methodological issues, however, must be kept in mind if inscriptions are to be used safely and effectively. Economic and cultural factors affected the degree to which they were set up. Their cost meant that many families could not afford them, and the cheaper shorter texts, simply naming the deceased, are not that revealing. Epitaphs were commoner in urban rather than rural settings, while certain social groups (especially freedmen and soldiers) were much keener than others to set them up. Each family had to make a conscious decision whether to commemorate a particular family member; a daughter who had died just before marriage might be considered more worthy of a memorial than a post-menopausal wife no longer able to produce children. In some regions there was a preference for commemorating male family members who had lived to a ripe old age, particularly in rural North Africa, where exaggerations of the age-at-death of older male relatives and age-rounding (i.e., the rounding-up of ages to numbers that for us terminate in 5 or 0) are evident in the epigraphic record.⁶ At Thugga, for example, there was a marked preference for deaths at ages ending in 5 or 0 and in a sample of 1,127 individuals with recorded ages-at-death, 371 (33 percent) died aged seventy or above, while 93 (8 percent) were ninety or older. This age-distribution diverges markedly from what one would expect in any pre-industrial context.⁷ Despite earlier optimistic beliefs, it is now clear how illusory it is to amass life expectancy data from samples of surviving tombstones: in Keith Hopkins's phrase, a veritable "graveyard for historians."⁸

It is also sobering that in those rare cases where archaeologists can relate surviving epitaphs to excavated burials, as at Isola Sacra near Portus or along the Via Triumphalis in the suburbs of Rome, by no means every burial was marked with an

⁶ Duncan-Jones 1977; Shaw 1991.

⁷ Khanoussi and Maurin 2002: 84–90, esp. 85–86.

⁸ Hopkins 1966, 1987; cf. Clauss 1973.

inscribed tombstone.⁹ Some family members had their remains interred within the familial burial-plot without a memorial, their identity concealed behind such common *porte-manteau* phrases as *sibi et suis lib(ertis) libertabusq(ue) posterisq(ue) eorum* (“for himself, his freedmen and freedwomen, and their descendants”).¹⁰ Furthermore, those named on a tomb’s façade do not necessarily reflect all those buried within. The inscription (in Greek) on the façade of Tomb 106 at Isola Sacra announces that it was set up for Iulia Pr[oc(u)la], T. Munatius Pr[oc(u)lus], and Munatia E[lpis] by a doctor Q. Marcius Dem[etrius(?)]. Inside the tomb, however, epitaphs (in Latin) survive for:

- (1) Iulia Ti. f. Procula (three commemorations, one erected by her mother Munatia Elpis after Procula’s death aged almost 30)
- (2) the six-year-old T. Munatius T. f. Proculus (commemorated twice, once by his mother, Iulia Procula, no. 1)
- (3) Iulia Ti. f. Nymphidia, probably a sister of no. 1
- (4) the unnamed husband of Iulia Pronime
- (5) T. Liburcius Marcius Marinus, perhaps a kinsman of the doctor (ἀρχιατρός) who dedicated the tomb
- (6) M. Munatius Licinianus and (7) Curtia Gemella also called Flavia, commemorated by their son M. Munatius Marcianus, whose *cognomen* may hint at a kinship link with the doctor who set up the tomb.

So while there are multiple memorials for two of those named on the façade (nos. 1–2), no epitaph has survived for Munatia Elpis, whereas at least five other individuals were buried inside the tomb.¹¹ This illustrates how difficult it often is to reconstruct a complete picture of a family from surviving epitaphs and the complexities involved in defining “family.”

Another problem is that only a handful of Roman tombstones include a consular or other form of precise date, as occurs in the epitaph of Clange, slave (or wife) of Hilario, buried in the tomb of the Arruntii on the Esquiline after dying on the Alban Mount on 18 June 6 CE (*CIL* VI 14844 = *ILS* 6191).¹² In most cases scholars have to resort to imprecise chronological indicators such as the style of the grave-monument, the type of lettering, or the structure of the names in the epitaph, all subjective criteria open to discussion (cf. Ch. 1).¹³ Precise dating became somewhat more prevalent in Christian epitaphs, since Christians wanted to record when their loved ones were “received into God’s presence,” as on the sarcophagus of an imperial freedman, M. Aurelius Prosenes, who died, if the textual restoration is sound, on 5 March 217 CE (*ICUR* VI 17246, revising *CIL* VI 8498 = *ILS* 1738). As a result, Christian epitaphs permit the exploration of

⁹ Eck 1987. Isola Sacra: Helttula 2007. Via Triumphalis: Steinby 2003; Liverani, Spinola, and Zander 2010; cf. Eck 1986.

¹⁰ cf. *ILS*, vol. III.ii, cap. XVII. Tituli sepulcrales (nos. 7818–8560).

¹¹ Helttula 2007: 172–183, nos. 149–158; cf. Carroll 2006: 183.

¹² Other examples: *ILS*, vol. III.ii, Index, p. 946.

¹³ Burnand and Audin 1959; Lassère 1973.

topics such as seasonal patterns of mortality or the birthing cycle of women,¹⁴ but this is not possible using non-Christian epitaphs.

TYPES OF INSCRIPTIONS USEFUL FOR ROMAN FAMILY HISTORY

While epitaphs inscribed on many kinds of funerary monuments (Ch. 29) will form the bulk of the evidence discussed in this chapter, other types of inscriptions are also sometimes valuable for family history. Family members erected honorific monuments for prominent local citizens across the Empire (cf. Chs. 12, 13, 24), which can furnish information about family structures and the sense of duty (*pietas*) that family ties engendered. Families set up votive dedications to the household gods: the *Lares* (or *Lares familiares*) (ILS 3602–8), *Penates* (or *Penates familiares*) (ILS 3594–3601), the *Genius* of the *paterfamilias* (ILS 3640–44), or the Juno of the *materfamilias* (ILS 3644–45). These inscriptions, however, are not that enlightening, and for insights on domestic religion historians must turn to literary evidence and the archaeological remains of shrines to the *Lares* and *Penates* from houses in Pompeii, which often have revealing paintings and, occasionally, inscriptions, such as the dedication on the *lararium* in the house of M. Epidius Rufus, set up by two freedmen each called Diadumenus to the *Genius* of “our Marcus” (i.e., their ex-master M. Epidius Rufus) and the household *Lares* (CIL X 861 = ILS 3641):¹⁵

*Genio M(arci) n(ostri) et
Laribus
duo Diadumeni
liberti*

More promising are those dedications set up to a divinity in the hope of ensuring the well-being (*pro salute*) of one or more family members (cf. Ch. 19).¹⁶ For example, the family of a local magistrate set up an altar at Apulum (Dacia) to the Capitoline triad and other divinities to ensure the family’s well-being (AE 1930, 7 = IDR III.5, 215):

*I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) Cust(odi)
Iunon(i) Miner-
vae ceteris-
que dis deabus-
que P(ublius) Ael(ius) Anti-
pater Ivira(lis)
col(oniae) Apul(ensis) et An-*

5

¹⁴ Shaw 1996, 2001.

¹⁵ Fröhlich 1991; Bodel 2009.

¹⁶ Várhelyi 2010: 201–208 (on such texts relating to senators).

10 *tonia Iulia eius et Aelii Antipater Iulianus Genialis deccc(uriones) col(oniae) eq(uo) p(ublico) e(t) Iulia filii eor(um) pro salut(e) sua suorumque*

To Jupiter Optimus Maximus the Guardian, Juno, Minerva, and the other gods and goddesses. P. Aelius Antipater, of duoviral rank of the colony of Apulum, and Antonia Iulia his wife and Aelius Antipater, Aelius Iulianus, and Aelius Genialis, decurions of the colony of equestrian rank [lit., with the public horse], and Aelia Iulia, their children, for their own well-being and that of their family.

Juridical epigraphy may also prove helpful. The Flavian municipal law (cf. Ch. 15) illustrates how the promotion of non-Roman provincial communities to Roman status as *municipia* with the Latin rights of citizenship (*ius Latii*) raised problems of family law. It stipulated that patrons would retain their rights to services (*operae*) from their freedmen even if the latter had been granted Roman citizenship while their ex-masters had not (*lex Flav. mun.* 97). Domitian's letter appended to the copy from Irni reveals that some Irnitani had continued contracting types of marriage no longer permitted under the town's new constitution. Domitian was willing to forgive those errant Irnitani for their oversight but was adamant that this lapse should not recur: "For the future I require you to remember the law, since all parts of my indulgence have now been exhausted" (*in futurum exigo memineritis legis cum iam omnes indulgentiae partes consumatae sint*). Despite threats like this from the emperor, "mixed marriages" between non-Romans (i.e., *peregrini*) and those with Roman citizenship or the Latin rights occurred regularly in the provinces, and epigraphy provides examples of cases detectable through the nomenclature of the children of such unions.¹⁷ So at the Flavian *municipium* of Conimbriga (Lusitania) Rufina Rufi f. was commemorated by her maternal grandmother and mother: *D(is) M(anibus) / Rufinae / Rufi fil(iae) / ann(or)um XXII / Aponia / Lobessa / avia et / Aponia / Iunia / mater / p(osuerunt)* (CIL II 387; cf. II 381, Lobessa's epitaph). From this we may deduce that the union between Aponia Iunia and Rufina's father was not a legitimate Roman *conubium*, because Rufus was a peregrine; as a result, their daughter inherited her father's peregrine status.¹⁸

More modest inscriptions may also contribute, if often indirectly. Lead tablets with curses or spells (*defixiones*) sometimes impinge on family issues, such as the spell commissioned by Domitiana at Hadrumetum in North Africa to persuade Urbanus to marry her or the *defixio* from Egypt inciting a married couple to split up so that the spell's instigator might win the divorced woman's hand.¹⁹ Inscribed artefacts such as a *fibula* from Genava (Gallia Narbonensis) (CIL XII 5698.18 = ILS 8623a) or a gold bracelet from Murecine near Pompeii (AE 2001, 803) may provide evidence for marital or

¹⁷ Cherry 1990; Chastagnol 1998.

¹⁸ Chastagnol 1998: 257–258.

¹⁹ Gager 1992: 110–115, nos. 35–36.

extra-marital affections. The inscription engraved on the latter, *dom(i)nus ancillae suae* (“The master to his very own slave-girl”), could mean that it was a love-gift from a master to his slave-girl. Other interpretations are, however, possible, and so it cannot be used as definitive evidence for extra-marital love.²⁰

KINSHIP, FAMILY RELATIONS, AND FAMILY STRUCTURES

Because they usually originated within a familial context and have survived in such abundance, epitaphs are the most useful type of inscription for family history. They often indicate the kinship link between the deceased and the monument’s dedicator, thus allowing us to observe members of the nuclear family or wider kin taking responsibility for the burial and commemoration of deceased family members. (Appendix IV provides a list of the commonest kinship terms.) They confirm the strongly patrilinear basis of Roman kinship and provide specific examples from the real world of the kinship terms encountered in literary and legal texts, such as the list of ascending agnatic kin enumerated by a character in Plautus’ *Persa* (1.2.5): *pater, avus, proavus, abavus, atavus, tritavus* (“father, grandfather . . . great-great-great-great-grandfather”) or the more complex definitions of first- to seventh-grade kin outlined in Gaius’ commentary on the provincial edict (*Dig.* 38.10.1.3–7, 3.pr.-1). For the definition of kin, the *gens*—the agnatic (i.e., patrilinear) descent group—was central, and it determined a Roman citizen’s name (*nomen/gentilicium*).²¹ As Cicero succinctly put it, “members of the *gens* are those who share the same name” (*Top.* 29: *gentiles sunt inter se qui eodem nomine sunt*). After marriage women retained their own *gentilia*, even if they married *cum manu*, i.e., when they passed from the legal power (*potestas*) of their father to that of their husband, which by the late Republic was very rare except among certain patrician families; by this date most women married *sine manu*, whereby they remained in the legal power of their fathers even after marriage.²²

Not surprisingly, Roman senatorial families and, by extension, the imperial house placed particular emphasis on long agnatic lineages, and this is observable in inscriptions (cf. Ch. 10). Under Hadrian the people of Corfinium in Samnium honoured a civic patron who had been suffect consul in 113 CE; in delineating his name on the statue base, they (like Fufidia Clementiana in Fig. 11.3) included four generations of his ancestry (*CIL* IX 3154 = *ILS* 1049: *Ser(vio) Cornelio Ser(vi) f(ilio) P(ubli) nep(oti) P(ubli) pronep(oti) P(ubli) abnepoti Dolabellae Metiliano Pompeio Marcello . . .*).

²⁰ Costabile 2001; Licandro 2004-5; *contra* Guzzo and Scarano Ussani 2001, arguing that it belonged to a slave prostitute.

²¹ Smith 2006; cf. Appendix III.

²² Treggiari 1991a: 16–34.

Lower down the social scale, though extended collateral kin are attested, a large majority of epitaphs were set up by close relatives: spouses, parents, or children, sometimes by siblings and ex-slaves. In Rome, Italy, and the western provinces it is much rarer to find grandparents, grandchildren, aunts, uncles, cousins, nieces, or nephews engaging in such actions.²³ In some areas of the Greek East, however, wider kin feature more prominently, as at Olympos in Lycia, where the deceased's nurse and a fellow-nursling are included among the family group commemorated (*TAM* II 1163):

Αὐρηλία Ῥοδοῦς Ἑρμαίου Διονυσιδώρου Ὀλυμπηνή κατεσκεύασα / τὸν τύμβον ἑαυτῆ
καὶ τῷ ἀνδρὶ μου Δημητρίῳ καὶ τοῖς τέκνοις / ἡμῶν καὶ ἐγγόνοις καὶ τῇ γλυκυτάτῃ
προϋποκειμένη / τροφίμῃ Ὀλυμπιάδι καὶ Ἑρμαίῳ Διονυσιδώρου, πατρί μου, / καὶ
μητρὶ μου Χρυσογονίᾳ καὶ τῷ δευτέρῳ ἀνδρὶ / μου Μακαρίῳ, οἰκονόμῳ τοῦ Λυκίων
ἔθνους· ἐτέρῳ δὲ / οὐδενὶ ἐξὸν ἐνηδεῦσαι τινα, ἢ ὁ βιασά/μενος ἐνηδεῦσαι ἐκτίσει
Ὀλυμπηνῶν τῇ πόλει / * ,αφ', ὧν ὁ ἐλέγξας λήμψεται τὸ τρίτον. / ἐπέτρεψα / δὲ /
κηδευθῆ/ναι αὐτὸν / σύντρο/φόν μου Εὐπρέπην / Ὀλυμπη/νὸν / καὶ γυναῖκα / αὐτοῦ
Αὐρηλίαν / Ὀλυμπηνήν.

I, Aurelia Rhodous, daughter of Hermaios son of Dionysidoros, from Olympos, prepared the tomb for myself and my husband Demetrios and our children and descendants, and for the sweetest already deceased nurse Olympias and for Hermaios son of Dionysidoros, my father, and my mother Chrysogonia and my second husband Makarios, *oikonomos* of the people of Lycia. It is not permitted for anyone else to bury anyone here, or the person who illegally buries someone will pay to the *polis* of Olympos 1,500 *denarii*, with the person who brings the accusation taking one third. I also looked after the burial of my fellow nursling Euprepes, from Olympos, and his wife Aurelia, also from Olympos.

In some remoter parts of the Empire, wider kinship groupings (*cognationes* or *gentilitates*) are attested. So at Avila in central Spain Dobiterus Caburoniq(um) Equasi f(iilius) was commemorated on the same stele as Arena Mentovieq(um) Aelci f(ilia), a married couple from two different kin-groups: the Caburoniqum and Mentoviequm (*LICS* 37 = *ERAvila* 40; Fig. 26.2), while at the Civitas Igaeditorum (Lusitania) the *gentilitas Polturicorum* dedicated an altar to a local divinity, Asidia, fulfilling a vow made by Polturus Caenonis (f.) (*AE* 2009, 512). More than 250 of such kinship groups are attested in central and northern Spain and Portugal, revealing that the nuclear family was not the only organizing principle of kinship in these regions.²⁴

Epitaphs also confirm that slaves and freedmen were considered very much part of the household, with ex-slaves, in particular, often commemorated alongside freeborn members of the family, and sometimes commemorating their former owners, especially when no freeborn heirs survived to fulfill this duty. Aristocratic families constructed communal burial-chambers (*columbaria*) for their slaves and freedmen (cf. Ch. 29, n. 19), and epitaphs from such buildings in the suburbs of Rome provide rich

²³ Saller and Shaw 1984 (Rome, Italy, western provinces); Martin 1996 (Greek East).

²⁴ González Rodríguez 1986; Edmondson 2005: 223–226.



FIG. 26.2 Granite funerary stele from Avila, Spain, with crude, stylized portraits commemorating Dobiterus Caburoniq(um) Equasi f. and Arena Mentovieq(um) Aelci f. Their names incorporate the wider kinship groups to which they belonged. Late first/second century CE. Museo de Ávila.

evidence for how slaves and freedmen were integral members of these households both conceptually and in lived reality. Furthermore, some of these epitaphs confirm that slaves and ex-slaves were sometimes permitted to form quasi-marital unions (*contubernia*) with fellow-slaves (*conservi/ae*) and fellow-freedmen and freedwomen (*conliberti/ae*) within the household or, occasionally, with slaves or ex-slaves from other families (cf. Paul. *Sent.* 2.19.6).²⁵

Individual epitaphs provide partial “snapshots” of a family at the moment of the commemoration of one (or more) of its members, but to gain more telling evidence for family relations, scholars need to aggregate data from large quantities of inscriptions. Richard Saller and Brent Shaw pioneered this approach in a ground-breaking article in 1984, in which they analyzed about 25,000 epitaphs, of which 12,000–13,000 provided usable data. They concluded that among civilian families from Rome, Italy, and the western provinces epitaphs were overwhelmingly set up by members of the

²⁵ Flory 1978; Treggiari 1981a.

nuclear family: most commonly, by spouses, parents, or children. These, they argued, were the emotional bonds that lay at the heart of family relations and family obligations. Their method has elicited some criticism, especially over how they disaggregated multiple commemorations into a series of single relationships—so a single joint-commemoration by a man of his wife, father, and paternal aunt is logged as three separate relationships (husband-wife, son-father, extended family). This means that one family where links with extended kin were deemed important in Saller's and Shaw's method translates into two cases of a nuclear family relationship and one of extended kinship. Their analysis also needs to take greater account of local variations depending on the community's juridical status and the extent to which Roman forms of social organization had taken root in provincial settings with a range of different pre-existing cultural and social traditions. Nonetheless, their broad conclusions still retain validity so long as it is remembered that their aim was to elucidate family *relations* and not family *structures*. They examined the relative importance of family and other personal relationships in funerary commemoration and concluded that relationships within the nuclear family were the strongest. Some of their critics have misrepresented the goal of their study. They were careful to emphasize that their data did not allow the reconstruction of family structures, still less the shape and size of households.²⁶

MARRIAGE

Marriage lay at the heart of family relations, and its importance was underlined in the nomenclature of certain women on inscriptions, notably elite women, by the inclusion of their husband's name in the genitive case: for example, *Caeciliae / Q(uinti) Cretici f(iliae) / Metellae Crassi (uxori)*: Caecilia Metella daughter of Q. (Caecilius Metellus) Creticus (i.e., the consul of 69 BCE) and (wife) of Crassus, probably M. Licinius Crassus, elder son of the famous homonymous consul of 70 and 55 BCE (*CIL* VI 1274 = *ILS* 881; cf. *ILS* 1377, 1949, 7829d).²⁷ A crucial determinant for the demographic shape of families in any society is the age at which men and, especially, women first marry, and inscriptions reveal that many Roman women married young. At Rome, for example, Minucia Suavis was already married to P. Sextilius Campanus before she died aged fourteen years, eight months, twenty-three days (*CIL* VI 22560). Regular epitaphs provide a *terminus ante quem*; more precise evidence is furnished by those that specify the deceased's age-at-death and length of marriage. For example, a funerary altar from Rome (*CIL* VI 13017) commemorates an imperial freedwoman who died at thirty-two after a marriage (or, more strictly, a quasi-marital

²⁶ Saller and Shaw 1984; Shaw 1984; Edmondson 2005; cf. Mathieu 2011. Critiques: Martin 1996; Corbier 1998; Hübner 2011.

²⁷ Syme 1986: 271, 272, 275.

union known as a *contubernium*) that had lasted nineteen years; hence her *contubernium* began when she was 13:

D(is) M(anibus)
 L(ucius) Aurelius Aphradas
 Aureliae Vitali Aug(usti) lib(ertae)
 coniugi incomparabili dulcissimae
 5 castissimae pientissimae sanctissim(ae)
 b(ene) m(erenti) fecit quae vixit annis XXXII
 et cum qua vixi(t) annis XVIII
 incorrupto matrimonio
 cum magna dulcitudine et libertis
 10 libertabusque posterisque eorum

To the Departed Spirits. L. Aurelius Aphradas set this up for Aurelia Vitalis, imperial freedwoman, incomparable, sweetest, most chaste, most devoted, most sacred, well-deserving spouse, who lived for thirty-two years and with whom he lived for nineteen years, their marriage unsullied and marked with great sweetness, and for their freedmen, freedwomen, and their descendants.

At Rusellae in Etruria, Aelius Agrippinus died aged forty-six years, two months, nine days after a marriage lasting nineteen years and three months (*AE* 1974, 320 = *Suppl.It.* 16, *Rusellae* no. 66); so he had married just before his twenty-seventh birthday. Such individual cases are illustrative, but do not get us very far. More productively, Hopkins extracted the data from all such epitaphs to argue that women usually married for the first time between the ages of twelve and fifteen. Shaw and Saller questioned whether Hopkins's sample was sufficient to support his conclusions and proposed a more impressionistic method allowing the accumulation of a much larger data-set. They charted the age at which commemorations ceased being made by one or both parents and started being made by a spouse; this, they argued, provides an approximate indication of the age at which women and men married. Their conclusion was that outside the senatorial class women generally married in their late teens, while men delayed marriage until their mid- to later twenties. If accepted, this marks an important shift in our understanding of women's normal age at first marriage.²⁸ It is an argument based solely on accumulated epigraphic data; it cannot be made using other types of evidence.

Women's experience within marriage is also elucidated by inscriptions. Many epitaphs present an idealized view of marriage, with husbands and wives making elaborate claims about their spouse's virtues. Some striking statements are made in a late republican epitaph from a tomb on the Via Nomentana near Rome (*CIL* I² 1221 = VI 9499 = *ILS* 7472 = *ILLRP* 793 = *CLE* 959; Fig. 26.3). Set up by [L. Au]relius L. l. [H]ermia, a freedman butcher ([*la*]nius), it extols his wife's virtues in verse (elegiac pentameters) on either side of a touching depiction of the couple, originally fellow-slaves in the same

²⁸ Hopkins 1965; Shaw 1987; Saller 1987; cf. Syme 1987; Shaw 2002; Scheidel 2007.



FIG. 26.3 Funerary relief from Rome, showing a married couple, the freedman L. Aurelius Hermia, a butcher on the Viminal hill, and the freedwoman Aurelia Philematio, first century BCE. British Museum.

household, who had formed a close bond from the time the woman was seven until her death aged forty:²⁹

To the left of the relief:

L. Aurelius Hermia, freedman of Lucius, butcher on the Viminal Hill. This woman who was fated to die before me was chaste in body, my one and only wife, who lovingly presided over my soul, throughout her life was a woman faithful to her husband, who was also faithful with equal enthusiasm, who never shirked her duty through avarice. Aurelia freedwoman of Lucius. . . . (text breaks off at bottom)

To the right of the relief:

Aurelia Philematio, freedwoman of Lucius. During my lifetime I was called Aurelia Philematium, chaste, modest, ignorant of the ways of ordinary people, faithful to my husband. My husband was a fellow-freedman of the same master. I am now deprived of him, alas! He was truly superior to and more than a parent. He received me in his lap when I was seven years old. Forty years after my birth I met my death. He flourished in all (his ventures?) through my persistent sense of duty. . . .

A number of the sentiments about Philematio's chastity, fidelity, modesty, and sense of duty became generalized in the laudatory epithets incorporated into epitaphs in

²⁹ Koortbojian 2006. The archaic Latin forms—*faato*, *coniunxs*, *veixsit*, *feida* (cf. *fida*), *volgei*, *conleibertus*, *ree*, *ee*, *naatam* (cf. *nata*)—provide a useful dating criterion.

Rome and Italy from the early first century CE onwards and from the later first century CE in the western provinces (cf. *ILS* 8395–8498).³⁰ We have already encountered Aurelia Vitalis, described as “the incomparable, sweetest, most chaste, most devoted, most sacred, well-deserving spouse” (p. 569). Normally just one or two qualities are singled out for praise, while some epitaphs assert that spouses lived together *sine ulla querel(l)a* (“without any quarrel”) for a number of years (cf. *CIL* VI 8546, 8878 = *ILS* 1763, 1685, Rome; *CIL* III 1315, Ampelum, Dacia; XIV 694, 970, 1040, Ostia; cf. *sine querella*: *CIL* VI 7579, 7581 = *ILS* 8190, 7804, Rome; *CIL* III 1992, Salona, Dalmatia; *AE* 1923, 39, Macedonia). Whether these laudatory claims should be read literally as evidence for genuine affection is questionable, since they are clearly formulaic, though rarer epithets or unusual combinations may hint that families had exercised some choice. Nevertheless, they disseminated rhetorical ideals about familial relationships, reinforcing a shared moral and emotional framework for how a marriage should function. They were a shorthand for the familial virtues praised in eulogies delivered at funerals.

Several inscribed versions of such eulogies survive from Rome (cf. Ch. 27). Two from the Augustan period, the *Laudatio Turiae* (*CIL* VI 1527 + 41062 = *ILS* 8393; Fig. 27.2) and *Laudatio Murdiae* (*CIL* VI 10230 = *ILS* 8394), praise the virtues of upper-class *matronae*, particularly their chastity, modesty, companionability (*comitas*), dutifulness towards close kin (*pietas*), and industriousness; their devotion to wool-working—*lanificium*—receives special emphasis (cf. *CIL* VI 11602, 15346 = *ILS* 8402–3). In the *Laudatio Turiae* the married couple could not produce children, and so the wife—often identified, unconvincingly, as “Turia” on the basis of similarities with Turia, wife of Q. Lucretius Vespillo, consul in 19 BCE (cf. *Val. Max.* 6.7.2; *App. B Civ.* 4.44)—offered to divorce her husband so that he could remarry and have children. He refused, preferring to remain with his beloved wife. In addition to revealing the cultural stereotype that any failure to produce children was always due to the wife’s infertility, it is one of the few inscriptions to address the topic of divorce, for which historians need to turn to literary and legal evidence.³¹

In most societies it is considered indecorous to speak ill of the dead, but occasionally Roman epitaphs mention marital discord. At Lugdunum Iulia Maiana was “murdered by the hand of a very cruel husband” (*manu mariti crudelissim(i) interfect(a)*) after a twenty-eight-year marriage that had produced two sons and a daughter (*CIL* XIII 2182 = *ILS* 8512). At Rome a funerary altar was dedicated by M. Iunius Euphrosynus and his freedwoman/wife Acte to their freeborn daughter Iunia M.f. Procula, who died before her ninth birthday (*CIL* VI 20905). On its rear-side is inscribed a lurid account of how Acte later ran off with another man and some of Euphrosynus’ slaves, leaving him bedridden and bereft of possessions. A gruesome curse follows that Acte and the treacherous slaves suffer excruciating deaths involving a nail, rope (for death by hanging), and burning pitch. Unsurprisingly, Euphrosynus had Acte’s name erased from

³⁰ Harrod 1909; Sigismund Nielsen 1997, 2001; Shaw 2002: 210–216; Edmondson 2009; Mathieu 2011: 195–215.

³¹ Corbier 1991a, 1991b; Treggiari 1991b; Bradley 1991: 156–176.

the epitaph.³² Family disputes often led to a member's exclusion from the family tomb, as at Rome, where in a bilingual epitaph M. Antonius Encolpus left instructions that one of his freedmen, M. Antonius Athenio, and all of Athenio's descendants be barred from access to, and burial in, the tomb (*CIL* VI 14672 = *IGUR* III 1245 = *ILS* 8156).

Remarriage is only occasionally attested, as when L. Helvius Victorinus commemorated each of his wives, Namenia Titulla and Romania Secundilla, on separate monuments at Lugdunum (*CIL* XIII 2220; *AE* 1975, 623). Unsurprisingly, very few epitaphs mention stepmothers (*novercae*) (cf. *AE* 2003, 1138, Nemausus; *CIL* II 5008, territory of Olisipo), but stepsons (*privigni* or *filiastri*) and stepdaughters (*privignae*) are commemorated alongside their mother or a stepbrother or stepsister as part of the new "blended" family formed after a remarriage. At Rome a stepfather (*vitricus*) dutifully dedicated an altar: "To the Departed Spirits of Cl(audia) Gazza, Hagnus' daughter, his very pleasant stepdaughter, to honour the memory of her mother Gazza. Claudius Pyrrichus, her stepfather, dedicated (this monument)" (*CIL* VI 15446 = *ILS* 8039: *D(is) M(anibus) / Cl(audiae) Hagni filiae) Gazzae / privignae suavissi/mae in honorem memo/riae Gazzae matris / eius Cl(audius) Pyrrichus / vitricus consecravit*). Pyrrichus evidently treated his stepdaughter as part of his family and saw her commemoration as a way of honouring his wife, her mother. At other times there were tensions within blended families. A divorced mother set up a plaintive memorial to her son at Arelate (*CIL* XII 810), wryly commenting that his death would benefit his stepmother (*beneficio novercae*). A *defixio* from the sanctuary of Isis and Magna Mater in Mogontiacum (Germania Superior) cursing a stepmother (*AE* 2004, 1025) is arguably more typical of attitudes towards stepmothers.³³

Widows (*viduae*) are also very rarely attested (cf. *CIL* II 1088, Ilipa; III 13532, Lentia, Noricum; VI 12372, 13025, 16468, Rome) until Christianity gained more prominence (cf. *ILCV* 1668, Mediolanum, 1738, Ferentinum, 1741, Verona, 4543, Olbia). This means that we need to use other types of sources to assess their place in Roman society.³⁴ Their sparsity in the epigraphic record might confirm pre-Christian expectations that women remarry expeditiously after the death or divorce of their spouse. However, some of those mothers commemorated by a son or daughter may in fact have been widows.

A strategy the childless couple in the *Laudatio Turiae* (p. 571) might have considered was adoption. This was common among the Roman elite, with adopted sons having the same status and inheritance rights as biological children. It is occasionally possible to detect adoptions epigraphically. While an adoptee took his adoptive father's *praenomen* and *gentilicium*, he often retained some element of his natal name as either a *cognomen* or part of a more complex, polyonymous name. C. Licinius C.f. Marinus

³² Evans-Grubbs 2002; Rawson 2003: 47–49 (with photo). Erasures on epitaphs: Carroll 2006: 118–125.

³³ Blänsdorf 2010: 150–151, 169 no. 4. Remarriage: Humbert 1972; Shaw 2002: 209–210.

³⁴ Krause 1994–95; McGinn 1999.

Voconius Romanus is attested at Saguntum in the early second century CE (*CIL* II 3866 = II²/14, 367). His name indicates that he was born Voconius Romanus but later adopted by C. Licinius Marinus. While valuable insights are provided by literary and legal sources, careful probing of inscriptions can uncover many probable cases of adoption, especially among the equestrian and senatorial orders.³⁵ Occasionally adoptions are mentioned explicitly, as on a pair of pedestals set up at Apulum (Dacia) honouring P. Aelius Antipater Marcellus and Publia Aelia Iuliana Marcella,³⁶ the adopted son and daughter of the equestrian P. Aelius Marcellus (*CIL* III 1181–82 = *IDR* III 5.2, 439, 441). Their natural and adoptive fathers are both mentioned in the texts (*filio P. Ael. Antipatri... adoptivo P. Ael. Marcelli...; filiae P. Ael. Iuliani... adoptiv(a)e P. Ael. Marcelli...*), while their names reveal that both had added their adoptive father's *cognomen* after adoption.

When a man's marriage ended through a wife's death or divorce, a *paterfamilias* might take a *concubina* rather than formally remarry, especially if he had surviving children to guarantee transmission of the family property. Concubinage was a stable, often long-lasting relationship. If any children resulted from such unions, they did not count as legitimate heirs. Hence it was a useful strategy for consolidating family property by not having to split it into too many portions for multiple heirs. Even members of the highest elite took concubines rather than remarry, including the emperors Vespasian and Antoninus Pius (Suet. *Vesp.* 3, *Dom.* 12.3; *SHA Ant. Pius* 8), and epigraphy confirms these unions: a *paedagogus* of the children of Antoninus Pius and his *concubina* is attested on a building inscription from Rome (*CIL* VI 8972 = *ILS* 1836), while the funerary altar of Vespasian's concubine, Antonia Caenis (*PIR*² A 888), ex-slave of Claudius' mother Antonia, survives from Rome (*CIL* VI 12037), though the term *concubina* does not appear in the text. Historians have mined the epigraphic evidence for *concubinae* to throw greater light on the institution among the middling ranks of Roman society.³⁷

Furthermore, looser quasi-marital relationships may lie cloaked in epitaphs involving *hospites*. *Hospitium*-relationships are quite common among military personnel (*CIL* II 489, Emerita; II 4152, 4167 = II²/14, 1051, 1057, Tarraco), both those still serving and veterans, but are found among the civilian population too (*CIL* IX 1961, Beneventum; V 8319, Aquileia; II 18, Myrtilis, Lusitania). Sometimes these relationships had evidently developed into longstanding quasi-marital unions, as at Amaseia (Pontus-Bithynia), where L. Petronius Herculanus, an equerry (*strator*) of the commander of the Legio V Macedonica, and Ulpia Secundinus, *hosp(es) eius*, were commemorated on a joint-epitaph by "their heirs" (*heredes eorum*) (*AE* 1991, 1474); the fact that their heirs set up this joint-monument proves the permanency of their "guest-friendship."

³⁵ Salomies 1992 is crucial; cf. Corbier 1991a–b.

³⁶ Publia is a rare example of a female *praenomen*: Kajava 1994.

³⁷ Rawson 1974; Treggiari 1981b; Friedl 1996; cf. Fayer 1994–2005: 3.11–54 (legal evidence).

CHILDREN

The primary purpose of marriage was to produce legitimate offspring, who, if they survived, would look after their parents in their old age, inherit the family property, and ensure that due reverence be paid to previous generations of family members. The inclusion of filiation—for example, *P(ubli) f(ilia)*—in names provided confirmation of legitimate birth, as did formal entry on birth registers kept in public archives (cf. Apul. *Apol.* 89.2).³⁸ A wooden diptych from the Fayum in Egypt preserves a witnessed copy of a declaration (*professio*) made on 27 March 128 CE of the birth of a daughter, Herennia Gemella, to C. Herennius Geminianus and Diogenis M.f. Thermoutharion on 11 March 128, extracted from the official register in Alexandria (*AE* 1926, 151).

Recent scholarship has emphasized the demographic problems inherent in child-birth and childrearing in the Roman world. Using Coale-Demeny model life-tables, it has been estimated that 30 percent of infants died before their first birthday and only half of any birth-cohort survived to their tenth birthday.³⁹ Inscriptions cannot be used to test such models, since, as we have seen, Roman epitaphs can never provide a reliable window on demographic realities. Given the likely overall demographic regime, scholars have detected a marked under-representation of infants and young children under the age of ten in surviving epitaphs, although some regional differences and a marked preference for commemorating boys over girls may be observed.⁴⁰ Nevertheless, some poignant vignettes of grief at an infant's death survive, such as the largely Greek epitaph from Rome dedicated to the “Departed Spirits” (Θ(εοις) Δ(αίμοσιν)) for L. Aelius Melitinus, “sweetest child” (τέκνω γλυκυτάτω), who died aged just thirteen months and nine days, commemorated by his “very unfortunate” (ἀτυχεστάτοι) parents, Felic(u)la and Myron. The epitaph concludes with a warning first in Greek: “Do not disturb this tomb lest you suffer the same experience regarding children!” (μὴ / ἐνοχλήσης τῷ τάφῳ / μὴ τοιαῦτα πάθης / περι τέκνων) and then in Latin: “Don't be troublesome lest you suffer this and look after the urns inserted here” (*ne sis molestus ne patiarus (!) hoc et ollas inclusas cave*) (*CIL* VI 10736 = *IG* XIV 1337 = *IGUR* II.1, 291; Fig. 26.4).⁴¹ Very occasionally mention is made that a woman had died in childbirth, as at Satafis (Mauretania Caesariensis), where the twenty-five-year-old Rusticeia Matrona's epitaph announces that “the cause of my death was childbirth and (?)malignant fate” (*CIL* VIII 20288: *causa meae mortis partus fatu[m]que malignum*).⁴²

Many examples survive of freeborn children styled *Sp(urii) f(ilius/-a)*, such as Caesia Sp.f. Procula (*ILS* 2254, Aquileia) or P. Calvius Sp.f. Iustus (*CIL* VI 8455 = *ILS* 1470, Rome). Such filiation indicates that they were illegitimate, i.e., they were not the

³⁸ Schulz 1942-43; Geraci 2001.

³⁹ Hopkins 1966: 252–253; Saller 1994: 22–25.

⁴⁰ Shaw 1991; Rawson 2003; cf. Laes 2007, 2011.

⁴¹ King 2000; Rawson 2003: 17–92; Carroll 2006: 168–175, 198–201.

⁴² Carroll 2006: 153–154.



FIG. 26.4 Marble funerary stele from Rome with a portrait-bust and bilingual epitaph commemorating L. Aelius Melitinus, set up by his parents. Late second/early third century CE. Musei Capitolini, Rome.

product of a legitimate Roman marriage and hence incapable in theory of inheriting property. The frequency with which “Sp.f.” appears epigraphically shows that no moral shame attached to illegitimate birth, and a number of such men served in the legions, such as A. Postumius Sp.f. Seneca, a veteran of the Legio XI (*AE* 1920, 63, Poetovio, Pannonia Superior; cf. *CIL* V 4377, Brixia), or even became decurions and municipal magistrates, such as C. Bassius Sp.f. Collinus, *IIIvir* at Aquileia (*AE* 1934, 135) or C. Mamercius Sp.f. Ianuarius, son of P. Paccius Ianuarius and Mamercia Grapte, who held a string of magistracies at Abellinum (*CIL* X 1138); as an illegitimate son, he took his mother’s *gentilicium*, while on his epitaph his father insisted on describing him as his *filius naturalis*.⁴³ Official attestations (*testationes*) of the birth of such illegitimate children survive from Egypt: for example, Sempronia Gemella—by authority of her legal *tutor* C. Iulius Saturninus—recorded the birth of twin sons, M. Sempronius Sp.f. Sarapio and M. Sempronius Sp.f. Socratio, “from an uncertain father” on 21 March 145 (*AE* 1929, 13), a text that interestingly specifies that the *lex Aelia Sentia* and *Papia*

⁴³ Rawson 1989.

Poppaea forbade registrations of illegitimate births on the *album* (i.e., the formal list of legitimate births, discussed earlier, p. 574).

Epigraphy provides valuable insights on some of the child-rearing regimes within Roman families. Among better-off families, wetnurses (*nutrices*) were employed to breastfeed infants even when the mother had survived childbirth, freeing her from the round-the-clock task, minimizing the period when she could not conceive, but reducing the opportunity for physical and emotional bonding with her child. Epitaphs commemorating wetnurses or, occasionally, set up by them to their former nurslings indicate that they were largely recruited from among household slaves and freedwomen or, occasionally, lower-class freeborn women working for pay. They also emphasize the long-lasting emotional bonds between *nutrices* and their nurslings (*nutricii*).⁴⁴ Wetnurses nursed slavechildren born within the household (*vernae*) alongside the master's children, and as a result emotional bonds often developed between these fellow-nurslings (*collactanei/collactii*: "those who shared milk") despite class differences.⁴⁵ A funerary altar from the tomb of the Volusii Saturnini for the *nutrix* Volusia Stratonice, a former household slave, attests that she had nursed the *pontifex* L. Volusius L.f. Saturninus as well as her own son L. Volusius Zosimus, described as the *collactius* of L. Volusius, "paternal uncle" (*L. Volusi patryi (sic)*) (*CIL* VI 7393 = *AE* 2001, 192).⁴⁶ In better-off households young children were reared by male child-minders (*nutritores, educatores*) and, as they grew older, by *paedagogi* (tutors), a number of whom received touching commemorations from their former pupils.⁴⁷ Some wetnurses and child-minders earned the affectionate sobriquet *mamma* or *tata* ("mum" or "dad"), as did natural parents, especially among slave families or those of middling freeborn status. The broad use of these terms illustrates the conceptual elision that often occurred in households between natural and surrogate parents.⁴⁸

From Augustus onwards, the Roman state took an active interest in the birthrate of its citizens. In the *lex Iulia de maritandis ordinibus* of 18 BCE, reinforced by the *lex Papia Poppaea* of 9 CE, Augustus introduced incentives for couples to produce more than three children (four in the case of freedwomen). The *ius trium liberorum* released a woman from the need to use a male guardian (*tutor*) in legal actions (cf. p. 575), while it exempted men from serving as legal guardians and gave them certain advantages in a political career. Conversely, a failure to produce three children restricted a man's ability to accept inheritances and legacies.⁴⁹ Allusions to the successful acquisition of the *ius trium liberorum* appear in some women's epitaphs. At Spolegium Mammedia Victorina was remembered as a *coniunx karis(sima) trium liberorum* (*CIL* XI 4883), while at Vetus Salina (Pannonia Inferior) Val(eria) Aemilia, "mother of three children of Roman equestrian rank" (*trium liberorum equitum Romanorum mater*), was

⁴⁴ Bradley 1986, 1991: 13–36.

⁴⁵ Bradley 1991: 149–155.

⁴⁶ Buonocore 1984: 39–41 no. 72; Di Stefano Manzella 2001.

⁴⁷ Bradley 1991: 37–75, based largely on inscriptions; cf. Rawson 2003: 146–209.

⁴⁸ Sigismund Nielsen 1989; Bradley 1991: 76–102.

⁴⁹ Treggiari 1991a: 60–80.

further honoured by being permitted to use the *stola*, the quintessential dress of the Roman matron (*AE* 2003, 1453 = *RIU Suppl.* 156). The Flavian municipal law reveals the advantages for a politician of having a number of children. To break a tie in elections for municipal magistracies, the presiding officer was to give preference to any married candidate and, if this failed to resolve matters, to the man with the most children (*lex Flav. mun.* 56). Among decurions, the number of children they had determined the order of voting within each *ordo* (status-group) (*lex Flav. mun.* B). Here the statute is careful to equate those who had been granted the *ius trium liberorum* by imperial benefaction (cf. Plin. *Ep.* 10.2; Mart. 3.95.11; *CIL* VI 1877: ... *habenti ius quattuor liberorum beneficio Caesaris...*, 10247) with those who had actually produced this number of children.

Epigraphy also provides the best evidence for the place of surrogate children within the family. Through a more informal process than adoption, a number of families took in foster-children (*alumni/-ae*) if they failed to produce children of their own or if their own offspring had died young. A significant number of commemorations survive that were set up for, or by, such *alumni*. As Beryl Rawson has emphasized, orphans, poor relatives, foundlings, or even young slaves might be brought into a household as *alumni*, and they provided their foster-parents with emotional companionship, especially in old age, and, as they were growing up, supported the household economically with their labour. Unsurprisingly, there is some conceptual overlap in that many of these foster-children also served as apprentices in the family business.⁵⁰

CONCLUSION

Whether it was a simple nuclear unit or a more extended kinship group, the family was fundamental to Roman social structures and the transmission of property, but it was also central in the ways in which the Romans construed their world conceptually. Inscriptions reveal that kinship terms were used, in an extended sense, at the level of the local community and even the Roman state. Soldiers in the same military unit referred to themselves as *fratres* (“brothers”); associations (*collegia*) had “fathers” (*patres*) and “mothers” (*matres*); cities sometimes named a prominent individual a “foster-child” (*alumnus*) of the community; and, at the apex of society, the emperor was “father of the fatherland” (*pater patriae*), and not just in name; for he came to be represented as a paternalistic figure throughout the Empire, expected to look after the well-being of all his subjects just as a *paterfamilias* cared for all members of his *familia*.⁵¹ Epigraphy provides direct insights into much of the ideology of the family and the complexity of family life across the Empire.

⁵⁰ Rawson 2003: 250–263; cf. Corbier 1999; Sigismund Nielsen 1987.

⁵¹ *Fratres* in the army: cf. Ch. 16. Associations: Harland 2007; Hemelrijk 2008. Civic *alumni*: Corbier 1990. Emperor as *pater patriae*: Ando 2000: 398–405; empresses as “mothers of the military camp” (*matres castrorum*): Ch. 10.

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CHAPTER 27

WOMEN IN THE ROMAN WORLD

MARIA LETIZIA CALDELLI

It is not easy to write the history of Roman women, since they have left only faint traces of their lives.¹ There is some direct evidence, however, and some of their experiences can only be accessed through inscriptions.² A letter sent by Claudia Severa, wife of the military officer Aelius Brocchus, to Sulpicia Lepidina, wife of the prefect of the Ninth Cohort of Batavians stationed at Vindolanda, c. 100 CE, written in two columns on a thin wooden leaf tablet, provides a rare direct example of a woman's voice (*Tab. Vindol.* II 291; Fig. 27.1):

(col. I) *Cl(audia) Severá Lepidinae [suae] / [sa][u]tem. / III idus Septembr[e]s, soror, ad diem / sollemnem natalem meum rogó / libenter faciás ut venias / ad nos iucundio rem mihi / (col. II) [diem] interventú tuo facturá si / [---]s. / Cerial[em] tjuum salutá. Aelius meus / et filiulus salutant. / sperabo te, soror. / vale, soror, anima / mea, ita valeam / karissima et have. // (verso) Sulpiciae Lepidinae / Cerialis (uxori) / a S[e]vera.*

Claudia Severa to her Lepidina greetings. On 11 September, sister, for the day of the celebration of my birthday, I give you a warm invitation to make sure that you come to us, to make the day more enjoyable for me by your arrival, if you are present (?). Give my greetings to your Cerialis. My Aelius and my little son send him (?) their greetings. (2nd hand) I shall expect you, sister. Farewell, sister, my dearest soul, as I hope to prosper, and hail. (Back) To Sulpicia Lepidina, wife of Cerialis, from Severa.

Yet in general, our knowledge of Roman women is heavily influenced by men, who are responsible for most of the information we have and whose perspective on the female experience is coloured by their views on a woman's role and her duties to her family. Thus, our sources are fundamentally biased, most of all the literary sources, which in general depict elite women and reflect the inherent prejudices of their male authors. Inscriptions suffer from similar flaws, but at least they provide some insight into the

¹ General accounts: Fantham, Foley, and Kampen 1994; Dixon 2001; Fraschetti 2001; D'Ambra 2007; see also Hemelrijk and Woolf 2013.

² For example, *Tab. Vindol.* II 247, 274, 291, 292, 294; III 635. Collections of studies: Frei Stolba and Bielman 1998; Buonopane and Cenerini 2003, 2005. Women in graffiti: Buonopane 2009.



FIG. 27.1 Letter of Claudia Severa to her friend (“sister”) Sulpicia Lepidina on a wooden writing tablet, from Vindolanda near Hadrian’s Wall, c. 100 CE. British Museum.

lives of women from the middle ranks of Roman society, and perhaps even from below that. They are very numerous, but because they are usually funerary inscriptions, they tend to represent women as virtuous in an abstract way, as the function of an epitaph normally is to present the deceased in a highly positive and idealized light. Thus, we do not usually have access to women’s views of themselves or of each other, but we can certainly study how men looked upon women, how they reacted to them, and how they expected them to be. Hence epigraphy provides a crucial tool.

FEMALE IDENTITIES

The earliest Roman epitaphs in which women are mentioned include just the woman’s name. In the case of freeborn women (*ingenuae*), they also give the name of the woman’s father (i.e., a patronymic), as is the case for men, and, when a woman was married, the name of her spouse. This underlines the dependence of a woman on a male relative either as a daughter (*filia familiae*) or as a wife in a legally sanctioned marriage (*uxor legitima*). This is illustrated, for example, on a pinecone-shaped funerary monument from Praeneste (Palestrina), dated to the mid-third century BCE (*CIL* I² 271 = XIV 3237 = *ILLRP* 869): *Samiaris M(arci) filia minor Q(uinti) (uxor)* (“Samiaris the younger, daughter of Marcus, wife of Quintus”).³

For studying the construction of female identities, excellent material is provided by a document, unique in its size, dated to the middle of the Augustan period and known as the *Laudatio Turiae* (*CIL* VI 41062 = *ILS* 8393; Fig. 27.2).⁴ The name of the

³ Granino Cecere 2005: no. 561 (photograph).

⁴ Durry 1950; Wistrand 1976; Horsfall 1983; Flach 1991; Hemelrijk 2004a; Osgood 2014.

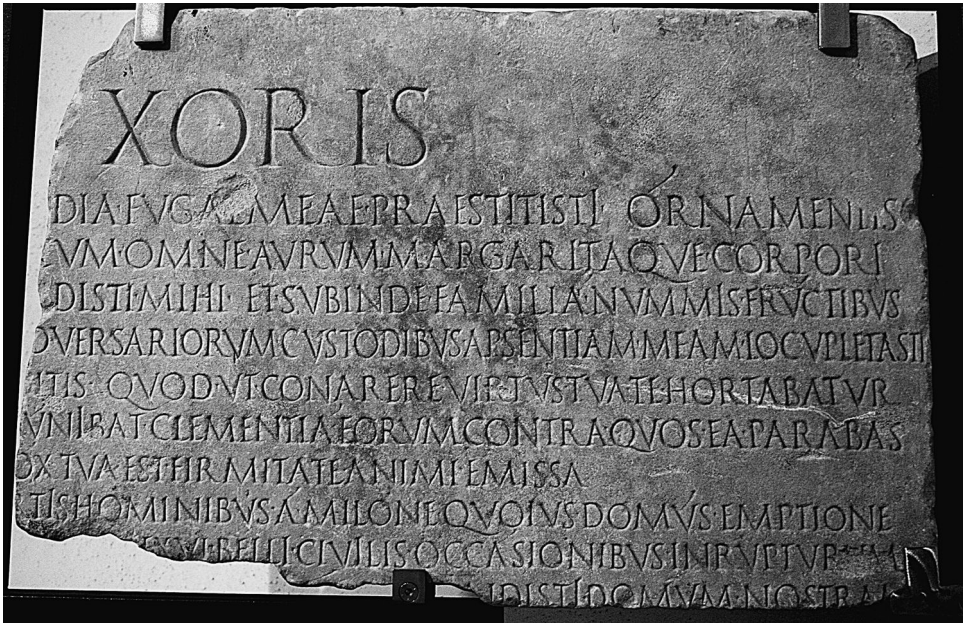


FIG. 27.2 Section of the so-called *Laudatio Turiae*, Rome, reign of Augustus. Museo Nazionale Romano.

woman in whose honour the inscription was erected is lost, and the theory that she is Turia, wife of Q. Lucretius Vespillo, a man mentioned in literary sources (Val. Max. 6.7.2; App. *B Civ.* 4.44), is no longer given any credence. The partially surviving text reproduces the eulogy delivered by her husband likely on the occasion of her burial. It recounts her noble deeds during the civil wars preceding and following the murder of Julius Caesar. While the woman's future husband, a follower of Pompey, was in Macedonia in 49 BCE, her parents were killed. After moving to the house of her future in-laws, she occupied herself in gaining revenge for the murder of her parents and in defending her father's will, which named her and her future husband as heirs. After the defeat of Pompey's army at Pharsalus in 48 BCE, the woman kept silent about the whereabouts of her betrothed and ward off attempts to confiscate the house where the couple intended to live. It is not known what happened to her future husband after Caesar's death, but it is clear that he once more chose the wrong side because the woman had to humiliate herself in order to convince Octavian and Lepidus to pardon him *in absentia* (43/2 BCE). The couple was thus able to enjoy peace, once it was re-established, but the couple's childlessness proved a new problem that the text attributes to the woman's infertility. This gave rise to an extreme act of unselfishness on her part, as she suggested to her husband that he divorce her in order to marry another woman with whom he could have children, which she was willing to raise as her own. The man refused, and the couple lived happily for forty-one years.

If this series of events single out “Turia” as an extraordinary woman—*propria sunt tua quae vindico* (“these characteristics which I mention are wholly yours”) according to her husband (col. I, line 34)—she shared many virtues with other married Roman women of her class: *cetera innumerabilia habueris communia cum omnibus matronis*, so her husband claimed (col. I, lines 33–34). These virtues are *probitas* (honesty), *pietas* and *caritas* towards her parents (devotion and affection), *fides* in relation to her husband (loyalty, trustworthiness), *pudicitia* (modesty or chastity), *obsequium* (obedience), *comitas* (affability or kindness), *facilitas* (friendliness), a willingness to engage in *lanificium* (woolworking, the traditional hallmark of the Roman woman), *studium religionis sine superstitione* (a dedication to traditional religion, in contrast to suspect new cults), and finally *ornatus non conspiciendus* (modest dress) and *cultus modicus* (restrained behaviour). This catalogue of domestic virtues (*domestica bona*) reflects the ethical ideals of Roman men but likely provides a very imprecise image of the deceased. The description of her compares well, however, with literary portraits of Roman women, as we shall see.

Nor should one believe that such a portrait of a woman is the product of a male ethos which was restricted to a certain period of Roman history or to a certain social class. A study of funerary inscriptions for women from the mid-Republic until Late Antiquity which cuts across social categories (as far as inscriptions allow us to do) shows us many women of a similar kind. An example is Murdia, known from the *laudatio* that was likewise delivered in her honour during the Augustan period, in which her son says of her (*CIL* VI 10230 = *ILS* 8394): “In modesty, uprightness, chastity, obedience, in wool working, industry, loyalty, she was equal and similar to other women” (*modestia, probitate, pudicitia, opsequio, lanificio, diligentia, fide par similisque ceteris probeis feminis fuit*, lines 28–29).⁵ Similar traits were also attributed to the less well known [- -]nia P. f. Sebotis, who appears in an Ostian inscription from the first half of the second century CE, in which her husband writes (*AE* 1987, 179):

.../ coniugi carissimae pientissim(ae) castiss(imae) / coniugali quae numquam sine me in publicum aut in balineum aut ubicumq(ue) ire voluit / quem (!) virgine(m) duxi ann(or)um XIII ex qua filia(m) habeo / ...

... To my dearest and most devoted and chastest wife, who never wanted to go out in public or to the baths or anywhere without me, whom I married while a virgin at the age of 14 and with whom I have a daughter. ...

Finally, Fabia Aconia Paulina, wife of the high-ranking senator Vettius Agorius Praetextatus, who died in 385 CE, one year after her husband, was praised for similar characteristics on his funerary monument (*CIL* VI 1779 + p. 4757–59 = *ILS* 1259 = *CLE* 111). Among the natural qualities ascribed to her are many of the virtues we have

⁵ The dating was already suggested by Mommsen; see also Kierdorf 1980: 112; cf. Lindsay 2004.

already encountered. Several are elaborated on the left side of the monument, while the following appear on the right side:⁶

*Paulina veri et castitatis conscia
dicata templis atq(ue) amica numinum
sibi maritum praeferens Romam viro
pudens fidelis pura mente et corpore
benigna cunctis....*

5

Paulina, mindful of truth and chastity, dedicated to temples and friend of divine powers, preferring her husband to herself and Rome to her husband, modest, faithful, pure of mind and body, kindly to all...

Roman literature extols the same type of woman. Repeatedly, over a considerable period of time, a number of authors discuss Cornelia, born into one of the most prominent patrician families of the second century BCE (Livy 38.57.3; Val. Max. 4.2.3; Plin. *NH* 7.57; Plut. *Ti. Gr.* 1, 4.3; Aul. Gell. 12.8.1). Her qualities as a mother are praised—she bore twelve children, among them the tribunes of the plebs Tiberius and Gaius Gracchus—as is her loyalty to her husband. As a widow, she turned down a marriage proposal from Ptolemy VIII Euergetes of Egypt out of piety to her husband’s memory. The base of a statue erected in her honour survives; it was originally placed in the Porticus Metelli and moved by Augustus to the Porticus Octaviae, which demonstrates that Cornelia was still considered a model about a century after her death. The inscription on the base (*CIL* VI 31610 = *ILS* 68 = *ILLRP* 336) is very succinct: *Cornelia Africani f(ilia) Gracchorum* (“Cornelia, daughter of (P. Cornelius Scipio) Africanus, (mother, but perhaps also wife) of the Gracchi”).⁷ Similar virtues are attributed to Arria, wife of Caecina Paetus, whose courage several authors report (Mart. 1.13; Plin. *Ep.* 3.16; 6.24.5; Cass. Dio 60.16.5–6). She concealed the death of their son from her ailing husband, preferring to bear the terrible sorrow all alone, and then took her own life in advance of her husband when he was forced to commit suicide in 42 CE.

Roman literature, however, also presents “deviant” paradigms, which in part serve to attack the author’s political enemies. Cicero, for instance, includes salacious portraits of Volumnia Cytheris and Clodia in his invectives against M. Antonius and P. Clodius respectively, and these give voice to the author’s discomfort in the face of female behaviour that diverged from traditional patterns, especially in times of social change.⁸ Occasionally this is reflected in epigraphy: for example, the sling-bullets used by Octavian’s troops at the siege of Perugia in 41–40 BCE that were inscribed with obscenities aimed directly at Antonius’ wife Fulvia: for example, *peto // [la]ndicam / Fulviae* (“I’m seeking Fulvia’s clitoris!”) or *L(uci) A(ntonii) calve / Fulvia / culum*

⁶ Courtney 1995: 56–61 no. 32; Kahlos 2002: 216–220.

⁷ Kajava 1989 on the possible double meaning of *Gracchorum*; cf. Coarelli 1996a; Hemelrijk 2005: 309–317.

⁸ Volumnia Cytheris: Cic. *Att.* 10.10.5; 10.16.5; *Phil.* 2.58, 61, 69; *Fam.* 9.26.1. Clodia: Cic. *Cael.* 25–29, 61–69.

pan(dite) (“L. Antonius, old baldy, Fulvia, show your ass!”) (*CIL* XI 6721.5, 14 = *ILLRP* 1106, 1112).⁹

In between these two categories of Roman women we find the freedwoman Allia Potestas, known from a much discussed metrical inscription from Rome of uncertain date, perhaps from the first century CE (*CIL* VI 37965 = *CLE* 1988). Her patron (and perhaps husband) describes her in the following terms: *sedula* (“industrious,” line 3); *sancta tenax insons fidissima custos / munda domi sat(is) munda foras notissima vulgo / sola erat* (“pure, tenacious, innocent, most faithful guardian; well-dressed in the home and sufficiently well-dressed in public; very well regarded by the people; she worked well by herself,” lines 8–10); *exiguo sermone* (“brief when it came to speaking,” line 11). However, regarding the phrase *duo dum vixit iuvenes ita rexit amantes* (line 28), interpretations differ. Does the expression refer to a *ménage-à-trois* or generally promiscuous behaviour? Or are we, on the contrary, to read this as praise for a loving, caring mother who managed to make her two sons get along well together?¹⁰

THE LIVED REALITY OF WOMEN

It is instructive to compare these stereotypical depictions from literature, both good and bad, with real women as they appear in other sources, mostly inscriptions. In the Roman world there were certain spheres of activity from which women were excluded as a result of deep-seated traditions of what was considered “natural” for women to engage in. Such preconceived views set out from the idea that the female sex was characterized by a *levitas animi* (“lightmindedness,” i.e., weakness in judgement) and *infirmitas consilii / animi* (mental incapacity/infirmary). On this basis, women were excluded from political activities of any kind (*Dig.* 50.17.2, Ulpian) and the bearing of arms, since these were typically masculine pursuits, while, on the other hand, they were given control over reproductive and household activities (cf. Ch. 26). They were allowed to share in certain activities, in particular in the economic, cultural, and religious spheres, although discrimination on the basis of gender, as well as sharp differences depending on social status, occurred here too.

(a) Economic Life

At the end of the Republican period several factors increased the economic power of women. A weakening of *patria potestas* (paternal power), less emphasis on *tutela* (guardianship) by family members over single women, a reduction in the frequency of marriage *cum manu*, where the wife fell under the power of her husband, and changes

⁹ Hallett 1977; Benedetti 2012.

¹⁰ Respectively Desmed 1969: 585; Horsfall 1985: 266–267; Gordon 1983: 148.

in the bestowal of dowries led to clearer legal property rights for women.¹¹ Beginning in this period, women are increasingly found as owners of landed property and/or of businesses of various kinds, mostly but not exclusively in the higher echelons of society. A good example occurs in a long and somewhat complicated funerary inscription from Ostia (*AE* 1940, 94), probably from the first or second century CE, in which Iunia D.f. Libertas in her will grants her freedmen and freedwomen the usufruct “of the gardens, buildings, and the Hilaronian-Junian *tabernae* in so far as they are fenced in by their own proper wall, to the extent that she has (legal) rights in them” (*hortorum et aedificiorum et tabernarum Hilaronianorum Iunianorum ita uti macerie sua propria clusi sunt quae iuris eius in his sunt*). The condition of this gift was that the *familia* should take responsibility for the funerary cult of Iunia Libertas, according to the detailed instructions laid down. To ensure that the memory of the founder did not die once her last heir passed away, she entrusted responsibility for the cult to the town of Ostia, which was then to inherit the property.¹² In our present context, it is of less importance to establish whether the *horti*, *aedificia*, and *tabernae* were part of a very lavish tomb for Iunia Libertas, as some scholars argue, or if they constituted separate real estate, probably rented out. What is significant is that this woman had managed to acquire substantial real property.

In addition to inscriptions on stone, texts stamped on fired clay products, especially bricks (*lateres*), and on lead pipes used to conduct water (*fistulae*) are important sources for mapping the economic activities of Roman women. Brick-stamps (primarily those from the neighbourhood of Rome, as they contain more text than stamps from other regions) show us women as owners not only of land (*praedia*) containing the clay beds (*figlinae*) that provided the raw material, but also of the workshops that produced the bricks (*officinae*) (Ch. 31). Over the first three centuries CE (with a concentration in the second), of some 150 known owners of *figlinae*, around fifty are women. They were members of senatorial families, sometimes with ties to the imperial house, as in the case of Arria Fadilla, mother of Antoninus Pius, or Domitia Lucilla the Younger, mother of Marcus Aurelius. These women sometimes inherited a family business or they were the first to enter this activity (or so it seems, to judge from the fact that no other members of their family are known from other brick-stamps).¹³ Such stamps may take the following form in the region around the capital (*CIL* XV 630):

ex f(iglinis) Ter(e)nt(ianis) Dom(itiae) Luc(illae), port(u) Lic(ini), op(us) dol(iare) Stat(iae) Prim(illae)

From the Terentian clay beds of Domitia Lucilla; [destined for storage in?] the Portus Licini warehouse [?]; the clay-firing workshop of Statia Primilla [made this brick].

¹¹ Gardner 1986: 97–116; Saller 1994: 204–224.

¹² De Visscher 1954, 1963: 239–251; Dixon 1992 (imprecise about the social status of Iunia Libertas); Magioncalda 1994: 71–87; Blanch Nougoués 2007.

¹³ Chausson 2005; Setälä 2002.

Domitia Lucilla the Younger, mentioned in this stamp, also owned the *figlinae Caninianae, Domitianae, Fulvianae* and *de (Portu) Licini*, which she, being their only heir, had inherited from her grandfather, father, and uncle respectively. After her death they were inherited by her son Marcus Aurelius, hence becoming part of the imperial properties. A total of twenty-three *officinatores* are known to have worked for her, among them Statia Primilla who appears on the stamp above.¹⁴ Her precise function is unclear, as the term *offinator* seems to have several meanings, such as “manufacturer of bricks” or “contractor”. Female *officinatrices* represent only some six per cent. of the total and it is thought that they were owners of the tools and structures needed for the firing of the bricks,¹⁵ while the *dominus praediorum* owned the *figlinae*.¹⁶

Inscribed *fistulae* allow us to discover not only the names of women who owned land or buildings, but also to localize such property.¹⁷ A case in point is represented by Claudia Acte, an imperial freedwoman who was the emperor Nero’s mistress between 55 and 58 CE (cf. Tac. *Ann.* 13.12.1, 46.2; 14.2; Suet. *Nero* 28, 50).¹⁸ Many of her slaves and freedmen are known from inscriptions and it is thought that she was the recipient of vast stretches of land in Campania, certainly near Puteoli (*CIL* X 1903 = XV 7835.2), at Olbia in Sardinia (perhaps from private property of the Domitii, Nero’s paternal family), and perhaps in Egypt (*P. Ross.-Georg.* II, 42, col. II, l. 4, second century CE). A stamped *fistula* bearing her name from the territory of modern Velletri may refer to another of her properties (*CIL* X 6589 = XV 7835.1): *Claudiae Aug(usti) l(ibertae) Actes*.¹⁹

In general, women especially of lower social status seem to have been excluded from activities that involved financial and legal responsibilities. There were, however, exceptions. An interesting scenario is presented in approximately 170 inscribed wax tablets discovered at Murecine, near Pompei, which describe financial and commercial transactions and derive from the archive of the Sulpicii, bankers from the nearby port of Puteoli. They date to between 26 and 61 CE (Chs. 15, 31).²⁰ A few documents concern the activities of women, including senatorial women such as Domitia Lepida and Lollia Saturnina.²¹ Others throw light on lower-ranking women, such as the interesting dossier of Euplia Theodori f(ilia), of peregrine status (i.e., she lacked Roman citizenship) from the Greek island of Melos, to whom Titinia Anthracis had lent money which she then attempted to recover with the help of the banker C. Sulpicius Cinnamus in 42–43 CE (*TPSulp.* 60–62). Although in her business dealings Euplia has the support of her tutor (*tutore auctore*) and guarantor (*fide sua esse iussit*) Epichares, Titinia Anthracis on the contrary seems to be acting independently.

¹⁴ Raepsaet-Charlier 1987: 290–291 no. 329; Setälä 1977: 107–109.

¹⁵ Helen 1975: 112–113; Steinby 1982, 1993; Bruun 2005: 16–18.

¹⁶ Steinby 1982, 1993; Setälä 2002: esp. 198.

¹⁷ Bruun 1991: 287–291, 1994.

¹⁸ Mastino and Ruggeri 1995: 513–544, pls. VII–XI.

¹⁹ Caldelli 2009: 531 no. 3, 533.

²⁰ Camodeca 1999.

²¹ Gardner 1999.

On the whole, however, women of lower status seem to be found in those activities that Cicero (*Off.* 1.150–151) labelled *sordidae*, i.e., those unsuitable for freeborn individuals, such as shopkeeping or connected to the world of public spectacles. Only to a very small extent are they involved in activities which the Roman upper class defined as *liberales*, for which specific knowledge was needed and which served the public good, such as medicine. According to their status, women could engage in activities in a more or less autonomous fashion or in a dependent role, and in the latter case they could carry out their activities within *familiae* of different size and social importance.²² Rome, with its great tombs of the slaves and freedmen of powerful families (the so-called *columbaria*) dating to the early Empire, offers excellent conditions for observing and studying female dependent labour. In the so-called Monumentum Staliorum, built by T. Stalilius Taurus (probably the son of the man of the same name who was consul for the second time in 26 BCE), twenty-seven inscriptions mention various women's occupations, which to be sure constitutes a small percentage when one considers that in all 427 inscriptions have been attributed to the funerary complex.²³ Women were engaged in the textile trade in various capacities (thirteen instances): for instance, as a *quasillaria* (employed in the spinning room), *sarcinatrix* (mender of clothes), or *textrix* (weaver). Various household functions are also represented (ten instances): *ancilla* (generally engaged in household chores), *lecticaria* (litter-bearer), *ostiaria* (doorkeeper), *pedisequa* (personal attendant), *tonstrix* (hairdresser). Finally some tasks are mentioned that required a certain level of training (four cases): *nutrix* (wetnurse, but also teacher of young children up to the age of six or seven), *paedagoga* (teacher of children up to the age of thirteen), *opstetrix* (midwife, but also gynaecologist). A similar picture emerges from the material from another important collective funerary monument, the Monumentum Liviae, or from general funerary inscriptions from the city of Rome.²⁴

Women were mainly employed in domestic chores, with a clear specialization and a hierarchy which only in part reflected their status as slaves, freedwomen, or perhaps even freeborn women. If they were employed as personal servants, they may have served more than one person. In contrast, there were only a few women from a range of social statuses engaged in the so-called professional activities, such as teaching and medicine, but also in entertainment, as we shall see. According to Varro (*Logistorici* fr. 5, line 2), “the wetnurse rears (a child), the pedagogue instructs him/her, the schoolmaster teaches him/her” (*educat nutrix, instituit paedagogus, docet magister*). Women are frequently encountered as *nutrices*, both in inscriptions and in literature (Aul. Gell. *NA* 12.1; Tac. *Germ.* 20, *Dial. de orat.* 28–29; Sor. *Gyn.* 2.19–22).²⁵ They have only a marginal presence among the *paedagogi*: of ninety-eight examples known from inscriptions, only seven are women and they are all found in the city of Rome engaged by

²² Günther 1987; Joshel 1992; Malaspina 2003.

²³ Caldelli and Ricci 1999.

²⁴ Treggiari 1975, 1976 (lacking access to all the data now available).

²⁵ Bradley 1986, 1991: 13–36.

elite families.²⁶ At the highest level of occupations connected with education, women are completely absent among *magistri*, which illustrates the gulf that normally kept women segregated from teaching and from cultural life in general in the Roman world.

Among activities that upper-class Romans designated as *sordidae* and in which women participated, one should mention prostitution, well known from the graffiti at Pompeii (Ch. 23), occupations connected to the world of spectacle (Ch. 25), and shopkeeping. Women were, however, almost totally absent from the Greek *agones* that took place in the stadium (with the very rare exception of the footrace)²⁷ and from the *munera* and *venationes* in the amphitheatre, where occasional appearances of women are the exceptions that confirm the rule.²⁸ Female performers frequently appeared, however, in the Roman theatre, as members of the choir in *cantica*, as players of the organ, as dancers, as *emboliariae* (interlude-performers), and above all as *mimae*.²⁹ The mime, a combination of recital, song, and dance, was practically the only form of stage performance in which women participated, and these performers belonged to companies, arranged hierarchically. This is clear from the tombstone of a *secunda mima* from Emerita in Lusitania (*AE* 1993, 912; Fig. 27.3):

Corne[ll]i[a]
P(ubli) l(iberta) Nothi[s]
secunda mim[a]
Sollemnis et
5 Halys
h(ic) s(ita) [e(st)] s(it) t(ibi) t(erra) l(evis)

Cornelia Nothis, freedwoman of Publius, second mime of Sollemnis and Halys. Here she lies. May the earth lie lightly upon you.

Both male and female performers were regarded as legally “infamous” (*infames*), as made clear in a *senatus consultum*, dated to 19 CE, of which a copy has been discovered at Larinum in S. Italy (*AE* 1978, 145 = 1983, 210 = *EAOR* III 2; cf. Ch. 25).³⁰ *Mimae* communicated with gestures and facial expressions, since they did not wear masks. They were also required to improvise on mythological and political themes, starting out from a pre-established plot-structure.³¹ Those mentioned in literary works often receive a bad press, in virtue of their (mis)fortune to have been connected to famous men and then becoming the victims of the poisonous pen of authors who were instrumental in

²⁶ Zaccaria 2003.

²⁷ *AE* 1954, 186 (attesting a female victor in the footrace at the Sebasta at Naples in 154 CE); Miranda De Martino 2007: 209.

²⁸ *CIL* XIV 4616 + 5381 = *AE* 1977, 153, with Cébeillac-Gervasoni, Caldelli, and Zevi 2010: 289–290 no. 84; Robert 1940: 188–189 no. 184; cf. Ville 1981: 151; Brunet 2004.

²⁹ cf. *ILS* 5180–5276. A comprehensive study of these women performers is lacking, but note Malaspina 2003.

³⁰ Levick 1983; Lebek 1990; McGinn 1992; Ricci 2006.

³¹ Bonaria 1960: 600–603; Purcell 1999.

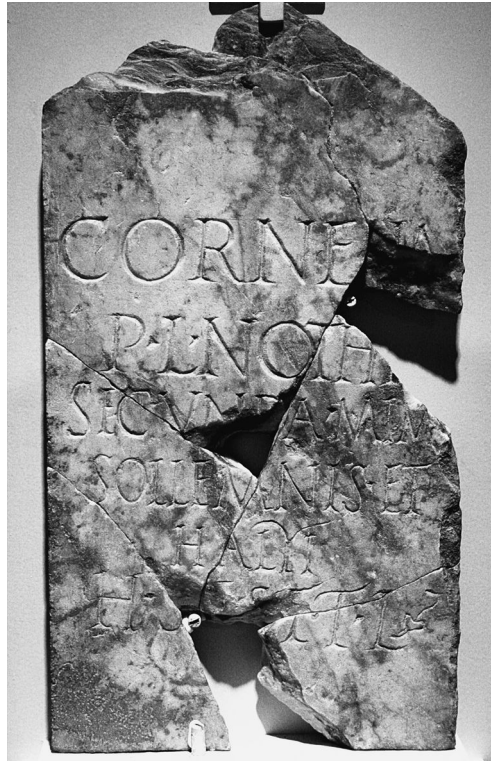


FIG. 273 Epitaph of the freedwoman Cornelia Nothis, *secunda mima*, Augusta Emerita. Second century CE. Museo Nacional de Arte Romano, Mérida.

giving the profession a bad name. The case of Volumnia Cytheris, the mime beloved by M. Antonius and Cornelius Gallus, may stand as an example for all.³² Interestingly, however, many other *mimae*, known to us from inscriptions, provide a very different picture of themselves. Thus, we learn that some could advance to become *archimimae* or leading actors in these comic performances, or even *diurnae*, which according to a recent interpretation means that they were “guest stars” who collaborated with companies that needed their services.³³ An example of this survives from Rome (CIL VI 10107 = ILS 5212):

Dis Manibus

M(arci) Fabi M(arci) filii Esq(uilina tribu) Regilli et Fabiae [- - -]

Fabia M(arci) et ((mulieris)) lib(erta) Arete archim[ima]

temporis sui prima diurna fec[it]

5 *sibi et suis quibus legavit testa[mento]*

.....

³² Leppin 1992: 228–229; Traina 2001; cf. above n. 8.

³³ Leppin 1992: 183–184.

To the Departed Spirits of M. Fabius M. f. Regillus of the Esquilina (voting tribe) and of Fabia [- -]. Fabia Arete, a freedwoman of Marcus and a woman, leading *archimima* of her time, a *diurna*, made this (funerary monument) for herself and her family to whom she bequeathed it in her will

There then follows a list of names of fourteen freed slaves, probably manumitted by the *archimima* herself, which also demonstrates the level of wealth she had attained. Another inscription, again from Rome, shows that there was even an association for women performers of this kind, and that they had their own funerary site (*CIL* VI 10109 = *ILS* 5217): *sociarum / mimarum / in fr(onte) p(edes) XV / in agr(o) p(edes) XII* (“(Belonging to) the associated *mimae*. Width of the burial plot 15 feet, depth 12 feet”). Regardless of the reputation women performers enjoyed, even when they were *ingenuae*, they were unable to enter into *iustae nuptiae* according to the Augustan marriage legislation, as was the case with women who worked as shopkeepers.³⁴

Shopkeepers were primarily freedwomen, but slaves and *ingenuae* could also be found among their number. Some sold everyday goods, others costly and rare luxury items. They worked in market stalls or in permanent stores along the most heavily trafficked streets under conditions of employment or dependence that are often not clear to us. A case in point is the fine marble cinerary altar from Rome which carries the inscription (*CIL* VI 9801 = *ILS* 7500; Fig. 27.4):³⁵

Aurelia C(ai) l(iberta) Náis
piscátrix de horreis Galbae
C(aius) Aurelius C(ai) l(ibertus) Phileros
patronus
5 *L(ucius) Valerius L(uci) l(ibertus) Secundus*

The freedwoman Aurelia Nais was a *piscatrix*, which here should be understood as a fish seller. Her stall must have been located in one section of the *horrea Galbae* (“Galba’s warehouse”), which a member of the *gens Sulpicia* had built during the second century BCE south of the Aventine and which ended up in imperial ownership during Galba’s short reign.³⁶ We do not know her relation to her patron C. Aurelius Phileros, who was buried together with her, nor can we determine who the third person, the freedman L. Valerius Secundus, was. Aurelia Nais may herself have been a well-known person, however, if she is the fish seller Aurelia mentioned by Juvenal in one of his satires (5.98).

(b) Cultural Life

To find evidence of women of high culture, we have to look to the uppermost level of society and literary sources. One example is the already mentioned Cornelia, who

³⁴ *Dig.* 23.2.44 (performers), 23.2.43 (shopkeepers); Volterra 1971: 467–468.

³⁵ Boschung 1987: 112 no. 936; Morel 1987: 149.

³⁶ Coarelli 1996b; Richardson 1992: 193.



FIG. 27.4 Cinerary altar of the fishmonger Aurelia Nais, a freed slave, her patron C. Aurelius C.l. Phileros, and the freedman L. Valerius Secundus. Rome. Museo Nazionale Romano.

is said to have personally educated her sons and to have engaged in literary pursuits (Plut. *C. Gr.* 19). There is also the much maligned Clodia, probably to be identified with Catullus' Lesbia, whose intellectual qualities the poet never denied (cf. Catull. 36).³⁷ Sulpicia, niece of the consul M. Valerius Messalla Corvinus, wrote elegiac poetry in the reign of Augustus, while Agrippina the Younger, the mother of Nero, wrote prose *commentarii* which were used by Tacitus (*Ann.* 4.53.3). During the Severan dynasty, Julia Domna was at the centre of a group of intellectuals.³⁸ But with the exception of Sulpicia,

³⁷ Skinner 1983; Wiseman 1985: 15–53; for Ciceronian invectives against Clodia, see n. 8.

³⁸ Phil. *Vita Apoll.* 1, 3; Levick 2007: 107–123.

whose work is preserved in Book III of the *Corpus Tibullianum*, none of the others have seen their works survive.³⁹

It is likely that women lower down the social hierarchy only rarely knew how to read and write, and still fewer received even a rudimentary education.⁴⁰ The young slave girl mentioned in a metrical inscription from Rome is an exception (*CIL* VI 33898 = *ILS* 7783 = *CLE* 1965): *Euphrosyne / pia / docta novem musis / philosopha vix(it) ann(is) XX* (“Euphrosyne, dutiful, educated by the nine muses, a philosopher. She lived 20 years.”). The ability to read and/or write could lead to a profession. Another inscription from Rome attests a female slave called Derceto who died at the age of nineteen after working as a reader for a Vestal Virgin (*virginis lectrice*) named Aurelia, perhaps the daughter of the consul of 20 CE, M. Aurelius Cotta Maximus Messalinus (*CIL* VI 33473 = *ILS* 7771 = *CLE* 1882).⁴¹ The young slave Hapate from Rome, who died aged twenty-five in the second or third century CE, possessed similar skills according to the funerary monument erected by her husband Pittosus (*CIL* VI 33892 = *ILS* 7760): *[D(is)] M(anibus) s(acrum) / Hapateni / notariae / Gr(a)ec(a)e qu(a)e / vix(it) ann(is) XXV / Pittosus fe/cit coniugi / dulcissim(a)e*. She knew how to write Greek, or rather how to take it down in shorthand, since she was a *notaria*. Her owner is not mentioned, and it is unclear whether she worked only for him/her or also for others. (The fact that Hapate has only a single name (*cognomen*) is the basis for considering her a slave. In theory, she and her spouse may have been free, but left out their *gentilicium*.)

In some cases such educated activities could provide the means for social advancement. One example of this is Antonia Caenis, whose elegant funerary altar was found just outside the walls of Rome near the Porta Pia (*CIL* VI 12037). Suetonius writes that Caenis was a slave at first and then became a freedwoman of Antonia the Younger, the mother of Claudius. She functioned as her *a manu* (i.e., *amanuensis*, secretary). After the death of Vespasian’s wife Flavia Domitilla Caenis became Vespasian’s concubine (*concubina*), and at his court she gained much wealth and influence (Suet. *Vesp.* 3, *Dom.* 12.3; cf. Cass. Dio 66.14.1–3). This is confirmed by the many inscriptions that refer to her directly or indirectly (*CIL* VI 4057, 15110, 18358, 20950; *AE* 1908, 231).⁴²

(c) Religious Life

Gender differences also occurred in the field of religion. Two factors are particularly important in considering women’s role in religion. First, religion was intimately connected to the *respublica Romana*, which made the state an intermediary between the individual and the divine. Second, the central element of Roman religion consisted in carrying out cultic acts (Chs. 19–20). The consequences of this are obvious. Since

³⁹ Sulpicia: Keith 1997; Hemelrijk 1999; Butrica 2006.

⁴⁰ Cavallo 1995; Harris 1989; Morgan 1998.

⁴¹ Raepsaet-Charlier 1987: 140 no. 132; cf. no. 131.

⁴² Friggeri 1977–78; Nonnis 2009.

the civic status of women was different from that of men, an inequality between the sexes was a standard and expected pattern in all types of cultic activities: within the family, in associations, and, above all, at the level of the state. The Roman *familia* consisted of those individuals subject to the power of the *paterfamilias* naturally or legally (*natura aut iure*) (Dig. 50.16.195.2; cf. Ch. 26). The *pater* was the chief priest of the family cults, the responsibility for which was handed down to male descendants. A woman could at best play a passive role, at most by acting as a *camilla* (sacrificial attendant). The situation was no different in the *collegia*. More complex was the role of women in state cults. They were forbidden from performing sacrificial acts and even from attending some of these functions, although there were exceptions to this, as we shall see. Women's religious role was normally of a subordinate nature. They sometimes participated in sacrifices, but only alongside their husbands if the latter had religious functions in the cult. An exception to this general rule was female priestesses, women who had the duty to remember the dangers which this reversal of gender roles represented.⁴³

Granted that literary sources provide most of the evidence for Roman religion, epigraphy can make an important contribution to our understanding of the major cults in which women played a leading role, for instance those of Vesta or Bona Dea. Vesta, one of the oldest of Rome's civic divinities, had a priestly body consisting exclusively of women, called *Vestales* or *virgines Vestales*.⁴⁴ There were six Vestal Virgins at any one time (Dion. Hal. 3.67; Plut. *Numa* 10), chosen by lot by the *pontifex maximus* from a group who met certain special criteria.

They served for thirty years and were required to preserve their virginity. A prosopographical study of thirty-eight Vestals from Augustus to Diocletian, based above all on epigraphic evidence, shows the importance of family background for becoming a Vestal. Two-thirds of the priestesses were of certain or probable senatorial origin.⁴⁵ In Rome, numerous inscribed statue bases found piled up in the Atrium Vestae contribute important details (CIL VI 2131–45, 32409–28; cf. ILS 4923–40). In addition to these honorific inscriptions, mostly dating to the Severan period, some funerary inscriptions relating to the staff of the Vestals are also relevant (CIL VI 1587 [= ILS 1446], 5477, 20788, 20852, 27132a, 27134 [= ILS 8541], 28768, 33473 [= ILS 7771], discussed earlier, p. 595). Just as Tacitus mentions the exceptional case of a Vestal who remained in office for fifty-seven years (*Ann.* 2.86), so an inscription presents a very similar case (CIL VI 2128 = ILS 4923):

*Iunoni / Caelesti // Iunia C(ai) Silani filiae) / Torquatae / sacerdoti Vestali / annis
LXIII / patronae / Actius I(ibertus)*

To Iuno Caelestis. To Iunia Torquata, daughter of C. Silanus, Vestal priestess, (lived for) 64 years, patroness. Actius (her) freedman (made this).

⁴³ Scheid 1992.

⁴⁴ Guizzi 1968; Giannelli 1980; Beard, North, Price 1998: 1.51–54, 193–194.

⁴⁵ Raepsaet-Charlier 1984. Some of them came from families of patrician rank, which in the imperial period was mostly an empty title.

Epithets used in dedications to Vestals focus on qualities such as continence and abstinence, purity, religious competence, and complete dedication to priestly duties (cf. *CIL* VI 2138, 2145 = *ILS* 1261: ...*propter egregiam eius pudicitiam insignemque circa cultum divinum sanctitatem*).

The latest dedication to a Vestal, the one to Coelia Concordia from 380 CE (*CIL* VI 2145 = *ILS* 1261), dates to just a few years before the edict of Theodosius from 392 in which religious colleges were abolished (cf. *CTh* 16.10.12). Vestal Virgins remained in a curiously ambiguous status of being both *mater familias* and *filia familias*, and they even possessed some male prerogatives: the right to be preceded by a *lictor* in public, the right to present testimony in court, exemption from *tutela*, the ability to dispose freely of their property and to make a valid will. Their main religious tasks consisted in guarding the fire in the public hearth in the Temple of Vesta, at the SW corner of the Forum Romanum, and preparing the *mola salsa*, a traditional flour that was sprinkled on all the offerings to the gods. Since they provided the *mola salsa*, Vestals were present at all the great public sacrifices and thus were invested with a religious importance that was normally reserved only for men.⁴⁶

A similarly ambiguous condition is found in the case of the priestesses of some foreign cults that the Romans adopted, such as that of Ceres and Bona Dea, a goddess whose origin and identity is much debated. The latter, also known as *feminarum dea* ("goddess of women"), had a double cult in Rome.⁴⁷ On 1 May, a sacrifice was offered in her sanctuary on the Aventine, while on the night of 3–4 December a sacrifice took place, behind closed doors, in the house of a magistrate *cum imperio*. Although practically nothing is known about the springtime cult, the second ceremony is better understood. It was celebrated at night, in the absence of men, by married women (*matronae*), wearing purple ribbons in their hair, and by the Vestals, aided by their female slaves. It included the sacrificial burning of a sow on a sacred fire and the offering of a libation of undiluted wine. The sacrificial ritual was wholly distinct from those carried out by men, which took place in public spaces, in daylight, and in front of everyone.

A fair number of inscriptions contribute to our knowledge of the topography of this cult, the status of the worshippers (not only women but also men), as well as certain qualities attributed to the goddess, such as her healing powers, as revealed in a completion of a vow from Rome set up by a public slave in thanks for the recovery of his eyesight (*CIL* VI 68 = *ILS* 3513; discussed in full in Ch. 19). In Rome seven different cult sites are known, all situated in high rocky places, near sources of water.⁴⁸ In nearby Ostia there were at least two sanctuaries, which, as epigraphic sources reveal, benefited from the private generosity of women. A travertine block found near the

⁴⁶ Beard 1995 (revising Beard 1980).

⁴⁷ Piccaluga 1964; Brouwer 1989; more briefly, Beard, North, and Price 1998: 1.129–130; 2.198, 232.

⁴⁸ Chioffi 1993.

sanctuary on the Via degli Augustali contains the inscription (*CIL* I² 3025 = *AE* 1973, 127):⁴⁹

Octavia M(arci) f(ilia) Gamalai (uxor)
portic(um) poliend(am)
et sedeilia faciun(da)
et culina(m) tegend(am)
 5 *D(eae) B(onae) curavit*

Octavia daughter of Marcus, (wife of) Gamala, looked after the embellishing of the portico, the setting up of benches, and the roofing of a kitchen for the Bona Dea.

This inscription, dating to between 80 and 50 BCE, concerns a woman descended from the family of the Octavii Ligures from Forum Clodii (San Liberato, north of Rome) and mentioned by Cicero (*Att.* 12.23.3). She had married a man who seems to be the famous P. Lucilius Gamala the Elder, one of the most prominent men in Ostia during the late Republic.⁵⁰ It is congruent with her social standing that she provided funds for enhancing the sanctuary.

The woman whose name was inscribed on the travertine rim of a well-head in the oldest sanctuary of Bona Dea in Ostia was of similar social status (*AE* 2005, 304):⁵¹ *Terentia, A(uli) f(ilia), Clu(v)i (uxor) Bonae Deae* (“Terentia, daughter of Aulus, (wife of) Cluvius, to Bona Dea”). The same Terentia is known at Ostia for having built, at her own expense and on ground that she herself owned, a *crypta* and a *chalcidicum*, for which she was honoured in a decree by the decurions in 6 CE (*AE* 2005, 301).⁵² In general, it is in relation to religious cults that female euergetism is particularly prominent.⁵³ We do not know if Octavia or Terentia ever functioned as priestesses of Bona Dea, but in Pompeii, during the late Augustan period, Eumachia L.f., who was *sacerdos publica* and certainly had cultic duties, was responsible for building—in her own name and in that of her son—a *chalcidicum*, *crypta*, and *porticus* (*CIL* X 810 = *ILS* 3785 = *AE* 2001, 793; *CIL* X 811).⁵⁴

In the cities of Italy and the western provinces, the title of *flaminica* is much more commonly used to denote those women of the local elite who supervised imperial cult activity at the civic or provincial level.⁵⁵ For example, at Hadrumetum in Africa Proconsularis, a *flaminica perpetua* of the colony of Carthage was honoured for her worthy deeds (*AE* 1991, 1639; cf. 1949, 36):

Avidiae C(ai) f(iliae) Vitali / flam(inicae) perp(etuae) coloniae C(oncordiae) I(uliae)
K(arthaginiensis) / Cn(aeus) Salvius Saturninus / flam(en) perp(etuus) / ob merita

⁴⁹ Cébeillac-Gervasoni 2004; Cébeillac-Gervasoni, Caldelli, and Zevi 2010: 121–122 no. 20.1.

⁵⁰ P. Lucilius Gamala *senior*: *CIL* XIV 375 = *ILS* 6147; Zevi 1973; Gallina Zevi and Humphrey 2004.

⁵¹ Cébeillac-Gervasoni, Caldelli, and Zevi 2010: 122 no. 20.2.1.

⁵² Manacorda 2005: 40–41; Cébeillac-Gervasoni, Caldelli, and Zevi 2010: 122–123 no. 20.2.2.

⁵³ Forbis 1990; Navarro Caballero 2004. Euergetism more generally: Ch. 24.

⁵⁴ Jongman 1988: 179–184. For women in Pompeii in general, Bernstein 2007.

⁵⁵ Hemelrijk 2007.

(d) Civic Life

Female euergetism was not, however, restricted entirely to the religious sphere; it affected many areas of civic life through the construction, enlargement, or restoration of public buildings, the offering of spectacles, and the creation of foundations for the public good. As *patronae civitatis* (“patronesses of the community”), women were able to connect their own name and that of their family to a particular site in the urban landscape.⁵⁶ In many cases the specific reasons for an act of munificence remain hidden, as in the following case from Casinum (Cassino) dating to the late first or early second century CE (*CIL X 5183 = ILS 5628 = EAOR IV 46*):

Ummidia C(ai) filia
Quadratilla
amphitheatrum et
templum Casinatibus
sua pecunia fecit

5

Ummidia Quadratilla daughter of Gaius had an amphitheatre and temple built for the people of Casinum, using her own funds.

She is also known from literary sources. According to Pliny (*Ep.* 7.24.3–4) she kept a troupe of pantomimes in her house. She may also have funded the rebuilding of the theatre at Casinum (*AE* 1946, 174 = 1992, 244). The reason for her generosity in contributing funds to one or more public buildings at Casinum may have been that she owned land in its territory.

Finally, the alimentary foundations set up in Italy from the second century onwards are relevant in that women sometimes were responsible for establishing them. They were designed to provide for needy children, likely orphans, until they reached adulthood.⁵⁷ Some were set up by wealthy women on the model of the *puellae Faustianae*, an imperial program named after the wife of Antoninus Pius (*SHA Pius* 8.1). An inscription from Tarracina from the later second century reveals that a certain Caelia Macrina created a program in memory of her son, with the purpose of distributing *alimenta* to one hundred *pueri* and one hundred *puellae* every month (*CIL X 6328 = ILS 6278 = FIRA III 55d*). The distribution was gendered and unequal: the young males received five *denarii* until age sixteen, while the girls received four *denarii*, and only until age 14, at which point they apparently were supposed to have married. On the other hand, in a fragmentary inscription from Hispalis (Seville) in Baetica the *puellae* seem to have been privileged over the *pueri*. A woman called Fabia H[adriani]lla arranged for distributions twice a year in which girls received ten *sestertii* more than boys (*CIL II 1174 = FIRA III 55a = AE 2003, 894*). At Ostia, it seems that only female

⁵⁶ Nicols 1989; Hemelrijk 2004b, 2009.

⁵⁷ Duncan-Jones 1964; 1982: 288–319; Woolf 1990; Cao 2010.

recipients could benefit from a foundation established by [Fabia?] Agrippina, perhaps the daughter of the consul of 148 CE (*CIL* XIV 4450, cf. 5394).⁵⁸

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⁵⁸ Cao 2010: 205–210 (Tarracina), 215–220 (Hispalis); Magioncalda 1994: 105–107 (Ostia).

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CHAPTER 28

SLAVES AND FREED SLAVES

CHRISTER BRUUN

SLAVERY was a fundamental feature of Roman society. The presence of slaves affected interpersonal relations, economic conditions, culture, and everyday life in countless ways.¹ There were slaves in Roman society from early on, and the practice persisted into Late Antiquity.² The Law of the Twelve Tables (c. 450 BCE) refers to both slavery and freed slaves (*RS* 40: I.14, I.19, V.3–10, XII.2). As Roman expansion continued throughout the republican period, events such as the conquest of Epirus and the taking of 150,000 prisoners in 167 BCE (*Liv.* 45.34.5) increased the number of slaves in Rome and Italy considerably. However, the epigraphic record is silent on this.

One particular aspect of Roman slavery is worth underlining immediately: manumission, the freeing of slaves. When manumitted in proper legal order, a slave of a full citizen received Roman citizenship, and the children of freedmen had equal rights with other freeborn Romans in almost every respect. (They were precluded from advancing to the Senate but could aspire to membership in the equestrian order.)³ This inclusive policy proved a source of strength for Rome, as contemporaries in rival states realized although without emulating Rome's practice. Already in 215 BCE, Philip V of Macedon commented on this in a letter to Larissa in Thessaly, known only from an inscription (*SIG*³ 543 = *ILS* 8763). The Romans, he wrote, "receive into the state even slaves, when they have freed them, giving them a share in the magistracies, and in such a way not only have they augmented their own fatherland, but they have also sent out colonies to almost seventy places."⁴

Epigraphy is crucial for the study of Roman slavery, besides the juridical sources, scattered archaeological evidence, and literature.⁵ Literary sources are predominantly

¹ Bradley 1995.

² Harper 2011.

³ Eck 1999 for freedmen or their sons advancing to the *ordo equester* and beyond; on legal restrictions and disadvantages: Watson 1987: 35–44; Treggiari 1996: 888–889, 895–897.

⁴ Translation: Bagnall and Derow 2004: 67.

⁵ Juridical: *CRRS*; Morabito 1981; Boulvert and Morabito 1982. Archaeology: Carandini 1988: 109–234; Purcell 1988: 195–198; Roth 2005: 284–288; Trümper 2009; George 2011.

used for studying slaves and freedmen during the republican and early imperial period and are central when elucidating the misery and harshness of Roman slavery, paradoxically though this may sound, considering that they were written for the slave-owning elite.⁶

There are no source collections exclusively dedicated to inscriptions on Roman slavery, but for Rome itself Heikki Solin's unique epigraphic inventory lists individually by *cognomen* over 27,000 individuals he considers a slave or *libertus/a*.⁷ The general corpora include several sections central for our topic, such as those concerning associations or epitaphs, but no comprehensive "slavery" chapter (cf. *ILS* Index XVII, p. 948–951).

Important questions in the study of Roman slavery include the overall proportion of slaves in Roman society; modes of enslavement; the private life of slaves (family, wealth, religion); their role in manufacture, agriculture, and the household; slave resistance; and manumission and the position of ex-slaves in Roman society. Imperial slaves and freedmen constitute a special field of study. Much more evidence survives for manumitted slaves than for those still in servitude. Scholars often use the information gained from their lives to illuminate the slave-condition, fully aware that only a fortunate minority ever gained freedom.

On the very important question of the overall number of slaves in the Roman world, epigraphy cannot make a large contribution. Surviving inscriptions do not provide enough data for any accurate demographic study, and this is even truer for individuals of lower rank, who are seldom recorded in epigraphic texts. The modern debate on the number of Roman slaves mainly uses demographic models and comparative material, with a few scattered numbers from literary sources sometimes adduced, like the forty thousand slaves whom Galen assumed lived in Pergamum in the 160s CE (Galen *de propr. anim.* 5.49K.).⁸ A central issue is how the Roman slave population could be sustained over time. Inscriptions provide a few sometimes fascinating glimpses but no statistically significant material on the various ways in which new slaves were acquired: through house-born slaves (*vernae*), the enslavement of abandoned children or kidnap victims, or the import of slaves from across the borders of the Empire.⁹ The sale of slaves is, with few exceptions, known mostly from papyri (p. 619). The most common source of new slaves during the Republic, enslaved prisoners of war, normally played less of a role during the Principate and is attested only sporadically in inscriptions. For instance, only a single person enslaved during Rome's two Jewish wars is explicitly attested in an inscription from the West¹⁰—Claudia Aster *Hierosolymitana*

⁶ Duff 1928; Treggiari 1969; Bradley 1987, 1995.

⁷ Solin 1996; other local surveys: Segenni 1990; Lazzaro 1993; Binsfeld 2006–7. Eck and Heinrichs 1993 (many inscriptions with translations); Wiedemann 1981 (translated sources, mostly literary).

⁸ Harris 1980, 1999; Scheidel 1997, 2005; Lo Cascio 2002; Roth 2007.

⁹ Traders: Harris 1980; self-enslavement: Ramin and Veyne 1981; *vernae*: Herrmann-Otto 1994; abandoned children: Harris 1994.

¹⁰ cf. Solin 1983. If Jewish prisoners were given new Greek or Latin names upon enslavement, their identification becomes nearly impossible.

captiva, “a captive from Jerusalem” (*CIL* X 1971 = *ILS* 8193 = *AE* 1999, 455; Puteoli)—although Josephus indicates that there were 97,000 prisoners of war after the first revolt under Nero (*BJ* 6.420), and one can assume even larger numbers after the Bar Kochba uprising under Hadrian. On the other hand, a Roman governor of Mauretania Caesariensis in the period between 250 and 300 CE erected a dedication to the *Dei patrii* and the *Mauri conservatores* “to commemorate his crushing of the tribe of the Bavares Mesegneitises and his carrying off their families into captivity along with all the booty” (*CIL* VIII 21486 = *ILS* 4495: *ob prostratam gentem Bavarum Mesegneitisium praedasque omnes ac familias eorum abductas*).

IDENTIFYING SLAVES AND FREED SLAVES

In order to use inscriptions for discussing Roman slavery, one needs to be able to identify a slave or an ex-slave, by no means a simple task. During the mid-Republic, when it was unusual to possess more than a few slaves, their names were formed from the owner’s first name and the word *puer*, “boy” (an epithet known from later slave societies as well): for example, Gaipor (*Gaii puer*), Marcipor, Quintipor. This is known from literary sources, while epigraphic examples are very rare.¹¹ The custom changed during the last two centuries BCE, as the number of slaves in individual households increased. Slaves were given proper individual names, and slaves and freedmen begin to appear with some frequency in inscriptions. On a late republican lead plaque from Ostia nine *ornatrices* (dressers) are listed, of which the majority are identified as slaves (*servae*): *Agathemeris Manliae ser(va)*, *Hilara Seiae ser(va) ornatrix*, and *Rufa Apeiliae ser(va) ornatrix* (*CIL* I² 3036 = XIV 5306, where all the owners are women). A Roman freedman (or -woman) may similarly be identifiable, as on a *cippus* from near Sulmona (*CIL* I² 3217 = *Suppl.It.* 4, *Sulmo* no. 53):

L(ucio) Accavo L(uci) l(iberto)
Protogene
Dynamis feili(a)
poseit

To L. Accavus Protogenes, freedman of Lucius, Dynamis (his) daughter erected (this memorial)

A system existed for distinguishing the social and legal status of individuals in a written text, whether official (such as the census list) or unofficial (for instance, epitaphs or membership lists of *collegia*):

- freeborn Romans were permitted to name their father (“filiation”): M. Tullius *M(arci) f(ilius) Cicero*

¹¹ Solin 1996: 131; cf. Fabre 1981: 105.

- freedmen/women were identified by “libertination,” by naming their *patronus/a* (former owner) who manumitted them: M. Tullius *M(arci) l(ibertus)* Tiro. This is sometimes called “pseudofiliation” (“false filiation”), a term that does not well describe how the Romans thought about it. The *patronus/a* exercised certain rights over their ex-slaves, but these were not the same as those of Roman fathers over their offspring.
- slaves were denoted by the word *s(ervus/a)*, or possibly only by their master’s first name in the genitive, as in Tiro *Marci* (“Marcus’ Tiro”) or the name of their mistress, as with the *ornatrices* mentioned above.

Some slaves and freedmen displayed a more specific nomenclature, identifying their owner or *patronus* who in such cases normally was a person of distinction in the community: Sophrus Sisennae Statili ser(vus) (p. 610) or Cn. Cornelius Atimetus Cn. Lentuli Gaetulici l(ib.) *et procurator* (CIL VI 9834 = ILS 7387), a freedman of the consul of 26 CE, Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Gaetulicus. Such inscriptions reveal something about the psychology of slavery and of how these individuals had internalized their subjugated status, as they demonstrated pride in their connection to a powerful person.

These cases are relatively rare and in practice the situation is less clear-cut. Most Romans known from inscriptions neglected to define clearly their status. Some individuals shown by the context to be slaves neither use the S-word nor mention their owner; freed slaves may leave out any reference to their patron; and even freeborn Romans omit their filiation. For these various unclear cases encountered in inscriptions scholars traditionally use certain technical terms. When someone has a family name (*nomen gentile / gentilicium*), and thus was a free person, but it is uncertain whether he/she was freeborn or a freed slave, the person is referred to as an “incertus/a.” A Roman with only one name, which is normally his/her *cognomen*, is called an “Einnamig” (German for “a person having one name”) (Appendix III). Scholars often assume that such a person was a slave.¹² If an individual had a family name and thus was demonstrably free, why would he/she not mention it?

In reality, there are reasons why a free person might be satisfied with citing only the *cognomen*, the distinctive part of a Roman name. Financial reasons might dictate this choice: inscribing a text cost money, and additional letters increased the expense. Furthermore, scholars do not always consider the social context when deeming an “Einnamig” a slave. While it might seem crucial for us to list all the elements of a person’s name, the Romans clearly did not always think so. Many persons were known in their social environment. Everyone in the neighbourhood who mattered knew who Dynamis, the daughter of L. Accavus Protogenes, was (p. 607): whether she was freeborn or had been born a slave but later manumitted. Why bother adding the family name, which she shared with her father?

Bearing a Greek *cognomen* (like Dynamis, Protogenes, or Sophrus) in the western part of the Empire is often taken to indicate unfree status, or at least to show “servile descent.” The high frequency of Greek *cognomina* especially in Rome has, therefore,

¹² Solin 1996.

led to the conclusion that freedmen overwhelmingly dominate in the epigraphic material from the Principate.¹³ It should, however, be remembered that many slaves bore Latin *cognomina*, and that some freeborn individuals in the West used Greek names. In addition, the concept “servile descent” is rather vague.¹⁴ The linguistic character of the *cognomen* of an “incertus” or “Einnamig” allows no certain determination of the person’s social and legal status.

TYPES OF INSCRIPTIONS RECORDING *SERVI AND LIBERTI*

Although the epigraphic evidence is skewed towards the more successful and powerful, slaves and freed slaves are better represented in inscriptions than many freeborn Romans of modest means due to their peculiar position. There are some types of inscriptions in which *servi* and *liberti* appear with particular frequency:

- epitaphs, the commonest category
- inscriptions relating to service, business, industry, and trade, often in the form of a stamp on an everyday object such as pottery (Fig. 28.1), a brick, or a lead pipe (*instrumentum domesticum*)
- texts relating to the activities of associations and *collegia*, often with a connection to religious issues
- inscriptions of various kinds recording actions (mainly by *liberti*) in the public sphere, such as dedications (cf. Fig. 32.5) and benefactions.

PRIVATE LIFE: SLAVES AND FREEDMEN IN EPITAPHS

In epitaphs—the commonest type of inscriptions—slaves and freedmen appear both as the commemorated and as commemorators. Sometimes slaves or freedmen commemorated their master, which provides interesting material for thinking about the Roman family (cf. Ch. 26), as on this tombstone from Brixellum in N. Italy (*CIL* XI 1027 = *ILS* 6671):

*D(is) M(anibus) / T(iti) Iegi Iucundi / VI viri Aug(ustalis) / et Decimiae Thal/liae eius /
Filetus libertus /...*

¹³ Kajanto 1965; Solin 1971; Mouritsen 2004.

¹⁴ Bruun 2010: 328–331; Bruun 2013.

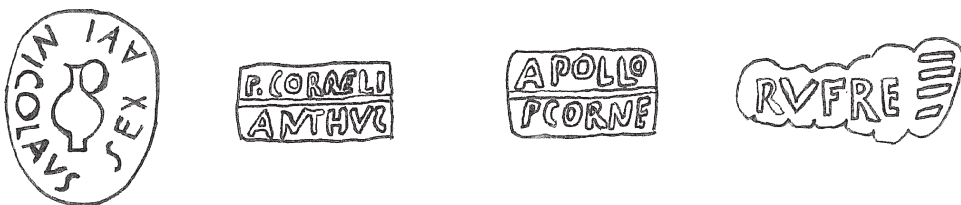


FIG. 28.1 Stamps on Arretine *terra sigillata* fineware pottery (Samian ware) produced at Arretium (Arezzo) indicating the potter's name: (a) *Nicolaus Sex. Avi(lli) (servus)*; (b) *P. Corneli / Anthus*; (c) *Apollo(nius) / P. Corne(li servus)*; (d) *Rufre(nus)*, in a stamp in the form of a footprint (*in planta pedis*). References under Illustration Credits, p. 819.

To the Departed Spirits of T. Iegus Iucundus, *sevir Augustalis*, and his wife Decimia Thallia, his freedman Filetus (erected the monument)...

The law required the owner to provide for the burial of a dead slave, and this sometimes resulted in the erection of a memorial, especially for young slaves. These commonly carry the epithet *verna*, "house-born slave."¹⁵ This background makes it more understandable that emotional ties had developed between the slave and the owner or the owner's family. Some of these house-born slaves may have had blood relatives among the free male members of the household. In the legal sense, slaves did not have parents or children, but in actual fact slavewomen gave birth and family relationships within a slave household were tracked, as Roman legal sources assumed: close kinship was a legal ground for manumission (Gaius *Inst.* 1.19).¹⁶ Some slaves commissioned tombstones for their close kin, as in one of many examples from the *columbarium* of the Statilii in Rome (*CIL VI 6358 = ILS 7404*, Julio-Claudian):¹⁷

Sophro Sisennae / Statili ser(vo) tabul(ario) / Psyche soror et / Optata coniunx fecer(unt)

To Sophrus, slave of Sisenna Statilius, accountant, his sister Psyche and wife Optata made (this memorial).

Such inscriptions seem to reflect a life much like that of any ordinary Roman family, but they are exceptional. A survey conducted on the material in *CIL VI* of the term *contubernalis*, which indicates an informal marriage, found only sixty-eight couples in which both members were certainly or probably slaves.¹⁸ In any case only the fortunate slaves, those who were permitted by their owners to keep in contact with their kin, would commission texts referring to family life. On the contrary, inscriptions never celebrate the tearing apart of couples nor the selling of children to outsiders; this can sometimes be inferred, though, when freed siblings bear different family names.

¹⁵ Herrmann-Otto 1994.

¹⁶ Treggiari 1975b; Willvonseder 2010.

¹⁷ Caldelli and Ricci 1999. Buonocore 1984 on a similar body of texts.

¹⁸ Treggiari 1981: 45.

Exceptional in this regard are the manumission records from Delphi, starting in 201 BCE, most of which therefore date to the period of Roman domination, as well as similar documents from elsewhere in modern Greece (p. 616). Some of them explicitly state that a condition for freeing a slavewoman is that she leave one or more children behind with her former owner.¹⁹ While these Greek inscriptions sometimes show that women were freed with their children, no man (or putative father) is ever set free at the same time.²⁰

Freedmen and -women are much commoner than slaves in epitaphs, since they enjoyed the life of free citizens and normally had more wealth at their disposal. Many freedmen took much interest in creating visible and enduring funerary monuments of themselves and their kin (Ch. 29). They proudly showed off their achievement, their rise into the Roman “middle class,” an everyday event in society at large, but a giant leap for the individual.²¹

Epitaphs reveal various aspects of the personal life of slaves, for instance cases where the owner married, or at least lived informally together with, a former female slave of his; in Roman law, intent to marry was grounds for freeing a slave even under the age of thirty (Gaius *Inst.* 1.19). On a marble plaque from Rome with the inscription *Aelia Calliste Q(uinto) Aelio Phileroti patrono suo et sibi* (CIL VI 10857), the fact that Aelia Calliste intended for herself to be buried with her *patronus*, who had preceded her in death, can only mean that they were a couple, and that she had been freed by the man with whom she now shared a *gentilicium*. It may in fact have been more common to manumit women than men in the Roman world.²²

SLAVES AND FREEDMEN IN HOUSEHOLD SERVICE, BUSINESS, INDUSTRY, AND TRADE

Most slaves were used for agricultural labour, a hard lot which provided them with little chance of ever gaining their freedom either by endearing themselves to their owners or by amassing enough wealth to buy their own freedom. Such slaves were called *servi rustici*, and it is thought that they practically never appear in the epigraphic (or any other) record.²³ Inscriptions mentioning slaves or freedmen found outside the urban centres mostly refer to overseers (*vilici*) or to other individuals holding positions of trust for their master or patron.²⁴ A slave in the province of Sicily bearing the epithet *magister magnus ovium*, “chief overseer of sheep flocks” (AE 1985, 483), likely

¹⁹ Hopkins 1978: 156–158, 170; cf. Weiler 2001, 128–129.

²⁰ Hopkins 1978: 163–168 on family ties between freed slaves.

²¹ Zanker 1975; Lo Monaco 1998; George 2005.

²² Hopkins 1978: 139–140; Weiler 2001: 119–132; Wacke 2001 (*manumissio matrimonii causa*).

²³ cf. Roth 2007, a commendable work, though without using inscriptions.

²⁴ Carlsen 1995, 1996.

also enjoyed a more advantageous position, while the *gregarii* owned by the woman Crispinilla were slave-shepherds (*AE* 1972, 102, 112, Tarentum).

The situation of *servi urbani* was different. They were household slaves, normally in an urban environment, although they also could accompany their master to a country residence. Through their personal qualities these slaves may have stood a decent chance of doing well and possibly gaining their freedom, which is not to deny that in their daily lives they lacked basic human rights and were at their master's mercy, susceptible to sexual or any other exploitation. Through inscriptions we gain a glimpse of the various tasks that slaves performed in rich households; the classic example is the household of Livia, the emperor Augustus' consort. Hundreds of epitaphs of her slaves and ex-slaves name occupations such as *arcarius* (keeper of the chest, a freedman; *CIL* VI 3938), *atriensis* (majordomo; *CIL* VI 3942), *ostiarius* (doorkeeper; *CIL* VI 3995), *pedisequus* (footman; *CIL* VI 4005), and *sarcinatrix* (seamstress; *CIL* VI 4029).²⁵

Looking after the burial of relatives or friends was possible because Roman law allowed slaves to administer a *peculium*, a fund of money received from their master. Legally the *peculium* remained property of the latter, while in reality the slaves must have counted on being able to use this "start-up grant," and the profits it might generate, to better their own life and position, including buying their own freedom.²⁶ Among other things, slaves could buy their own slaves to work for them and to serve as replacements (*vicarii*) for their own labour. (For an imperial slave with sixteen *vicarii*, see p. 617.)

While inscriptions sometimes show slaves active in business ventures of their own, it is more common to find them engaged on their owner's behalf. Numerous business documents on wax-tablets recovered in the area covered by Vesuvius' eruption in 79 CE provide first-hand evidence of this (Chs. 15, 31).²⁷ It was advantageous for the master to use trusted slaves in commercial and productive activities, as they were completely under his/her authority. For instance, owners chose to employ exclusively slaves as *dispensatores* (financial administrators/treasurers), as this guaranteed full control over their activities by the owner.²⁸ Freedmen also sometimes carried out tasks for their former owner, who became their *patronus* after manumission and to whom they owed *obsequium* and *operae* (compliance, service).²⁹ Whether they acted independently or in cooperation with their former owner, the network of business contacts that they had been part of while still slaves likely assisted them greatly in their social advancement once manumitted. Ordinary freeborn Romans, in contrast, may have lacked a similar boost to their commercial activities.

For much of the twentieth century, although perhaps to a lesser extent today,³⁰ the debate about the economy of the late Republic and Principate focused on the ways in

²⁵ *Monumentum Liviae*: *CIL* VI 3926–4326; Treggiari 1975a, cf. Bradley 1995: 62–63. Dixon 2001 on the occupations in the *familia Veturiana* at Rome.

²⁶ Buckland 1908: 187–238; Boulvert and Morabito 1982: 128–131; Watson 1987: 90–101.

²⁷ Andreau 1974; Camodeca 1999; Lintott 2002.

²⁸ Summary in Bruun 1999: 34–35.

²⁹ Waldstein 1986; Mouritsen 2011: 224–226.

³⁰ Loane 1938: 99–112; Frank 1940: 185–217; cf. Scheidel, Morris, and Saller 2008: 536–538, 559–566.

which the aristocracy made use of their slaves and freedmen to further their economic interests. Such studies would have been impossible without the epigraphic evidence (Ch. 31). It may be a question of identifying slaves and freedmen appearing in various places and contexts and tying them to the activities of a certain wealthy family, as with the Cossutii of the late Republic, engaged in the building industry (Fig. 7.2).³¹ More commonly, scholars study inscriptions, or rather stamps, on everyday objects (*instrumentum domesticum*), where frequently the names of slaves and sometimes those of freedmen appear. These sources inform us of the structure of many branches of Roman manufacture, such as Arretine pottery,³² the brick industry around Rome,³³ or lead water pipes.³⁴ The name of the slave worker is often in the genitive, the meaning being (*opus*) *illius* or “(the product) of so-and-so.” When the name of the owner is mentioned in the same stamp (Fig. 28.1), interpretative problems may arise regarding whether the stamp refers to someone bearing the *tria nomina* rather than a slave and his master.³⁵

ASSOCIATIONS, COLLEGIA, FAMILIAE, RELIGION

If a slave could become the master of a ship which was the property of his owner (Gaius *Inst.* 4.71) and sail off into foreign countries, it is obvious that some slaves could also occasionally leave their living quarters and mingle with fellow human beings, both slave and free. A large number of associations are known in the Roman world, called for instance *corporata*, *collegia*, or *familiae*. Some were of a professional nature, others for social and/or religious purposes.³⁶ Frequently associations focused on guaranteeing their members a proper burial, but these were more than simply “funerary” *collegia*.³⁷ Some indicate in their title that they were primarily for slaves and freedmen, like the *collegium familiae publicae* at Venafrum (*CIL* X 4856 = *ILS* 6153.1). Interestingly enough, the membership list of the *familia publica* at Ostia (*CIL* XIV 255 = *ILS* 6153) contains many free “*incerti*” in addition to municipal slaves and freedmen.³⁸ Another famous inscription, from Lanuvium near Rome, presents the statutes of a *collegium* that focused on the worship of Diana and Antinous, while much time was spent on banqueting, as was likely always the case (*CIL* XIV 2112 = *ILS* 7212; Ch. 19).³⁹ Most of the

³¹ Rawson 1975.

³² Prachner 1980; Pucci 1993; Fülle 1997.

³³ Helen 1975: 23–27; Steinby 1978: 1517–19; Weaver 1998; Bruun 2005: 22.

³⁴ Bruun 1991: 340–353; 2010: 328–331.

³⁵ Oxé 1904: 135–140; cf. Aubert 1994: 227–228; *contra* Fülle 1997: 119; Bruun 2005: 22.

³⁶ Waltzing 1895–1900; De Robertis 1971. Slaves in associations: Bömer 1981; Tran 2006: 49–65.

³⁷ Ausbüttel 1982.

³⁸ Bruun 2008.

³⁹ Bendlin 2011.

members at any one time were probably free, but the statutes specifically acknowledge that some members might be slaves. For instance, the procedure to follow is specified in cases when the owner of a deceased slave member refused to hand over the body for proper burial by the *collegium*. Clearly, some slaves were integrated in the Roman social fabric in a way that makes it unjustified to consider them completely marginalized (other examples in Ch. 23, p. 500–502, both slaves and *liberti*).

No slaves were, however, accepted among the *Augustales*, who formed highly respected local associations in which the members were almost exclusively freedmen, although freeborn Romans sometimes joined.⁴⁰ The *Augustales* were involved in the cult of the *Genius* of the emperors, and inscriptions reveal that both freedmen and slaves were active in many other cultic activities as well (Figs. 19.3, 32.5). In fact the term *familia*, as a collective reference to slaves and freedmen, mostly appears in inscriptions in connection with religious dedications of some kind, but is also found in epitaphs when the *familia* mourns one of its own. In the religious sphere there were no differences between free individuals and slaves, and no divinities were venerated exclusively by slaves.⁴¹ Yet some divinities are particularly common in inscriptions where slaves and *liberti* are the active parties: Jupiter Liber and Zeus Eleutherios, Fortuna, Bona Dea and Mens Bona, Mithras, and Silvanus.⁴² The slave uprising in Sicily c. 136 CE has sometimes been seen as inspired by the cult of Dea Syria. More likely, slaves of Syrian origin venerated the goddess out of habit, while the cult had no strong social message.⁴³

BENEFACTIONS AND HONOURS: POSITION IN SOCIETY

Already in the late Republic freedmen can be found holding public positions. At Capua, where the traditional elite were harshly punished by Rome after the Second Punic War, inscriptions document slave *ministri* and freeborn or freed *magistri* playing a role in the government of this town c. 120–70 BCE.⁴⁴ In Rome itself, beginning under Augustus, the administration of neighbourhoods relied on *vicomagistri*, who predominantly seem to have been freedmen.⁴⁵ In a list of over 250 *vicomagistri* from the year 136 only about 13 per cent of those named were freeborn; the rest were freedmen (*CIL VI* 975 = 31218 = *ILS* 6073).

The most conspicuous way in which freedmen, and on rare occasions even slaves (mostly imperial ones), could make an impact on their social environment was through benefactions of various kinds. The usual possibilities were open to them, such

⁴⁰ Abramenko 1993; *AE* 2000, 344 adds significant insights; cf. Ch. 12.

⁴¹ Bömer 1981: 57–78 (*familia*), 29 (divinities); Ch. 19, p. 408.

⁴² The West: Bömer 1981: 78–87, 110–172. Eastern provinces: Bömer 1961.

⁴³ Bömer 1961: 85–86, 96–100, reacting against the views of Franz Cumont.

⁴⁴ Solin 1990: 154–160.

⁴⁵ Lott 2004.

as contributions to public building or gifts of something valuable such as a statue to the community or to individual dignitaries (cf. Ch. 24).⁴⁶ We can assume that a public inscription would regularly record the deed, as occurred at Aphrodisias, where C. Iulius Zoilus, θεοῦ Ἰουλίου υἱοῦ Καίσαρος ἀπελευθερος (“freedman of the divine Iulius’ son Caesar”) famously contributed to the beautification of the theatre and other public buildings in the Augustan period (*Aphrodisias & Rome* 34–37). Even slaves sometimes had the financial resources to finance projects that decorated their town, as at Nepet north of Rome (*CIL XI 3199 = ILS 3481*):

Hermeros
Ti(berii) Claudii Caesaris Aug(usti)
Germanici ser(vus)
Thyamidianus ab marmorib(us)
5 magister
Feroniae aras quinque
d(e) s(uo) d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)

Hermeros Thyamidianus, slave of the emperor Tiberius Claudius Germanicus (= Claudius), involved in the import and handling of marble, *magister* (of an unknown *collegium*), had five altars made for Feronia at his own cost, by permission of the town council.

A particular category consists of dedications to masters or patrons, such as *Fabatae Luci / filiae Pollae / Fabiae Domitiae Gelliolae / consulari fe/minae lampa/diferae / M. Fabatius Do/mitius Pan/cratius li/bertus et / procura/tor patro/nae piissim(a)e* (*CIL VIII 8993 = ILS 1200*, Mauretania), erected by a grateful freedman and procurator to his patroness, a woman from a family of consular rank managing the religious function of “torchbearer.” All of these activities enhanced the position of the benefactors, and numerous inscriptions show the authority and respect enjoyed by freedmen, often imperial ones, although it is fairly rare to find a freedman as the object of a dedication or other honorific act by individuals outside his own *familia*. However, at Dion (Macedonia), Anthestia P(ubli) l(iberta) Iucunda was honoured with a statue by the *colonorum et incolarum coniuges*, “the spouses of the citizens and residents” (*AE 1998, 1210 = SEG 34, 631*).

MANUMISSION

Manumission in Rome was not a private matter, for the freed slave became a citizen with almost all the rights that a freeborn *civis Romanus* possessed (cf. n. 3). It is thus understandable that Roman law established rules for the conditions under which a slave could be set free, as in the Flavian municipal law (Ch. 7, p. 127).⁴⁷ Some inscriptions refer explicitly to the momentous moment when a slave gained freedom, as in

⁴⁶ cf. on North Africa: Lengrand 1998; Saastamoinen 2010: 113.

⁴⁷ Buckland 1908: 437–597; Watson 1987: 23–34; *lex Flav. mun.* 28.

a dedication from Puteoli: *Herculei / sacrum / C(aius) Marci(us) C(ai) l(ibertus) Alex. / fecit servos / vovit liber solvit* (CIL I² 1617 = CIL X 1569 = ILS 3427 = ILLRP 140).⁴⁸ While still a slave of C. Marcius, Alex(ander?) had promised to dedicate something to Hercules after manumission. “As a free man, he discharged his vow” is the proud conclusion. For the manumission process we depend on juridical sources (cf. n. 47), only rarely substantiated by Latin inscriptions from the West, as in the expression *in consilio manumisso*, “freed in council” (CIL XIV 1437 = ILS 1984, Ostia; cf. Gaius *Inst.* 1.20). An inscription from Asisium records an amazing 50,000 sesterces paid by the wealthy physician P. Decimius P(ubli) l(ibertus) Merula for his freedom (CIL XI 5400 = ILS 7812). The sum is much higher than any epigraphically attested slave price.⁴⁹

In the eastern half of the Empire, especially in modern Greece, a variety of inscribed manumission documents in Greek, which reflect a Hellenistic practice,⁵⁰ record the freeing of slaves in Roman times. The discoveries at Delphi (over one thousand texts from 201 BC to 100 CE) are particularly famous, but similar documents are found in many other places and continued into Late Antiquity.⁵¹ Until 212 CE many owners will not have been Roman citizens (though some were, during the Principate), in which case there was no need to deviate from local traditions, such as the common *paramone* formula, which tied the freed slave to the (former) owner for a period of time, often until the latter’s death, in a sort of “conditional” or “suspended release.”⁵² Sometimes the owners were Roman citizens and therefore should have been following Roman law, as in the following text from near Pella in Macedonia (some time after 212 CE, as the frequency of the *nomen* Aurelius reveals). Yet the procedure is typically Hellenistic, involving the “gift” of the slave to a goddess, in this case Artemis (SEG 35, 750):

...Φουλκίνιος Νάρ/κισσος ἐχαρίσατο / θεᾷ Ἀρτέμιδι πε/δίσκιην ἰδῖαν ὀνό/ματι Εὐτύχαν
κὲ πε/δῖον αὐτῆς Εἰρή/νην, ἥς κὲ τὴν ὠ/νην ἀνέθηκεν διὰ / βουλευτῶν Αὐρ. / Ἀδέου κὲ
Αὐρ. Θέρ/μου κὲ Αὐρ. Μα/ρκελλεῖνου.

Fulcinus Narkissus gave to the goddess Artemis his slave called Eutyches and her child Eirene, and consecrated her deed of sale through the town councillors Aur(elius) Adeus, Aur(elius) Thermus, Aur(elius) Markellinus.

Donating a slave to a goddess or god often meant no more than the duty to serve at the temple during customary holidays and festivities. Yet the situation is complicated and there is a lively debate about the factual legal condition of these freed slaves.⁵³

Scholars have tried to elicit more general information about the condition of Roman slaves and their chances of gaining manumission from funerary inscriptions. Some of

⁴⁸ Fabre 1981: 85–90. Similar texts: ILS Index XVII, p. 948.

⁴⁹ Duncan-Jones 1982: 349, 385.

⁵⁰ Darmezine 1999.

⁵¹ Delphi: GDI, FD, Hopkins 1978: 133–171. Other texts: *I. Beroia* 45–57; Petsas et al. 2000. SEG regularly records new Greek manumission texts.

⁵² Hopkins 1978: 133, 141–158. *Paramone* formula: Samuel 1965 (mainly using papyrus).

⁵³ Hopkins 1978: 141–146; Petsas et al. 2000: 33–60; Zelnick-Abramovitz 2005, 2013.

the epitaphs record the age at which a person died, and when the deceased was a freed slave, manumission had obviously taken place previously. Roman law required a minimum age of thirty for a fully legal manumission, except when the owner had a special reason to manumit (Gaius *Inst.* 1.18–19). Many cases of *liberti* younger than thirty years are found, which shows either that owners made use of the exceptions the law granted (to free one's parents, siblings, future wife, etc.), or that slaves were freed informally below the legal age limit, thereby becoming free individuals of Junian Latin status, not full Roman citizens.⁵⁴ In reality, the situation must often have been complicated and resolving it caused major problems for the parties involved, as revealed in the famous litigation from Herculaneum about the status of the girl Petronia Iusta (see Ch. 15, p. 311–313 with n. 34).

A survey of the age at death of Roman freedmen has also been undertaken, in order to evaluate what the chances were, in general, of gaining one's freedom. Cicero seems to indicate that a well-behaved slave could expect to be set free after no more than six years of service (Cic. *Phil.* 8.32). The epigraphic material cannot, however, yield any statistically meaningful answer here, illuminating though it is in individual cases.⁵⁵

THE *FAMILIA CAESARIS*

The Roman emperor was the richest man in the world and he owned more slaves than anyone. As a result, he can also be expected to have manumitted slaves more widely than anybody else. *Servi Caesaris* and *Augusti liberti* (commonly referred to as the *familia Caesaris*) are indeed fairly common in inscriptions. They are mostly males, for the emperor had very limited use for female slaves. The various financial and administrative duties at court and around the Roman world required men, while the women of the imperial family owned larger portions of female servants.⁵⁶ Nero's mistress Claudia Aug. l. Acte is a famous exception in both respects. She is known from the writings of Tacitus and Suetonius, but no less from the rich epigraphic evidence generated by the activities of over fifty slaves and freedmen attributed to her *familia*.⁵⁷ Most imperial slaves, relegated to menial tasks, have left no traces, but conspicuously many appear in our evidence. A classic case is that of the imperial slave Musicus Scurranus, *dispensator* (treasurer) of the *fiscus Gallicus* in the province of Lugdunensis, who died while on business in Rome. A commemorative inscription was set up by sixteen of his own male slaves, who all indicate the function they fulfilled in his household (e.g. *negotiator*, *medicus*, *ab argento*, *ab veste*, and *cocus*) and one female slave, whose function is left unspecified (*CIL* VI 5197 = *ILS* 1514). She may well have been his mistress. In general

⁵⁴ Weaver 1990, 2001: 103–104; López Barja de Quiroga 1998.

⁵⁵ Wiedemann 1985, *pace* Alföldy 1972.

⁵⁶ Chantraine 1980 for the data; Treggiari 1975a on Livia's household; cf. Bradley 1995: 62–63.

⁵⁷ Mastino and Ruggeri 1995.



FIG. 28.2 Large monumental slab from Rome commemorating Nero's freedman Epaphroditus still powerful under Domitian. Museo Nazionale Romano.

inscriptions show that male members of the *familia Caesaris* were more likely to end up in partnership with free women than other slaves and freedmen.⁵⁸

Imperial freedmen appear frequently in inscriptions, and thousands of individuals are known.⁵⁹ They had gained influence and wealth in the emperor's service and stood a fair chance of being remembered in a lavish funerary inscription, as donors and sponsors, or in a dedication by grateful clients or communities. One of the most conspicuous cases is represented by the monumental inscription which records the military decorations, *hastae purae* and *coronae aureae*, that Nero awarded his freedman Epaphroditus (*ILS* 9505, Fig. 28.2), apparently because of his role in revealing the Pisonian conspiracy against Nero in 65 CE, thereby thoroughly offending senators and equestrians for whom such distinctions traditionally were reserved.⁶⁰

SLAVE OWNERSHIP: ACTIONS AND REACTIONS

Slaves were goods that could be bought and sold practically like any other thing. Roman law regarded them as *res mancipi* (Gaius *Inst.* 1.119–120), i.e., they were considered to be in the category of large and valuable goods, like land and bigger animals. Therefore, buying and selling involved a formal process, which also had to take into account the fact that slaves were conscient human beings with their own personality.⁶¹ Relatively few slave traders are known from inscriptions, although some conspicuous monuments have preserved, in addition to the text, images of the transport or the sale of slaves (*CIL* X 8222, Capua; Fig. 28.3).⁶²

⁵⁸ Weaver 1972: 112–136, 2001: 106–109.

⁵⁹ Chantraine 1967; Weaver 1972; Boulvert 1970, 1974.

⁶⁰ Eck 1976.

⁶¹ Buckland 1908: 41–72.

⁶² Transport: Harris 1980; Duchene 1986. Epigraphic evidence for slave markets: Trümper 2009: 20–28.

a) on the pediment:

*[M(arcus)] Publilius M(arcus) l(ibertus) Satur de suo
sibi et liberto M(arco) Publilio Stepano*

b) between the two reliefs:

*arbitratu M(arcus) Publili M(arcus) l(iberti) Gadiae praeconis et M(arcus) Publili M(arcus)
l(iberti) Timotis*

c) on the plinth:

[- -]ae T[- -] vix(it) annis XXII



FIG. 28.3 Funerary monument in the form of an *aedicula* with statues of the freedmen M. Publius Satur and M. Publilius Step(h)anus from Capua, erected by permission (*arbitratu*) of the auctioneer M. Publius Gadia and M. Publilius Timotes, both freedmen. Second half of the first century BCE. Museo Provinciale Campano, Capua.

For slave-sales, papyri provide richer evidence; less than twenty sales are known from wax-tablets from various parts of the Empire: Campania, Ravenna, Britain, and Dacia.⁶³ A fragmentary text from Beroia (Macedonia) contains instructions from a Roman proconsul of the early third century CE regarding the selling of slaves (*SEG* 48, 750). Common to all these documents are the formulae they use to describe the human merchandise, as in the case of the *puella* Olympias, sold at Herculaneum in 47 CE, of which the contract stipulates, among other things: *sanam, furtis noxisque solutam esse, fugitivam erroneam non [esse]*, i.e., she was healthy and not liable for theft or damages, not a runaway slave nor prone to wandering off (*TH* 62). Sometimes the nationality is also mentioned, as in *puellam Fortunatam... natione Diablintem* (*AE* 2006, 709, Londinium); the Diablintes lived in NW Gaul.

Ownership of slaves is revealed in cases where slaves or freedmen mention their owner(s) or patron(s). A slave could have two or more owners, and he/she could also be owned by a collective such as a business association—for example, Sex. Publicius Dec(i)manus, *col(legii) med(icorum) lib.* (*CIL* XIII 11359, Divodurum, modern Metz)—or by the Roman state, a town, or a province, as exemplified by Abascantus Galliarum (*servus*), later P. Claudius trium Galliarum *libertus* Abascantus from Ostia, once jointly owned by the three Gallic provinces (*CIL* XIV 327–328 = *ILS* 7022–23).⁶⁴

Practically all relevant texts show Roman slavery as an everyday phenomenon that worked as it was expected to. It is rare to catch a glimpse of the darker sides of this brutal form of human exploitation. That not every slave was (perceived of as) grateful and happy can be seen in tombstones where an owner explicitly forbade a slave or freedman to be buried in the same tomb, using a formulation like *excepta Secundina liberta impia* (*CIL* VI 13732 = *ILS* 8115), while the permission to bury freedmen and their descendants is very common indeed (Ch. 29).⁶⁵

The harsh realities that slaves might face are exposed in some clauses of the so-called *lex libitinaria* from Puteoli, which establish that the public undertaker is to assist slave-owners with chains, ropes, personnel to administer floggings, and an executioner (*AE* 1971, 88, lines 8–10: *vincula, restes, verberatores, carnifex*; cf. *CIL* IV 10488, Herculaneum).⁶⁶ Not surprisingly, owners faced the risk of slaves running away, as shown by inscribed slave-collars which carry texts such as (*CIL* XV 7194 = *ILS* 8731; Fig. 28.4):⁶⁷

*fugi tene me
cum revocu-
veris (!) me d(o)m(ini)
Zonino accipis
solidum*

5

⁶³ Papyri: Straus 2004; a selection in Eck and Heinrichs 1993: 31–41 nos. 46–54. Epigraphy: *FIRA* III 86–88, 134; Camodeca 2000, 2006.

⁶⁴ cf. Fig. 35.3 for a *libertus*, once owned by a man and a woman. Slaves of the *populus Romanus*: Eder 1980; slaves of municipalities: Weiß 2004; Bruun 2008; Abascantus: Herz 1989.

⁶⁵ *Excepti*: Caldelli et al. 2004: 375–376; restricted access for freedmen: *ibid.*, 359.

⁶⁶ Bodel 2004: 156–157.

⁶⁷ Pani 1984; Thurmond 1994.



FIG. 28.4 Late antique slave-collar found in Rome with a bronze disc announcing the reward for returning the runaway slave to his or her master, Zoninus. Museo Nazionale Romano.

I have escaped! Keep hold of me! When you bring me to my master Zoninus, you receive a *solidus*.

Tensions could become unbearable, as shown by a metric epitaph from Mogontiacum, in which the deceased laments that he was murdered by a slave—*erupuit (!) mihi servos vitam*—who afterwards threw himself into the Rhine (*CIL* XIII 7070 = *ILS* 8511 = *CLE* 1007). In the *lex libitina*, suicide by slaves is expressly mentioned as one of the situations facing the public undertaker at Puteoli (*AE* 1971, 88, lines 22–23).

The most dramatic form of resistance was outright rebellion. A unique inscription mentions the capture of 917 slaves in S. Italy, probably in connection with the First Sicilian Slave War, concluded in 131 BCE: *praetor in Sicilia fugiteivos Italicorum conquaesivei redideique homines DCCCCXVII* (*CIL* I² 638 = *ILLRP* 454 = *ILS* 23; Fig. 30.3). Some epigraphic evidence of the fighting in Sicily during the Second Slave War (104–101 BCE) appears in the form of inscribed slingshots.⁶⁸ A text honouring a senator at Allifae (*CIL* IX 2335 = *ILS* 961) seems to record a rebellion in Apulia in the early imperial period, possibly not otherwise attested, unless it is the event mentioned by Tacitus under 24 CE (*Ann.* 4.27).

⁶⁸ Manganaro 1982: 240–243.

In a wall-painting from Pompeii of republican date the name *Spartaks* in Oscan script accompanying an armed rider is taken by some to refer to a common gladiator, but others argue it designates Spartacus, the leader of the major slave rebellion in 73–71 BCE (cf. Ch. 32).⁶⁹ This is a surprising possibility, as the historical record usually reflects the victor's perspective. Individually, of course, all freed slaves encountered in the epigraphic record were also victors of a kind.

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⁶⁹ Ambivalent: Crawford et al. 2011: 699–701; ordinary gladiator: Van Hooff 2005.

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CHAPTER 29

DEATH AND BURIAL

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EPITAPHS constitute by far the commonest type of Latin inscriptions (and of inscriptions in other languages from the Roman period). It is impossible to give precise figures, but it has been estimated that of all surviving Latin and Greek inscriptions, between two thirds and three quarters are epitaphs. For the city of Rome, of some 95,000 published and unpublished inscriptions, as many as 85,000 (almost 90 percent) are *tituli sepulcrales*. For those wishing to work with epitaphs, there are not many special collections of texts,¹ but every thematically organized corpus includes the majority of funerary inscriptions in the final, often most substantial, section. Epitaphs of people of higher rank and particular status normally appear in earlier sections dedicated to individuals such as senators, equestrians, imperial freedmen, and local magistrates.

Roman tombs represented a physical memorial of individual lives (*memoria, monumentum*) and for the living provided a connection to the afterlife. The gulf between the living and the dead was bridged by words: both the spoken word—through funerary rites, eulogies at the tomb, and prayers for the dead—and the written word—in the form of the inscribed epitaphs set up either outside or inside the tomb. The very human desire to be remembered by posterity led to a culture in which epitaphs composed in Latin and many other languages spoken in the Roman Empire were put to use in the belief that they would guarantee the survival of memory for at least as long as the inscription could be read.

¹ For a good selection, *ILS* 7818-8560 (plus many epitaphs in earlier sections of the work); Kolb and Fugmann 2008 (Rome); Khanoussi and Maurin 2002 (Thugga). Studies: Friggeri and Pelli 1980; Pietri 1983; Pfohl 1983; Sanders 1991; Carroll 2006.

FUNERARY INSCRIPTIONS: EARLY TYPOLOGY, CHRONOLOGY, AND REGIONAL VARIATIONS

As the practice of erecting inscriptions spread, initially only members of the elite were considered worthy of remembrance. For municipal elites in Italy, it was sufficient to include the deceased's name, normally in the nominative, with a verb implied, to express the idea of "lies here" or "ordered this to be made," as on a pinecone-shaped *cippus* from Praeneste from the later third century BCE: [.] *Magolnio(s) Pla(sii?) f(ilius)* (CIL I² 189 = XIV 3161). The genitive was also used, as on a *skyphos* from a tomb at Tusculum: *Cn(aei) Rabi(ri) Cn(aei) f(ili)* (CIL I² 2853, c. 300 BCE).²

At Rome, where there was strong competition among elite families, the message needed to be made more explicit, as demonstrated by the two earliest sarcophagi from the family tomb of the Cornelia Scipiones (CIL I² 7 = *ILLRP* 309 = *CLE* 7; cf. Ch. 11; CIL I² 8–9 = *ILLRP* 310 = *ILS* 2–3; cf. Ch. 35). This distinguished family adopted Hellenistic cultural practice and chose inhumation instead of incineration, then the common form of burial. With the expansion of Roman power in Italy and overseas, other social strata came to adopt similar forms of funerary commemoration; for example, the use of metrical epitaphs, which as a consequence fell out of favour with the senatorial order, not to return until Late Antiquity (Ch. 35). After the Social War of 91–88 BCE, which resulted in a large numbers of new Roman citizens, naming formulae in epitaphs began to change. Instead of the *duo nomina* previously frequent (*praenomen* + *gentilicium* + filiation), *tria nomina* (*praenomen* + *gentilicium* + filiation or mention of patron + *cognomen*) start to appear, and the Roman citizen voting tribe is stated (cf. Appendix III).

For women of aristocratic families their rank (*dignitas*) derived from the *auctoritas* of the *gens* to which they belonged, either that of their father or their husband. Sometimes both men are mentioned, as in the famous epitaph inscribed on the round tomb of Caecilia Metella on the Via Appia, three kilometres outside Rome's Aurelian Walls, dating to the second half of the first century BCE. She is described as the daughter of Q. Caecilius Metellus Creticus, consul in 69 BCE, and the husband of M. Licinius Crassus, probably the elder son of the famous Crassus, consul in 70 and 55 BCE (CIL VI 1274 = 31584 = *ILS* 881):³

Caeciliae
Q(uinti) Cretici f(iliae)
Metellae Crassi (uxoris)

Roman citizens of less distinguished rank who had managed to hold lower offices were also keen to remind posterity of their claim to fame. On an imposing round monument on the Via Prenestina the epitaph of L. Cornelius proudly recalls that he had

² Friggeri 2001: 46, 39 respectively. Inscribed *cippi* from Praeneste: Franchi de Bellis 1997.

³ Kolb and Fugmann 2008: 51–53 no. 8.

been *praefectus fabrum* (an important staff member) of Q. Lutatius Catulus, the consul of 78 BCE, and *architectus* (construction engineer) when the latter was censor in 65 BCE (*CIL* I² 821 = VI 40910: *L(ucius) Cornelius L(uci) f(ilius) Vot(uria) / Q(uinti) Catuli co(n)s(ulis) praef(ectus) fabr(um) / censoris architectus*).

More modestly, some owners of a family tomb near Trebula Mutuesca simply inscribed their names in the mid-first century BCE (*CIL* IX 4925; cf. *AE* 1991, 587 = 1992, 507): *P(ublius) Muttinus P(ubli) f(ilius) pater / Clodia mater / P(ublius) Muttinus P(ubli) f(ilius) Ser(gia) Sabini(anus?) f(ilius)*. There is one distinctive feature here; namely, the son's name includes his Roman voting tribe (the Sergia), a detail lacking in his father's name. This may advertise the family's pride in the social advancement of their son, who is explicitly a *civis Romanus*. (However, one cannot exclude the possibility that the father simply omitted his tribal designation.) Individuals who gained Roman citizenship were apparently keen to record their advancement and often took pride in their profession.⁴ This is particularly common among ex-slaves, as on a limestone stele from Ostia, preserving the epitaph of a baker and his wife (*CIL* I² 3034 = *AE* 1939, 143, late first century BCE):

D(ecimus) Numisiu(s)
D(ecimi) l(ibertus) Antioc(hus)
pistor
Marcia L(uci) l(iberta) Straton-
ice uxor

5

In this period, epitaphs of ex-slaves, which in form imitate those of freeborn citizens, greatly increased in number. It is often claimed that the vast majority of surviving epitaphs commemorated freedmen, though this likely varied regionally and over time, and the view also involves often problematic interpretations of the names recorded in the epitaphs.⁵ These individuals attributed their success in life to their hard work, and sometimes the funerary monument contained an iconographic representation of the deceased's profession, with the epitaph functioning as a caption, as on the limestone stele of a probable slave-trader from Capua, dating to the late first century BCE (*CIL* X 8222; Fig. 283).⁶

TEXT AND CONTEXT IN FUNERARY EPIGRAPHY FROM THE AUGUSTAN AGE ONWARDS

The Augustan age brought considerable changes in funerary commemoration. Prevailing economic conditions now made it possible for more individuals who were

⁴ Treggiari 1975a, 1980: 61–64 (without references); Joshel 1992.

⁵ Taylor 1961; Mouritsen 2004 (on Ostia), 2005 (general).

⁶ New edition with commentary: Chioffi 2005: 82–83 no. 70.

so inclined to set up a permanent memorial. Epitaphs on stone were crafted by professionals, as suggested by the neatly carved letters and decorative features on plaques, stelae, urns, funerary altars, and other types of monuments. As in the Republic, the deceased is mentioned in the nominative or genitive, but the dative is now also found. Some abbreviated phrases such as *h(ic) s(itus/a) e(st)* (“here he/she lies”), *ossa hic sita sunt* (“here lie the bones”), *ossa/reliquiae bene quiescant* (“may the bones/remains rest in peace”), *s(it) t(ibi) t(erra) l(evis)* (“may the earth lie lightly upon you”), *(h)ave* (“farewell”) underlined that the epitaph marked the place where the deceased’s remains were buried. Other elements also appear, such the size of the burial plot (*pedatura*). If it was rectangular, the measurements in Roman feet (*pedes*; 1 *pes* = 29.6 cm) would be given as *in fronte* (“along the front,” i.e., the side facing the road) and *in agro* (“in the field,” i.e., the depth). If it was circular, the expression was *q(uo)q(uo) versus* (lit. “turned in any direction”). Very rarely burial plots were square, in which case the expression *in quadrato* is found. The edge of an individual burial-plot could also be indicated by markers (*termini*) of various forms, on which the *pedatura* was inscribed.⁷

Since epigraphy today pays ever more attention to the physical contexts in which inscribed texts were set up, it is important for epigraphers to have some understanding of the appearance of Roman tombs and the archaeology of burial. The prohibition on burials within the urban limits (*pomerium*), which is already found in the mid-fifth century in the Twelve Tables (*RS 40*, Tab. X.1: *hominem mortuum in urbe ne sepelito neve urito*), meant that both cemeteries and individual tombs are to be found outside any Roman town. In the immediate neighbourhood of densely inhabited towns, cemeteries took the form of *sepulcreta*. They were occupied by narrowly spaced constructions (*sepulcra*), which in their interior had spaces for those who could not afford anything beyond simple urns or funerary amphorae, placed in pits marked off with simple stones.⁸ In less populated regions funerary groves (*luci*) can be found, plots of land left in a relatively virgin state and reserved for burials.⁹

The Via Appia, the most important road leading out of Rome, is the classic example of the arrangements of Roman burials, while at the mouth of the Tiber, on the so-called Isola Sacra, the road between Ostia and Portus is flanked by about a hundred well-preserved tombs, mostly from the second or third centuries CE and commonly bearing inscriptions.¹⁰ Commemorative texts were an integral part of this funerary landscape. Some were commissioned at the same time as the building; others were added later. They were visible on the facade above the door or on the walls, or hidden from passers-by inside the building painted or inscribed on plaques (*tabulae, tabellae*),

⁷ Eck 1987: 63–65, 82–83; cf. Cresci Marrone and Tirelli 2005; Edmondson 2006: 65–73; Chelotti 2007.

⁸ Toynbee 1971; von Hesberg and Zanker 1987; von Hesberg 1992; Heinzlmann et al. 2001a. Epigraphic aspects: Eck 1987, 1991.

⁹ Bodel 1986 [1994]; Chioffi 2004.

¹⁰ Eisner 1986; von Hesberg and Zanker 1987 (including many other sites besides Rome and the Via Appia); cf. Liverani and Spinola 2010 (Via Triumphalis). Isola Sacra: Toynbee 1971: 82–87; Baldassarre et al. 1996; epitaphs: IPO; Helttula 2007.

which were affixed to the walls or inlaid into the floor. Epitaphs could also appear on stelae or *cippi*, urns or other containers, altars, or sarcophagi.¹¹ The extent to which epitaphs were commissioned varied significantly over time and place (Ch. 8). Another factor influencing the epigraphic material available today is the extent to which epitaphs were painted or inscribed on perishable material such as wood. This must have been very common and may explain, for example, the remarkable lack of surviving epitaphs in the famous Vatican necropolis beneath St. Peter's.¹²

Like cemeteries, *loca sepulturae*, whether individual burials or tombs for families or collectivities, lined the roads outside cities, competing for space with other constructions, some residential, but also temples and sanctuaries, inns and hostels, workshops, and public baths. Some tombs took the form of a *sepulcrum in horto*, i.e., the main construction was surrounded by an ornamental garden, a *hortus sepulcralis* or a *cepotaphium*, as they are termed in the relevant inscriptions (for example, *CIL* VI 3554, 10673, 13040, 21020).¹³ Their appearance depended on how much the owner had invested in these features: there could be fruit trees, fountains, tables and chairs, sundials, recreation spaces, and even shops. A good example is provided by a marble plan from Rome of a *cepotaphium* owned by two imperial ex-slaves of Claudius and Claudius' daughter Octavia (*CIL* VI 9015 = 29847a = *ILS* 8120; Fig. 29.1):

*Claudia Octaviae divi Claudi filiae lib(erta) Peloris
et Ti(berius) Claudius Aug(usti) lib(ertus) Eutyclus proc(urator) Augustor(um)
sororibus et lib(ertis) libertabusq(ue) posterisq(ue) eorum
formas aedifici custodiae et monumenti reliquerun[t]*

Claudia Peloris, freedwoman of Octavia daughter of the Deified Claudius, and Ti. Claudius Eutyclus, imperial freedman, procurator of emperors, left to their sisters, freedmen, freedwomen, and their descendants plans of the building, the guardpost and the funerary monument.

Cenotaphia (cenotaphs) can also be found, or tombs erected to commemorate someone who died and was buried elsewhere, perhaps while on campaign.¹⁴ The most famous example is the tombstone of M. Caelius M. f. of the Legio XVIII who fell in the crushing Roman defeat in the Teutoburger Forest in 9 CE (*CIL* XIII 8648 = *ILS* 2244; Fig. 16.1, Xanten).

It was common for owners of lavish suburban residences (especially senators) to construct their tombs on their own property, while also allowing family members to be buried there.¹⁵ Evidently they felt no qualms about living next to a tomb; on the contrary, a luxurious *sepulcrum* could be said to add value to the property. These

¹¹ Edmondson 2006; Sinn 1987, with Solin 1989; Boschung 1987; Kleiner 1987, with Kajava 1988; Koch 1993; Wrede 2001.

¹² Eck 1987, 1991. For the discovery between 1998 and 2000 of over three thousand tombs from Rome and environs with practically no inscriptions, Heinzelmann et al. 2001b.

¹³ Gregori 1987–88.

¹⁴ Ricci 2006.

¹⁵ Di Gennaro and Griesbach 2003 (Italy); Griesbach 2009 (Iberian Peninsula).

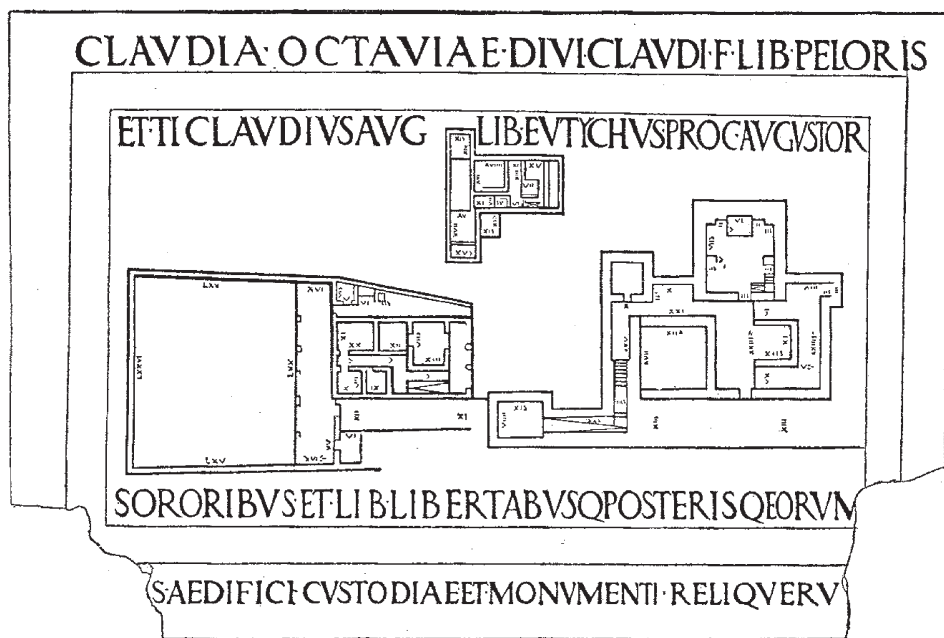


FIG. 29.1 Line-drawing of a marble slab showing the burial plot and *cecotaphium* (funerary garden) of Claudia Peloris and Ti. Claudius Eutyclus, from Rome. The relief shows the funerary garden on the bottom left and various tomb buildings in the centre and to the right. Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Perugia.

tombs differed in their typology, dimensions, construction techniques, and decoration (friezes, reliefs, statues, mosaics and wall paintings, portraits of the deceased).¹⁶ The purpose was to make an impact on the observer through the heroization of the departed and of his or her *gens*. An inscription above the entrance might record the establishment of the tomb and prescribe who had the right to be buried there, thus also propagating the name and social status of the founder(s). An especially impressive type was the mausoleum, a tomb with a cylindrical base, inspired by the funerary monument built for King Mausolos in Asia Minor: for instance, the tomb of Caecilia Metella on the Via Appia, mentioned earlier, p. 628). This type found favour in Rome during the Late Republic, but during the Principate it came to be a prerogative of the imperial family. A similarly Hellenistic inspiration lay behind the use of a pyramid as funerary structure (p. 635). One of the largest eye-catching tombs in Rome is that of the baker M. Vergilius Eurysaces and his wife Atistia built in the late Republic alongside the modern Porta Maggiore and designed to look like a huge baker's oven (*CIL* I² 1203–5 = *ILLRP* 805 = *ILS* 7460a–c; *CIL* VI 1958 = *ILS* 7460d).¹⁷ The taste for large,

¹⁶ von Hesberg 1992. For a thorough overview of tombs in imperial Rome, Feraudi-Gruénais 2001.

¹⁷ Ciancio Rossetto 1973; Petersen 2003.

impressive tombs was already present in the Greek East in the Hellenistic period and spread to the western Mediterranean under Roman influence, as exemplified by the monument of the Julii at Glanum (Saint-Rémy-de-Provence) (*CIL* I² 2278 = XII 1012 = *AE* 1969/70, 341), of the veteran L. Poblicius L.f. from the Colonia Claudia Ara Agrippinensium (Cologne) (*AE* 1979, 412 = *I.Köln* 311), and the mausoleum of the Flavii at Cillium in North Africa (*CIL* VIII 212 + 11300b = *CLE* 1552a = *ILTun* 331).¹⁸

Some large tombs were intended for collective burials, shared by people who often were connected through familial, professional, or religious ties. In this case, too, an inscription above the entrance might announce the tomb's purpose, as in *loc(us) / vestiariorum. / in fr(onte) p(edes) L, in agr(o) p(edes) LXIV* (*AE* 1931, 96, Aquileia), which apparently was reserved for dealers in clothes. The size of the burial plot, 50 x 64 *pedes* (280 m²), is very considerable. The collective burial sites known by the modern term *columbaria* (derived from their resemblance to pigeon coops) were common especially in Rome. These brick-built structures many storeys high had their interior walls full of niches in which the cinerary vessels were placed. *Columbaria* were particularly popular in the Augustan and Julio-Claudian periods and in some areas of dense habitation, because they allowed for literally thousands of burials in a very restricted space, such as the *columbaria* of the *familiae* of the senatorial Statilii Tauri, Volusii Saturnini, and Augustus' consort Livia. The *loculi* were arranged in many rows (*sortes*: cf. *CIL* VI 26970) and were often marked by inscriptions (though we cannot say if this was always the case) that were painted or scratched on the mortar, or inscribed on a plaque beneath the niche.¹⁹ Underground *sepulcra* are also found. Religious beliefs (especially among Jews and early Christians) and lack of space above ground, in part the result of the spread of inhumation burials, led to a particular form of collective underground burial known as "catacombs," many of which grew to become proper cemeteries in themselves. Tens of thousands of inscriptions have been recovered in Rome's catacombs of Rome, but such structures are also found elsewhere, for instance in North Africa and Sicily.²⁰

Among tombs of medium size were those prepared for families or individuals, less costly and impressive, but still with pretensions. Among the most common types are tombs in the form of a small house, temple, or small shrine (*aedicula*) comprising a niche with columns, in which a statue of the deceased was sometimes placed. Occasionally the tomb comprised just a cylindrical base, while it might also be cubic in form, decorated with a Doric frieze, a type that was common in much of Italy during the Late Republic.²¹

¹⁸ Glanum: Rolland 1969. Colonia C.A.A.: Precht 1979; Cillium: *Flavii* 1993; Pillinger 2013; cf. Ch. 35.

¹⁹ Statilii Tauri: *CIL* VI 6213–6640; Caldelli and Ricci 1999. Volusii Saturnini: *CIL* VI 7281–7393; Buonocore 1984; cf. Treggiari 1975b. Livia: *CIL* VI 3926–4326; Treggiari 1975a. In general, Hasegawa 2005; Bodel 2008.

²⁰ Jewish catacombs and epitaphs: Rutgers 1995; *JJWE*. Christian burials: cf. Ch. 21. In general, Toynebee 1971: 239–244 (Rome, Naples); Leynaud 1922 (Tunisia); Ahlqvist 1995 (Syracuse).

²¹ Torelli 1968; Joulia 1988.

There were, finally, small tombs intended for one person only, cheaper to construct and indicated with a freestanding marker. Among the most common ones are those in the form of simple pits and those called “*alla cappuccina*.” The pit grave was just a hole dug into the ground to contain the cinerary vessel, and after being closed up the grave was marked with an amphora, a plaque (possibly containing a text of some kind), or some such object. If further expenditure was possible, the marker could take the form of a stele, a tall and thin stone slab fixed into the ground. The stele could be decorated in various ways and sometime bore a carved or painted inscription. It might even have an anthropomorphic form or incorporate a portrait carved in low relief.²² The “*cappuccina*” tomb was a simple burial covered by tiles which were arranged to create a slanted “roof” over the deceased’s remains.²³ Other types include funerary altars (*arae*), sometimes combined with a portrait; sarcophagi; granite stelae in Spain; barrel-shaped *cupae* or *cupolae*, named after their resemblance to a wine-cask, found especially in Spain and in North Africa.²⁴

For the poorest sector of urban society, the destitute, beggars, criminals, slaves that no one cared for, there were mass graves. One such site, dating to the republican period, was discovered on the Esquiline in Rome. The burials had taken place in deep holes (*puticuli*), which allegedly still emitted a pungent smell when they were uncovered in the 1870s.²⁵ Here it is obviously futile to expect written records.

The variation demonstrated archaeologically is borne out by numerous epigraphic references to the cost of burials, which may include both the costs of the funeral and the construction of the tomb. In Richard Duncan-Jones’s detailed survey of 150 surviving burial costs from North Africa and Italy, the most expensive amounted to HS 500,000+, while the lowest was only HS 96; the other instances are fairly evenly distributed between HS 500 and 100,000.²⁶

SELF-REPRESENTATION, STATUS, AND RANK IN ROMAN EPITAPHS

Although lower-ranking Romans may refer in their epitaphs to some lifetime accomplishment, a majority of those we encounter provide little information beyond their name; even a mention of their profession is often lacking. Among the elite, on the other hand, there was a desire to convey a self-image in their funerary monuments, a practice

²² Soffredi 1954; Ciampoltrini 1982; Diebner 1986.

²³ Heinzelmann et al. 2001b.

²⁴ Boschung 1987; Koch 1993; Edmondson 2006; Bacchielli 1985; Andreu Pintado 2012; Stirling 2007.

²⁵ Bodel 1986 [1994]: 38–54; Graham 2006.

²⁶ Duncan-Jones 1982: 79–80, 99–101 (North Africa), 127–131, 166–171 (Italy).

spurred on by the competitiveness that pervaded the Roman aristocracy. This began with senators, but later filtered down to equestrians and then to other lesser elites such as local notables and imperial freedmen. It is also apparent that when creating a memorial for the Roman dead, attention was paid to immortalizing the survivors and those engaged in erecting the monument, and this is often manifested in the funerary inscription.²⁷ Commemorators sometimes appear at the start of the epitaph and provide more details about themselves than the deceased family member they were commemorating, as in the epitaph preserved on a decorated funerary stele from Emona in Pannonia Superior, where only three lines are devoted to the deceased and seven to the commemorator (*CIL* III 3844 = 13398 = *ILS* 2434):²⁸

D(is) i(n)feris M(anibus)
Aurelius
Iovinus
veter(anus) leg(ionis) XIII Gem(inae)
5 *mil(es) torquatus*
et duplarius
e Mesis(!) sup(eriore)
Aurel(iae) Urs(a)e
co(n)iugi
10 *karissim(a)e*

To the infernal Spirits of the Departed. Aurelius Iovinus, veteran of the Legio XIII Gemina, a soldier awarded a torque and double-pay from Moesia Superior (set this up) for Aurelia Ursa, his dearest spouse.

An early example of a very visible funerary monument boosting the reputation both of the living and the dead was erected for the aedile C. Poplicius Bibulus in the first quarter of the first century BCE. He was granted this monument at public expense for himself and his descendants by the Senate and the People of Rome at the very foot of the Capitoline hill, where remains of the tomb can still be seen. Considering this privilege a great distinction, he or his heirs referred to the official decision in the epitaph on the monument, which was crowned with a niche (now damaged) that likely contained an image of the deceased (*CIL* I² 834 = VI 1319 = 31599 = *ILS* 862).²⁹ This practice of the community granting burial at public expense has been studied in depth with regard to the towns of Italy and the western provinces.³⁰

The Augustan period brought a number of changes in the cultural sphere and among them a tendency to curb the display of luxury, so as to reduce the possibility of the elite challenging the emperor's pre-eminence. A good example is the imposing pyramid-shaped tomb of the praetor C. Cestius L.f. Epulo in Rome. This man, praetor

²⁷ Flory 1983–84.

²⁸ Šašel Kos 1997: 196–198 no. 43 (with photo).

²⁹ Kolb and Fugmann 2008: 48–50 no. 7 (with photos).

³⁰ Wesch-Klein 1993.

in 44 BCE, aimed to create a funerary monument of maximum impact for himself, which is why he decided to build it in the then popular Egyptianizing style, choosing a location along the well-travelled road to Ostia not far from the city centre. However, the inscriptions on the bases of the two bronze statues of the deceased, erected in front of the monument, which refer to the luxurious trappings (*Attalica*) intended for the funeral and worthy of a minor king, also mention that these *Attalica* could not be used. The reason must have been a law of 18 BCE passed with the explicit intent of curbing ostentatious luxury, but in reality meant to prevent anyone else from competing with Augustus in terms of self-image. The proceeds of the sale of these *Attalica*, as the inscription states, were spent on the two statues, and the matter was handled by the named heirs, who all were members of the highest elite (*CIL VI 1375 = ILS 917a*).³¹

Members of the elite adapted to the new situation under the Principate and avoided challenging the emperor through their funerary commemorations. Instead, the demonstration of an individual's proximity to the emperor became an important part of the self-image of senators and equestrians. This was above all showcased through the recording of magistracies and other important offices.³² The question of whether any kind of real individuality could be expressed in these epitaphs of the upper orders has also received attention.³³ A wrong suffered under a ruler who was later condemned by posterity could be considered worthy of mention. The funerary monument of the praetor M. Antonius Antius Lupus, erected along the Via Ostiensis, contains an account easily legible by all passers-by of the events that led to his death and rehabilitation. The tomb's inhabitant had lost his life on Commodus' orders in 191, but his memory was posthumously rehabilitated by senatorial decree (*cuius memoria per vim oppressi in integrum secundum amplissimi ordinis consultum restituta est*), after which some faithful friends completed the tomb out of their devotion to Lupus, his widow, and daughter (*CIL VI 1343 = ILS 1127 = IG XIV 1398 = IGUR III 1156 = CLE 449*).

In Late Antiquity, while examples of traditional senatorial and equestrian epitaphs continue to appear, there is also a trend to stress spiritual values over worldly service to the Roman state, which results in epitaphs of a type very different from those set up during the earlier Empire (Chs. 18, 21).

EPITAPHS, SOCIAL HISTORY, DEMOGRAPHY

From the Augustan period onwards, epitaphs came to take on features of dedications, which gave them a more complex structure. They now tend to use the dative for the deceased, with the name of the commemorator given in the nominative. Other information might be added.

³¹ Feraudi-Gruénais 2003: 110 no. 156–157 and pls. 88–89; Ridley 1992.

³² Eck 1984, esp. 133–134; Ch. 11.

³³ Eck 2005.

Often the relationship between the two parties is specified: marriage, blood relationship, patronage, friendship. Terms of endearment are also common, and here some terms are associated with particular relationships. *Carissimus/a*, *bene merens*, *dignissimus/a*, *incomparabilis*, *optimus/a*, *pientissimu/a*, *sanctissimus/a* are normally used to describe spouses, while *carissimus/a*, *dulcissimus/a*, *innocens*, *piissimus/a*, *pientissimus/a*, to name a few, are used for children (Chs. 26, 27).

What seems to be a new kind of sensibility with regard to the survival of the soul led from the later first century CE to an invocation of the spirits of the departed, the *Dei/Di Manes*, in the hope that the soul would be protected during its voyage to its final resting place. An assimilation between these spirits and the soul of the deceased seems to have occurred. Hence the invocation *Dis Manibus* is a useful dating criterion (Ch. 1 and p. 15).

Funerary inscriptions set up during the first to third centuries CE often contain more information about the deceased than earlier epitaphs. Very occasionally they describe specific tragic circumstances leading to the death of the deceased such as war, drowning, or murder.³⁴ Couples might count the years spent together, or the years, months, days, and even hours (Ch. 26). The length of a person's life is often specified in Roman epitaphs, sometimes down to the very minute (for example, *AE* 1933, 61, *Mauretania Caesariensis*: . . . *vicsit(!) anni/s XXXII m(ensibus) VIII d(iebus) XX h(oris) Vs(emisse) . . .*). For this either the accusative (extent of time), *vixit annos X*, or the ablative (time within which), *vixit annis X*, is used. The precise date of birth, a standard ingredient in every modern epitaph, is only very occasionally mentioned (cf. *CIL* VI 11673, 13505, 13602 = *ILS* 8528). This has all generated much interest from scholars focusing on demographic issues such as length of marriage or mortality. Yet serious doubts as to whether average Romans were able to measure time so precisely have been raised (Ch. 26). More probably the precise length of time recorded was supposed to convey the sorrow of the mourner, as the latter seemingly remembered every moment of what had been.

One might give more credence to this kind of information in the epitaphs of very young children, because their birth was still fresh in the memory. Military epitaphs may also contain more secure data, since soldiers were required to report their age at the time of enlistment, and their years of service were carefully recorded. An epitaph on an early third-century sarcophagus from Aquincum (Budapest) may, therefore, be approximately correct as far as the age is concerned, even though it contains linguistic errors. (In line 4 the Greek theta—the first letter of the Greek word for death, Θάνατος—indicates that the soldier has died (*AE* 2004, 1141; Fig. 29.2):

D(is)
M(anibus)
C(aio) Iul(io) Sabino civ(i) Campa-
no domo Capua ((obito))
5 *mil(iti) leg(ionis) II Adi(utricis) adiut(ori) off(icii) rat(ionum)*

³⁴ For a selection, Carroll 2006: 154–162; Panciera 2006: 977–981.



FIG. 29.2 Sarcophagus of C. Iulius Sabinus, a soldier of the Legio II Adiutrix, from Aquincum, Pannonia Inferior. Early third century CE. Aquincum Museum, Budapest.

*mil(itavit? –iti?) qui vixit ann(os) XXVIII men-
s(em) I dies XVIII Aurelia Caria-
nae (!) ciniugi (!) piissimo
o(pto) s(it) t(ibi) t(erra) l(evis)*

To the Departed Spirits. For C. Iulius Sabinus, citizen from Campania whose hometown was Capua (deceased), soldier in the Legio II Adiutrix, assistant in the accounts department, a soldier who lived 28 years, 1 month and 18 days. Aurelia Cariana to her most devoted spouse. I hope that the earth lies lightly upon you!

LEGAL ASPECTS

Two important, if lacunose, texts from the early Principate from Puteoli and Cumae (AE 1971, 88–89) are revealing of the ways in which communities regulated many aspects of funerals.³⁵ Many epitaphs reveal that the deceased, while still alive, took care of the costs of constructing a tomb through the use of formulae such as *de sua pecunia, de suo, fecit, faciendum curavit, posuit*, which are often found in abbreviated form: *d.s.p., d.s., f., f.c., p.* (cf. Appendix II). Sometimes the inscription emphasizes that

³⁵ Full editions with commentary: Hinard and Dumont 2003; Panciera 2004: 37–172; Castagnetti 2012.

the construction took place while the person was still alive (*vivus, se vivo*), but more commonly the tomb was built by survivors of the deceased as a result of bonds created during the latter's lifetime, such as duty (children and parents) or affect (relatives in general), partnership in life (*contubernium*), gratitude (freedmen in relation to their patrons), friendship, military esprit-de-corps (*commilito, frater*), or social ties (fellow members of a *collegium*). Sometimes the tomb was built by individuals who had a legal obligation to do so, although they may have had other ties as well, such as being an heir (*heres*), named as such in the deceased's will (*ex testamento, testamento fieri ius-sit*), or in the capacity of executing the terms of the will (*arbitratu*). However, the extent to which the heirs were responsible is sometimes exaggerated; other individuals could certainly undertake the task as well: for example, parents for their children.³⁶

Once the tomb was built and occupied, it became a *locus religiosus* (Gaius *Inst.* 2.6–7), which meant that it was sacrosanct and never to be used for any other purpose but a burial. This was reinforced through the praetorian edict on the violation of burials (*de sepulcro violato*).³⁷ Its use then fell under the *ius sepulcrorum*, which nevertheless allowed the tomb to undergo a number of transactions, as mentioned in epitaphs. The tomb could be inherited through a testamentary bequest (*legare*); it could be handed over (*tradere*), signed away (*adsignare*), or even sold (*emere, vendere*). It could change owner (*alienare, possidere*), be donated to others, all or only part of it (*donare, comparare*), and the right to use it could be assigned to a third party (*concedere*).³⁸ The writings of the Roman jurists provide the basis of our understanding for funerary law, but epigraphy supplements them and shows that these theoretical legal issues played a role in everyday life.³⁹

Roman law considered it sacrilegious to damage a tomb and what belonged to it. Certain formulae were used to warn against, and ward off, such actions: for instance, *dolus malus abesto*. Malefactors were threatened with fines, as a second-century CE plaque from Isola Sacra illustrates (*CIL XIV 4821 = IPO A 49*):...*si quis post obitum Macrinae / corpus exterum intulerit, inferet / aerario populi Romani (sestertium decem milia) n(ummum)* ("If anyone after the death of Macrina deposits another body, he will pay 10,000 sesterces to the treasury of the Roman people."). An imperial edict from Nazareth (probably Augustan) even threatened the death penalty (*FIRA I 69 = SEG 20, 452*).⁴⁰

As this shows, the fines that were laid down in some epitaphs could be payable to the Roman state (the *aerarium populi Romani* or alternatively the *fiscus*) or municipal authorities. At other times, those attempting to protect a tomb had recourse to epigraphic entreaties or prayers, such as *rogo ni noceas* ("I ask that you may not do

³⁶ Saller 1994: 99; Bodel 2001: 37.

³⁷ De Visscher 1963: 139–142 (still fundamental, with significant use of epigraphic material).

³⁸ Examples of these terms: Caldelli et al. 2004: 310–349 (M.L. Caldelli, S. Crea, and C. Ricci).

³⁹ De Visscher 1963; Crook 1967: 133–138; Lazzarini 1991, 1997; Caldelli et al. 2004.

⁴⁰ Caldelli et al. 2004: 383–391 (G. Caruso: formulas), 391–404 (G.L. Gregori: fines). Isola Sacra: Helttula 2007: 244–246 no. 228 (with photo). Nazareth: Giovannini and Hirt 1999.

damage”), or, in a more sinister mode, to threats and even curses, as in *opto ei cum dolore corporis longo tempore vivat et cum mortuus fuerit, inferi eum non recipiant* (“I wish for the person [who violated the tomb] that he may live long with bodily pain and once dead, that the spirits of the Underworld may not take him in”: *CIL VI 36467*, p. 3920 = *ILS 8184* = *CLE 1799*).⁴¹

Funerary inscriptions also sometimes contain the terms *itus*, *aditus*, and *ambitus*. These refer to the right of access to the tomb (*iter ad sepulcrum*), a private agreement with legal force that was struck when the burial space was established. That right was often necessary to safeguard the continuation of the cult of the *Dei Manes* of the deceased, as well as the upkeep of the tomb, especially in cases when it was surrounded by other structures, or when it came to be situated *in loco alieno*, on land that had otherwise been transferred to someone else’s ownership, as could happen.⁴²

On other occasions an epitaph might contain extracts from the testament of the deceased concerning the inheritance, as with the tomb of C. Cestius, discussed earlier (p. 635–636). In most cases the named beneficiaries were members of the close family, relatives by blood or marriage, as well as their descendants, but one may also find members of a *collegium* mentioned, or the town of the deceased. The most detailed examples of wills known epigraphically are those of a unknown senator of the Trajanic period from Rome (the so-called “Will of Dasumius”) (*CIL VI 10229* = *ILS 8379a* + *AE 1978*, 18) and of an anonymous Gallic notable from the tribe of the Lingones, from Andemantunnum on the border of Gallia Belgica and Germania Superior (the so-called Testamentum Lingonis) (*CIL XIII 5708* = *ILS 8379*).⁴³

Sometimes it was considered necessary to register the names of those who had the legal right to be buried in the tomb. However, to ensure that a tomb and its content would not be disturbed or destroyed, some owners were adamant that it not be handed down to their heirs—a condition that they were legally entitled to impose—through the use of the formula *h(oc) m(onumentum) h(eredem) n(on) s(equetur)* (“this tomb will not pass on to the heir(s)”). This could occur especially when the heirs did not bear the same family name, when the expression *hoc monumentum heredem exterum non sequetur* and other similar ones were employed.⁴⁴ Other individuals could be explicitly excluded for reasons that escape us, in which case expressions like *nisi quorum nomina inscripta sunt* (*CIL I² 1813* = *IX 3639* = *ILLRP 953*, Aveia, Samnium) or *praeter Panaratum et Prosdocia(m)* (*IPO A 222*, Isola Sacra) indicated those excluded.⁴⁵ For understandable reasons, Romans cared about the final resting place of their mortal remains, and one can find many attempts at regulating and safeguarding their tomb. Sometimes heirs

⁴¹ Caldelli et al. 2004: 404–411 (C. Papi).

⁴² *Iter ad sepulcrum*, see De Visscher 1963: 83–92; Caldelli et al. 2004: 349–359 (S. Evangelisti and D. Nonnis).

⁴³ “Will of Dasumius”: Eck 1978; Champlin 1991 (*passim*). The “Testamentum Lingonis”: Champlin 1991: 173–174.

⁴⁴ Caldelli et al. 2004: 359–384, esp. 362–369, 369–372 (S. Orlandi).

⁴⁵ Caldelli et al. 2004: 375–377 (S. Orlandi). Isola Sacra: Hellettula 2007: 155–156 no. 133.

are expressly forbidden to sell or give it away: *vendere si velit emptorem littera prohibet* (CIL XII 3619 = CLE 579).

Modern scholars agree that regardless of these legal provisions and the fact that Roman law declared tombs inviolable, there was ultimately little that could be done to guarantee a body's eternal rest. Archaeological evidence shows that some tombs suffered changes in use and how epitaphs were removed and reused for other purposes. One case in point is the well-known funerary inscription of Iunia Libertas from Ostia, which contains strict instructions for how her tomb should be maintained after her death. Yet the marble slab with the epitaph had been reused already in antiquity (AE 1940, 94; see further Ch. 27).

IDEAS ABOUT DEATH AND THE DEAD

To carry out a burial is an act of *pietas* in which the living follow religious traditions, part of which involved choosing how to deal with the earthly remains of the departed. Contrary to what is sometimes believed, at any one time several funerary traditions were practised in any given region of the Roman world, even though at certain moments some came to dominate. When incineration was the method used, the charred bones were deposited in the tomb, sometimes together with the ashes. If only the bones were collected, these would be placed either in an ash-urn (*cinerarium*) of pottery, stone, or glass, protected by a cover (*operculum*), or in an *olla*, a round vessel. If the bones were mixed with ash, an *ossuarium* could be used (see Fig. 29.3), or an ossuary *ara*, i.e., an altar with a hollow space inside, sometimes with a cover.

With inhumation burials, the body was deposited in a grave dug into the ground, or under the floor of a *sepulcrum*, or in a special container such as an amphora (for children), or in a sarcophagus of marble, limestone, wood, pottery, or even lead. A single sarcophagus could contain more than one body, for instance, a married couple. A number of the terms for these receptacles appear in the texts of epitaphs and may easily be tracked through any comprehensive epigraphic index (for example, ILS, Index XVII, 937–943).

Some individuals, especially from the late first century BCE onwards, seem to have become convinced of the existence of life after death and the assimilation of the dead soul with the divine.⁴⁶ Proof of this are representations of *apotheosis* on funerary monuments, as in the case of Claudia Semne, who was immortalized in the form of the goddesses Fortuna, Spes, and Venus in the tomb her husband built for her on the Via Appia (CIL VI 15592–95 = ILS 8063 a–c).⁴⁷ Inspired by the same ideological context are the decorative motifs with clear symbolic meaning that can be found on epitaphs and in

⁴⁶ Cumont 1922 (still valuable); Hopkins and Letts 1983; Sanders 1991, 1994.

⁴⁷ Wrede 1971; Claridge 1998. On depictions of the deceased *in formam deorum*, Wrede 1981; Rothenhöfer 2010 (Iberian Peninsula).



FIG. 29.3 Ossuary containing the remains of an imperial freedman and his family, Rome (CIL VI 5318). The epitaph reads: *Dis Manib(us) / Ti(berii) Claudi Aug(usti) l(iberti) / Chryserotis / et Iuliae Theo/noes et Claudiae / Dorcadis* (“To the Departed Spirits of Ti. Claudius Chryseros, imperial freedman, and Iulia Theonoe and Claudia Dorcas”). Museo Nazionale Romano.

tombs dating to the first and second centuries CE: vegetal elements, such as acanthus, vine, laurel or palm leaves, or various fruits and flowers (roses or poppies); mythical creatures, such as Cupids, sphinxes, geniuses, and winged Victories; animals such as eagles, peacocks, small birds, butterflies, hares, dogs, and dolphins. The traditionally domestic cults of the *Genius* and of the *Juno* (for women), more popular following the Augustan cultural restoration of religious belief, became the object of both honorific and funerary dedications.⁴⁸

In order to guarantee peace for the deceased, the habit developed of calling on the *Dei Manes* to protect the tomb and those deposited in it. The *Manes* were the benevolent spirits of the ancestors, who received into their presence the recently departed, now also considered in some sense divine beings during their journey to the other side. They are apparently first attested in an inscription on a small limestone funerary altar

⁴⁸ Funerary aspects of these cults, Chioffi 1990.

from Rome of the mid-first century BCE: *Di Manes / sacr(um)* (CIL VI 37528).⁴⁹ The subsequent wide diffusion of appeals to the Manes during the first century CE was a process that also demonstrates some features of what can only be termed attempts at expressing beliefs or doubts. On one epitaph from North Africa, one finds the phrase *quia sunt Manes* (“because the *Manes* exist”; CIL VIII 403=11511 = *ILTun* 421 = *CLE* 1329), whereas two other inscriptions express hesitation: *tu qui dubitas Manes esse* (CIL VI 27365 = *ILS* 8201a, Rome: “you who doubt that the *Manes* exist”), *si sunt Manes* (CIL VIII 11594 = *ILTun* 440 = *CLE* 1328, Ammaedara: “if the *Manes* exist”). As the formula became more widespread, *Dis Manibus* or *Dis Manibus sacrum* was eventually abbreviated *D. M.* or *D. M. s.* This expression, which indicated that the tomb was protected against any sacrilegious activity, continued to be used as a sort of label for a place of religious significance in various cultural contexts. Eventually it even appears in epitaphs that were set up to commemorate Christians, as, for instance, in the early third-century CE bilingual stele for Licinia Amias from Rome, which combines the phrase *D(is) M(anibus)* with Christian symbols and the phrase *ἰχθὺς ζώντων* (*ICUR* II 4246; Fig. 29.4).

Starting in the second century, especially in Gaul and the region of Lugdunum, expressions survive that combine *Dis Manibus* with phrases such as *quieti aeternae* (*AE* 1904, 177), *quieti perpetuae* (CIL XII 1898), *memoriae aeternae* (CIL XIII 2027), *perpetuae securitati* (CIL III 4275, 4315), which allude both to the tomb and to the survival of the dead in the memory of the living.⁵⁰

Another way of safeguarding the tomb consisted in the use of the ritual phrases *sub ascia* (“under the axe”) or *sub ascia dedicare* (“to dedicate under the axe”), which are encountered, sometimes abbreviated and occasionally accompanied by images of an axe, most of all in regions of Celtic heritage, as, for example, on a stele from Lugdunum (Lyons) (*AE* 1991, 1227):

	<i>D(is) M(anibus)</i>
	<i>et requieti (a)etern(a)e</i>
	<i>Puice</i>
	<i>cives (!) T(h)rax</i>
5	<i>qu(a)e vixit annos</i>
	<i>LXXX Aristonia</i>
	<i>Maximina et</i>
	<i>Aristonia</i>
	<i>Valen(t)ina fil-</i>
10	<i>i(a)e matri pon-</i>
	<i>endum qurav-</i>
	<i>erunt et sub</i>
	<i>ascia dedica-</i>
	<i>vit(!)</i>

⁴⁹ Micheli and Priuli 1982: 82–83. *EDR* dates it to the period 25 BCE to 25 CE (S. Orlandi).

⁵⁰ Kajanto 1974.



FIG. 29.4 Bilingual funerary stele from Rome with a Latin epitaph for Licinia Amias, with Christian imagery and the Greek phrase, “Fish of the living.” Museo Nazionale Romano.

To the Departed Spirits and to the eternal repose of Puice (?), Thracian citizen (i.e., from Thrace), who lived 80 years. Aristonia Maxsimina and Aristonia Valen(t)ina, daughters, looked after the placing (of this monument) for their mother and dedicated it under the axe.

There is an ongoing discussion about the significance of the *sub ascia* formula, which presumably functioned to guarantee the tomb’s inviolability.⁵¹

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⁵¹ De Visscher 1963: 277–294 is fundamental; cf. Panciera 1960; Mattsson 1990.

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CHAPTER 30

COMMUNICATIONS AND MOBILITY IN THE ROMAN EMPIRE

ANNE KOLB

DUE to the size of the Roman Empire, communication routes—whether by land or water—were crucial to its functioning. They not only enabled the Romans to build up their power around the Mediterranean, but also made it possible for them to consolidate their conquests and create a functional system of administration. These routes formed the basis for an efficient means of communication between the various levels of government, while also facilitating the transport of goods. Economic and cultural life in the Roman world benefited from the existence of such a transportation system. Roads represented the most important part of this communication network. Approximately 300,000 km (210,000 miles) of major and minor roads criss-crossed the provinces and provided a connection to the capital, Rome, and/or to wherever the emperor happened to be located. The road system was a characteristic feature of Roman imperial rule and symbolized Roman power in a ubiquitous and visible way. Europe's road network, which reached a similar extent only in the eighteenth century, was largely built on Roman foundations. The most distinctive feature of Roman road construction was a desire to create straight lines of communication, even in difficult terrain; obstacles were overcome through the construction of causeways, rock-cuttings, tunnels, and bridges.¹

Besides a few literary passages and the archaeological remains, inscriptions provide the main evidence for studying Roman road-building and the administration of the road system. Furthermore, inscriptions are crucial for understanding certain aspects of transport and communication. They inform us about travel and travellers, about geographical mobility in general, and about transport, in particular the official service known as the *cursus publicus*.

¹ In general, Forbes 1965 (esp. 151 for the figure of 300,000 km); Pekáry 1968; Chevallier 1976; Laurence 1999; Rathmann 2003; Van Tilburg 2007: 2–11; Quilici 2008; Kolb 2011–12; several contributions in Kolb 2014.

ROADS AND ROAD-BUILDING

Roman road-building began in the fourth century BCE for the purpose of connecting newly conquered territories in Italy to the city of Rome and maintaining military control over them. The focus of road-construction shifted as new territory was annexed in Greece, Asia Minor, and then other provinces around the Mediterranean. While some roads were laid out *ex novo*, others followed existing routes, as in the case of the famous Via Egnatia, which connected Italy to the East through Macedonia and Thrace. The pre-existence of an older road is demonstrated by the discovery in situ near ancient Edessa (Tserovo/Klidhi in modern Greece) of a Macedonian inscription, probably dated to the third century BCE, giving the distance “one hundred stades from Bokeria.”² This corroborates information in Livy (37.7.8–15) and Appian (*Syr.* 9.5.23).

The major roads managed by the Roman state (*viae publicae*), amounting to some 100,000 km (67,000 miles) of the road-network, were often named after their builder. The Via Appia, leading from Rome to Brundisium (Brindisi), took its name from Appius Claudius Caecus, censor in 312 BCE and the initiator of the project (the road’s name appears in *CIL I*² 21; cf. Liv. 9.29.5–7; Diod. Sic. 20.36.2).³ The Via Domitia, leading from the river Rhône to the Pyrenees, was built on the orders of C. Domitius Ahenobarbus, consul in 121 BCE (*CIL XVII.2*, 294; cf. Cic. *Font.* 18). In the imperial period certain building inscriptions record the layout of the road system of a province and hence document its planning and organization, such as the so-called Tabulae Dolabellae from Dalmatia of the early Julio-Claudian period (*CIL III* 3198a–b = 3200–1 = XVII.4, p. 130–133)⁴ or the so-called Stadiasmus Patarensis from Patara in Lycia, a large monument set up to honour Claudius, which commemorated his pacification of Lycia and its annexation as a province by listing distances between the various cities of the new province (*SEG* 44, 1205 = 51, 1832).⁵ The Tabulae Dolabellae, a modern term derived from the name of the governor of Illyricum (later Dalmatia) at the time P. Dolabella, record a series of roads near the colony of Salona built by soldiers from at least two Roman legions during the reign of Tiberius. For example, one plaque provides the following details (*CIL III* 3198a + XVII.4, p. 130; cf. *ILS* 2478; Fig. 30.1):

[Ti(berius) C]aesar divi Augusti f(iilius) / [Aug]ustus Imp(erator) pont(ifex) max(imus)
/ [trib(unicia)] potest(ate) XIIX co(n)s(ul) II / [viam] a colonia Salonitan(a) / [ad f]i[n]es
προην[ε]σι[α]ς Illyrici / - - - - - / cuius viai millia passus sunt / CLXVII munit per vexillarios
/ leg(ionum) VII et XI / item viam Gabinianam / ab Salonis Andetrium aperuit / et munit
pe[r] leg(ionem) VII / - - - - - (?)

² Mordtmann 1893: 419; cf. *SEG* 32, 1688.

³ Humm 1996.

⁴ Schmidt 2006 on this text; cf. Kolb 2013b: 216–218.

⁵ Sahin and Adak 2007; Kolb 2013b: 206–214.



FIG. 30.1 One of the so-called Tabulae Dolabellae from Salona (modern Croatia), commemorating the building of roads under the emperor Tiberius.

Tiberius Caesar, son of the Deified Augustus, Imperator, pontifex maximus, holding the tribunician power for the eighteenth time, consul for the second time, [- - - -] a road from the colony of Salona to the boundary of the province of Illyricum, a road which is 167 miles long, and he built it up with the labour of soldiers detached from the Legio VII and Legio XI, and he also opened up the Via Gabiniana from Salona to Andetrium and built it up through the agency of the Legio VII [- - - -].

Under normal circumstances, a Roman road rested on a layered foundation (often a mix of crushed and compressed stone), covered by stone slabs or gravel. Frequently the Romans were satisfied with a dirt road, merely taking care to level the surface. Paving, when it occurred, was often added only for part of its length, usually in the vicinity of towns.⁶ Even the Via Appia seems to have been only partially paved on the first stretch of 220 km from Rome to Capua, since an inscription mentions that it was upgraded under Nerva (*CIL* X 6824 = *ILS* 280). Paving became more common only

⁶ Road-paving costs in Italy: Duncan-Jones 1982: 124, 157–160.

in the imperial period, as occurred with the road between Carthage and Theveste in North Africa, which was paved by Hadrian in 123 (*CIL* VIII 22173 = *ILS* 5835 = *ILAlg* I 3951):

..... *viam*
a Carthagine The-
 10 *vestem mil(ia) p(assuum) CXCI (centum nonaginta unum milia)*
DCCXXX (septingentos quadraginta) stravit
P(ublio) Metilio
Secundo leg(ato)
Aug(usti) pro pr(aetore)
 15 *co(n)s(ule) desig(nato)*
per [[leg(ionem) III]] Aug(ustam)

(The emperor Hadrian; full name and title in line 1–8) paved the road from Carthage to Theveste for a distance of 191 miles, 740 *passus* (“paces”) (i.e., about 280 km) when P. Metilius Secundus, consul designate, was governor through the agency of the Legio III Augusta.

On swampy ground roads were built as elevated causeways, and paling and wooden supports were used to stabilize them. Still other forms can be found in rocky terrain. When a road needed to be cut into the bedrock, tracks were sometimes carved into the surface to prevent wagons slipping off the road. Steps were occasionally cut when the gradient became steep. Mention of such extremely difficult stretches of roads can be found, for example, in Cilicia, where Caracalla “repaired the road through the Taurus Mountains with new bridges, after the road had collapsed through old age, by levelling mountains, cutting through rocks, and widening the track” (*AE* 1969/70, 607 = *I. Tyana* 132: ... *viam Tauri vetustate / [con]apsam conplanatis monti/[bus e]t c[a]esis rupibus ac dilata/[tis i]tineribus cum pontibus / institutis restituit . . .*). Just to the south of Terracina in Italy, Roman numerals cut into the rock-face show how much of the mountain alongside the sea had been removed to allow the Via Appia to pass through (*CIL* X 6849).⁷

Roman roads can be divided into two main types depending on their function and legal character: *viae publicae* and *viae privatae*. The jurist Ulpian defines private roads as running on private land and being the property of their owner (*Dig.* 43.8.2.21). Public roads were laid out on state-owned land, were financed from public funds, and were open to use by everyone.⁸ Inscriptions show how these legal differences played out in actual practice: for example, at Doña Mencía in S. Spain travelers were instructed to “take the public road to the right” (*CIL* II²/5, 343: *viator viam / publicam dex/tra pete*). Sometimes inscriptions outlined the width of public roads (*AE* 2002, 559, Altinum, N. Italy: *pub(lica) / via l(ata) / p(edes) XII*; “public road, twelve feet [c. 4 m] wide”). Markers defining the limits of public and private roads were often affixed to funerary monuments, for by law these had to be built outside communities

⁷ Quilici 2008: 557–558.

⁸ Rathmann 2003: 3–23.

and often stood by the side of roads (cf. Ch. 29), as can be seen in an inscription from Rome (*CIL* VI 8862):

*iter privatum a via publica
per hortum pertinens ad monimentum(!)
sive sepulchrum quod
Agathopus Aug(usti) lib(ertus) invitator
vividus et Iunia Epictesis fecerunt
ab iis omnibus dolus malus abesto et ius civile*

This is a private road which leads from a public one through a garden/orchard and belongs to the funerary monument or tomb which during his lifetime Agathopus, imperial freedman and usher in charge of admittance, and Iunia Epictesis set this up. Let evil deceit and civil law be absent from all of them.

In the Roman provinces the legal category of *viae publicae* is less clear outside Roman cities with the status of *colonia*, for land ownership was not divided according to a strict dichotomy between *solum publicum* (state-owned land) and *solum privatum* (land to which a private Roman citizen or entity had title). The general function of a *via publica*, to facilitate both commerce and communication, must be the main criterion when identifying such roads, as in the case of the road leading from Adana to Mopsuete in Cilicia (*AE* 1922, 129). Scholars sometimes refer to “imperial roads” in the provinces in order to avoid the problem of legal definition, and this term is often used for the main communication routes in the Roman Empire.

To this category also belong those roads known in inscriptions as *viae militares*, a term which was simply a variant of *viae publicae*.⁹ These had a particular strategic importance, but the sources show that their main function was communication in general, as shown, for example, on two inscriptions from the province of Thracia (*CIL* III 6123 = *ILS* 231, Augusta, later called Diocletianopolis; *AE* 1999, 1397 = *IGBulg* V 5691, Serdica). This is also illustrated by a fragmentary milestone from near Corduba.¹⁰ Here in 90 Domitian had the Via Augusta, the main route through Spain, restored. It was built by Augustus, but had suffered from wear over time. In this location it was designated as a *via militaris*: . . . *viam Augustam militarem vetustate corruptam restituit* (“He restored the *via militaris Augusta*, which had become dilapidated through old age.”). It is normally impossible to assign a particular military function to a *via militaris*, but the epithet underlines the strategic character of such roads and their use by army personnel and other state functionaries, who are called *militantes* in an important inscription from Sagalassos in Pisidia, dating to the reign of Tiberius (*AE* 1976, 653 = *SEG* 26, 1392; see further on p. 661).

This infrastructure was complemented by two other types of roads: *viae vicinales* (local roads at the village level), which in legal terms could be either *viae publicae* or *viae privatae*, and *viae urbanae*. The latter term was used to describe the roads and

⁹ Rathmann 2003: 23–31; Speidel 2004.

¹⁰ Sillières 1990: 102 no. 41.

streets of a town, while a *via vicinalis* passed through a village (*vicus*) or connected two small settlements or two *viae publicae*, thus serving local traffic. A contract from Londinium (London) shows how landed property was defined by reference to a local *via vicinalis* (*AE* 1994, 1093).

MILESTONES

Milestones (*miliaria*) are the characteristic markers that were to be found only along *viae publicae* (Fig. 30.2). They indicated the distance from the *caput viae* (i.e., the road's starting-point), but at the same time they also served as symbols of Roman power, since their inscriptions normally mention Roman emperors and officials. These monuments (which now total between seven thousand and eight thousand) shed light not only on the administration and upkeep of the road network, but also on provincial administration and imperial policy.¹¹ The distance on milestones is measured in Roman *m(ilia) p(assuum)* ("one thousand paces" = 1,618½ yards = 1,480 m), except in the Germanic and Gallic provinces (though not Gallia Narbonensis, which had been under Roman rule the longest), where from Trajan's reign onwards distances were sometimes measured in Celtic *leugae* (1 *leuga* = 1.5 *milia passuum*) instead of in Roman miles (see *CIL* XVII.2, 312–317).¹²

Although the date of some of them from the mid-Republic is debated, the earliest milestones seem to belong to the mid-third century BCE (*CIL* I² 21 = *ILS* 5801 = *ILLRP* 448, S. Latium; *AE* 1957, 172 = *ILLRP* 1277, Agrigentum, Sicily).¹³ In comparison to the numerous finds from the imperial period, very few milestones date to the Republic, and it is sometimes thought that in that earlier period they were erected only in certain places, presumably in the vicinity of important sites. Given, however, the general chronological distribution of surviving inscriptions (cf. Ch. 8), this assumption is not necessarily correct. Nevertheless, there are indications that a general demarcation of *viae publicae* with milestones only took place in the second century BCE, as stated in the famous inscription from Polla in S. Italy, in which the building of a road (*viam*), including bridges (*ponteis*), and the erection of milestones (*miliarios*) were celebrated (*CIL* I² 638 = *ILLRP* 454 = *ILS* 23; Fig. 30.3):¹⁴

[-----]
viam fecei ab Regio ad Capuam et
in ea via ponteis omneis miliarios
tabelariosque poseivei hince sunt
 5 *Nouceriam meilia LI Capuam XXCIII*

¹¹ Kolb 2001a; 2004.

¹² On the *leuga*, Rathmann 2003: 115–120.

¹³ Agrigentum milestone: Prag 2006.

¹⁴ Wiseman 1964, 1969; Salway 2001: 48–54.



FIG. 30.2 Milestone (replica) from near Brunico, N. Italy, set up during the reign of Macrinus and Diadumenianus, 217–218 CE (CIL III 5708 = XVII.4, 169 = ILS 464).

- Muranum LXXIII Cosentiam CXXIII Valentiam CLXXX ad fretum ad
Statuam CCXXI Regium CCXXVII
suma af Capua Regium meilia CCCXXI
et eidem praetor in*
- 10 *Sicilia fugiteivos Italicorum
conquaeisivei redideique
homines DCCCXVII eidemque
primus fecei ut de agro poplico
aratoribus cederent paastores*
- 15 *forum aedisque poplicas heic fecei*

I [-----] built the road from Rhegium to Capua and on that road I put in place all the bridges, milestones, and *tabelarii*. From here to Nuceria it is 51 miles, to Capua 84, to Muranum 74, to Cosentia 123, to Valentia 280, to the statue at the Straits 231, to Rhegium



FIG. 30.3 The so-called headless *elogium* from Polla (Forum Popilii) in Lucania, late second century BCE.

237. The total from Capua to Rhegium is 321 miles. As praetor in Sicily, I also hunted down runaways of the Italians and I returned 917 individuals. I was also the first to make shepherds yield to ploughmen on public land. I constructed a forum and public buildings here.

In this text it remains unclear what *tabel(l)arii* were. Suggestions include, among others, inscribed stones containing an itinerary and, maybe more attractively, wooden route indicators.¹⁵

Besides the distances (sometimes indicated with numerals only, without place names), these inscribed milestones sometimes mention the person responsible for their erection and, more importantly, for the building or repair of the road. As a result, they can be said to belong to the category of “building inscriptions” in a broad sense, even though already in the Republic and certainly during the Principate verbs such as *fecit*, *refecit*, *restituit*, which are typical of this genre, are omitted. One inscription set up under Claudius in 46 outlines the construction history of the Via Claudia Augusta,

¹⁵ See already Cary 1936; Salway 2001: 48–53; Kolb 2013a: 118.

the road that connected Italy and Raetia; it was probably set up at the border between these two regions (*CIL* XVII.4, 1):

Ti(berius) Claudius Caesar
 Augustus German(icus)
 pont(ifex) max(imus) trib(unicia) pot(estate) VI
 co(n)s(ul) desig(natus) IIII imp(erator) XI p(ater) p(atriciae)
 5 viam Claudiam Augustam
 quam Drusus pater Alpibus
 bello patefactis derexserat(!)
 munit a flumine Pado at(!)
 flumen Danuvium per
 10 m(ilia) p(assuum) CC[CL]

The emperor Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus... paved the Via Claudia Augusta, which his father Drusus had laid out straight after he had opened up the Alps in a military campaign, from the river Po to the river Danube for a distance of 350 miles.

There was no fixed system for establishing the starting-points for counting the miles along a Roman road. Normally larger centres, across whose territory the road passed, were used. Provincial capitals functioned as *capita viarum*, while in Italy the distances were sometimes counted from Rome. Sometimes a milestone recorded the distance in several directions, such as to the road's terminus, to the border of a province, or to an important site such as a legionary camp: for example, ... *ab Aug(usta) m(ilia) p(assuum) LXII, / a leg(ione) m(ilia) p(assuum) XXXIII* ("From Augusta (Vindelicorum) [Augsburg] 62 miles, from the legion [i.e., legionary camp] 34 miles"; *CIL* XVII.4, 70, from Raetia). Provincial milestones may even mark the distance from Rome, as, for example, on the Via Domitia in Gaul (*CIL* XVII.2, 291 = XII 5668 + p. 858), at Narbo (*CIL* XVII.2, 298 = XII 5671), or at Szombathely in Pannonia (*AE* 2000, 1195: [- -] / a Roma S(avariam) m(ilia) p(assuum) / DCLXXV). Rome was mentioned more for ideological than practical reasons.¹⁶

From the third century CE onward a key development occurred in the inscribing of the milestones. They shifted from resembling building inscriptions and became more akin to dedications or honorific monuments. Although the emperor continues to be mentioned in some examples in the nominative, as the ultimate source of the work that produced the road, his name appears ever more frequently in the dative. As a result, the text takes on the customary form of a pious dedication. By means of such "dedicatory monuments" in the form of milestones, which by definition were erected in much frequented places, communities all over the Empire seem increasingly to have honoured the emperor and manifested their loyalty towards the ruling dynasty. Regardless of whether any actual work had been undertaken on the road, new milestones were set up bearing dedicatory inscriptions on the occasion of an emperor's journey through the province or in connection with celebrations of an emperor's birthday or accession. For

¹⁶ Kolb 2004: 151–152.

this reason milestones mentioning successive emperors were sometimes placed side by side, forming clusters, as occurred, for example, near Hagenbach in Rheinland-Pfalz in Germania Inferior (*CIL* XVII.2, 605–609).

During the Republic decisions regarding new projects or road repairs were made by the Senate, since this body controlled public finances, and by the censors, who had the right to lease state-contracts, and occasionally by the consuls. Normally such projects were financed by the state; private contributions were exceptional (cf. *Plut. Caes.* 5.7).¹⁷ Building inscriptions and milestones name the person in charge of the work, normally magistrates with *imperium* (consuls, proconsuls, praetors). Although upkeep of public structures was part of their public duties, only on a few rare occasions do aediles (*CIL* I² 21, 22, 829, all from Italy) or quaestors (*AE* 1995, 1464, near Smyrna, Asia) appear in such inscriptions. Specially nominated *curatores viarum* can also be found (*CIL* VI 1299, 40904a, on which below). In 20 BCE Augustus took over the *cura viarum*, and from then onwards the emperor was in charge of the *viae publicae*. In Italy he handed over this responsibility, which involved control and repair of roads, as well as occasional minor new projects, to a college of *curatores viarum*.¹⁸ The building of new roads in Italy and the provinces, where he enjoyed proconsular *imperium*, became the prerogative of the emperor, as confirmed by the inscriptions on milestones.

In the provinces, the governor was in practice in charge of road building both during the Republic and the Principate (for example, *CIL* VIII 22173, discussed on p. 652). He could delegate this task to subordinates (*AE* 1995, 1464; cf. *Cic. Font.* 18). The costs of the building and upkeep of the roads were primarily borne by those living along them (*Cic. Font.* 17–19) or in the neighbourhood, and sometimes even by people living a considerable distance from them (*CIL* III 3202, from Dalmatia, discussed on p. 659). They handled the necessary repairs as a *munus publicum* (*Dig.* 49.18.4, Ulpian; 50.4.18.15, Arcadius Charisius). An inscription of late republican (perhaps Sullan) date from Appennine Italy provides rare details about procedures and costs in such cases (*CIL* I² 808 = VI 40904a = *ILLRP* 465 = *ILS* 5799 = *FIRA* III 152, partially cited here):¹⁹

- [haec] opera loc(ata)
 [in refic(ienda) v]ia Caecilia de HS
 [n(ummum) - - - ad refic(iendum) (?) a]d mil(liarium) XXXV pontem in fluio (!)
 [Farfaro pecuni]a adtributa est; populo const(at)
 5 [HS n(ummum) - - - Q(uinto) (?) - - -]s(io) Q(uinti) <l(iberto)> Pamphilo mancupi(!) et
 ope[r(is)]
 [magistro (?); cur(atore)] viar(um) T(ito) Vibio Temuudino q(uaestore) urb(ano).
 [item via gla]rea sternenda af mil(liario) [- - - ad]
 [mil(iarium) - - - et per Ap]pennium muunien[da est af]
 [mil(iario) - - - ad mil(iarium) - - -]XX; pecunia adtributa
 10 [est; populo c]onst(at) HS n(ummum) CL L(ucio) Rufilio L(ucii et) L(ucii) l(iberto)

¹⁷ Wiseman 1970.

¹⁸ Eck 1979: 25–87; Eck 1992; Rathmann 2003.

¹⁹ For a slightly different translation, Lewis and Reinhold 1990: 440 no. 160.

[-13/14?-]sti man[cul]pi; cur(atore) viar(um) T(ito) Vib[io]
[Temuudino q(uaestore) urb(ano)]...

These works were contracted for repairs of the Via Caecilia out of a cash appropriation of [-] *sestertii*. Money appropriated for the repair of a bridge over the river Farfarus (?) at the 35th milestone; the people agree to pay [- *sestertii*] to Q. (?) [- -]sius Pamphilus, freedmen of Quintus, contractor and [director] of the works, while T. Vibius Temudinus, urban quaestor, was *curator viarum* (in charge of the roads). The road to be paved with gravel from the [-] milestone to the [-] milestone and built across the Appennines from the [-] milestone to the [-] milestone. The money was appropriated; the community agreed to pay 150,000 *sestertii* to L. Rufilius, freedman of Lucius and Lucius, contractor, while Q. Vibius Temudinus, urban quaestor, was *curator viarum*. (The fragmentary text continues.)

The building of bridges, which were integral parts of many roads, is often singled out in inscriptions, as on the “headless *elogium* of Polla” (discussed on p. 654–655), presumably because of the more complex challenges that such projects represented (for instance, as in *CIL* VIII 10296 + p. 2138 = *ILS* 5872, near Cirta, Numidia). In such cases the task was often allocated directly to a local community by the emperor, who nevertheless took credit for the project, as occurred in Dalmatia in 183/4 CE (*CIL* III 3202 + p. 1651 = XVII.4, 323a = *ILS* 393):

Imp(erator) Caes(ar)
M(arcus) Aurelius
Commodus
Antoninus
5 Aug(ustus) Pius Sarm(aticus)
Germ(anicus) maximus
Britannicus
pont(ifex) max(imus) trib(unicia)
pot(estate) VIII imp(erator) VI
10 co(n)s(ul) IIII p(ater) p(atriciae)
pontem Hippiflumi-
nis vetustate cor-
ruptum restituit
sumptum et operas
15 subministrantibus
Novensibus Delmi-
nensibus Riditis cu-
rante et dedicante
L(ucio) Iunio Rufino Procu-
20 liano leg(ato) pr(o) pr(aetore)

The emperor Commodus...restored the bridge over the river Hippius damaged by the passing of time while the people of Novae, Delminium, and Rider covered the expenses and provided the workforce under the supervision of L. Iunius Rufinus Proculianus, dedicator and governor (of the province of Dalmatia).

Outside of Italy the emperor was only rarely responsible for the costs, as at Simitthu in North Africa (*CIL* VIII 10117 + p. 2118 = *ILS* 293). Local communities were allowed

to levy a road toll (*vectigal rotaris*) in order to finance road construction projects (for example, *CIL* VIII 10327), while private contractors were mostly responsible for the work. Occasionally we hear of the involvement of prisoners (Suet. *Cal.* 273) or soldiers (*CIL* V 7989 = *ILS* 487; *CIL* VIII 22173, discussed on p. 652). Towns and communities were responsible for the local roads in their territory, and the costs fell heavily on those who owned property along the roads. This is clearly demonstrated in the late republican *Tabula Heracleensis* (*CIL* I² 593 = *RS* 24, lines 20–50). In the city of Rome the cleaning of the streets was handled by the *IIIIViri viis in urbe purgandis*, who from 13 BCE were called the *IIIIViri viarum curandarum*,²⁰ but in other Roman towns the local magistrates (*IIViri*, aediles) or special officials (*curatores*) were responsible for the roads and streets, including necessary repairs, and this is documented in numerous inscriptions.²¹ The financial costs were partly covered by municipal funds (*CIL* I² 2537 + p. 1004 = *ILLRP* 466 + p. 322, *Cereatae Maritimae*), but private money was also used, for instance in the form of inheritances or donations to the community (*CIL* II 3167, near Ercavica, *Hispania Citerior*).

THE DEVELOPMENT AND REGULATION OF THE *CURSUS PUBLICUS*

Augustus created an administrative unit responsible for transportation, usually known as the *cursus publicus*, primarily to facilitate communication between the emperor and senatorial officials or those serving him personally, and for travel and transport for government purposes. In fact the expression *cursus publicus* is encountered in texts only from the late third century CE onwards, but it is consistently used by modern scholars, even though *vehiculatio* was the term employed during the first two centuries CE on inscriptions (*CIL* III 6075 = *ILS* 1366 = *I.Ephesos* 820) and coins (*BMCRE* III 21–22 no. 19). This service depended on the population living along the main communication routes, who were required to provide official travellers with means of transportation without delay.²² Augustus initially created a system of couriers who relieved each other during journeys over long distances (Suet. *Aug.* 49.3). He then expanded the system into a fully functional service by arranging for means of transport to be available at regular intervals along the major routes for those authorized to use it.

Clear confirmation of Augustus' reform is provided by an inscription from early in Tiberius' reign that contains an edict of the governor of Galatia Sex. Sotidius Strabo Libuscidianus (*AE* 1976, 653 = *SEG* 26, 1392, *Sagalassos*). The bilingual text, in Greek and Latin, is the only document from the imperial period that reveals the precise details

²⁰ Robinson 1992: 59–81.

²¹ Goffin 2002: 64–71, with examples; Campedelli 2014.

²² Kolb 2000: 49–226; 2001b.

of the workings of the *vehiculatio*.²³ The first six lines indicate why the edict was necessary:

Sex(tus) Sotidius Strabo Libuscidianus, leg(atu)s / Ti(beri) Caesaris Augusti pro praetore, dic(it). / est quidem omnium iniquissimum me edicto meo adstringere id quod Augusti alter deorum alter principum / maximus diligentissime caverunt, ne quis gratuitis vehiculis utatur. sed quoniam licentia quorundam / praesentem vindictam desiderat, formulam eorum quae [pra]estari iudicio oportere in singulis civitatibus / et vicis proposui servaturus eam aut si neglecta erit vindicaturus non mea tantum potestate sed / principis optimi a quo id ip[su]m in mandatis accepti maiestate.

Sextus Sotidius Strabo Libuscidianus, *legatus pro praetore* of Tiberius Caesar, states: It is the most unjust thing of all for me to tighten up by my own edict that which the Augusti, one the greatest of gods, the other the greatest of emperors, have taken the utmost care to prevent, namely that no-one should make use of carts without payment. However, since the indiscipline of certain people requires an immediate punishment, I have set up in the individual towns and villages a register of those services which I judge ought to be provided, with the intention of having it observed or, if it shall be neglected, of enforcing it not only with my own power but with the majesty of the best of princes from whom I received instructions concerning these matters.

The next section (lines 7–10) establishes that the inhabitants of Sagalassos have to keep ten wagons and the same number of mules ready for the needs of travellers, and for the use of each wagon they are to receive from the user ten asses per *schoenus* (a measure of distance which varied between 11 and 16 km) and for each mule four asses per *schoenus*. Only certain individuals travelling on government business were permitted to use the service (lines 13–21):

- “the procurator of the best of princes and his son”
- “persons on military service, both those who have a diploma and those who travel through from other provinces on military service”
- “a senator of the Roman people”
- “a Roman equestrian whose services are being employed by the best of princes”
- “a centurion”

In addition, authorized travellers had to be provided with free accommodation, which increased the financial burden on the local population (lines 23–25). For this purpose, existing inns were used, one must assume, with the local population bearing the costs, or new ones were built, as is revealed by an inscription from Dion in Macedonia, which describes the contents of such an establishment, here called a *praetorium*, in interesting detail (*AE* 2000, 1295):

²³ Mitchell 1976 (translation and commentary).

- ex mandatis*
P(ubli) Mestri C(ai) f(ilii) Pal(atina) Pomponiani Capitonis II[viri]
Mestriae C(ai) f(iliae) Aquilinae sacerdotis Minervae
C(aius) Mestrius C(ai) f(ilius) Pal(atina) Priscus Maianus
N(umerius) Mestrius C(ai) f(ilius)
 5 *Pal(atina) Priscus praetorium cum tabernis duabus*
et apparatus ea quae infra scripta est
lectis cubicularibus V culcitis V pulvinis V
subselis X cathedris II triclinio aerato culci-
tis III emitulis III pulvinis longis III foco ferreo
 10 *mensis XX grabattis XX emitulis XX haec omnia*
colonis de sua pecunia faciendum curaverunt
idemque dedic(averunt)

On the orders of P. Mestrius Pomponianus Capito, son of Gaius, of the Palatine tribe, *duumvir* and of Mestria Aquilina, daughter of Gaius, priestess of Minerva, C. Mestrius Priscus Maianus, son of Gaius, of the Palatine tribe, and Numerius Mestrius, son of Gaius, of the Palatine tribe (set up) an inn with two *tabernae* (?public rooms) and the furniture which is listed below: five sleeping couches, five mattresses, five pillows, ten benches, two armchairs, a bronze dining couch, three mattresses, three *emitulae* (?banquet cushions), three long pillows, an iron hearth, twenty tables, twenty cots, twenty *emitulae* (?banquet cushions). All of these things they supervised at their own expense for the inhabitants of the colony and likewise they dedicated them.

In sparsely populated and under-urbanized regions the emperors themselves had to create the necessary infrastructure for the *cursus publicus*. Building inscriptions from Thrace show how in 61 Nero had his procurator T. Iulius Ustus build several accommodations (“inns and quarters”) along the *viae militares* there (*CIL* III 6123 = *ILS* 231; *AE* 1999, 1397 = *IGBulg* V 5691: ... *tabernas et praetoria / per vias militares / fieri iussit per / T(itum) Iulium Ustum proc(uratorem) / provinciae Thrac(iae)*).

The system created by Augustus thus built on republican precedent in the requisition of the means of transport and accommodation. Since travellers often did not obey the rules and instead exacted more than their fair share from the population, as becomes apparent in the edict from Galatia discussed above, this resulted in provincial subjects sending letters of complaint to the emperor.²⁴ The emperor reacted by restating the same rules, as two new edicts of Hadrian indicate: one from Maroneia in Thracia (*SEG* 49, 886 = 55, 744 = *AE* 2005, 1348), another from the province of Asia (*AE* 2009, 1428).²⁵ From the collection of rules regarding the *cursus publicus* in the Theodosian Code (*CTh* 8.5), it is clear that emperors enacted further regulations, apparently at regular intervals. The setting up of permanent way-stations (*stationes*) along the roads made it easier to acquire fresh means of transportation and to some extent reduced the misuse of other resources by travellers. On the other hand, from the fourth century onward it was apparently no longer a normal practice to pay

²⁴ Herrmann 1990; Hauken 1998.

²⁵ Jones 2011; Hauken and Malay 2009.

compensation for requisitioning, and the *cursus publicus* became, therefore, an even heavier burden on the population.²⁶

COMMUNICATION PRACTICES

In the ancient world, only a few techniques for the communication of information were known, and these were mainly used in military contexts: for example, signalling, projectiles, the use of birds. The normal method of spreading news was to send couriers with oral or written messages. Roman magistrates used their own private staff (Cic. *Fam.* 2.7.3; *Att.* 5.16.1) as well as government personnel for this purpose. Numerous inscriptions from the imperial period name various kinds of messengers: *statores*, *viatores*, *geruli*, *cursores*, and, above all, *tabellarii*. All such functionaries were employed by specific sectors of the Roman government or the army, as illustrated by an epitaph of an *optio tabellariorum officii rationum*, a “senior messenger of the department of the imperial financial department” (CIL VI 8424a).²⁷

Private individuals were forced to find people they could trust, who happened to be travelling to the required destination and would transmit their messages. Soldiers entrusted letters addressed to their family back home or to friends in other military camps to fellow soldiers travelling to these locations or, if the distance was relatively short, sent a slave with the letter. Sometimes even Cicero apparently depended on someone travelling in the right direction (*Fam.* 4.9.1, 10.1; *Att.* 5.20.8), though wealthy families often had their own messengers. There were probably also professional couriers for hire (CIL X 1961; XII 4512).

Literary, papyrological, and epigraphic sources have preserved numerous letters of both a private and an official or administrative nature. On the one hand, copies of letters from Roman emperors, edicts, and rescripts from and to governors, communities, associations, or individuals were inscribed on stone.²⁸ Such letters regularly contain a positive message for the recipients, which is why the decision was taken in the first place to inscribe such texts on a public monument. Letters with unwelcome contents as a rule have not survived. Some inscriptions even contain details about how the correspondence had been conveyed: for instance, a rescript of Caracalla, accompanied by letters from imperial officials, from Takina in Pisidia (SEG 37, 1186). On the other hand, the wooden writing tablets from the military camps at Vindolanda (Britain) and Vindonissa (Switzerland) provide examples of private as well as official correspondence by soldiers, commanders, and their respective family members. These discoveries make it clear that

²⁶ Kolb 2000: 130–139, 143–145. Note that Mitchell 2014 now proposes animal breeding on imperial ranches.

²⁷ Kolb 2000: 264–307.

²⁸ Oliver 1989; Hauken 1998; Kokkinia 2004; cf. Chs. 14–15.

letter writing was a very common phenomenon in the Roman Empire, and this is borne out by references in the letters themselves to the keeping and sending of letters: ... *et epistulas [-c.4-]s quas acceperas ab Equestre centurione coh(ortis) III Batavorum [-c.3-]i ad te pr(idie) K(alendas) Ma[ias?]* (“and those letters which you (?) had received from Equester, centurion of the Third Cohort of Batavians, I sent (?) to you on April 30 (?) ...” *Tab. Vindol.* II 263, revising I 23; transl. Bowman). There was correspondence even about the forwarding of letters: *Oppius Niger Priscino [suo] s[alutem] Crispum et +e[-c.8-]s ex coh(orte) I Tungrorum quos cum epistulis ad consularem n(ostrum) miserat a Bremetennaco [- -]um Kal(endis) F[eb]r[- -] vale domine frater* (“Oppius Niger to his Priscinus greetings. Crispus and (?) from the First Cohort of Tungrians, whom you had sent with letters to our governor, [I have straightaway sent on (?)] from Bremetennacum to ... (?) on February 1. (*second hand*) Farewell, my lord and brother,” *Tab. Vindol.* II 295, revising I 30; transl. Bowman).

In Vindonissa it seems that a large part of the letters were sent only short distances, and they often contain little information or simply treat everyday business such as an invitation to a party (*convivium*) (*Tab. Vindon.* 45 = *AE* 1996, 1133) or the ordering of hob-nailed boots (*Tab. Vindon.* 36). The soldiers evidently wanted to be kept abreast of the life of their comrades-in-arms and in general letters were always welcome: [- -] *si tandem feriatu[s], quiquam vaco castris. ut a{c} cohorte mi<hi> rescribas, u[t] semper in mentem (h)abe<a>s, ut mi<hi> rescribas* (“Finally enjoying my leave! I am completely free from camp life. Please write back to me from the cohort. Please always keep it in mind to write back to me.” *Tab. Vindon.* 40 = *AE* 1996, 1132).

MOBILITY AND CONNECTIVITY IN THE ROMAN EMPIRE

Mobility in the ancient world was limited. In predominantly agrarian societies people lived in close proximity to where they worked. There was also little in the way of travel services and very limited means of transport. What transport there was was owned by just a small minority of society, and not many people could afford to pay to hire such facilities. Yet because of the extensive road network in the Roman world it may be surmised that mobility in general was higher than elsewhere and at other times in the ancient world. People usually travelled for business purposes, whether of a private or official nature. The main types of travellers included merchants, soldiers, civilian administrators, and professional couriers. A few small bronze plaques survive which were fixed onto a horse, wagon, or even boat to attest that the traveller(s) was on official business, as in the following example from the area around Rome: *Thoantis / Ti(beri) Caesaris / Aug(usti) / dispensatori[s] / ab toris // de / statione / [Ti(beri)?] Caesaris Aug(usti) / tabellari(i)s / diplomari[s] / discede* (*CIL* XV 7142 = *ILS* 1702: “Belonging to Thoas, slave of Ti. Caesar Augustus, accountant, responsible for couches. From the



FIG. 30.4 Portable bronze sundial for travellers found near Mérida, Spain. Museo Nacional de Arte Romano, Mérida.

statio of [Ti.?] Caesar Augustus. Reserved for authorized couriers. Keep off!”).²⁹ To aid the process of travel, portable inscribed bronze sundials (*viatoria pensilia*) were used (cf. Vit. 9.8.1); these marked various provinces or cities of the Empire and their respective latitudes (Fig. 30.4).³⁰

Many fewer travelled for pleasure (“tourism” as it would be called today), on pilgrimage, or as students.³¹ A phenomenon almost like modern-day tourism can be observed in Egypt, where for two centuries members of the Roman elite visited the singing statues of Memnon, inscribing their names on them; even members of the imperial family are attested (*CIL* III 30–66). *Memnonem audivi /audi* (“I have heard Memnon”) is the standard phrase.³²

Information about different kinds of travel, the reasons for these journeys, and their frequency can be found in many kinds of sources. Among inscriptions, epitaphs and

²⁹ For other broadly similar objects, cf. *CIL* XV 7125–70; Panciera 2000.

³⁰ Price 1969; Arce 1997.

³¹ In general, Casson 1960; Adams and Laurence 2001; Moatti 2004; Handley 2011; for official controls on mobility, Moatti 2000.

³² For the texts, Bernard and Bernard 1960.

dedications are particularly important for studying patterns of mobility, especially those texts that include a reference to an individual's place of origin (*origo*) that was different from the stone's findspot.³³ Some people took special delight in recording the places they had visited, like the soldier Aurelius Gaius who recalls his visits under Diocletian to twenty-three provinces (*AE* 1981, 777).³⁴ Such inscriptions may give an exaggerated picture of mobility in the Roman world, but they need to be taken into account.³⁵

Inscriptions are also valuable sources for the trials and tribulations that Roman travelers might encounter. Accidents are reported, but more commonly robberies and even murder, and not even armed soldiers were always safe, as seen in an inscription from Lambaesis in Numidia (*CIL* VIII 2728 = 18122 = *ILS* 5795):...*profectus sum et inter vias latrones sum passus. nudus saucius evasi cum meis*... ("I set off and along the road I suffered (an attack by) robbers. Naked and wounded, I escaped with my companions..."). With these words the army veteran and field surveyor Nonius Datus describes his experience travelling in North Africa c. 150 CE.³⁶ From Lugdunum Convenarum in Gaul comes a funerary monument that records the murder of two travelling Spaniards (*CIL* XIII 259):

Canpan[us nat(ione?)]
H(ispanus) Iul(ia) Nov(a) [Karth(agine) et]
Silvanus a [latro]-
nibus hi[c inte]-
5 rfecti V [- - -]
Iun(ias) Imp(eratore) [L(ucio) Sept(imio)]
Sev(ero) co(n)s(ule) I[- - -]
Silvan[us et]
Martin[us]

Here lies Canpanus, a man from Hispania from Iulia Nova Carthago, and Silvanus, who on this spot were killed by robbers, (date in late May/June), when the emperor L. Septimius Severus was consul for the (2nd or 3rd) time.³⁷ Silvanus and Martinus (erected the monument).

Dedicatory inscriptions show that every Roman god and particularly *Dei itinerarii* ("gods of travel") could be asked for protection before setting off (*AE* 2000, 1191, Savaria in Pannonia Superior).³⁸ After returning safe and sound, the vow, made in connection with the initial prayer, would be fulfilled, usually through the erection of an altar, on

³³ Immigrants in Rome: Noy 2000; Ricci 2006; for geographical mobility in Roman Africa, Lassère 1977; for Italians in the Greek East, Müller and Hasenohr 2002.

³⁴ Wilkinson 2012.

³⁵ For a civilian recording his travels, *AE* 1977, 762, Noviodunum (Moesia Inferior), with Solin 1985: 198–200.

³⁶ Nonius Datus: Cuomo 2011. Other examples: *CIL* II 2968; III 1579, 8242; VI 20307; XIII 3689, 6429.

³⁷ The date must be 194 or 202, depending on whether the text read *co(n)s(ule) II* or *co(n)s(ule) III*, indicating his second or third consulship. He held no further consulships.

³⁸ Kolb 2005.

which the gratitude was spelled out in a dedicatory formula or by a verse honouring the deity, as occurred at Novae in Moesia Inferior (*AE* 1989, 635 = *IGLNovae* 8):³⁹

Deo Aeterno
sancto
Aur(elius) Stianus
acto[r] pericu-
 5 *[l]o m[a]ris li-*
b[e]ratus ex
voto promi-
[s]o r(estituit)

To Deus Aeternus. Aurelius Stianus, *actor* (i.e., agent), restored (this monument) according to his promise after having been saved from the dangers of the sea.

Inscriptions normally do not provide information about travel times or the speed with which communications were delivered or goods transported. For these aspects, literary sources are more important, while papyri provide a wealth of material on the normal speed of communication and travel times between Egypt and other parts of the Empire.⁴⁰ Only occasionally is it possible to make deductions from correspondence preserved in inscriptions, primarily imperial rescripts and edicts. From three letters of Hadrian from Alexandria-in-the-Troad one can infer how long it took for performers to travel from one major festival to another.⁴¹ Even news of an emperor's death could be slow to reach the outer reaches of the Empire. The Roman troops stationed at Dura Europus on the Euphrates, for example, were still making dedications to ensure the well-being of the emperor Commodus on 17 March 193, almost three months after his assassination on 31 December 192.⁴²

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³⁹ Bartels and Kolb 2011.

⁴⁰ Duncan-Jones 1990: 7–29.

⁴¹ Petzl and Schwertheim 2006, esp. 71–86; Jones 2007.

⁴² *AE* 1928, 86, as revised by Speidel 1993 = *AE* 2002, 1501.

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CHAPTER 31

ECONOMIC LIFE IN THE ROMAN EMPIRE

JONATHAN EDMONDSON

STUDIES of the Roman economy have varied significantly in the use they have made of epigraphic evidence. In the first half of the twentieth century a number of works exploited inscriptions to the full, notably Mikhail Ivanovich Rostovtzeff's classic *The Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire* (1st ed., 1926, 2nd ed., 1957) and Tenney Frank's massive collaborative project, *An Economic Survey of the Ancient Rome* (5 vols., 1933–40). Official enactments of the Roman state controlling land use, laying down rules for the administration of mines, or attempting to enforce maximum prices, tombstones naming the deceased's occupation, and stamps found on bricks, tableware, lamps, and amphorae were all marshaled alongside literary evidence, papyri, and archaeological evidence to characterize the Roman economy as one that was qualitatively, though not quantitatively, similar to that of the modern world. Rostovtzeff and Frank were following earlier scholars such as the Finnish ancient historian Herman Gummerus, who in 1916 had deployed much epigraphic and archaeological evidence in his still valuable article on industry and trade for Pauly-Wissowa's *Realencyclopädie*.

In the late 1960s and 1970s a sustained assault on this positivist view was launched by successive Professors of Ancient History at the University of Cambridge: A.H.M. Jones and Moses Finley. Jones presented a generally pessimistic view of economic production in his magnum opus, *The Later Roman Empire* (1964), minimizing the place of trade and manufacture.¹ Finley grounded his trenchantly revisionist work in a reassertion of the views of the German sociologist Max Weber, who had argued that the ancient economy was embedded in social relations and that a concern for enhancing social status was much more important as a motor of economic action than any desire to increase productivity or maximize profits. Finley's 1972 Sather lectures, published in 1973 as *The Ancient Economy*, elegantly articulated this new position.

¹ Jones 1964, 1974; cf. Ward-Perkins 2008.

Although Jones had deployed some epigraphic evidence, Finley more or less eschewed it in his discussion of the Roman economy, just as he passed over much archaeological data that might have drawn into question some aspects of his minimalist view of the nature and scale of the economy.² In the lively debate that *The Ancient Economy* generated, a number of scholars in the Cambridge tradition sought to develop and modify Finley's model, but they too paid little attention to epigraphic evidence.³ Exceptions were Richard Duncan-Jones, who systematically mined inscriptions from Italy and North Africa for his pioneering work on Roman prices, and Harry Pleket, an epigrapher who produced some important studies on the economic life of cities in the Greek East under Roman rule.⁴ Even Keith Hopkins, whose main energies went into developing models to test the proposition that the Roman economy experienced more growth than Finley had allowed, occasionally treated epigraphic data to good effect; for instance, his analysis of almost one thousand slave manumission records from Delphi between 201 BCE and 100 CE (the so-called *paramone* inscriptions) (cf. Ch. 28).⁵

Arguably in reaction to this lack of interest in epigraphy, two conferences were organized in 1992 that illustrated the value of inscriptions for writing Roman economic history—especially texts on ceramic, metal, and glass objects, known collectively as *instrumentum domesticum*, and epitaphs attesting occupations. These were published as *The Inscribed Economy* (1993) and *Epigrafia della produzione e della distribuzione* (1994).⁶ Even so, *The Cambridge Economic History of the Graeco-Roman World* (2007), though important for its attempt to quantify aspects of economic production, even if in a necessarily crude fashion, and for its deployment of comparative material to argue that the Graeco-Roman period saw some of the strongest economic growth in pre-modern times, contains very little discussion of epigraphic evidence.⁷ Conversely, it is heartening that the Oxford Roman Economy project “will be characterized throughout by a commitment to integrate and correlate archaeological and documentary evidence where possible.”⁸ However, care needs to be taken when quantifying epigraphic data, and not everyone might agree that inscriptions recording construction or repair work on public buildings can serve as useful “proxy evidence for growth or shrinkage” of cities.⁹

Many types of inscriptions are revealing on numerous aspects of economic production, distribution, and consumption. This chapter will concentrate on agriculture,

² Brief references at Finley 1973: 58–60, 87–88, 103–104, 126, 133. Omission of archaeological material: Frederiksen 1975.

³ Hopkins 1980, 1983; Garnsey, Hopkins, and Whittaker 1983.

⁴ Duncan-Jones 1982; Pleket 1983, 1984; cf. several studies in D'Arms and Kopff 1980.

⁵ Hopkins 1978: 133–171.

⁶ Harris 1993; Nicolet and Panciera 1994; cf. Andreau 1996.

⁷ Scheidel, Morris, and Saller 2007.

⁸ Bowman and Wilson 2009b: 5–6. See also <http://oxrep.classics.ox.ac.uk/>.

⁹ Bowman and Wilson 2009b: 59. On the dangers of using inscriptions as proxy data for the effects of the Antonine plague, Bruun 2003, *contra* Duncan-Jones 1996; Scheidel 2002.

pastoralism, the production of cash-crops such as wine and olive-oil, and mining, but many other topics could have been discussed in a fully comprehensive treatment:

- A range of urban occupations that are hardly ever mentioned in literary sources are attested epigraphically, especially on tombstones (for example, Fig. 31.1) and in inscriptions attesting *collegia* of artisans and tradesmen (Ch. 23).¹⁰ In Rome some very specific jobs are found: for example, an *aurivestrix*, a seller of gold-decorated garments, or an *inpiliarius*, a felt-shoe maker (*CIL* VI 9214, 33862). These suggest that there was a high degree of structural differentiation within some areas of the urban economy, made possible by its scale and complexity (Ch. 22). However, this material is uneven because of the vagaries of epigraphic habit. It is also often unclear, from such occupational titles alone, whether the person was involved in both the manufacture and sale of the product or whether these tasks were separate. The latter must have been the case when the goods for sale had to be imported from near or far, as with the “*piscatrix* at the Galban warehouse” (*CIL* VI 9801 = *ILS* 7500; Fig. 27.4) or the dealers in incense and ointments (*thurarii et urgumentarii*) (*CIL* VI 36819).
- The tens of thousands of stamps with the producer’s name that survive on *terra sigillata* pottery (“Samian ware”) and ceramic oil-lamps (*lucernae*) have allowed historians to debate how the pottery industry was organized, and occasional inscribed accounts with the number of pots produced in a given period by an individual potter or a single kiln add further levels of information (cf. *AE* 2008, 515, Pisae; cf. Ch. 32 and Fig. 32.3).¹¹
- Financial transactions at the micro-level are elucidated by two hoards of wax-tablets from Pompeii (Table 15.4). The 153 tablets in the archive of L. Caecilius Iucundus (*TPomp* 1–153, dating from 15 to 62 CE) mostly concern his activities as a money-lender, advancing money at interest to those purchasing goods at auctions, but some relate to the leasing of a farm, a fullery, and the rights to collect local market taxes and pasturage fees.¹² The archive of the Sulpicii (*TPSulp* 1–127), dating from 26 (or 29) to 61 CE, concerns the activities of a group of businessmen (freedmen or sons of freedmen) who provided commercial credit at the port-city of Puteoli (Pozzuoli) to customers who included shippers from Tyre and Alexandria and wholesalers with large stocks of cereals, including Egyptian wheat (*triticum*), stored in Puteolan warehouses (*horrea*). They even had financial dealings with slaves and freedmen of the emperor Caligula and members of the senatorial elite.¹³

¹⁰ Joshel 1992; Le Roux et al. 2002; Tran 2006; Monteix and Tran 2011.

¹¹ *Terra sigillata*: Oxé and Comfort 2000; Mayet 1983–84; Hartley and Dickinson 2008–10; cf. Fülle 1997, 2000. Lamps: Harris 1980.

¹² Andreau 1974.

¹³ Camodeca 1999; Andreau 1999: 71–79; Rowe 2001.



FIG. 31.1 Funerary altar from Rome, mid-first century CE, commemorating L. Calpurnius Daphnus, a money-changer (*argentarius*) at the Macellum Magnum (Large Market), Rome (CIL VI 9183 = ILS 7501). It shows the money-changer holding a box of coins doing business with two men carrying baskets of fish on their shoulders. Palazzo Massimo alle Colonne, Rome.

In addition to the empirical detail they provide, these texts are important for the contribution they can make to key debates about the nature of the Roman economy: for example, the nature and importance of credit in economic transactions; the degree of complexity in manufacturing operations; the role of freedmen in the economy and whether they acted independently or on behalf of their former owners; and the ways in which patterns of consumption stimulated the production and circulation of goods and encouraged a diversification in the nature of products available for sale.

LAND AND AGRICULTURE

It is widely agreed that at least 90 percent of the population of the Roman Empire were engaged in agriculture, with most struggling to produce enough to feed their families and preserve enough seed to allow the following year's crops to be planted. For farming, literary sources, especially the agricultural writers Cato, Varro, Columella, and, for the late Empire, Palladius, have much to contribute. Archaeology—both the excavation of villas and smaller farms and rural field survey, as well as analysis of pollen remains and seed evidence—continues to provide more and more data, allowing us to compare how different regions were exploited agriculturally and to identify periods when there was denser land occupation and arguably intensified production and consumption. Cereal crops (wheat and barley, but also oats, rye, millet, and spelt) and dry legumes (peas, broad beans, chickpeas, lentils) were grown widely, while vines and olives, where climatic conditions permitted, allowed for the possibility of cash-crops, with surplus wine and olive-oil produced for sale on local, regional, or more distant markets. Inscriptions remain silent on much of such basic economic activity, though calendars of the rural work-cycle were sometimes inscribed: for example, the so-called *Menologium Rusticum Colotianum*, originally from near Rome (*CIL* VI 2305 = *ILS* 8745 = *ILMN* I 64). The text for each month combines information about its length, hours of daylight, star-sign, and protective divinity with a delineation of the agricultural tasks to be undertaken and most important festivals to be celebrated. December's tasks included the following: manuring the vines, sowing beans, cutting down wood, gathering the olives, and hunting (*vineas sterc(orant)*, *faba(s) serentes*, *materies deicientes*, *oliva(s) legent(es)*, *item venant(ur)*).

Occasionally inscriptions provide glimpses of the problems farmers had to confront in the dry farming regime typical of the Mediterranean environment. The locust overseer (*curator lucustae*) attested at Thugga in Africa Proconsularis (*CIL* VIII 26517 = *ILS* 6797) and a Greek magical spell, also from Africa, composed in the hope of keeping "swarms of harmful locusts"—as well as hail, mildew, and "the anger of hurricane winds"—far off from "the vineyards, olive-groves, and planted fields" (*AE* 1984, 933), remind us just how problematic infestations of such insects, not to mention climatic extremes, could be for farmers. More dramatically, the sheer sweat and toil of a rural worker under the harsh African sun are evoked in the "Mactar harvester" inscription from Mactaris (*CIL* VIII 11824 = *ILS* 7457 = *CLE* 1238), which tells the life-story of a peasant farmer, who allegedly started life landless but was then able, thanks to his labours, to purchase a small estate, raise a family, gain admittance to the local town-council, and even win office as a local censor, as he proudly boasted in the long metrical text on his funerary monument.¹⁴

¹⁴ Shaw 2013: 51–92, 281–298.

For successful crop cultivation in the dry climate, irrigation was crucial, and considerable light is shed upon its importance by documents regulating access to water-sources or settling disputes over the use of irrigation channels: for example, the Tabula Contrebiensis from Spain's Ebro valley (*CIL* I² 2951a = *ELRH* C9, 87 BCE) or, from the same region, the detailed regulations of Hadrianic date concerning the operation of an irrigation canal, the *rivus Hiberiensis*, that stemmed from a joint-decision taken by three rural districts (*pagi*) in the territories of Caesaraugusta (Zaragoza) and Cascantum (Cascante) (*AE* 2006, 676).¹⁵ Similarly, from North Africa a great deal can be learned about the organization of agricultural irrigation from a decree from Lamasba dating to Elagabalus' reign (*CIL* VIII 4440 + 18587 = *ILS* 5793).¹⁶ Conversely, too much water could be just as damaging. Hadrian's letter of 125 CE to the Boeotian community of Coroneia providing funds for dykes to prevent flooding of arable land near Lake Copais illustrates that local problems were sometimes serious enough to require the emperor's intervention (*AE* 1986, 636a = *SEG* 32, 460).

Epigraphy is also informative on many legal and administrative issues related to the ownership and exploitation of land. The taxation demands of the Roman state and the rents that local communities charged on lands they leased out meant that regular land-surveys were needed, so that the appropriate levels of land-tax (*tributum soli*) and rent could be levied. Roman *coloniae* and some *municipia* had their territories formally surveyed into a grid of units called *centuriae*—hence the process is known as centuriation. Literary texts on land-surveying (the *corpus agrimensorum*) provide many details, but they can be usefully supplemented by epigraphic evidence.¹⁷ Boundary-stones (*termini*) from the edges of *centuriae* of surveyed land survive from Campania, Lucania, Apulia, and Cisalpine Gaul as a result of the agrarian project of Ti. and C. Gracchus to survey and reallocate public land (*ager publicus*), and their texts can be dated precisely during the period 131 to 123 BCE because of the inclusion of the names of the commissioners, the *III viri a(gri)s i(udicandis) a(dsignandis)*, appointed to oversee the project (*CIL* I² 639–644, 719, 2933, 2933a; *ILLRP* 467–474; *ILS* 24–25; *AE* 1994, 533; cf. Ch. 14, p. 279). There is even one outlying example from North Africa, confirming that surveying of Carthage's territory had begun between 121 and 119 for the planned (but never realized) Gracchan settlement of colonists there (*CIL* I² 696 = *ILLRP* 475 = *ILS* 28; cf. *CIL* VIII 22786a–m; *ILS* 9375: *cippi* marking centuriated land in North Africa under the Principate).

Maps of surveyed land (*formae*) were sometimes inscribed on stone or bronze for public display, as at the Latin colony of Arausio (Orange) in Gallia Narbonensis, from where over four hundred fragments survive of *formae* of at least three different cadastres of its territory from the reign of Vespasian (cf. *AE* 1990, 529 = 1991, 1016, a

¹⁵ Beltrán Lloris 2006.

¹⁶ Shaw 1982; cf. *CIL* VI 1261 (originally from Latium), XIV 3676 (Tibur).

¹⁷ Campbell 2000; Chouquer 2008.

fragmentary bronze *forma* from Lusitania).¹⁸ The text's heading explains the need for the latest survey (*AE* 1999, 1023, revising *AE* 1963, 197):

[Imp(erator) Cae]sar Ve[spasianus A]ug(ustus) po[ntifex] max(imus) trib(unicia) potestate VIII im[p(erator) XVIII] p(ater) p(atriciae) co(n)s(ul) VIII censor / [ad restituenda publica] qu[ae] divus Augustus militibus [leg(ionis) II Gallicae] dederat po[ssessa] a priva[tis] per aliquod annos / [formam agrorum] pro[poni] [iussit adnotat]o in sing[ulis] centuriis annuo vectigali agente curam L(ucio) V[alerio Um]midio Basso proco(n)s(ul) provi[nciae] Narbonensis]

Emperor Caesar Vespasian Augustus, pontifex maximus, holding tribunician power for the eighth time, acclaimed emperor eighteen times, father of the fatherland, consul for the eighth time, censor, for the purpose of restoring the public lands which the deified Augustus had given to the soldiers of the Legio II Gallica and which for several years had been occupied by private individuals, ordered that a cadastral map (*forma*) of the territory be displayed with the annual rent (*vectigal*) for each century noted. The work was carried out under the supervision of L. Valerius Ummidius Bassus, proconsul of the province of Narbonensis.

One section of cadastre B reads as follows (*CIL* XII 1244 = *ILGN* 183, as revised by Piganiol):

*s(inistra) d(ecumanum) (centuria) X, c(itra) k(ardinem) (centuria) X
extr(ibutario) XII, col(oniae) XC-
VIII. sol(vunt) Varius
Calid(us) XX, a(era) IIX, (denarios)
X, XVI n(ova), a(era) II, (denarios) II, Ap-
puleia Paulla
XLII
a(era) IIX, (denarios) XXI, XVI n(ova)
a(era) II, (denarios) II, Valerius Se-
cundus IV, a(era) IIX, (denarios)
II*

Century 10 to the left of the *decumanus*, century 10 the other side of the *kardo*. Land exempt from tribute: 12 *iugera*. Land left over for the colony: 98 *iugera*. The lessees are: Varius Calidus: 20 *iugera* at 8 *asses* (per *iugerum*), (total) 10 *denarii*, and 16 new *iugera* (i.e., newly cultivated) at 2 *asses* (per *iugerum*), (total) 2 *denarii*; Appuleia Paulla: 42 *iugera* at 8 *asses* (per *iugerum*), (total) 21 *denarii*, and 16 new *iugera* at 2 *asses* (per *iugerum*), (total) 2 *denarii*; Valerius Secundus: 4 *iugera* at 8 *asses* (per *iugerum*), (total) 2 *denarii*.

This parcel was leased to three people, including a woman, Appuleia Paulla. Since a *centuria* comprised two hundred *iugera*, there must be a stonemason's error here and the figure for land exempt from tribute should read CII (102 *iugera*), not XII.¹⁹ Such problems notwithstanding, the entire document provides a snapshot of the complex

¹⁸ Piganiol 1962.

¹⁹ 1 *iugerum* = 25.18 m², i.e., about ¼ of a hectare.

mixture of juridical categories of land within a single community's territory and gives a sense of how the colony derived income from leasing its land. The fact that a lower rent per *iugerum* was charged for "new" (i.e., previously uncultivated) land hints that the colony might have been providing incentives to encourage more land to be cultivated.

Even more revealing for landownership patterns are inscriptions from Italy of Trajanic date that attest to the operation of the so-called *alimenta* scheme.²⁰ Probably begun under Nerva, this project involved the Roman state lending money to landowners on condition that they pay 5 percent interest annually to their local community to allow it to provide modest monthly cash handouts to needy boys and girls: HS 16 and 12 for legitimate boys and girls respectively, HS 12 and 10 for illegitimate ones. Of the fifty or so Italian towns known to have participated, bronze plaques from Veleia in Cisalpine Gaul (*CIL* XI 1147 = *ILS* 6675) and Ligures Baebiani in Samnium (*CIL* IX 1455 = *ILS* 6509) list the loans received by individual landowners and the annual interest to be paid. These allow a detailed analysis of land-holding patterns and show that the larger landowners tended to own a fragmented series of properties in several parts of the territory rather than large continuous estates, confirmation that some landowners shared Pliny's view about the advantages of having a diversified portfolio of landholdings (*Ep.* 3.19).²¹ A problem for detailed economic analysis is that the smallest estates were seemingly omitted from the registers, presumably because their owners were not financially robust enough to participate in the scheme. Furthermore, while it is valuable to have a snapshot of landholding patterns at one particular moment, an economic historian ideally needs a series of records from one area over an extended period, in order to trace and explain changes in landownership, a key economic issue.

For questions of landownership and the exploitation of estates, inscriptions on bricks, tiles, storage vessels (*dolia*), and mixing bowls (*mortaria*) can be revealing.²² Especially in the second century CE, when such texts became more detailed, particularly in Rome and vicinity, many brick-stamps name the *dominus* of the estate (*praedia*) on which the claybeds and their associated potteries (*figlinae*, in the plural)—sometimes referred to as a "workshop" (*officina*)—where the stamped artifact was produced. A good example is a brick-stamp, specimens of which are known from Ostia and the collections of the Museo Nazionale Romano (*CIL* XV 731b; Fig. 31.2):

*op(us) dol(iare) ex pr(aediis) Um(m)i(di) Quad(rati) et An(niae) / Faus(tinae) ex fi(glinis)
Sex(ti) Ap(ri) Silv(ini)*

Ceramic work from the estate of Ummidius Quadratus and Annia Faustina from the pottery of Sex. Aprius Silvinus.

The estate on which it was produced was owned jointly by Ummidius Quadratus, the consul of 146 CE (*PIR*¹ V 601), and his wife Annia Cornificia Faustina (*PIR*² A 708), sister of the later emperor Marcus Aurelius. On the basis of several other brick-stamps,

²⁰ Duncan-Jones 1982: 288–319; Woolf 1990; Lo Cascio 2000.

²¹ Champlin 1981; Duncan-Jones 1990: 121–142; Criniti 1991.

²² Bloch 1948; Steinby 1978; Helen 1975; Setälä 1977; Manacorda 1993; Zaccaria 1993; Bruun 2005.



FIG. 31.2 Brick-stamp from a senatorial estate near Rome, mid-second century CE.

Faustina's family, on both her paternal and maternal sides, clearly owned a number of estates with claybeds that supplied bricks for the city of Rome.²³

Although illuminating on landownership, such brick-stamps raise key problems of interpretation. What was the relationship between the person running the pottery (the *offinator*) and the estate-owner? Some have argued that the *offinator* leased the right to work the pottery and owned whatever he produced (in Roman legal terms, a *locatio conductio rei*). Others prefer to see a different type of legal relationship (a *locatio conductio operis faciendi*), whereby the estate-owner retained the finished bricks, which he had contracted the potter to produce.²⁴ It is possible that both systems co-existed with different claybeds exploited in different ways in different places; and there may well have been changes in the organization of individual *figlinae* over time. Some stamps explicitly reveal that the claybeds had been leased out to a contractor (*conductor*) (cf. CIL XV 390: *de f(iglinis) Caes(aris) n(ostri) pag(i) Stel(latini) de con(ductione) Ce(i?) Thes(ei?) ex of(f)ic(ina) Trophimatis*). The increasing attestation, as the second century progressed, of the emperor and members of the *domus Augusta* as owners of these estates illustrates the growing concentration in imperial hands of these productive properties in the environs of Rome.²⁵

For the operation of imperial estates in general, a series of complex documents, inscribed on plinths set up in the Bagradas valley near Dougga in Africa Proconsularis, is particularly enlightening (Table 31.1).²⁶

²³ Chausson and Buonopane 2010; cf. Andermahr 1998: 145–146, 457–459.

²⁴ Steinby 1982, 1993; *contra* Helen 1975; cf. Bruun 2005: 8–18.

²⁵ Manacorda 2007; more generally Crawford 1976; Pupillo 2007; Maiuro 2012.

²⁶ Flach 1978; Kehoe 1988.

Table 31.1 Inscriptions relating to tenant farming on imperial estates in the Bagradas valley, Africa Proconsularis

1	patrimonial procurators authorize and regulate the cultivation of vacant lands (<i>subseciva</i>) under the terms of the <i>lex Manciana</i> on the imperial estate known as the <i>fundus Villae Magnae Varianae</i> or <i>fundus Mappaliae Sigae</i>	Henchir-Mettich	116–117	<i>CIL VIII</i> 25902; <i>FIRA I</i> 100; <i>ILPBardo</i> 388; Flach 1978: text A; Kehoe 1988: 29–55
2	petition of some <i>coloni</i> to cultivate forested land and marshland on an imperial estate; fragments of a speech (<i>sermo</i>) of imperial procurators about the occupation of unused lands under the <i>lex Manciana</i>	Aïn el-Djemala, 12 km SW of Henchir-Mettich	Hadrianic	<i>CIL VIII</i> 25943; <i>FIRA I</i> 101; <i>ILPBardo</i> 163; Flach 1978: text B; Kehoe 1988: 55–63
3	(fragmentary) copy of the same procuratorial <i>sermo</i> as in nos. 2 and 4, establishing the name of one of the procurators as Marinus, not [E]arinus or [C]arinus, as previously restored	Lella Dreblia, 13 km SW of Aïn el-Djemala	Hadrianic	<i>AE</i> 2001, 2083 (reading needs to be improved)
4	republication under Septimius Severus of the <i>sermo</i> of imperial procurators in nos. 2 and 3	Aïn-Ouessel, 5.5 km E of Lella Dreblia	198–209	<i>CIL VIII</i> 26416; <i>FIRA I</i> 102; <i>ILPBardo</i> 165; Flach 1978: text C; Kehoe 1988: 55–63
5	petition of <i>coloni</i> of the <i>saltus Burunitanus</i> to Commodus about a procurator's collusion with the estate's <i>conductores</i> ; Commodus' rescript instructing the procurators to stop abusing the <i>coloni</i>	Souk-el-Khmis, 45 km W of Henchir-Mettich	182	<i>CIL VIII</i> 10570 + 14464; <i>ILS</i> 6870; Flach 1978: text D; Kehoe 1988: 64–69
6	part of the same rescript of Commodus as in no. 5 (fragmentary)	Aïn-Zaga, 45 km NW of Henchir-Mettich	date unclear: ? reign of Commodus	<i>CIL VIII</i> 14451; <i>ILPBardo</i> 180
7	petition of <i>coloni</i> about increased labour duties; part of a rescript of Commodus to the <i>coloni</i> (fragmentary)	Gasr-Mezuar, 30 km NNW of Henchir-Mettich	181	<i>CIL VIII</i> 14428

The whole dossier reveals much about how imperial estates operated in this fertile grain-producing area. In addition to arable land for grain and legumes, they comprised pastureland, as well as vineyards, olive-groves, orchards for the cultivation of figs and other fruits, and beehives for honey production. The main lessees (*conductores*) were men of substance who invested in these leases and then sublet plots of land

to tenant-farmers (*coloni*), using bailiffs (*vilici*) to manage operations. The *coloni* were required to provide seven days of corvée labour to the *conductores* per year but were granted certain protections under the sharecropping arrangements. However, if they failed to farm their land for two or more years, the *conductor* could confiscate it. When disputes arose, *coloni* might appeal to the patrimonial *procurator* responsible for administering these estates or, if this failed, directly to the emperor.

Three of these texts (nos. 1, 2, 4) illustrate aspects of the legal regime, the *lex Manciana*, whereby *coloni* received incentives to bring vacant parcels of land (*subseciva*) into production. A *lex Hadriana de rudibus agris* (“Hadrianic law on vacant lands”) is also mentioned (in nos. 3–5), probably a wider regulation about vacant land. Other texts confirm the operation of the *lex Manciana* in this region (*ILTun* 629 = *AE* 1938, 72, 202–205 CE), while the Albertini Tablets from 493–496 mention *culturae Mancianae* (cf. *AE* 1930, 88; 1952, 209), suggesting that this law still provided the framework for lease agreements here even after the end of Roman political control.²⁷ In general, the texts demonstrate the emperor’s keenness to encourage agricultural intensification in one of the most important grain-producing areas in the Empire, crucial for feeding the inhabitants of Rome and the Roman army.

For the day-to-day management of estates, those who owned or leased them often employed freedmen or slaves as *vilici* (“bailiffs”). Cato, Varro, and Columella provide important details on their duties, but these can be supplemented by inscriptions mentioning *vilici*.²⁸ However, no epigraphic material can compare with the rich papyrological records from estates in Roman Egypt, which demonstrate quite a sophisticated level of rationality in accounting practices, providing an important corrective to Finley’s minimalist views on estate management.²⁹

ANIMAL HUSBANDRY

The raising of animals (principally sheep, goats, and pigs, but cattle too in the Empire’s wetter northern zones) was an important complementary activity on agricultural estates. Their manure was valuable as fertilizer, their wool for textile-production, their hides for leather, and their meat formed part of the diet, especially at moments of celebration and festival. Epigraphy has relatively little to contribute to our understanding of these aspects, but it does prove more useful when disputes arose between pastoralists and sedentary farmers.

One of the problems that Ti. Gracchus’ agrarian reforms of 133 BCE sought to address was that in some regions of Italy pastoralists had occupied *ager publicus* to the

²⁷ Courtois et al. 1952.

²⁸ Aubert 1994: 117–200, 445–462; Carlsen 1995; cf. Roth 2004.

²⁹ Rathbone 1991; cf. Finley 1973: 95–122.

detriment of small-scale farmers, who needed to exploit plots of public land to supplement their own small-holdings. That some action was taken on this by a Roman magistrate is confirmed by the so-called “headless” *elogium* at Forum Popilii (Polla) in Lucania (“headless” because the text’s first line, in which the magistrate’s name appeared, is cut off at the top of the plaque): “I was the first to make shepherds yield to ploughmen on public land” (*CIL* I² 638 = *ILLRP* 454 = *ILS* 23, lines 14–15: . . . *primus fecei ut de agro poplico / aratoribus cederent paastores* . . . ; Fig. 30.3; cf. Ch. 28). The *lex agraria* of 111 BCE, which decisively put an end to the Gracchan agrarian reforms, guaranteed that stock-raisers could graze small herds on common pasture-land (*ager compascuus*) and abolished all rents and pasturage fees on former *ager publicus* now confirmed as private property (*CIL* I² 585 = *RS* 2, lines 14–15, 25–26; cf. 85–89, 92 on *ager publicus* in North Africa).

Disputes between landowners and pastoralists sometimes required the intervention of state officials. At Saepinum, a major node on the transhumance route from the upland summer pastures of the central Apennines to lowland winter grazing in the Tavoliere plain of Apulia, a dossier of texts survives, dated 169 to 172 CE, that highlights some of the problems that transhumant shepherds and their flocks might encounter from local landowners and civic officials. The issue was so important that the text was displayed on the N. gate of Saepinum, visible to anyone arriving from Bovianum (*CIL* IX 2438 = *FIRA* I 61).³⁰ Contractors responsible for pasturing certain flocks of sheep (*conductores gregum oviaricorum*) had written to an imperial freedman in the office of the *a rationibus* to complain about the “outrageous treatment” (*iniuria*) they had suffered at the hands of the magistrates of Saepinum and Bovianum and the Roman soldiers known as *stationarii*, which had resulted in the loss of some imperially owned sheep in the fracas that ensued. The imperial freedman duly transmitted the complaint to the praetorian prefects, who by this date were responsible for public order in Italy. Although the text raises complicated questions about the ownership of the flocks in question and the administrative regime controlling transhumance—some have even argued that it had become an imperial monopoly—it clearly indicates that the regular passage of flocks could lead to conflict with landowners along the transhumance routes (cf. *ILPBardo* 414 revising *CIL* VIII 23956, Henchir Snobbeur, 186 CE, a municipal resolution, based on an imperial rescript, defining penalties for encroachments by shepherds on arable land).

Such inscriptions might give the impression that stock-raising was an activity frequently at odds with agriculture, but this has now been challenged and shown to be based too much on the prevailing stereotype of shepherds as quasi-bandits, the very antithesis of the rugged peasant farmer, an ideal type in Roman moral discourse. Indeed, shepherds provided essential seasonal labour at the most intense moments in the agricultural cycle, as the Mactar harvester inscription attests (p. 675). In large part, there was an essential complementarity between agriculture and animal husbandry in the Roman world.³¹

³⁰ Corbier 1983, 2007.

³¹ Whittaker 1988; Garnsey 1998: 166–179; Kron 2000.

PRODUCTION AND EXCHANGE: WINE, OLIVE-OIL AND FISH SAUCES

Although epigraphy throws relatively little light on the production of staples such as grain,³² it does provide vital insights into two major cash-crops—wine and olive-oil—in the form of stamps, painted inscriptions (*tituli picti*), and graffiti found on the amphorae used to transport these products to their points of consumption. (Though not strictly agricultural, the production and exchange of fish-sauces such as *garum*, *liquamen*, and *muria* are also elucidated by epigraphy.)³³ Heinrich Dressel was the first to gather a critical mass of amphora-stamps and *tituli picti* from Rome and its environs for *CIL* XV, fascicle 2, published in 1899. An important update was provided in 1965 by M.H. Callender's *Roman Amphorae*, which collected and discussed amphora-stamps not just from Rome, but from the western provinces too. Ongoing excavations since the 1980s of the Monte Testaccio, a huge dump of amphorae discarded near Rome's river-port and many warehouses, have significantly expanded the quantity of known stamps, as has the discovery of numerous amphora-kilns in the Baetis (Guadalquivir) and Singilis (Genil) valleys in Andalusia, the main production zone for Dressel 20 amphorae.³⁴ There are three major projects devoted to amphora epigraphy:³⁵

- the online database of the CEIPAC (Centro para el Estudio de la Interdependencia Provincial en la Antigüedad Clásica [Centre for the Study of Provincial Interdependence in Classical Antiquity]: <http://www.ceipac.gh.ub.es>)
- the “Recueil de timbres sur les amphores romaines” (RTAR: <http://www.publications.univ-provence.fr/rtar>)
- the corpus “Bolli delle anfore romane.”

At present, the CEIPAC database is by far the most extensive, providing access to a vast array of amphora stamps, *tituli picti*, and incised graffiti, as well as much useful bibliography. It currently includes over 1,800 inscriptions from Dressel 1 wine amphorae and over 23,000 from Dressel 20 olive-oil amphorae.

Stamps were applied before the amphorae were fired, usually on the handle or sometimes on the neck, while *tituli picti* were painted in red or black on the vessels once they were in use. Although not all amphora-types bore such inscriptions and many of these texts are too fragmentary to interpret satisfactorily, the better preserved examples allow an increasingly sophisticated picture of the production, transportation, and even

³² Garnsey 1988; Erdkamp 2005.

³³ Curtis 1991; Etienne and Mayet 1998.

³⁴ Testaccio: Rodríguez Almeida 1984; Blázquez Martínez and Remesal Rodríguez 1999–2010. Kiln-sites: Ponsich 1974–91. Stamps: Chic 1985–88; Etienne and Mayet 2004.

³⁵ Remesal Rodríguez, Berni Millet, and Aguilera Martín 2008; Carre et al. 1995; Blanc-Bijon et al. 1998; Panella 1994, 2004.

marketing of wine, olive-oil and fish sauces. As new data are added, the potential of the entire corpus increases exponentially. This is very much a field of epigraphy where the inscriptions need to be studied in bulk, to make best sense of each individual text.

Stamps are most beneficial when they can be traced to the kilns where they were impressed onto the clay amphorae before firing. The widespread presence in the territory of Cosa in Etruria of late republican Dressel 1 wine amphorae with the stamps SES or SEST (cf. *CIL* I² 3538.1–9) makes it very likely that this was their production zone. That this wine circulated widely is proved by discoveries of amphorae with this stamp all over Italy, southern and central Gaul, and the Iberian Peninsula, as well as in shipwrecks such as the Grand Congloué B wreck, which alone has yielded a thousand examples. The stamp is to be connected to the senator P. Sestius, praetor in 54 BCE, who is known to have owned land in the *ager Cosanus* (Cic. *Att.* 15.27.1, 29.1), and possibly to his father Lucius.³⁶

As for Dressel 20 olive-oil amphorae, the excavation of about one hundred amphora-kilns in the major olive-growing zone of Baetica means that many production sites of these stamped amphorae are now known. Tracking the stamps around the Empire permits us to see just how extensively olive-oil from individual production sites was distributed.³⁷ For example, some 300 stamps have come to light at the second-century kilns at Villar de Brenes, 15 km upstream from Ilipa (Alcalá del Río): QVCVIR, interpreted as *Q(uintus) V(irginus) C(- -) (figlina) Vir(giniensis)*, but also VIRC, VIRCIN, VIRGIN, allowing the kilns to be identified as the (*figlinae*) *Virginienses* (cf. Fig. 31.3a).³⁸ Some stamps take the form VIR.I, VIR.II, VIR.III, VIR.IIIII, and VIR.A.V, i.e., *Vir(giniensia A(- -) V*, suggesting that at least five separate kilns operated. In the later second century the stamps change, with *I(- -) S(- -)* found in combination with various *cognomina*: Hermes, Milo, Callistus, Augustalis, and Romulus, which may signal a change in ownership of the kilns and, perhaps, the olive-groves as well. All these stamps have also been discovered at Monte Testaccio, elsewhere in Italy, Gaul, Mauretania, Britain, and at military sites in the Rhineland. The archaeological locations and levels in which they were found at Monte Testaccio help fix their date in the mid- to later second century CE.

Another group of stamps incorporate the letters AVGGGNNN (*Augusti nostri*) (cf. *CIL* XV 2558a, 2560, 2565, 2570; Fig. 31.3b), demonstrating that some of these kilns were imperially owned when three *Augusti* were in power: most plausibly Septimius Severus, Caracalla, and Geta between 209 and 211. They help to flesh out the brief report (SHA *Sev.* 12.3) that Septimius confiscated the property of Hispanic landowners who had supported Clodius Albinus in the civil wars that took place during his rise and early years in power.³⁹

³⁶ Manacorda 1978; Tchernia 1986, esp. 321–344.

³⁷ Remesal Rodríguez 1998; Berni Millet 2008.

³⁸ Remesal Rodríguez 1980.

³⁹ Remesal Rodríguez 2013.

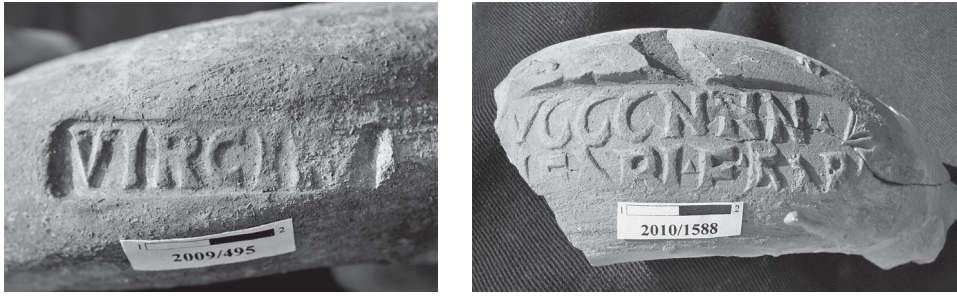


FIG. 31.3 Stamps on Dressel 20 olive-oil amphorae produced in Baetica, from the Monte Testaccio, Rome, second and early third century CE.

Interpretation of such amphora-stamps, however, is not straightforward. Was the person named on them the owner of the estates that produced the olive-oil or just the owner or lessee of the kilns?⁴⁰ Furthermore, attempts to link up very abbreviated amphora stamps with individuals attested in stone inscriptions, usually local elites or their freedmen, though obviously tempting, is fraught with risk. Can a secure connection really be established between the person who appears as “T.H.B.” on stamps on Dressel 6A Dalmatian wine amphorae and T. Helvius Basila, Tiberius’ legate in Galatia in 36–37 CE, or his father, even if his family did have connections to the production zone?⁴¹

Similar difficulties surround the explication of the more complex *tituli picti*. Some were evidently advertising slogans, such as the fish-sauce jars from Pompeii labeled *g(ari) f(los) scom(bri)* (lit. “the ‘flower’ of *garum* made from mackerel,” i.e., “choice mackerel *garum*”) (CIL IV 2574–78, 5679, 9379–99) or *liquamen optimum*—“the best *liquamen*,” another type of fish-sauce (CIL IV 2589–91; AE 1992, 278). Another painted inscription found at Pompeii advertized *gar(um) cast(imoniarum)*, kosher *garum* (CIL IV 2569 = ILS 8600; cf. Plin. *NH* 31.95), but how we should interpret some other “brand labels” painted on amphorae from Pompeii is more controversial.⁴²

Dressel 20 oil amphorae, dating to the second and early third centuries, have *tituli* made up of four or five elements, referred to since Dressel by the Greek letters α, β, γ, δ, and ε (cf. Fig. 31.4). An example from the Saint-Gervais 3 shipwreck near Fos-sur-Mer, 50 km W. of Marseilles, dated to 149–154 CE, illustrates the complexities involved in reading such *tituli picti* (AE 1981, 627; cf. 626, 628; AE 1991, 1187c):

- α XC (*librae*)
- β L(uci) Antoni Epaphroditi
- γ XCCVII(s)emisse(m) (*librae*)
- δ ac(cepi)t G(- -) Primus / Charitianum Aeliae Aelian(ae)
LVII(s)emisse(m) / XCCVII s(emisse(m)) Anicet(us) (*ponderavit*)

⁴⁰ Remesal Rodríguez 1998: 190; *contra* Liou and Tchernia 1994.

⁴¹ Lindhagen 2009: 102 and n. 135.

⁴² Peña 2007.

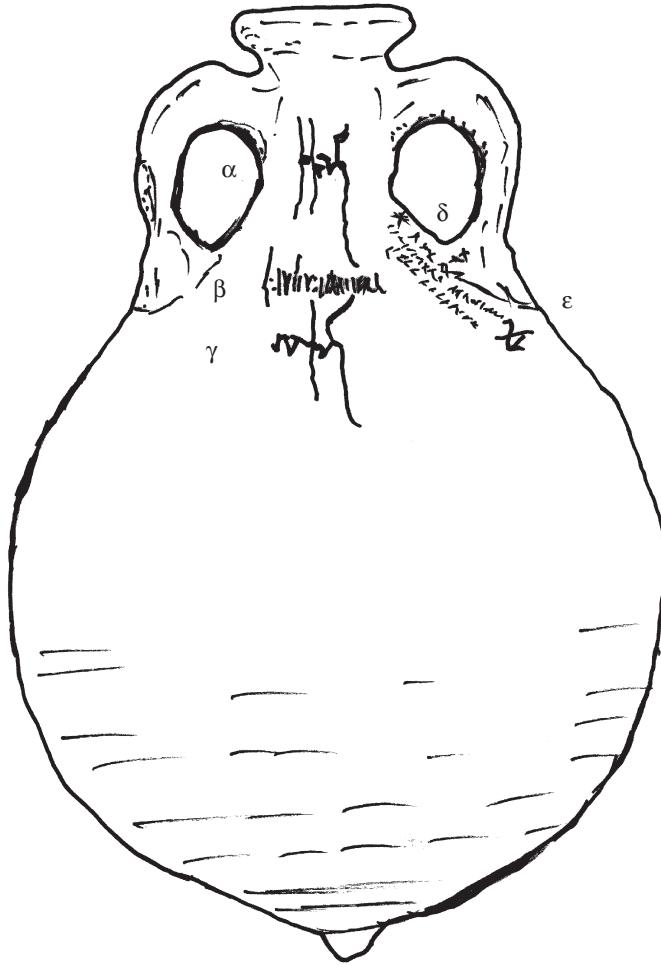


FIG. 31.4 Dressel 20 amphora, showing the position of *tituli picti*.

The numeral on the amphora's neck (α) indicates the weight of the empty amphora: 90 (Roman) pounds (i.e., 29.43 kg); that in the middle (γ), the weight of the amphora when full: 197½ pounds (i.e., 64.58 kg). Hence from the difference we may calculate that this amphora held 72.02 litres of oil. The name in position β in the genitive, here L. Antonius Epaphroditus (who is well attested at Monte Testaccio: *CIL XV* 3702–10), is now thought to be that of the shipper or businessman responsible for transporting the oil rather than the oil-producer, the view taken by Dressel. (Such merchants' names were also stamped on the layer of pozzolana or lime that was used to cover and seal the ceramic, wood, or cork stopper inserted into an amphora's neck after it had been filled.)⁴³ The inscription in position δ records the checking of the amphora at the point of embarkation. It

⁴³ Berni Millet and Gorostidi Pi 2013.

gives (i) the name of the official who supervised the control process: “G(- - -) Primus received it”—from Hadrian onwards the word *r(ecensitum)* (“reviewed”) is often found in place of *accepit*; (ii) the “brand-name” of the oil, derived from the estate-name: here “Charitian” from the (*fundus*) *Charitianus*—and the name of the estate-owner, in this case a woman, Aelia Aeliana; (iii) a numeral, presumably a weight (57½ pounds), the significance of which is unclear; and (iv) the name of the official, Anicetus, responsible for confirming the weight registered in position γ (197½ pounds). From Hadrian’s reign onwards, the name of a town (usually Astigi, Corduba, or Hispalis) was also included, possibly signifying the fiscal district where the amphora was checked before it left the production zone. A consular date becomes normal from Antoninus Pius onwards.⁴⁴ Text ε, a numeral as yet of uncertain significance, appears near the handle.

In the third century, inscription β routinely comprises the text *fisci rationis patrimonii provinciae Baeticae* (cf. *CIL* XV 4102, 4121–33), which would apparently confirm that the imperial family not only owned oil-producing estates, but also—through their patrimonial procurators—looked after its transport to Rome. Hence these inscriptions make a major contribution to the debate about the Roman emperor’s increasing involvement in economic activities.

In the second century private businessmen (*negotiatores*), shippers (*navicularii*), and oil transporters (*diffusores olearii*) had been responsible for the transport of food-stuffs to Rome, even when they were destined to feed the urban *plebs* and the army, i.e., the institution known as the *annona* (cf. Ch. 22). This is now much clearer thanks to an inscription discovered in the foundations of Seville’s cathedral (*AE* 2001, 1186). It is a statue-base set up by the “most splendid association of *olearii*” to M. Iulius Hermesianus, warden (*curator*) of this association’s branch either in Hispalis or in Rome and Puteoli (depending on how line 5 is restored), who is described (lines 2–3) as a *diffusor olei ad annon[am] urbis* (“oil transporter for the food-supply of the *urbs*,” i.e., Rome). Unsurprisingly, the same man was also honoured at Astigi (Écija), in the very heart of Baetica’s oil-producing zone (*CIL* II²/5, 1180). Such men played a major role in the economic triangle that linked the production zones (the area around Astigi), the major port of embarkation (Hispalis), and the oil’s destination (Ostia/Rome) (cf. *CIL* VI 1885, 29722 [= *ILS* 7490]; XIV 4458; *AE* 1980, 98).⁴⁵ From the Severan period onwards the imperial fisc played a greater role than before in shipments. These *tituli picti*, therefore, need to be integrated into any discussion of the balance between private enterprise and state control in economic transactions.⁴⁶ The Roman state exercised close supervision over the shipment of goods by charging customs-dues (*portorium*) at a network of customs-stations across the Empire (Ch. 14), as revealed in great detail in a long inscription from Ephesus (*AE* 2008, 1353 = *SEG* 39, 1180).⁴⁷

⁴⁴ Remesal Rodríguez 1998: 191–193; Aguilera Martín 2007.

⁴⁵ Panciera 1980; Granino Cecere 1994; Rico 2003.

⁴⁶ Rodríguez Almeida 1989; Lo Cascio 2007, esp. 639–646.

⁴⁷ Cottier et al. 2008.

PRIVATE ENTERPRISE AND STATE RESOURCES: MINING

Epigraphy is the major source for our understanding of one final area of the economy where the state and private enterprise dovetailed in both production and distribution: namely, mining. The Roman state required substantial quantities of metals for coinage, military equipment, and building supplies, but there was also a free market in metals too, which is often overlooked in scholarship on the Roman economy. Inscriptions throw light on mining operations in various parts of the Empire, while inscribed lead, copper, and tin ingots—precious metal ingots are rarely found; these metals may well have been transported under heavy guard by land—provide important clues about how mining was organized and how processed metals circulated.

After the Carthaginian defeat in the Second Punic War, the silver mines near New Carthage in SE Spain became Roman state property. Numerous Italians flocked to Spain to exploit these mines by leasing one of the contracts auctioned by the Roman censors (Polyb. 34.9.8–11). The discovery of numerous lead ingots from these mines, especially on shipwrecks datable by other elements of their cargo to the late second or first centuries BCE, throws light on the manner in which these mines operated. (Lead was a by-product from the smelting of the ore from which silver was obtained.)

These ingots have rectangular cavities (“cartouches”) across their tops, which incorporate a name (or names) in raised relief lettering. Since these inscriptions were cut into the moulds used to cast the ingots, they must concern those involved in the production of the metal.⁴⁸ The names took several forms:

- a single name (in the genitive): (a) *C(ai) Aquini M(arci) f(ilii)*; (b) *Cn(aei) Atelli(i) Cn(aei) l(iberti) Bulio(nis)* (ELRH SP4, SP6)
- a pair of names (in the nominative or genitive): (a) *M(arcus et) P(ublius) Roscieis M(arci) f(ilii) Maic(ia sc. tribu)*; (b) *C(ai) Fidui(i) C(ai) f(ilii) // (et) S(purii) Lucreti(i) S(purii) f(ilii)*; (c) *M(arci et) C(ai) Pontilienorum M(arci) f(iliorum)* (ELRH SP34, SP17, SP30)
- the name of a *societas* (business partnership) (in the genitive): (a) *soc(ietatis) M(arci et) C(ai) Pontilienorum M(arci) f(iliorum)*; (b) *soc(ietatis) L(ucii) Gargili(i) T(iti) f(ili) et M(arci) Laetili(i) M(arci) l(iberti)* (ELRH SP 31, SP13).

These examples show that both freeborn individuals and freedmen were involved in the mining—either individually or in partnerships, which sometimes comprised two brothers, sometimes unrelated persons. The discovery of many of these ingots in shipwrecks along the S. coast of Gaul and in or near the Straits of Bonifacio between

⁴⁸ Domergue 1990 is central on many aspects of Roman mining in Hispania (esp. 253–277, esp. Table X on these ingots); cf. Díaz Ariño and Antolinos Marín 2013.



FIG. 31.5 Lead ingot from the argentiferous lead mines in the Mendips, Somerset, naming the emperor Nero. Found in Hampshire, now in the British Museum.

Sardinia and Corsica suggests that the lead was being shipped to Italy. Some of these families became prominent in republican New Carthage, such as the Pontilieni (cf. *CIL* I² 3449g; *ELRH* C42).

Another group of lead ingots from the first century CE from the Sierra Morena mines in Baetica include not just the producer's name in a cartouche applied at the time of casting, but further names stamped later on the sides along with graffiti indicating the ingots' weight. This has led Claude Domergue to propose a series of models involving middlemen acquiring the ingots at mining sites in the Sierra Morena, transporting them on barges to the river port of Hispalis, and then shipping them to the final market, often in Italy. The role of free enterprise is neatly summed up in a cast-stamp on one of these ingots that proclaims: *emptor, salve* ("Greetings, buyer!").⁴⁹ Recent scholarship has also elucidated the production of lead in Germania from the Augustan period onward.⁵⁰

Other ingots bear the name of the Roman emperor, which is not surprising since in the Principate all gold and most silver mines became imperial property. Ingots from the argentiferous lead mines in Britain have the emperor's name moulded across their tops, as in an example produced at the mines in the Mendip hills in Somerset, but found in Hampshire (*RIB* II.1 2404.3), which reads *Neronis Aug(usti) ex K(alendis) Ian(uariis) IIII co(n)s(ulis) Brit(annicum)* (Fig. 31.5). The moulded inscription continues on the front with: *[e]x K(alendis) Iul(iis) p(ontificis) m(aximi) co(n)s(ulis)* ("from 1 July pontifex maximus and consul"), while the back is stamped with *ex argent(ariis)* ("from the silver mines") and the name of an imperial agent. Similarly, ingots from a shipwreck in the harbour at Caesarea Maritima (Judaea) have Domitian's name cast on the top—*Imp(eratoris) Domit(iani) Caesaris Aug(usti) Ger(manici)*—with the name of the mines, *met(alla) Dard(anica)*, on their front, along with stamps applied later with *sub C(aio) Cal(purnio?)* ("under C. Cal(purnius?)"),

⁴⁹ Domergue 1994, 1998 (esp. 205: *emptor, salve*).

⁵⁰ Eck 2004; Rothenhöfer 2005; Hanel 2005.

perhaps an imperial official, and stamped and incised indications of their weight (*CIIP* II 1382–83). Their source was the important mines near the *municipium Dardanorum* in Moesia Superior (modern Kosovo).

Other types of inscriptions help to flesh out details of the organizational regime of mining. Two bronze plaques found in 1876 and 1906 in the slag-heaps of the Vipasca (Aljustrel) mines in Lusitania carry part of the texts of two mining regulations of Hadrianic date. The first relates specifically to Vipasca and lays down the terms under which contractors (*conductores*) might lease various monopolies within the mining community, such as running auctions, operating the baths, the fullery, shoemaking, and barbering, and collecting slag (*CIL* II 5181 = *ILS* 6891 = *FIRA* I 105 = *IRCP* 142). The second publishes a letter from Hadrian to the imperial freedman procurator of the mines, Ulpus Aelianus, transmitting the contents of a *lex* issued by the emperor regulating the very precise terms under which contractors might lease the rights to exploit shafts (*putei*) in the silver and copper mines (*FIRA* I 104 = *IRCP* 143). The precise legal conditions are complex and have given rise to ongoing debates among scholars, but the overall contours of the system are clear.⁵¹ The imperial fisc received half of the metal produced, while the lessee retained the other half and was free to dispose of it as he saw fit. Just as at New Carthage during the Republic, the Roman state did not here involve itself directly in mining operations; it gained regular revenue from the mines, but relied on individuals to invest and take on some of the risks of production.

Alluvial gold mining in NW Spain was operated directly by the *fiscus*.⁵² Flickering glimpses of the administrative regime in place here—and in many other mining zones across the Empire—are provided by inscriptions of imperial freedmen and equestrians who functioned as mining procurators—either of individual mines or of mining zones: for example, the imperial freedmen procurators of the Vipasca mines such as Ulpus Aelianus (mentioned above) or of the Mons Marianus mines in Baetica (*ILS* 1591–92) or the equestrian procurators who oversaw the Pannonian and Dalmatian silver-mines (*ILS* 1421, 1443; *AE* 1956, 123) or who were responsible for collecting the rents (*vectigalia*) on the Gallic iron mines (*ILS* 1359, Carales).⁵³

Even if gold mines were directly run, in some zones there was still room for private enterprise. Labour contracts from the Dacian gold mines at Alburnus Maior show that those responsible for mining there relied at least in part on freeborn hired labourers working on six-month contracts (*CIL* III p. 948, nos. 10–11 = *IDR* I 41–42).⁵⁴ As so often with epigraphic evidence, one must be careful not to extrapolate conclusions derived from material about one location to fill in gaps in our knowledge of mining elsewhere the Empire. Different metals, different regions, and different periods might well require rather different organizational regimes.

⁵¹ Flach 1979; Domergue 1983; cf. Mateo Sanz 2001; Lazzarini 2001; Hirt 2010, esp. 226–228.

⁵² Domergue 1990: 295–307.

⁵³ Hirt 2010: 202–260.

⁵⁴ Noeske 1977.

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*Inscriptions and Roman
Cultural Life*

CHAPTER 32

LOCAL LANGUAGES IN ITALY AND THE WEST*

JAMES CLACKSON

IN June 1991 an inscribed limestone *cippus* was discovered built into the wall of a building in the small community of Tortora, in the hills five kilometres from the Calabrian coast of S. Italy.¹ Dating to *c.* 500 BCE, the *cippus* is inscribed on three sides and on the top with a text in the Achaean Greek alphabet, with an extra sign representing the sound *f* (*STPs* 20 = *Imag. It. Blanda* 1; Fig. 32.1).

The lines snake up and down the *cippus* in boustrophedon (i.e., one line running top to bottom, the next bottom to top, and so on), in much the same way as on the roughly contemporary Lapis Niger from the Roman Forum (*CIL* I² 1 = *ILS* 4913 = *ILLRP* 3; Fig. 6.4). Despite standing 67 cm high, the stone is broken in the middle, and this, together with the extreme wearing on all sides, makes the text very difficult to read. Even so, enough of the vocabulary and structure of the text remains to support the view that the purpose of the inscription was most probably the same as that of the Lapis Niger: it was the public record of a law. What is more, the language of the Tortora *cippus* is not found recorded anywhere else. It is Indo-European, belonging to the same family as the much better attested Oscan and Umbrian, but it has marked divergences from all the other recorded languages of ancient Italy. There are no surviving ancient discussions dealing specifically with the language of the early inhabitants of this part of Calabria, but even so some modern scholars have termed the language of the Tortora *cippus* as “Oenotrian” following the name given in Strabo (6.1.4) to the original people of the region.²

* This contribution concentrates on Italy and the West. For local languages in the eastern part of the Empire, Woodard 2004; cf. Hawkins 2010; Brixhe 2010 (Anatolia); Cotton et al. 2009 (Egypt and Palestine); cf. *CIIP*, with inscriptions in Greek, Latin, and various Semitic languages.

¹ Lazzarini and Poccetti 2001.

² Martzloff 2006: 116.

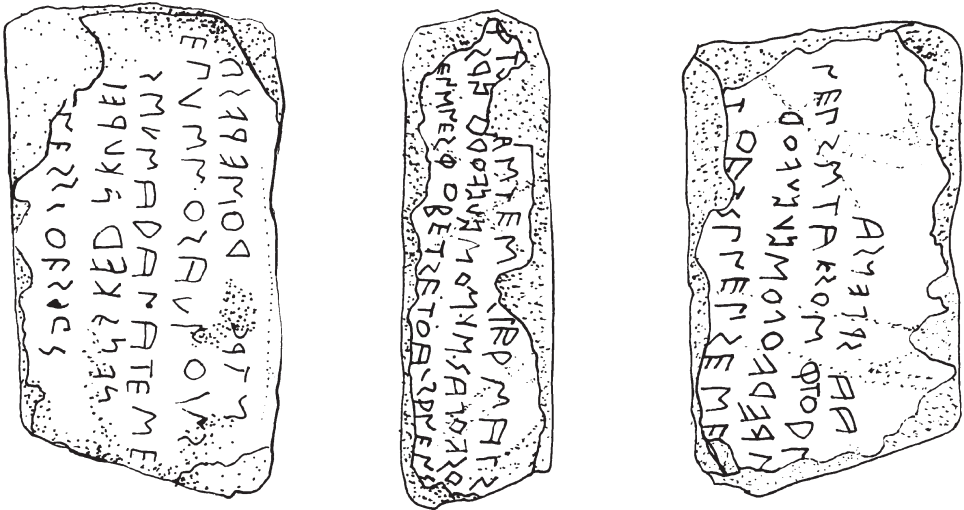


FIG. 32.1 Limestone *cippus* with a legal text inscribed on three sides from Tortora, S. Italy. Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Reggio Calabria.

The Tortora inscription provides a striking example of how epigraphy can change our understanding of the linguistic landscape of the ancient world. Various Greek and Roman writers identify some of the different languages spoken around the Mediterranean, including, for example, Dionysius of Halicarnassus who discusses the different languages spoken in Italy, showing an awareness that Latin, Umbrian, and Etruscan were all different languages (Dion. Hal. 1.29–30), and the geographer now known as Pseudo-Scylax, who lists five languages of S. Italy in his *Periplus* (15). Other ancient writers, commentators, and lexicographers give Greek or Latin glosses for individual words in other languages. Thus Varro reports that *casnar* is the Oscan word for “old man” (*Ling.* 7.29), while Festus states that the word *ambactus*, used by Ennius, is the Gaulish word for a slave (Paul. Fest. p. 4 L, p. 47 M). However, it is only through epigraphy that we can gain access to actual texts.

For most languages, epigraphy provides the only concrete evidence that they ever existed, since the advent of Latin and Roman expansion led to the widespread extinction of all previous spoken varieties.³ Most of the modern languages spoken in the area of the western Roman Empire either derive from Latin (such as Italian, French, Spanish, and Portuguese) or from the languages of later migrants into these areas (including Arabic in North Africa and English in Great Britain). Only a handful of languages that were spoken before the Romans have survived, and these on the fringes of the Empire or in inaccessible regions: Albanian, Basque, Berber, Celtic varieties including Welsh, Cornish, and Breton. None of these languages is attested in the epigraphic record in

³ Italy: Benelli 2001; Bispham 2008: 4–6; the provinces: Brunt 1976; Clackson 2012a.

the classical period (except perhaps Berber and British Celtic: see p. 713, 704–705). Doubtless there were other varieties spoken that remained unrecorded and are now lost; the language map of the classical world will always contain question marks and blank space. Although it is incomplete, the epigraphic record does, however, provide evidence for a wide diversity of languages both before and during Roman expansion in the West.

THE IBERIAN PENINSULA AND GAUL

From Portugal and Spain we have epigraphic evidence for four native languages, collected in the *Monumenta Linguarum Hispanicarum*, edited by Jürgen Untermann (*MLH*), with more recent finds recorded in the journal *Palaeohispanica*, which now publishes a regular “Chronica epigraphica iberica” and “Chronica epigraphica celtiberica.”⁴ Of these languages, two are poorly understood: Tartessian (sometimes called South Lusitanian; *MLH* IV) and Iberian (*MLH* II and III). The other two, Lusitanian and Celtiberian (*MLH* IV), belong to the Indo-European family of languages, and linguists can thus deduce much more of the meaning of these inscriptions. Tartessian was spoken in SW Spain and S. Portugal and is attested primarily on less than a hundred inscribed stone stelae from the middle of the first millennium BCE. Tartessian is written in a distinctive script of twenty-seven characters, halfway between an alphabet and a syllabary. There are five signs for the vowels *a e i o u* and seven for the consonants *l m n r r̄ s ś*; the remaining fifteen signs represent one of the three consonants *b t k* combined with a vowel, giving separate characters for *ba, be, bi*, etc. Two scripts based on similar principles to the Tartessian writing systems (and with some similarities in signs) are used to record the *c.* two thousand short Iberian texts which date from roughly the same period and are found in a wide area stretching along the Mediterranean from Agde in France to south of Murcia in Spain. A few longer Iberian texts are recorded on lead tablets in an adaptation of the Greek alphabet; some appear to be commercial contracts.⁵

Around two hundred Celtiberian inscriptions survive from northern and central Spain, also written in a related script to that used for Tartessian and Iberian, but since the Celtiberian language belongs to the Celtic branch of Indo-European, the language is much better understood. The most celebrated Celtiberian inscriptions are the bronze plaques from Botorrita (*MLH* IV Botorrita K.1.1–3), the findspot also of the Latin *Tabula Contrebiensis* (*CIL* I² 2951a = *AE* 1984, 586; cf. Ch. 15).⁶ Lusitanian is recorded on a handful of fairly lengthy inscriptions from the early imperial period, written in

⁴ De Hoz 2010; Simkin 2012.

⁵ Solier 1979; Sanmartí i Grego 1988.

⁶ De Hoz 1974; Prósper 2008; Beltrán Lloris, De Hoz, and Untermann 1996; Villar et al. 2001. In general, Beltrán Lloris 1999.

the Latin script and sometimes with tags in Latin, which refer to sacrificial procedures (*MLH* IV L.1.1–3.1).⁷ One such text is cut onto a granite outcrop at Cabeço das Fráguas (Sabugal, Portugal) (*MLH* IV L.3.1; Fig. 32.2):

oilam Trebopala
indi porcom Labbo
comaiam Iccona Loim-
inna oilam usseam
5 Trebarune indi taurom
ifadem
Reue Tre[- -]

Although problems still remain about precisely how to construe elements of the text, it clearly relates to the equivalent of a Roman *suovetaurilia* offering, and the most commonly accepted translation is:⁸

(We offer) a sheep for Trebopala and a pig for Labbo; a heifer (?) for Iccona Loiminna; a one-year-old sheep for Trebaruna and a breeding bull for Reve Tre[- -]

In 2008 a stele with eighty-six characters was discovered during excavations conducted by Ámilcar Guerra at Arronches in S. Portugal, the longest Lusitanian inscription so far known and one that also relates to sacrificial offerings to local divinities (*AE* 2008, 640 = *HEp* 17, 251);⁹ a shorter text on an altar was discovered in Viseu in 2009 (*AE* 2009, 505 = *HEp* 17, 255).¹⁰

Gaul shows a much less varied linguistic landscape. Aside from the Iberian inscriptions in the south-west, the only native language attested is Gaulish, an Indo-European language of the Celtic subgroup, whose closest living relatives are Welsh and Breton. The earliest Gaulish inscriptions from France date from the late third century BCE, written using the Greek script (and confusingly labelled “Gallo-Greek”). Gaulish is written in Greek script on around seventy stone inscriptions, mostly from S. France, and on about two hundred ceramic stamps (collected and edited in *RIG* I, with more recent finds recorded in the journal *Études Celtiques*). From the first century BCE, Gaulish is also attested written in Latin script (termed “Gallo-Latin”). Gaulish in Latin script is only represented in under twenty stone inscriptions (*RIG* II.1 and III, the latter devoted to the fragmentary inscribed calendars of imperial date from Coligny and Villards d’Héria).¹¹ There is a larger number and range of *instrumenta domestica*, graffiti, and lead tablets (*RIG* II.2). Gaulish in Latin script is also attested over a much

⁷ New Lusitanian texts that have appeared since *MLH*: Almagro Gorbea, Ortega Blanco, and Villar Liébana 1999; Villar and Pedrero 2001; D’Encarnaçao et al. 2008; Prósper and Villar 2009 (Arronches).

⁸ This translation is based on Rodríguez Colmenero 1993: 104–105 no. 47 and Untermann at *MLH* IV L3; cf. Prósper 1999. Further discussion: Alfayé and Marco Simón 2008: 290–296; Schattner and Correia Santos 2010.

⁹ D’Encarnaçao et al. 2008; cf. Prósper and Villar 2009.

¹⁰ Fernandes, Carvalho, and Figueira 2009.

¹¹ Coligny calendar: Olmsted 1992; Le Contel and Verdier 1997.

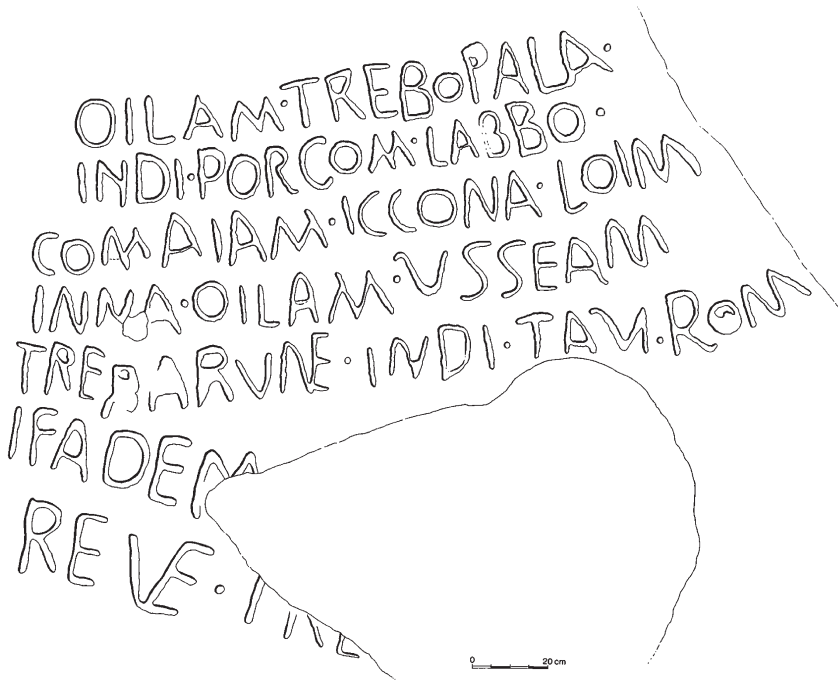


FIG. 32.2a-b Lusitanian rock-cut inscription from Cabeço das Fráguas, Sabugal, Portugal.

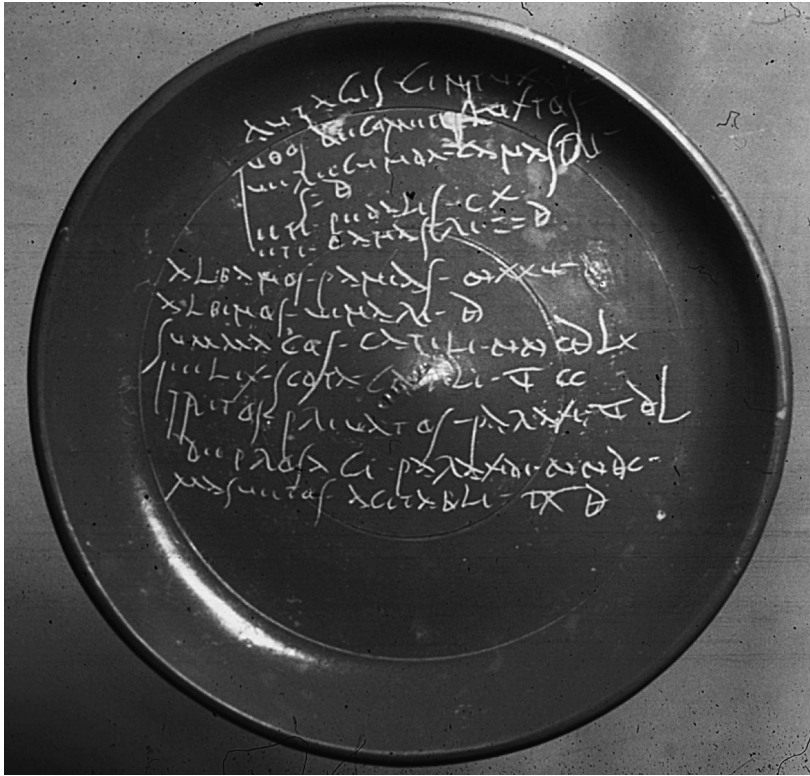


FIG. 32.3 Potters' accounts in Gaulish on a *terra sigillata* red-slip dish from La Graufesenque. Musée de Millau et des Grands Causses; text and English translation in the box on the next page.

wider area: from as far in the north-west of France as Plumergat in Brittany (*RIG II.2*, L-15), to as far east as Berne in Switzerland (*RIG II.2*, L-106).

In S. France, Gaulish and Latin are found together in a collection of potters' firing lists and signings from La Graufesenque (*RIG II.2*, L-29 to L-48). One of these texts (*RIG II.2*, L-29; Fig. 32.3 and next page) is in Gaulish, but it contains a number of words denoting pottery vessels borrowed from Latin: *canastri* (unless a direct borrowing from Greek), *pedalis*, *vinari*, *catili*, *paraxidi* (Latin *paropsides*), *acitabli* (Latin *acetabula*), as well as the names *Verecunda*, *Albanos*, *Albinos*, and *Felix*.¹² After an initial line of uncertain interpretation, possibly a dating formula, there is a heading identifying the kiln load, which is followed by a list of the pots in that firing. Each entry has up to four parts: (i) a potter's name; (ii) an indication of the type of pot; (iii) an indication of the pot's size (sometimes omitted); and (iv) the number of pots of this type in the firing.

Gaulish is also attested in Italy (termed Cisalpine Gaulish) and even perhaps in Britain. The British evidence is problematic: a couple of lead tablets found at Bath have

¹² Marichal 1988.

<i>Autagis cintux XXI</i>	(? a dating formula)
<i>tuθos decametos luxtos</i>	Tenth loaded kiln:
<i>Verecunda canastri</i>	Verecunda; <i>canistrum</i> dishes;
<i>S = D</i>	2/3 foot; 500.
<i>eti pedalis CX</i>	and (Verecunda); one foot wide (dishes); 110.
<i>eti canastri = D</i>	and (Verecunda); <i>canistrum</i> dishes; 1/3 foot; 500.
<i>Albanos panias (I)XXV</i>	Albanos; <i>panna</i> dishes; 1025.
<i>Albinos uinari D</i>	Albinos; wine jugs; 500.
<i>Summacos catili (I)(I)CDLX</i>	Summacos; plates; 2,460.
<i>Felix Scota catili V CC</i>	Felix Scota; plates; 5,200.
<i>Tritos Priuatos paraxi VDL</i>	Tritos Privatos; fruit dishes; 5,550.
<i>Deprosagi paraxidi (I)(I)DC</i>	Deprosagi(yos); fruit dishes; 2,600.
<i>Masuetos acitabli T XD</i>	Masuetos; cups; 9,500.

been included in the Gaulish corpus (*RIG* II.2, L-107–108). It is not clear whether these texts represent the indigenous Celtic language, or if they are the work of travellers from the continent.¹³ Other lead tablets from Uley and Dodford in Britain are written in Latin script and contain legible text which is clearly not Latin and which may be Celtic.¹⁴ More certain evidence for Gaulish outside France comes from N. Italy, especially around the Po valley, where a handful of stone inscriptions have survived from as early as the fourth century BCE, written in the Etruscan alphabet (collected in *RIG* II.1). Two of these Gaulish texts, from Vercelli (*RIG* II.1, E-2 = *CIL* I² 3403a) and Todi (*RIG* II.1, E-5 = *CIL* I² 2103 = XI 4687), have Latin versions inscribed alongside Gaulish, and provide the most extensive surviving bilingual documents for the language.

LOCAL LANGUAGES IN ITALY: ETRUSCAN AND ITS INFLUENCE

Italy provides a wealth of epigraphic material written in local languages. A greater number of different languages are attested from here than from France and Spain put together. Most of these languages are only very scantily attested: for example, the case of Oenotrian, found on the Tortora *cippus* (p. 699); the exception is Etruscan. The Etruscans are the only people of the western Mediterranean for whom epigraphic material survives in any degree comparable to that left by the Greeks and Romans. Indeed,

¹³ Mullen 2007.

¹⁴ Uley: unpublished, but mentioned in Tomlin 1993 (docs. 7, 35, 59). Dodford: Tomlin 2009: 347 no. 64.

the number of Etruscan inscriptions before the second century BCE easily surpasses the number of Latin inscriptions from the same period. In all, nearly nine thousand Etruscan texts have been published, and a steady stream of new finds are recorded annually in the journal *Studi Etruschi* in the section “Rivista di Epigrafia Etrusca”.¹⁵ Although the majority of our data comes from funerary contexts and hence is found on sarcophagi, wall-paintings, dedications, inscribed tiles, and other tomb objects, there is also evidence that the Etruscans used writing for other purposes to record:

- trading activities (for example, the Pech Maho tablet, *ET Na* 0.1)
- ritual calendars (for example, the famous linen book which survives as a mummy-wrapping, *ET LL = CIE Supp. 1*,¹⁶ and the inscribed tile from Capua, *ET TC = CIE 8682*)
- private legal agreements (if this is the correct interpretation of the *Tabula Cortonensis*, Fig. 32.4, discussed on p. 707)
- the occasional public inscription (for instance, the Perugia *cippus*, *ET Pe 8.4 = CIE 4538*).

However, little evidence so far has been unearthed of Etruscan used to record public works, or local decrees or laws.

Since ancient times, the Etruscan language has been observed to be unlike Latin or Greek or any known language (cf. Dion. Hal. 1.30), and there have been innumerable attempts to decipher its mysteries. In the twentieth century, the famous gold tablets excavated at Pyrgi, two of which are written in Etruscan (*ET Cr 4.4* and *4.5 = REE 6314* and *6315*) and the third in Phoenician (*REE 6316 = KAI 277*),¹⁷ and the small number of bilingual Latin-Etruscan grave inscriptions¹⁸ have allowed scholars to work out the basic structures of Etruscan onomastic formulae and grammar, and study of the longer texts continues to yield insights into the Etruscan language.¹⁹

There is both diachronic and regional variation within Etruscan inscriptions. Recent Etruscan, also known as Neo-Etruscan, dates from the period after the beginning of the fifth century BCE, and is distinguished from Archaic Etruscan by differences in script and language, particularly the widespread loss of vowels in medial syllables. The pronoun taken to mean “this” is written *ecn* in Neo-Etruscan (for example, *ET Cr 3.26 = CIE 6319**, Caere), *ikan* in the older language (*ET Cr 0.4*, also from Caere). The name of the mythical athlete Atalanta, borrowed from Greek as *atalanta* (attested inscribed on a gemstone, *ET OI G.2*), is found in syncopated form *atlnta*, written next to a depiction of Atalanta on the back of a mirror from Vulci (*ET Vc S.6 = CIE 11018*).

¹⁵ Where possible, Etruscan texts are cited from *ET* (the most complete current edition) and from *CIE* (the fullest edition).

¹⁶ van der Meer 2007; Belfiore 2010.

¹⁷ Heurgon 1966; Schmitz 1995; Colonna 2000; for context, Cornell 1995: 212–214.

¹⁸ Benelli 1994.

¹⁹ Bonfante and Bonfante 2002; Wallace 2008 (helpful introductions).

Naming practices also change over time. In Neo-Etruscan the onomastic formula is greatly expanded. From the archaic use of individual names coupled with a *gens* name and father's name a more complicated system arises that incorporates a *cognomen*, metronym (mother's name), gamonym (spouse's name), papponym (grandparent's name), and such like.²⁰ Regional variation is most clearly marked between northern and southern varieties of Etruscan, which differ in their use of the two alphabetic signs for the sibilants: *sigma* and *san*. In some localities particular signs and linguistic features are also used; for example, in Cortona the letter E is written facing in both directions, and it appears to represent different e-sounds according to the way in which it faces, since the same words are consistently written with the E facing the same way.

The Tabula Cortonensis (Fig. 32.4) also shows four instances of an idiosyncratic section marker, in the form of an oversized Z (visible in line 7); sections are subdivisions of longer paragraphs, which are marked off by *vacats* and the beginning of a new line. The division into paragraphs and sections, together with our growing knowledge of Etruscan vocabulary and grammar, have allowed insights into the nature and purpose of the text. The third and fourth section of the first paragraph largely consist of names of individuals, who have been identified as the witnesses to, or guarantors of, an agreement and the legal parties involved. The second paragraph, which continues onto the back of the tablet, appears to refer to the writing of the document itself, and adds a further list of witnesses. The final paragraph, which includes a dating formula, may record the deposit of copies of the text. The most difficult section of the document to make sense of is the initial section of the first paragraph, which presumably explained what exactly the parties concerned were signing up to.²¹

Etruscan texts are among the earliest written objects from Italy, and the Etruscan adaptation of the Greek alphabet was itself the source of a number of different local alphabets. In the north, Etruscan was the basis for alphabets used for three well attested languages: Lepontic, a Celtic language (distinct from Gaulish) spoken around Lugano and attested in around 150 inscriptions from over thirty findspots in the Ticino from the sixth century onwards;²² Rhaetic, a language believed to be related to Etruscan, in which over one hundred, mostly very short, inscriptions are attested;²³ and Venetic, an Indo-European language attested in over two hundred inscriptions from a range of sites in the Veneto.²⁴ Etruscan also gave rise to a range of minor scripts in C. and S. Italy, most of which were short-lived and are of very restricted attestation: the alphabet of a few vase inscriptions from southern Tuscany labelled as "palaeo-Umbrian" by Rix (*ST Um 4* and *Um 5 = Imag. It. Caere 1* and *Asisium 2*); the alphabet of a small votive axe found at Satricum, termed "palaeo-Volscian" by Rix (*ST VM 1 = Imag. It. Satricum 1*);

²⁰ Heurgon 1977; Gasperini 1989; Rix 1972, 1995; for names, De Simone 2009.

²¹ Wallace 2008: 197–213 (full discussion, with a tentative translation); cf. Agostiniani and Nicosia 2000; Pandolfini and Maggiani 2002, usefully reviewed by R. Wallace, *BMCR* 2003.11.11.

²² Motta 2000.

²³ Collected in Schumacher 2004; for the relation to Etruscan, Rix 1998.

²⁴ Pellegrini and Prosdocimi 1967; cf. Marinetti 1997, 1999.

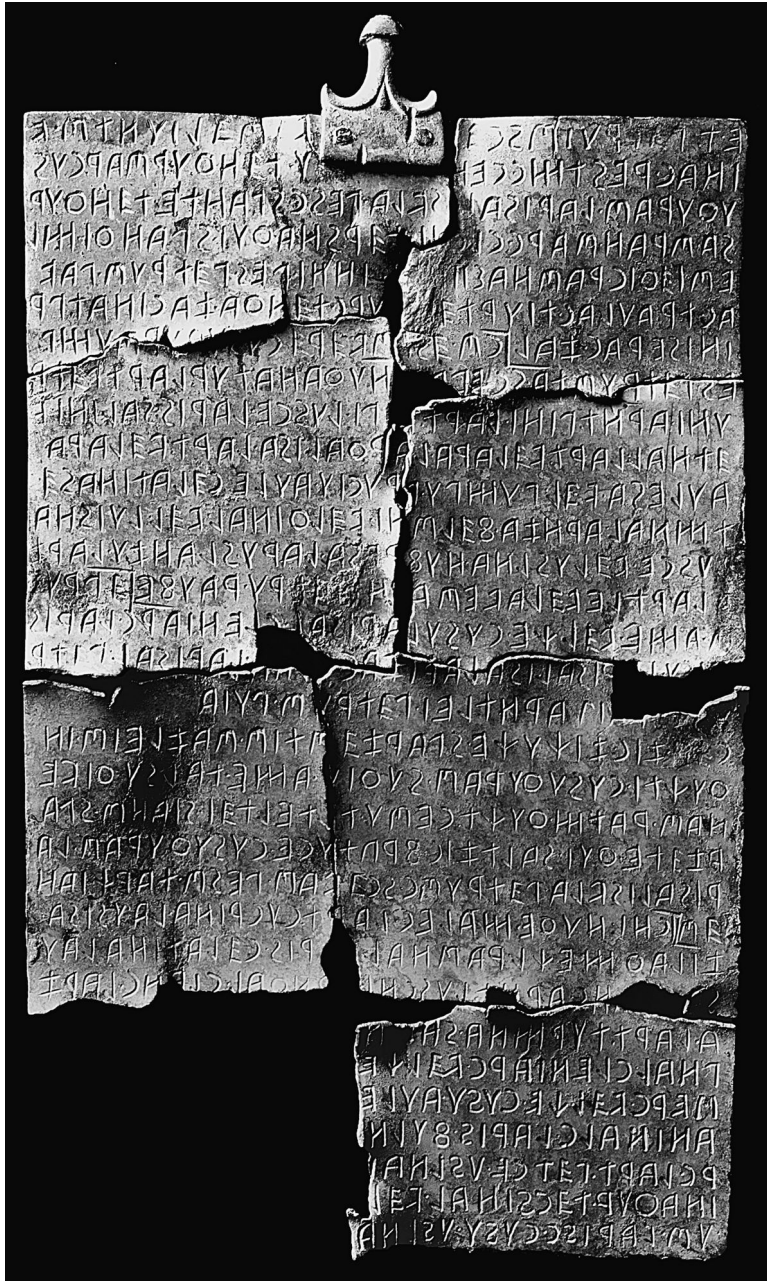


FIG. 32.4 Tabula Cortonensis. Bronze plaque inscribed in Etruscan with legal agreements. Museo Archeologico, Cortona.

the Nocera alphabet, found on three engraved vases from the Sorrento peninsula (*ST* Ps 4 and 5 = *Imag. It. Nuceria Alfaterna* 3 and *Surrentum* 2, and *Imag. It. Surrentum* 3);²⁵ and the S. Picene script, only fully deciphered in the 1970s, which is attested on nineteen stone inscriptions, a single pot (*ST* Sp TE 4 = *Imag. It. Interamnia Praetuttiorum* 6), and a bracelet (*ST* Sp CH 2 = *Imag. It. Interpromium* 1). The S. Picene script departs the furthest from the Etruscan model, and it appears to survive into the fourth century BCE to judge from its presence in short inscriptions on two helmets of this period (*ST* Sp BA 1 and Sp BO 1 = *Imag. It. Interpromium* A, B).

Other alphabets derived from Etruscan, including those employed for Venetic, Umbrian, Faliscan, Latin, and Oscan, had a longer life and wider scope. Texts written in Oscan and Umbrian, and many of the other varieties of the central Italic languages, have recently been edited by Helmut Rix (*ST*). A full edition of these texts and other uncollected texts in these languages, with photographs and contextual information, is now available in the corpus *Imagines Italicae*, edited by Michael Crawford. The Faliscan texts are included with Italic in Vetter's older handbook of Italic dialects, but are not included in Rix's *Sabellische Texte* or Crawford's *Imagines*. As a result, the editions of Giacomelli and Bakkum need to be used.²⁶ New finds from Italy and Sicily in all the non-Latin languages are recorded annually in the "Rivista di Epigrafia Italica" section of *Studi Etruschi*.

LOCAL LANGUAGES IN ITALY: OSCAN

Oscan is an Indo-European language of the Italic sub-group, and is the best attested native language of Italy after Latin and Etruscan. It is mostly recorded in the Oscan alphabet, which is attested from the fourth century BCE to the early imperial period throughout C. and S. Italy. In early inscriptions from Campania and the Bay of Naples Oscan is also found in Etruscan script, in Lucania sometimes in Greek script. Latin characters are used in a few late inscriptions. These include the longest document in Oscan, the *Tabula Bantina*, a legal text written on the reverse of a bronze plaque recording a different Latin law (*ST* Lu 1 = *RS* 13 = *Imag. It. Bantia* 1). One section (4.9–10) concerns the taking of the local census:

(9) *pon censtur / ansae t<o>utam censazet pis ceus Bantins fust censamur esuf in(im) eituam poizad ligud / iusc censtur censaum angetuzet. (10) aut suae pis censtomen nei cebnust dolud mallud / in(im) eizeic uincter esuf comenei lamatir pr(u) meddixud toutad praesentid perum dolum / mallom in(im) amiricatud allo famelo in(im) ei(tuo) siuom pae{i} eizeis fust pae ancensto fust / toutico estud.*

(9) When the censors shall list the people at Bantia, whoever shall have been a citizen of Bantia is to be listed, himself and in respect of his property, under whatever condition those censors may have pronounced for the census. (10) But if anyone shall with

²⁵ Collected in Russo 2005.

²⁶ Vetter 1953; Giacomelli 1963; Bakkum 2009.

wrongful deceit not have come to the census and is convicted of that, he himself should be flogged in the *comitium*, by virtue of the magistracy in the presence of the people, without wrongful deceit (of the magistrate) and the whole of his estate is to be sold and the whole of his property, which shall have been his and which shall not have been listed, is to be (made) public. (tr. Crawford)

It is instructive to see how this Oscan text relates to the Latin language. The following is a translation of the Oscan into Latin by Michael Crawford (*Imag. It. Bantia* 1, modifying RS 13):

(9) *cum censores Bantiae populum censebunt qui civis Bantinus fuerit censemino ipse et pecuniam qua lege ii censores censui censendo dixerint.* (10) *sed si quis in censum non venerit dolo malo ast eius vincitur ipse in comitio caedatur pro magistratu populo praesente sine dolo malo et venito omnis familia et pecunia omnino quae eius fuerit quae incensa fuerit publica esto.*

All in all, over four hundred Oscan texts are known, not including many tile- and brick-stamps. At Pompeii it is still possible to trace the presence of Oscan in an urban landscape from what remains of the town before the settlement of the Sullan colony in 80 BCE. The Oscans clearly had the “epigraphic habit” just as much as the Greeks and Romans.²⁷ Oscan is used to name individuals, including someone called Spartacus, on a wall-painting in a private house (*ST Po* 53 = *Imag. It. Pompei* 45; cf. Ch. 28), and Oscan alphabets are scratched as graffiti on street walls (*ST Po* 93–101 = *Imag. It. Pompei* 74–81). Public inscriptions on stone record building works (*ST Po* 1–17 = *Imag. It. Pompei* 8–9, 11–14, 16–25, 42) or the name and title of L. Mummius on a statue base (*ST Po* 54 = *Imag. It. Pompei* 1), while some, painted in red ochre high enough on pillars at street intersections, escaped later Roman whitewashing and over-plastering and give what appear to be muster instructions to the populace in times of military crisis (*ST Po* 34–39 = *Imag. It. Pompei* 2–7). Thus Pompeii gives a richer view of how the non-Roman peoples of Italy used inscriptions than is apparent from the majority of texts preserved from grave-goods and sanctuaries, recording deaths and dedications.

S. ITALY AND SICILY

In the fourth and third centuries the Oscans expanded southwards. Oscan inscriptions are found in Messana, and Oscan names in the Entella tablets in central Sicily.²⁸ By this time Greek was widely used in Sicily and Magna Graecia, but there is also some epigraphic evidence for the languages spoken in Sicily before the arrival of the Greeks, recorded in Greek script. For Elymian, the language of Segesta and environs, we have a

²⁷ Cooley 2002; Crawford *et al.* 2011: 1.33–39; McDonald 2012.

²⁸ Messana: Crawford 2006; Entella tablets: Lejeune 1982; Clackson 2012b.

small number of mostly very fragmentary texts on pottery and coin inscriptions.²⁹ The other inscriptions of Sicily are sometimes attributed to either the Sicanian or Sicilian languages, following Thucydides' account of the island's populations, but there is not really enough evidence to discern whether these two languages were distinct or whether there was a larger number of spoken varieties.³⁰ Better attested than the native languages of Sicily is Messapic, spoken in Apulia and neighbouring regions. There are around three hundred texts on stone and pottery, written in an adaptation of the Greek script.³¹ Messapic is an Indo-European language, but not of the Italic family of Oscan and Umbrian, and the grammar and vocabulary are still imperfectly understood.

PHOENICIAN AND THE LANGUAGES OF NORTH AFRICA

Phoenician texts are attested from the ninth century BCE around the western coast of Italy, Spain, and S. France, and particularly from Sicily, Sardinia, Malta, and the Balearics.³² The earliest Phoenician inscriptions from Sardinia, among which is the ninth-century Nora stele (*KAI* 46 = *ICO* Sard. 1),³³ have a good claim to be the oldest surviving objects to have been inscribed in the western Mediterranean. Phoenician inscriptions in the region develop particular letter-forms that distinguish them from texts in the eastern Mediterranean in the late fifth to early fourth century, when the language and script become known as Punic.³⁴ Texts dating from after the fall of Carthage are generally labelled Neo-Punic,³⁵ but it is often difficult to separate Phoenician from Punic, and Punic from Neo-Punic. Some late texts from North Africa in the imperial period are also written in the Latin alphabet, termed "Latino-Punic," and Punic is also found written in Greek script at Cirta (Constantine, Algeria).³⁶

Phoenician and Punic texts generally comprise votive and funerary inscriptions and *instrumentum domesticum*, although occasional survivals show a wider use of epigraphy, such as the list of tariffs for sacrifices on a stone probably from Carthage (*KAI* 69 = *ICO* App. 3). Neo-Punic inscriptions are also used to mark official buildings, and

²⁹ Agostiniani 1977.

³⁰ Willi 2008: 331–349; Tribulato 2012.

³¹ De Simone and Marchesini 2002.

³² No modern corpus provides a full edition of all western Phoenician and Punic texts. *KAI* is the most complete work, supplemented by *ICO* for the texts from Italy, France, and Malta; *IPT* for North Africa; Fuentes Estañol 1986 (Spain). Neo-Punic texts: Jongeling 2008.

³³ cf. Amadasi Guzzo 1990: 28.

³⁴ Amadasi Guzzo 2005.

³⁵ Jongeling and Kerr 2005; Jongeling 2008.

³⁶ Latino-Punic: Kerr 2010. The Greco-Punic texts, *KAI* 175–176, are discussed at Adams 2003: 240–241; Jongeling and Kerr 2005: 78–79; Kerr 2010: 227–230.

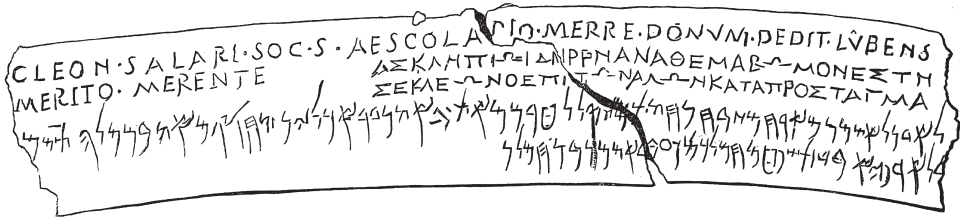


FIG. 32.5 Trilingual (Latin, Greek, and Punic) votive inscription on the base of a bronze column, from San Nicolò Gerrei, Sardinia. Now in Turin.

in North Africa these texts often exhibit a parallel Latin version (cf. Fig. 24.1).³⁷ Earlier Phoenician and Punic inscriptions also appear alongside other languages: for example, the gold tablets from Pyrgi, two in Etruscan and one in Phoenician (p. 706). Other bilinguals feature Greek (KAI 47 = *ICO* Malta 1; *ICO* Sic. 12) and Lybico-Berber (KAI 100–101, 139 = *RIL* 1–2, 72). Noteworthy is also a second-century trilingual text on a bronze altar dedicated to Asclepius Merre (or Eshmun Merre in the Punic) by a slave named Cleon (Latin *Cleon*, Greek Κλέων, Punic *'klyn*), found 40 km inland from Cagliari (*CIL* I² 2226 = *X* 7856 = *ILS* 1874 = *ILLRP* 41 = *IG* XIV 608 = *IGRR* I 511 = *KAI* 66 = *ICO* Sard. 9; Fig. 32.5).³⁸

*Cleon salari(orum) soc(iorum) s(ervus) Aescolapio Merre donum dedit lubens
merito merente* (vac) Ἀσκληπιῶι Μήρρη ἀνάθεμα βωμὸν ἔστη-
σε Κλέων ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀλῶν κατὰ πρόσταγμα
L'DN L'SMN M'RH MZBH NHŠT MŠQL LTRM M'T 100 Š NDR 'KLYN ŠHSGM
'Š BMLLHT ŠM[
Q]L' RPY' BŠT ŠPTM HMLKT W'BD'SMN BN HMLK

(Latin) Cleon, the slave of the company of salt-farmers, freely gave (this altar) as a gift to Asclepius Merre, who was deserving of thanks.

(Greek) Kleon, who is in charge of the salt, set up this altar as a dedication to Asclepius Merre, according to command.

(Punic) To Lord Ešmun Merre. Cleon dedicated, (the slave) of the concession which is in the salt, dedicated this altar of bronze of weight of 100 pounds. He heard his voice, and he cured him. In the year of the suffets Himilkot and Abdešmun, son(s) of HMLK.³⁹

Libyan, or Libyco-Berber, is the name given to a script found along the North African coast from Libya to the Canary Islands. It is attested from at least as early as the second century BCE in a number of rock inscriptions, the language or languages of which are

³⁷ Wilson 2012. A bilingual Latin and Neo-Punic building inscription has also been found in Sardinia: *KAI* 172 = *ICO* Sard. Npu 5.

³⁸ cf. Zucca 1996: 1463–65.

³⁹ The translation of the Punic follows *SEG* 50, 1030 and Amadasi Guzzo 1990: 83.

still imperfectly understood.⁴⁰ The script has remained in use, with minor modifications, down to the present-day among the Berbers and neighbouring peoples, and this adds strength to the belief that there is also a linguistic continuity between the ancient texts and the modern Berber languages. However, the language of two long bilingual texts with Punic and Libyan from Dougga (*KAI* 100–101 = *RIL* 1–2) have so far resisted a convincing interpretation from Berber experts, and not all of the letters of the ancient varieties of the script have been identified with certainty.⁴¹

LOCAL LANGUAGES AND CULTURAL CHANGE IN THE ROMAN WEST

Inscriptions in languages other than Latin give valuable information about the linguistic landscape of the western Mediterranean before Roman expansion, and epigraphy can reveal much about native cultures and institutions. Epigraphy can also show reactions to Roman expansion and the gradual effects of Roman cultural influence (traditionally known as “Romanization,” a term now much contested). In many cases it provides the only evidence for how contemporary peoples of the West viewed the Romans. In this final section, three different non-Latin inscriptions from central Italy will illustrate how epigraphy can shed light on the Roman world.

First, names of persons, titles, deities, and places known from Roman literary or epigraphic sources can be found recorded in a non-Latin language. Clearly, there are dangers of misinterpretation in these cases, particularly since we do not have a perfect understanding of any of the languages known only from epigraphic records, and the interpretation of some inscriptions has been hampered by a desire to fit them too closely to a known historical person, event, or cultural practice. Even so, many secure examples remain. Consider this late second-century BCE painted inscription from an Etruscan tomb in Tarquinii, which is followed by a word-by-word gloss (*ET* Ta 1.107):

felsnas: la: lethes
svalce: avil: CVI
murce: capue
tlexe: hanipaluscle

of-Felsna of-La(rth) of-Lethe lived year 106 (active past tense verb) at-Capua (passive past tense verb) with-the-ones-of-Hannibal

⁴⁰ Pichler 2007, with Casajus 2011.

⁴¹ Galand 1996. *RIL* provides a full edition of many of the Libyan inscriptions from N. Africa; for inscriptions from Morocco and the Canary Islands, see <http://lbi-project.org/>. In general, Millar 1968; Adams 2003: 245–247.

Etruscan onomastics is the best understood aspect of the language. Although Neo-Etruscan shows a range of possible additional relational names, the basic onomastic system is structured in a similar way to Roman names in the republican period: all citizens have a gentilicial name, equivalent to the Latin *nomen*, and a *praenomen*, which was normally abbreviated on inscriptions—hence in the inscription just cited the abbreviation *la* stands for the name *Larth*; some also have a *cognomen*. At Tarquinii the gentilicial name normally precedes the *praenomen*, and the *cognomen* follows.⁴² The grammatical function of *murce* and *tleχe* as active and passive past tense verbs respectively is well established, but opinions differ about their meaning. Some scholars take the inscription to mean “(The tomb of) Larth Felsna Lethe, who lived to the age of 106. He died at Capua and served with the army of Hannibal.”⁴³ Livy (22.61) records the defection of some of the Italian allies to Hannibal after the battle of Cannae, and it is possible that this inscription records one man’s military exploits against the Romans. At the date this inscription was written, many Etruscans were starting to use Latin rather than the Etruscan language, and it may not be too far-fetched to imagine that having his tomb inscription written in Etruscan and his pride in serving with the great enemy of Rome are all of a piece. Larth Felsna Lethe opposed the spread of Roman power during his lifetime and on his death was commemorated in his native language.

Second, native traditions of epigraphy may reveal the effect of contact with Roman culture and the Latin language over time, serving as a guide to the progress and nature of increasing Roman influence. A good example is provided by the Umbrian Iguvine Tables (*ST Um 1*, not included in *Imag. It.*). These seven celebrated bronze plaques from Iguvium (Gubbio) contain one of the longest religious inscriptions surviving from the ancient world and provide most of our evidence for the Umbrian language. They record a selection of the rites and practices of the *fratres Atiedii*, an indigenous college of priests. Four of the tablets and one side and six lines of the fifth are written in the Umbrian alphabet, which is derived from the Etruscan with the addition of two extra signs. The second side of the fifth tablet and the remaining two are written in the Latin alphabet. Linguistic evidence, together with this change of script, suggests that the passages written in the Latin alphabet are later. The change from Umbrian to Latin orthography seems to reflect an increasing involvement in the Roman cultural sphere, and this is confirmed by the fact that some other Umbrian inscriptions also adopt the Latin alphabet from the end of the third century (*ST Um 6, 24 = Imag. It. Fulginiae 1–2; ST Um 10, 11 = Imag. It. Asisium 1, 4; Imag. It. Trebiae 1*). The change of writing practice is not the only mark of Roman influence. The two tablets written in Latin script (traditionally numbered VI and VII) also detail the same rituals that are described in an earlier tablet (traditionally labelled I). Thus the taking of auspices prescribed at Tablet Ia 1 is repeated at Tablet VIa 1–21; the ritual sacrifices at the city-gates are given at Tablet Ia 2–33 and again VIa 22–59 and VIb 1–42; and the purification rite occurs at both Ib

⁴² Rix 1963, 1972.

⁴³ Steinbauer 1999: 253–254; Bonfante and Bonfante 2002: 176; cf. Wallace 2008: 145–146, more circumspect about the meaning of the verb forms *murce* and *tleχe*.

10–23 and VIb 48–65. The line numbering is enough to show that the later redactions are longer, but it should also be noted that there are more than twice as many words per line on the larger tablets VI and VII. The tablets in Latin script give much more detail on the rites than the first recension, and they include the actual words that are to be uttered by the priest during the ritual, which are never given in any part of the text written in the Umbrian alphabet. Why should the Atiedian priesthood have the same ritual written out twice? One explanation is that this is in reaction to Roman influence; the Umbrian religious authorities are trying to maintain their native practices and preserve them in the face of cultural change.⁴⁴

The third area in which native languages can aid the Roman epigrapher is the field of bilingual inscriptions, documents written both in Latin and a local language. Most notably J.N. Adams' ground-breaking 2003 survey of bilingual inscriptions in Latin and other languages has acted as a stimulus for research. Epigraphy can provide examples of individuals negotiating their identity in a multilingual society. This chapter has already showcased the multilingual abilities of the slave Cleon, equally at home in Latin, Greek, and Punic. Occasionally an inscription can itself constitute evidence of contact between speakers of two different languages. Consider the following example from the Samnite sanctuary of Pietrabbondante, dated c. 100 BCE. The inscribed object (*ST Sa 35 = Imag. It. Terventum 25 = CIL I² 3556a*) is a large roof-tile, in the middle of which there are two sets of prints made by women's shoes. At one side of the foot-prints the following Latin text is written:

*Herenneis Amica
signavit q(u)ando
ponebamus tegila (!)*

Amica of Herens left her mark when we were making tiles.

At the other side, there is an Oscan text, which reads as follows:⁴⁵

**Hn. Sattiieís. detfri
seganatted. plavtad**

Detfri of Herens Sattiis left her mark with her foot.

The meaning of **detfri** is obscure, but it is normally suggested that it is a name, although of a type unique in Oscan, parallel in the text's structure to the Latin name *Amica* (if this is a name and does not here just mean "girlfriend") and construed with the genitive of the name of her master, patron, or spouse. The text appears, therefore, to be the production of two female workers in a tile-factory, who both stepped on the wet clay and scratched their names while the tile was drying in the sun. The Oscan text gives the *praenomen* (abbreviated) and *nomen* of a man, presumably the owner of the tile-factory, Herens (or perhaps Heirens, the normal form of the Oscan name in

⁴⁴ Poultney 1959; Pfiffig 1964; Prosdocimi 1984; Ancillotti and Cerri 1996; Weiss 2010.

⁴⁵ It is standard to use bold font to transcribe material written in the Oscan alphabet.

Samnium) Sattiis. Herens Sattiis clearly has an Oscan name, and Amica inflects it in the Oscan form **Herenneis** (rather than Latin *Herenni*).⁴⁶ Amica “defers linguistically” to Herens through her retention of the Oscan inflexion of his name in a Latin text; she may wish to leave her mark as a Latin speaker, but she is in a subordinate position to an Oscan.⁴⁷

As so often with epigraphy, the Pietrabbondante text prompts more questions than it answers. Was the tile-factory a bilingual milieu, employing Oscan-speakers and Latin-speakers alike? If the author of the Latin text could inflect an Oscan name, why did she choose to leave an inscription in Latin? Are the women named in the inscription also the writers of the text, and, if so, how did they learn to write? Whatever the answers to these questions, one thing is clear. On this tile, just as more widely in the ancient world, neither the native nor the Latin text can be fully comprehended on its own without reference to the other. To understand Roman inscriptions completely, a knowledge of contemporary inscribed texts in other languages is essential.

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⁴⁶ Oscan onomastics: Lejeune 1976.

⁴⁷ Adams 2003: 124–125.

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CHAPTER 33

LINGUISTIC VARIATION, LANGUAGE CHANGE, AND LATIN INSCRIPTIONS

PETER KRUSCHWITZ

PANTA rhei—everything flows, everything is in constant flux: an image certainly applicable to languages and the scientific study of languages. A century ago, this contribution would have been entitled “Vulgar Latin Inscriptions.” Everybody would have understood what to expect: a paper about Latin inscriptions, i.e., non-literary texts in Latin written on permanent materials other than papyrus or parchment, that contain linguistic features which appear to stem from popular—as opposed to elite—usage and are rarely, if ever, found in Roman literary authors, unless these were explicitly seeking to mimic uneducated, semi-literate, or moronic people’s speech. The notion “vulgar” would have related to the Latin term *vulgus* (“the common people”).¹ The title of the present chapter reflects a major generational shift in attitude and the semantics of the term “vulgar,” which no longer evokes the same connotations that it did more than a century ago when it was established as a technical term.²

When learning a new language, one either needs clear instructions, guidance, and a firm set of rules to follow in building up one’s competence, and/or one must engage in constant trial and error speaking and writing the language, hoping for feedback on mistakes from a competent (ideally native) speaker. Latin, however, is a so-called “dead language” or, in more scholarly parlance, a “corpus language,” i.e., a language without native speakers. All knowledge of Latin is based on a finite number of written sources; there is no opportunity to test any linguistic assumption with a native speaker. This means that Latin needs to be learnt by following a set of rules of what is deemed to be true and by wide reading to get as much experience of the language as possible. These rules are incorporated into standard grammars used for teaching Latin in schools and universities, and they are normally re-enforced by reading a standard selection of set

¹ Wallace 2005: xxiv.

² Ritter von Ettmayer 1916.

texts that more or less adhere to the prescribed set of rules. As a result, the scholarly study of the Latin language from antiquity onwards has been normative and prescriptive, and scholars have always been ready to label something as “offending” or simply “wrong,” if it breaks these rules. This approach has been critiqued by contemporary linguists.³

The Latin texts regularly used in teaching share several common features: (a) they are literary, i.e., the product of a manuscript tradition that affected the original text in one way or another, as when, for instance, medieval scribes altered texts while copying them, influenced by the Latin of their own times or by their perception of classical Latin; and (b) they belong to an elevated level of literary style in both prose and verse. Occasionally students are exposed to authors such as Plautus or Petronius, whose texts contain elements of colloquial and/or vulgar expressions.⁴ There is nothing fundamentally wrong with this view nor is the present chapter advocating radical change in the way in which Latin teaching is delivered in the classroom. However, all of this shapes Latinists’ attitudes and expectations, and all too often there appears to be little awareness of those seemingly self-evident facts and their implications. These issues become problematic, however, as soon as one makes scholarly judgements about the Latin language, and even more so when dealing with texts that do not follow what are considered “standard” rules. Finally, it is out of touch with modern linguistic approaches—and this explains why this contribution cannot be called “Vulgar Latin Inscriptions.”⁵

WHAT IS “THE LATIN LANGUAGE”?

A language can be defined as a system of communication agreed upon and shared by a certain number of participants. It comprises a more or less complex set of communication signs as well as certain rules for the application of these signs, agreed upon by those who use the communicative system. Personal experience and empirical studies reveal that languages are hardly ever static systems; they are dynamic and ever-evolving. Languages tend to undergo major and minor changes throughout their life-spans. (Languages can still change even after they have turned into “dead languages,” as Latin in fact illustrates, given the modifications it experienced in the Middle Ages and beyond). Any reader will be able to think of a word, spelling, or phrase that was employed differently only a short time ago, but now sounds awkward. In linguistic terms, this phenomenon is known as “diachronic language change.”⁶ Everybody will also be aware of several distinct ways in which to express the same matter, but in

³ Siebenborn 1976; Baratin 1989; Fögen 1998; Vainio 1999.

⁴ Steffenelli 1962; Boyce 1991 (rather unsatisfactory, though with a useful bibliography).

⁵ Halla-aho 2009: 26–42.

⁶ I use Eugenio Coseriu’s dia-systematic approach: Coseriu 1952, 1980; cf. Coserius 1978 for his view on “vulgar Latin.”

different styles which are each restricted to certain situations or linguistic registers, and also depend on social or geographical location. This phenomenon is called “synchronic variation,” variation that may occur on diatopic (spatial), diastratic (social), and diaphasic (stylistic) levels. These two aspects, diachronic change and synchronic variation, provide the two most important co-ordinates for linguistic analysis of the dynamic communicative system called the Latin language.⁷

When looking at Latin in hindsight, it is difficult to distinguish between linguistic variation and language change, as even for one’s own first language the two concepts sometimes appear to be rather blurry and vague. A feature that would appear to be a mere synchronic variation in British English, for example, could be conceived as an anachronism in American English, a notion which from the perspective of the observer would be considered the result of a language change. To consider diachronic change and synchronic variation in a language such as Latin is an almost impossible task, since the language was in active use for more than twelve hundred years by both native and non-native speakers and because we have to conduct such an enquiry on the basis of a randomly transmitted, highly selective body of surviving texts.

Latin developed from being a language spoken by a small group of people who inhabited a tiny part of Italy into the first universal *lingua franca*, a language so powerful and influential, so widespread and so broadly understood, that even a millennium after the last native speaker of Latin had expired, it continued to be spoken and written in the arts, humanities, sciences, and, most of all, in ecclesiastical contexts.⁸ Moreover, linguistic offspring of the Latin language, the family of Romance languages, are still actively and widely used within Europe and across the world.

Given Latin’s long history and the fact that, at its peak, it was in use in antiquity in large parts of Europe, the Near East, and virtually all of northern Africa, and by a plethora of people from various backgrounds in various contexts, the Latin language must have undergone enormous modifications during its lifespan. There is plenty of data for such changes, and the development of the Romance languages is only the most obvious example.⁹ Moreover, the sheer quantity of native and non-native speakers of Latin from a great range of geographical, social, linguistic, and chronological backgrounds in a huge variety of pragmatic contexts (oral and written) accounts for the existence of synchronic variations at all times. This very obvious fact is only very rarely taken into account by Latinists, much less still by ancient historians. One may content oneself with trying to understand and appreciate so-called Classical Latin prose and verse, following mainstream classical scholarship. However, in so doing, one reduces Latin to the language of a restricted number of literary authors, mainly from a certain period, whose texts happen to have survived the problem-filled process of textual

⁷ For varieties of the Latin language, Seidl 2003. Adams 2007 and 2013 are fundamental works providing detailed treatments of many of the topics covered in this chapter.

⁸ Janson 2004; Stroh 2007; Clackson and Horrocks 2007; Clackson 2011.

⁹ Janson 1979; cf. Politzer and Politzer 1953; Ferrer 1995.

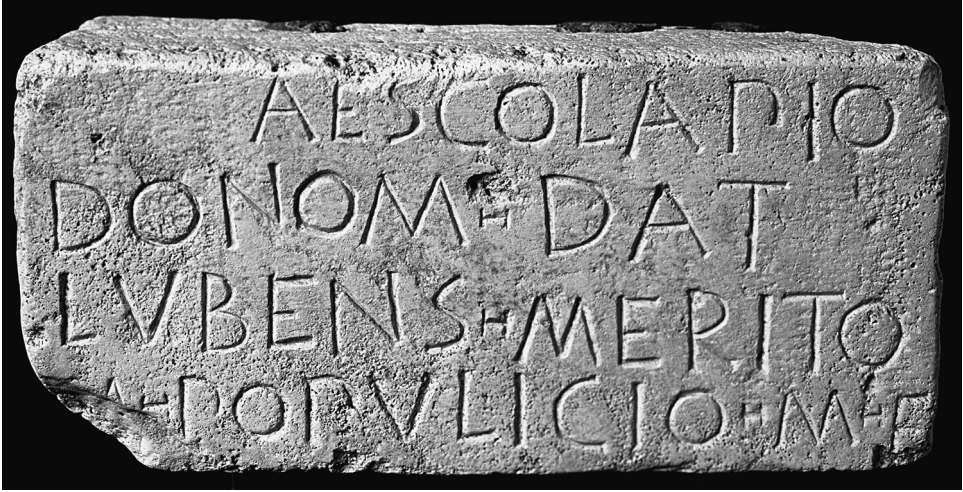


FIG. 33.1 Dedication to Aesculapius set up at Rome by M. Populicio(s) M. f., second century BCE. Museo Nazionale Romano.

transmission. This also distorts the picture of what *the* Latin language was. Instead of a complex, dynamic communicative system, it becomes an artificial literary fabrication of a handful of outstanding men of letters and their imitators, perpetuating normative concepts and judgements—for example, the notion that Ciceronian Latin is “golden” Latin—despite the availability of evidence not least derived from inscriptions. Ultimately this view refuses to appreciate what literary authors achieved through their linguistic creations within the Latin language, why they did it, and how they mastered and shaped the Latin language.¹⁰

Most extant (pagan) Latin literature was written by (presumably middle-aged) male authors between the second century BCE and the second century CE in literary genres that required a certain polished and rather formalized style.¹¹ But what about other forms of Latin, as exemplified in inscriptions? A small dedication from Rome provides an example of Republican Latin (*CIL* I² 28 = VI 30845 = *ILS* 3834 = *ILLRP* 35; Fig. 33.1):

Aescolapio
donom dat
lubens merito
M(arcus) Populicio M(arci) f(ilius)

To Aesculapius. M. Publicius, son of Marcus, gives this gift willingly and deservedly.

In classical Latin *Aescolapio* would read *Aesculapio*, *donom* would be *donum*, *lubens* would be *libens*, and *Populicio* would be *Publicius* or *Poplicius* (cf. Ch. 9). Similarly, on

¹⁰ Marouzeau 1949; Fögen 2000.

¹¹ Landfester 1997; cf. Dover 1997.

a funerary slab dating to the second century CE from the Isola Sacra cemetery at Ostia we read (*IPO A 237*):¹²

D(is) M(anibus)
Isteniae Saturnine
qae bix(it) ann(is) IIII m(ensibus) XI
d(iebus) XVI locum donatum
 5 *a Flavio Paride Amacio*

To the Departed Spirits of Istenia Saturnina, who lived four years, eleven months, sixteen days. The site was donated by Flavius Paris Amacius.

In this text the form *Saturnine* in classical Latin would be *Saturninae*, *qae* would be *quae*, and *bix(it)* would be *vix(it)*, the latter a common variant which may point to how the word was pronounced (cf. Fig. 21.3). *Locum donatum* is either a masculine accusative—whereas classical Latin would use an ablative absolute or put *locus* in the nominative—or is here construed as a neuter nominative singular.

In discussions of texts like these, various concepts are used that all too often appear to be interchangeable, even though they are in fact not: spoken/oral Latin, colloquial Latin, rustic Latin, early Latin, late Latin, language levels, substandard Latin, vulgar Latin, female speech.¹³ Some of these labels can be traced back to ancient notions (*sermo rusticus*, *sermo vulgaris*), but even in antiquity these concepts lacked clear definition.¹⁴ The next section will examine some of the differences.

..... DIASTRATIC VARIETIES OF LATIN

The most obvious way of analysing a language is to do so chronologically, building upon the notion of diachronic language change.¹⁵ As for Latin, an Indo-European language, the first tangible evidence for its earlier phases is provided by inscriptions of the late seventh/early sixth century BCE.¹⁶ The earliest surviving Latin inscription is thought to be the so-called *Lapis Niger* (“Black Stone”) from the Forum Romanum (*CIL I² 1 = ILS 4913 = ILLRP 3*; Fig. 6.4). Then we have further epigraphic and the first literary evidence from the third century BCE onwards, referred to as either “Early Latin” or “Old Latin,” sometimes also as “Pre-Classical Latin.” The first century BCE is usually called the Classical period, when the supposed gold standard of Latin prose and verse developed, which for two millennia now has been termed “Classical” or “Golden”

¹² Helttula 2007: 332 no. 330.

¹³ Helpful comments in Hofmann and Szantyr 1965: 46*–49*.

¹⁴ cf. Müller 2001 (learned and useful, but only partly successful).

¹⁵ Pulgram 1958, 1978; cf. Palmer 1954: 3–205.

¹⁶ Wachter 1987; Vine 1993; Baldi 2002; Hartmann 2005; on diastratic variations, Muller 1929; Reichenkron 1965.

Latin. After an extended period of various stylistic rather than substantial grammatical changes at least on a literary level (often referred to as “Silver Latin”), the language saw fundamental new developments in late antique and Christian usage (“Late Latin”),¹⁷ before it eventually ceased to be a spoken language, yielding to the Romance languages.

In discussions of the context(s) in which language occurs, distinctions are regularly drawn between literary and non-literary (i.e., documentary) contexts. For the analysis of literary contexts, key topics include literary registers, technical language use, and style, all of which have an influence on language use and may vary over time. The same distinction is not normally drawn in studies of non-literary varieties of Latin, as exemplified most of all in inscriptions, but similar categories exist for such texts as well, especially in terms of their typology and use of technical language.¹⁸

The identity of the author is not normally considered from a linguistic perspective in studies of literary works, but it is the standard question for non-literary texts, which are usually of uncertain origin and authorship. Further layers of complexity can be added, including personal details about the speaker: gender, age, social status, and rank, geographical as well as linguistic and ethnic background, and professional as well as other group identity. Beyond the obvious distinction between public and private contexts, the intended recipient of a speech-act is hardly ever considered, although any speaker would very much take this person into account and might even engage in “code-switching,” as can be seen in the linguistic differences between Cicero’s speeches, philosophical works, and letters. Linguistic concepts such as “language of distance” (“Distanzsprache”) and “language of proximity” (“Nähesprache”) should also be taken into account.

Linguistic research into diastatic varieties and the relationship between society and language use is commonly referred to as sociolinguistics, which is currently the single most thriving area of linguistic enquiry into the Latin language. Classical scholars have successfully established a range of sub-areas of research into socially marked, more or less distinct varieties of Latin. These include: bilingualism and Latin as used by non-native speakers;¹⁹ female speech;²⁰ speech of the elderly;²¹ military Latin (*sermo castrensis*);²² and “vulgar Latin.” The remainder of this chapter will focus on this last aspect.

“VULGAR LATIN”

“Vulgar Latin,” when used in the traditional way, is a broad umbrella term.²³ However, whereas blanket terms usually cover groups of related items, “Vulgar Latin” is a mixed,

¹⁷ On whether Christian Latin was a separate language (“Sondersprache”: see p. 735), Mohrmann 1965.

¹⁸ Phraseology of honorific inscriptions: Salomies 1994; building inscriptions: Saastamoinen 2010.

¹⁹ Adams 2002; cf. Adams, Janse, and Swain 2002.

²⁰ Gilleland 1980; Adams 1984, 2005.

²¹ Maltby 1979.

²² Kempf 1901; Adams 1999.

²³ Still the most useful introduction is Väänänen 1981a; cf. 1981b; Vossler and Schmeck 1953; Haadisma and Nuchelmans 1966; Rohlf’s 1969; Herman 2000; cf. 1990; Kiesler 2006.

inconsistent, and rather unorganized category within the even larger, only slightly more organized, category called “the Latin language.” It covers aspects of language from the third century BCE to the early medieval period; it comprises literary texts as well as documentary ones; and it includes texts of innumerable, heterogeneous origins, since it is only very rarely possible to attribute a critical mass of texts to the same author, except occasionally in the case of collections of letters, which are normally on papyrus.²⁴ The common denominator of “vulgar Latin” appears to be features that literary authors of a certain standard in certain genres at certain times for certain reasons apparently tended to avoid, if we can trust the manuscript tradition and the skills of modern scholars in preparing critical editions of such texts. This overtly simplistic definition is meant to provoke and pinpoint problematic notions; however, research in this field is not normally marked by terminological clarity. The terms “Vulgar Latin,” “Colloquial Latin,” and “Late Latin” are used indiscriminately.²⁵ While lack of jargon might conceivably be a good thing, lack of clarity in scholarly terminology is not.²⁶

In the Roman world the most important factors that caused diastratic language varieties were the existence of class distinctions and a general lack of social mobility, a situation not unknown in modern societies. It is very hard to determine the degree to which diastratic varieties of Latin were accessible to members of different social strata. Petronius’ *Satyrical*, however, as well as many notes in the Roman grammarians, seem to suggest that there was an awareness of diastratic varieties among the most literate Romans. Papyri, letters, and inscriptions of all kinds allow access to genuine linguistic data beyond the highly artificial literary manifestations of Latin, furnishing evidence for the language of social strata that is otherwise unobtainable, in a form that has remained virtually unchanged since antiquity. In particular, they provide access to diastratic varieties of Latin attributed to people of provincial origin, low (or relatively low) social standing, and comparatively little education. Documents and texts of this type, such as the wax-tablets found at Pompeii, display many features that differ from literary creations of the same and other time periods in specific, seemingly meaningful ways, and they do so on all levels: phonology, morphology, lexicon, syntax, and semantics.²⁷ One needs to distinguish carefully between phonological variance, which depends on differences of pronunciation, and spelling mistakes.²⁸

In the context of Latin’s many diachronic and synchronic varieties, it is helpful to employ the concept of “linguistic markedness.”²⁹ Elements found in all forms of Latin would qualify as “unmarked” common Latin, whereas features encountered only in certain layers but not elsewhere (such as in low diastratic or high literary varieties) qualify as “marked” in one way or another. An example is the use of the preposition *cum*. The “unmarked” form is *cum*, which is found all over the Latin-speaking world. However, in certain lower social strata one finds “marked” variants: for example, *con*,

²⁴ Adams 1977; Halla-aho 2009. For texts from a well identified origin, Adams 1992, 1995.

²⁵ For example, Mackay 1999 (otherwise limpid).

²⁶ Useful discussions of terminology: Reichenkron 1965; Müller-Lancé 2006, esp. 21.

²⁷ Wolf and Crook 1989 (covering mostly phonological features); the standard edition: Camodeca 1999; see further Ch. 15.

²⁸ Wachter 1992; Solin 1995a.

²⁹ Kruschwitz 2004: 4–5 and n. 12.



FIG. 33.2 Marble stele with a relief of the female tavern-keeper Sentia Amarantis from Augusta Emerita, late second century CE. Museo Nacional de Arte Romano, Mérida.

as in the text discussed on p. 733 (cf. *CIL* VI 13887, 25905, 36398; *ICUR* II 4668, X 26719, all from Rome), or *cun*, as on the tombstone of Sentia Amarantis from Augusta Emerita (Mérida in Spain) (Fig. 33.2), who from the relief appears to have been a tavern-keeper. Her husband Sent(ius) Victor proudly announced that he had lived with her for seventeen years by using the clause *cun sua vix(it) an(nis) XVII* (*HAE* 1639).³⁰

One specific category of texts that illustrate lower diastratic language varieties are Latin verse inscriptions, the so-called *carmina Latina epigraphica* (Ch. 35). Some of these exhibit the shift from a verse-form based on metrical quantities towards a system where accentuation predominates, which lives on in much later poetry.³¹

In the rest of this chapter, we shall explore a number of specific phenomena, using specific examples to elucidate the value of epigraphic evidence for Latin linguistics in

³⁰ For other uses of *cun*, cf. *CIL* VI 13364 (Rome); *AE* 1976, 308 (Fuentes de Penacorada, Hispania Citerior); *HEp* 1, 400 (Legio, modern León).

³¹ Rodríguez-Pantoja 2002; Carande Herrero 2002.

general and for the concepts of variety and change, with particular emphasis on low diastratic variety.³²

PHONOLOGY

Epigraphy is central to the study of Latin phonology. The thousands of wall inscriptions preserved at Pompeii, Herculaneum, Stabiae, and Oplontis provide one of the earliest bodies of evidence for low(ish) diastratic varieties of Latin. Although very little is known about the actual scribblers at these places, their effusions have often been attributed to people of lower social rank.³³ The Latin found in these texts differs distinctively from literary Latin in both content and form, most notably in terms of phonology. This has led to many scholarly contributions on “vulgar Latin of the inscriptions from Pompeii”.³⁴

A short poem painted on a scroll on a wall at Pompeii, therefore dating to 79 CE or slightly earlier, illustrates several phonetic features that differ from those found in Classical literary Latin (*CIL* IV 1173 = *CLE* 946; Fig. 33.3):

5 *quisquis*
 ama valia.
 peria qui n-
 osci amare.
 bis [t]anti pe-
 ria quiqu-
 is amare
 vota.

Whoever's in love, may she/he live long! Whoever doesn't know how to love, may he/she perish! Whoever forbids love, may he/she perish twice over!

In addition to representing each letter E as II, the phonology of the Latin used here differs in a number of ways from Classical literary Latin:

- The writer consistently leaves out final *-t* in the third person singular of the verbs: *ama*, *valia*, *peria*, *nosci*, *vota*.
- If an original *-e-* is followed by a vowel, the actual sound of that *-e-* has consistently been represented by an *-i-*: *valia*, *peria* (twice).

³² Valuable collections of texts include Diehl 1910; Slotty 1960; Muller and Taylor 1932; Rohlfs 1969; Pisani 1975; Díaz y Díaz 1985; Iliescu and Slusanski 1991; cf. Ritter von Etmayer 1916; Schmeck 1955; Neto 1957; Sofer 1962–63; Löfstedt 1983. Väänänen 1981a is always helpful. Issues of the lexicon and onomastics, as these are on a rather different scale, will not be discussed here. For names, Solin 1998, 2006.

³³ Wallace 2005: xxiv; cf. Solin 1973 for an interesting sociological and comparative approach.

³⁴ The single most important contribution remains Väänänen 1966; cf. Wallace 2005; Kruschwitz and Halla-aho 2007; Solin 2008.

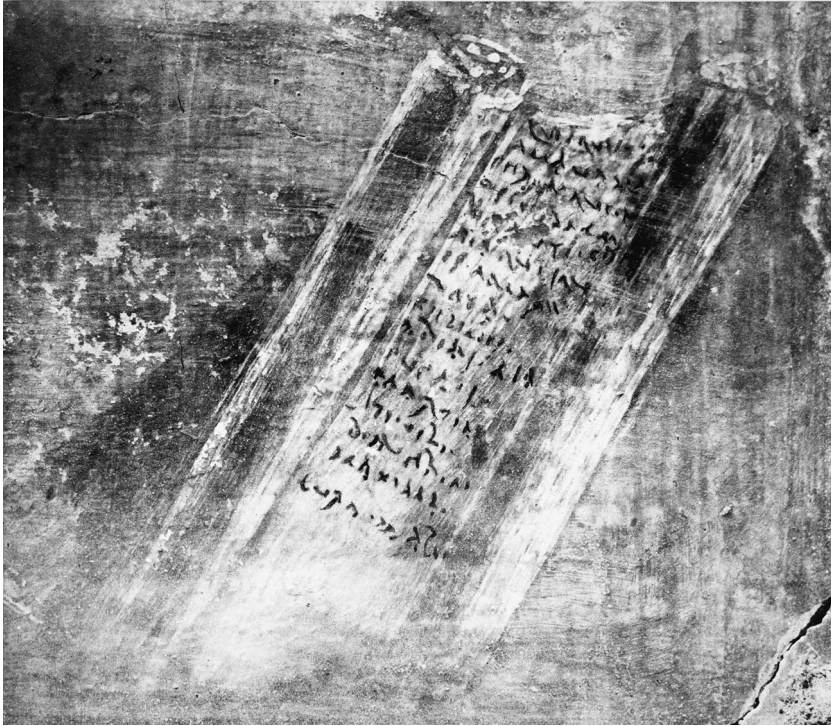


FIG. 33.3 Wall-painting from Pompeii showing a scroll with a poem.

- There are rather unfortunate word divisions in the words *n/osci*, *pe/ria*, and *quiqu/is*.
- The letter *-s-* is omitted after a vowel and preceding *qu-* in *quiquis*, though only in one of the two instances of that word (in lines 6–7 as opposed to line 1).
- In the word *vota*, the letter *-o-* is used instead of *-e-* after the Latin *-v-* sound. Does this also occur in *n/osci* (for *nescit*)? Or is this supposed to be *no(n) sci(t)*?

Thus if the writer had used classical Latin phonology, the poem would have read: *quisquis / amat, valeat. / pereat qui n/escit amare. / bis tanti pe/reat quisqu/is amare / vetat.*

It is remarkably difficult to account for all these features, and not all of them need to have the same explanation, such as representing a low diastratic variety. Two observations should make this clear. Scholars investigating the development of modern Italian have been (and will continue to be) delighted to find a relatively early example of the shift *e > i* before a vowel (i.e., in a hiatus), a phenomenon that found its way into the Italian language: for instance, Latin *mea* became Italian *mia*. This means that a phonological variant eventually led to an element of language change. There is overwhelming evidence for this in the Pompeian wall inscriptions (a feature that may be closely related to the phenomenon of synizesis in poetic texts; i.e., where two individual vowels are pronounced as a single vowel-sound), and it seems that Pompeii is a place where

one can see how a form that may be attributed to a low(ish) diastratic variety eventually found its way into orthography.³⁵ There seems to have been a certain awareness of this matter, since hypercorrect spellings are found at Pompeii; i.e., words that would actually require an *-i-*, but are spelled with an *-e-* instead: for instance, the phrase *propitios deos* appears as *propiteos deos* (CIL IV 1679 = CLE 931).

A rather more difficult matter is the omission of *-t* in the final syllables of the verbs. This phenomenon is considerably less frequent in Pompeian wall inscriptions than the previous feature discussed, but examples such as *vinca* for *vincat* or *vidi* for *vidit* are found (cf. CIL IV 8873, 6842). Parallels to this weakening in pronunciation of the original *-t* / *-d* may be encountered even in relatively early Republican inscriptions, and indeed also in texts that cannot be attributed to a low diastratic variety of Latin. This might be a more widespread phenomenon than appears to be the case from the standard texts of Latin literature, where spellings may well have been standardized in the manuscript transmission.³⁶ In any case, it continues to occur in certain Romance languages, such as French.³⁷

For these two issues, one may be fairly confident in the linguistic analysis; however, the methodological issues that lay behind it should not be underestimated. In fact, difficulties arise *en masse* in most cases, and it is worth addressing the most important issues at least briefly, even though it is difficult to resolve them with any confidence:

- What can one infer about the scribbler's background besides what appears in the text itself, except for the obvious fact that the writer did not use the orthography found in literary works?
- Was the writer male or female? How old was (s)he?
- Was (s)he a native speaker of Latin?
- How should one factor in the input of the stonecutter or scribe (if there was one)?
- Graffiti make it comparatively easy to attribute linguistic features to the writer. But what about linguistic features of inscriptions normally produced by craftsmen such as stonecutters?
- How does one account for the possibility that a mistake might have been corrected at a later stage, for instance, by using colour to hide an "irregular" spelling? Just when does a spelling mistake become significant enough to be regarded as an indicator of language variation/change?
- Can the reading of a text, as published in an epigraphic corpus, be trusted?
- A related, though rather more technical problem that arises over this type of texts is how these texts should be presented in epigraphic editions. Scholars never seem to have agreed on a standard procedure. Frequently one finds "standardized" or "corrected" texts; i.e., the orthography is adjusted to classical literary Latin standards. This may be convenient for non-experts, but the unfaithful rendering is unhelpful for linguistic analysis of these texts (cf. Appendix I).

³⁵ Väänänen 1966: 34–38.

³⁶ Väänänen 1966: 70–71; cf. Adams 1977: 25–29.

³⁷ cf. Baldi 2002: 237.

Phonology is the most obvious and (seemingly) most straightforward category of linguistic enquiry into lower diastratic varieties of Latin, since it is fascinating to probe how a “dead” language sounded.³⁸ There are numerous publications that tend to present categorized, yet random samples of texts. Some of these represent actual trends or shifts in phonology; many of them document the so-called quantity collapse, affecting the original distinction between long and short vowels; some are mere orthographical variants. Often neither date nor origin of epigraphic texts are indicated, and the fact that these texts are inscriptions is usually just ignored. These books, designed for the academic training of Latinists and Indo-Europeanists, are helpful for locating evidence for certain phenomena, but usually they neither aspire to be proper editions (i.e., the texts cannot be relied upon without further checking) nor are they anywhere near complete in their coverage of the phenomena discussed. Major grammatical works, such as Manu Leumann’s *Lateinische Laut- und Formenlehre*, often incorporate references to non-standard varieties of Latin, as does the major dictionary of the Latin language, the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*.³⁹ The grammatical index to *CIL* VI (part 6.3, 2006) registers carefully, though not always sufficiently critically, what could be regarded as spellings that differ from supposed “standardized” orthography, but Latin never had a standardized orthography unlike modern languages. The volume raises a further methodological problem in that although it registers grammatical features, stonecutters’ mistakes, and noteworthy spellings, it does not provide any clear indication of what actually belongs in which category.⁴⁰ Finally, whereas many books and articles discuss individual features within limited bodies of evidence, we lack studies that collect and evaluate the entire evidence for various phenomena, and treat in detail chronological and geographical developments, as well as the nature of the epigraphic evidence. One needs to pay careful attention to the text’s type, the general appearance of an inscription, and the degree to which it was intended for formal public display.

MORPHOLOGY

In its classical literary form, the Latin language is a relatively complex system in terms of its morphology, and this complexity was bound to be simplified over time. One of the best known elements is the eventual abandonment of the *-e/-iter* type adverbs and the introduction of adverbial phrases based on the fossilized ablative *mente* (“in mind”/“in spirit”), indicating the “spirit” in which an action was carried out.⁴¹ However, phonological and morphological developments are not always easily distinguishable.⁴²

³⁸ Allen 1978; cf. Kramer 1976.

³⁹ Leumann 1977; Stotz 2002: 62–76 (often overlooked by Classicists, yet very useful).

⁴⁰ Jansen and Krummrey 2006; cf. Salomies 2007.

⁴¹ Bauer 2003.

⁴² Cooper 1896; on the transition of late Latin to proto-Romance, Hall 1983.



FIG. 33.4 Epitaph of Mauricius, set up by his wife Montana, from Gondorf, sixth century CE. Rheinisches Landesmuseum, Bonn.

An interesting example illustrating the complexity of this problem is provided by an inscription from Gondorf in Germany (*CIL* XIII 7645 = *ILCV* 2917; Fig. 33.4). The text, which dates to the sixth century CE, is a late piece of evidence for Latin in a provincial setting, and offers a mixture of glaring, yet linguistically minor mistakes (*conlux*), as well as evidence for linguistically relevant developments of the Latin language:⁴³

hoc tetolo fecet Montana
conlux sua Mâuricio qui vi-
sit con elo ânnum dodece et
portavit ânnum qarranta
 5 *trasisit die VIII K(a)l(endas) Iunias*
ΩColumbaΩ A monogramma Christi ΩColumbaΩ

Montana, his spouse, set up this inscription for Mauricius, who lived with him for twelve years. And he was forty years old. He passed away on 25 May.

In classical Latin the text would read: *hunc titulum fecit Montana, / coniunx sua, Mauricio, qui vi/xit cum illo annos duodecim. et / portavit annos quadraginta. / transit die VIII Kalendas Iunias*. The inscribed text differs from this in many respects, and it has been argued that the text might represent a step towards a (now no longer extant)

⁴³ Kramer 1997, 2007: 115–120. The claim that *conlux* is a spelling mistake (*con-lux*) is implausible.

Romance language called “Moselromanisch.”⁴⁴ One of the more interesting aspects is the morphology of the numerals *dodece* (line 3) and *qarranta* (line 4), representing what in classical Latin would have been *duodecim* and *quadraginta*. These spellings are of particular interest because of their phonological proximity to their modern Italian counterparts, *dodici* and *quaranta* (cf. French *quarante*). *Quaranta* appears to be the earliest evidence for a sound change regarding the ending of multiples of ten, interestingly enough attested in a variety of Latin that seems to be verging on a proto-Romance dialect.⁴⁵

If one disregards the spelling *q-* (for *qu-*) as less important than the other features of this word,⁴⁶ the development of *dr* > *rr* and *agi* > *a* merits discussion. The latter is particularly hard to explain. The assumption seems to be that *-g-* was fading towards a *j* sound, enabling a more prominent pronunciation of the *a*, eventually reducing the *ji* part of this cluster and removing it altogether. The former aspect is hardly less intriguing, but more easily explained. Even though there are phonological developments that seem to represent a sound shift *dr* > *rr* at other times, a more common development in Latin would be a shift *dr* > *tr*. In fact, forms derived from *quattuor* tend to be very conservative as far as the cluster *dr* is concerned. There is very little and only scattered evidence elsewhere for this development,⁴⁷ which adds to the importance of the Gondorf inscription.

Whose “Latin” the inscription represents, however, remains rather unclear: Montana’s or the stonecutter’s (cf. Ch. 7)? Nothing is known about the people mentioned in this text, except that apparently they were Christians. Even the names do not reveal much: Montana appears frequently in Celtic regions, whereas Mauricius in theory might hint at African descent. Montana can only be characterized as a person of uncertain origin living in that part of the Roman Empire in the sixth century CE who aimed to produce a Latin epitaph following established patterns of syntactical design for such texts. Given the very few attestations for this form of the numeral, one may claim that this text, unlike the poem from Pompeii discussed earlier (p. 729), is an exceptional piece of evidence for the Latin of people who most likely were members of a low(ish) social class in the backwaters of the late Roman Empire. This need not represent a general trend of the Latin language at that time, but certainly foreshadows a change in the long run.

SYNTAX AND SEMANTICS

The text set up by Montana also provides interesting data on syntax and semantics. It contains basic information that the deceased’s wife wanted to convey, not least

⁴⁴ Jungandreas 1979; Post 2004.

⁴⁵ Wölfflin 1888; Ihm 1892: 69.

⁴⁶ Kramer 2007: 119.

⁴⁷ Leumann (1977: 198–199) mentions *quaraginta* (CIL XIII 11032) and *qaragita* (CIL VIII 12200).

the Christian imagery that appears below the text in the form of two doves and a Christogram. The epitaph contains a series of simple statements, whereas literary Latin of the classical period preferred a sophisticated system of simple and multiple syntactic parataxis and hypotaxis, allowing for highly complex and precise syntactic structures. Such elaborate structures tend to be confined to learned texts written in prose or verse. Language outside this context is not necessarily less complex, but it employs rather different structures to express complexity of thought.⁴⁸ One can easily imagine how a literary author—or anybody with a more sophisticated approach and linguistic competence—would have represented the facts of Mauricius' life with a remarkably different result.

The text as inscribed includes two particular oddities. It is awkward to find the words *conlux (!) sua* before any mention of the husband's name. Interestingly enough, *qui* (in fossilized use, foreshadowing the practice found in Romance languages) refers back to the woman, not the man, as becomes clear from the word *elo* (= *illo*). This means that *et portavit* cannot be part of the same relative clause, but forms a new line of thought. The particular use of *et* at first glance may seem to be an infelicity, but it is not. The lack of complex subordination and apparently random use of *et* to introduce new ideas are well-attested features of lower diastratic varieties of Latin, and they also found their way into a number of literary texts, most notably perhaps the Latin Bible.⁴⁹ This form of sentence connection represents a well-established feature of a diastratic language variety common among lower social strata unlike some of the morphological features that seem to foreshadow a language change, as discussed in the previous section (see p. 732).

Another interesting feature is the modification of the Latin case system from six cases in classical Latin to just two in languages such as Old French or Romanian, whereby the accusative became the default case.⁵⁰ A graffito from the sanctuary of Isis under the church of Santa Sabina on the Aventine in Rome, dating to the second century CE, may provide a relatively early example of this feature:⁵¹

te, Isi, te salus ad tuos.

You, Isis, you are the saviour of your followers.

While in the first instance one might debate whether *te* is an accusative of exclamation (instead of a nominative or vocative), it is very clear that in the second instance it is not, and that makes it likely, as Solin has argued, that *te* is here being used in a fossilized, default manner. Once again we do not know anything about the writer other than an approximate timeframe and the precise location, yet the context makes it likely that this person was not a member of the learned elite. Therefore, it seems to be a feature of a low(ish) diastratic language variety, which finds its way into literary varieties of Latin only slowly and at a comparatively late stage.

⁴⁸ Beaman 1984.

⁴⁹ Halla-aho 2009: 64–89 (with further references).

⁵⁰ On the accusative absolute, Väänänen 1966: 115–117; Helttula 1987; Solin 2007; Halla-aho 2009: 103–106.

⁵¹ Vidman 1969: no. 390; Bricault 2005: 2.127–128 no. 501; cf. Solin 1982, 2007, esp. 254.

COLLOQUIAL LATIN—A CLOSELY RELATED DIAPHASIC VARIETY?

The notions of “spoken Latin” and “colloquial Latin” require attention, as well as their relationship to low diastratic varieties of the language. All social strata use language in both written and oral formats, of which only written examples survive, which makes notions such as “spoken Latin” and “colloquial Latin” problematic. These two concepts cannot be used synonymously. One needs to define what colloquial Latin is, especially as it seems to cover a range of features that appear to be comparable to elements of low diastratic varieties of Latin, to such a degree that there is a tendency in the scholarly literature to conflate the two terms. “Colloquial Latin” is a diaphasic phenomenon that gains its momentum from a specific situative use. It can best be described as a “linguistic register,” affected by the situation in which it is being used, but independent of the social origin of the speaker.⁵² What makes it appear to be so closely related to spoken Latin is the unproven, yet likely notion that lower social groups would be more ready than others to write as they spoke, not following the formal conventions of the written language, which they could not understand.

This may or may not be true. However, misunderstandings arise *en masse* from the very notion of “colloquial Latin.”⁵³ One of the most influential studies on this is J.B. Hofmann’s *Lateinische Umgangssprache* (1926). The term “Umgangssprache” (“colloquial language”) covers things that one may well say in certain situations without causing offence, but must not write in formal contexts, unless one wishes to appear rude, ill-educated, or just plain stupid. The term, however, is much more multi-faceted. Despite the problems of definition, the concept of “colloquial Latin” can be useful not least since it emphasizes the obvious difference between spoken and more formalized written language or, as it is sometimes termed, a “language of proximity” versus a “language of distance.” However, detecting colloquial elements in a written text, in some respects, comes close to a contradiction in terms, as “Umgangssprache” is something that by definition should not be written down. Unlike other documentary materials such as letters, inscriptions are not the most obvious place to look for colloquialisms, as they very rarely provide an opportunity for “language of proximity” or for a wilful breach of register for effect. Certain types of inscribed texts, however, especially verse inscriptions and graffiti, may contain such elements.

⁵² Landfester 1997: 31–34.

⁵³ Theoretical discussion: Dickey and Chahoud 2010.

DIATOPIC VARIETIES AND THEIR INFLUENCE ON DIASTRATIC VARIETIES

Diatopic varieties of Latin, i.e., varieties that were specific to certain regions of the Roman Empire, constitute a rather more complicated matter. The strong distinction between *urbanitas* and *sermo rusticus* is articulated in surviving literary texts.⁵⁴ In reality, the situation was infinitely more complex, as J.N. Adams's *The Regional Diversification of Latin* (2007) has shown in great detail. It seems plausible at first glance that both regional dialects and linguistic substrata in multilingual communities affect the language of everyone in any particular region. It seems equally plausible that when less educated individuals, lacking skills and knowledge to craft a fully formalized Latin text, came to write Latin, regional linguistic practices were bound to occur. Local varieties of Latin, with particular emphasis given to lower diastratic varieties, have been studied in great detail, and scholars have relied heavily here on epigraphic evidence.⁵⁵ Some believe that they have detected predecessors of varieties of modern Romance languages in relevant Latin texts, but whether this is actually possible remains open to question.⁵⁶

MAGICAL LANGUAGE

One final aspect that deserves brief mention is magical language. Magic almost by default requires what linguists call a "Sondersprache," a linguistic variety that aims at setting a certain group of speakers apart from all other users of the language, at being different and not to be understood by many, and in some cases not even by any other person. Hardly without exception, the language of Roman magic has to be approached exclusively from inscribed texts, the so-called curse-tablets (*defixionum tabellae*) (cf. Chs. 19–20). Curse-tablets and "vulgar Latin" have frequently been studied together, as elements of lower diastratic varieties of Latin seem to have been employed to encrypt messages inscribed on such curse-tablets.⁵⁷ This, however, should not be confused with "curse-tablets written in vulgar Latin," a phrase that occurs almost consistently in relevant publications.

⁵⁴ Müller 2001.

⁵⁵ Carnoy 1906; Väänänen 1966; Gaeng 1968; Carlton 1973; Smith 1983 (cf. ANRW II 29.1–2); Wright 1982; cf. Muller 1929. Useful articles in Wright 1991; Cooley 2002.

⁵⁶ Euler 2005; for doubts, Coleman 1993.

⁵⁷ For an exhaustive linguistic study of these texts, Kropp 2008; cf. Solin 1995b; Corell 2000; Petersmann 2003.

FUTURE PERSPECTIVES

Study of the Latin language and its lower diastratic varieties, soundly based on the scrutiny of Latin inscriptions from all over the Roman Empire, is thriving. However, in many respects it is moving in circles and lacking clear ideas of where next to proceed. A first problem concerns the general perspective of this field. Historical linguists and scholars of Romance languages are particularly interested in features that seem to foreshadow later usages and developments; these scholars often look for, and find, what they know from other languages, i.e., languages derived from Latin.⁵⁸ This does not represent an independent, unbiased approach to the study of the Latin language, which should be examined as a complex phenomenon in its own right. Hindsight may help in detecting certain key aspects and developments; for instance, when a particular phenomenon is found in a Romance language, one might justifiably explore when it first appears and whether there is already some trace of it in Latin. However, this approach obfuscates other phenomena that might have existed but did not pass into languages that derive from Latin. It also might mean that due credit is not given to certain features in the Latin language when they are not put into full perspective by being compared with other varieties. Many features considered to be elements of low diastratic varieties became well-established features of languages other than Latin, but were relatively insignificant in Latin. There is a further methodological problem. How much does a single attestation of a linguistic feature actually mean? Is this a sufficient basis for arguing for a whole underlying development that does not come through in other texts that used a more formal, conventional spelling or syntax? Much more research is needed on this topic.

A second aspect worthy of further consideration is text typology, as the text type has a direct impact on how one writes. When composing legal or official writs, for example, one would assume that people automatically tried to use what they felt was “correct” language, even if they fell short. In more informal types of texts, however, people would not aim at the same level of “accuracy” or stylization. Thus many features that have been discussed as elements of low diastratic varieties of Latin occur in specific media, such as texts that employed cursive writing (graffiti, letters, curse-tablets), texts that were produced without the intervention of some sort of professional, and texts that seem to have been written in a language of relative proximity as opposed to a language of distance.⁵⁹

⁵⁸ This is well illustrated in the conference volumes of the *Latin vulgaire—latin tardif* series: Herman 1987; Calboli 1990; Iliescu and Marxgut 1992; Callebat 1995; Petersmann and Kettemann 1999; Solin, Leiwo, and Halla-aho 2003; Arias Abellán 2006; Wright 2008. Other major studies include Grandgent 1927; Pope 1952; Rohlf 1968; Jensen 1972; Zamboni 2000; cf. Müller-Lancé 2006.

⁵⁹ Specific media: Windisch 2001; cf. Banniard 1992. Intervention of professionals: Reuter and Scholz 2004.

Finally, it would be helpful to discuss when and how written documents reflect actual linguistic change rather than synchronic varieties. Written language appears to be rather conservative and slow to incorporate change. This, to some degree, overlaps with the question discussed above of the distinction between individual language use and general linguistic practice. Overall, the study of non-literary materials, and inscriptions in particular, enrich our understanding of the Latin language as a complex system in motion. It also allows us to view Latin from a more holistic perspective than is possible if one concentrates narrowly on those few beacons of Roman literature that happen to have survived in the manuscript tradition.

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CHAPTER 34

INSCRIPTIONS AND LITERACY

JOHN BODEL

EPIGRAPHY and literacy have a long history in antiquity. All the early civilizations that employed the technology of writing used it in media we think of as epigraphic. The origins of writing are thus inextricably linked with the oldest forms of epigraphy, and the study of ancient reading and writing, therefore, must begin with inscriptions.¹ Roman civilization is no exception, but the relationship between epigraphy and literacy—or rather between inscriptions and their readers and writers—varies so considerably over the long period between the origins of writing in Italy and the end of the classical era that any discussion of literacy in a Roman context depends to a large extent upon the period being discussed. Arguments about reading and writing in archaic Latium draw upon evidence that is different both quantitatively and qualitatively from that employed in arguments about literacy in the Roman Empire. Perhaps the only statement that holds true of all periods is that inscriptions do not represent directly either the extent or the character of literacy during any period. In every period perishable materials were used for much of what was written. Whatever was entrusted to durable surfaces was inevitably shaped in part by the cultural factors that determined its recording in that form (cf. Ch. 8). Furthermore, of all the writing that was once inscribed, we have only what the vagaries of preservation and the chances of discovery allow. Any consideration of literacy based on inscriptions must, therefore, accommodate these two unavoidable limitations on our view.

DEFINING LITERACY

William V. Harris, in his now classic study of literacy in Graeco-Roman antiquity, shaped the course of the discussion in two important ways. First, he set a high bar in defining

¹ Writing systems before 500 CE: Woodard 2004. Early Latin inscriptions: Hartmann 2005; cf. Santoro 2008. My thanks to Rex Wallace for expert advice about early Etruscan texts.

literacy as the capacity to read and write a simple sentence with comprehension. Secondly, addressing the issue from a modernist perspective, he framed the main question as one of levels and extent and sought to answer it by comparison with more modern periods. According to Harris, widespread literacy did not exist in antiquity and could not have existed because ancient societies lacked both the institutional infrastructure (widespread public schooling and a technology for the mass diffusion of texts) and the socio-economic ideology (belief in the value of literacy and the need for a literate workforce) that first brought about majority literacy in the early modern age.² Few now question Harris's main contention that the rate of literacy never rose much above twenty percent in antiquity and that in most periods in most places fewer than ten percent of the population were literate. Yet inscriptions, particularly graffiti, have always posed a difficulty for the view that reading and writing seldom penetrated beneath the levels of the educated elite.³ Epigraphy is thus central to the question of ancient literacy generally.

Recognizing that multiple levels of literacy exist in any written language and yet nonetheless needing a uniform benchmark, Harris adopted UNESCO's 1958 definition of an illiterate person as one "who cannot with understanding both read and write a short simple statement on his everyday life," on the grounds that it required a more active skill than mere reading. Since modern figures are measured by the same standard, it makes sense to define the concept this way when the goal is to compare general levels of literacy. But if we wish to understand the place of inscriptions in the reading and writing behavior of the ancient Greeks and Romans, we risk missing much of what is characteristic of the phenomenon by adhering too closely to a modern construction of its parameters. Compared with modern societies, for example, in which the ability to read is generally more common than the ability to write, in classical antiquity, according to Harris, "there is . . . no especial reason to think that those who could truly read and truly *not* write were numerous."⁴ That is perhaps true but may get hold of the wrong end of the stick. Writing exercises preserved on papyri and ostraka from Hellenistic Egypt, where schooling normally progressed from writing to reading, suggest that beginning students there were unable to read the aphorisms and short lines of verse they were regularly required to copy.⁵ Graffiti from all over the Mediterranean world preserve similar rudimentary forms of writing—*abecedaria* (Fig. 34.1), repeated practice phrases, snippets of verse, and the like—in contexts that raise similar questions about the ability of those who wrote them to understand what they said.

In addition, many inscribed Latin texts throughout the West exhibit irregularities that seem less easily ascribed to mechanical error than to imperfect mastery of the language. Considering the issue of "literacy" as it relates to inscriptions necessarily means

² Harris 1989: 15, 327, reiterated and forcefully defended in Harris 2009: 506–507.

³ cf. Humphrey 1991; Horsfall 2003: 72–74; Johnson and Parker 2009. Modes of epigraphic literacy: Harris 1983: 102–111 (Pompeii), 1995 (*instrumentum domesticum*); cf. Camodeca 1999: 40 (business documents); Baird and Taylor 2011: 9–11; Taylor 2011: 102–104 (graffiti).

⁴ Harris 1989: 4–5: "true" reading, presumably, is that of the UNESCO definition.

⁵ Writing exercises: Cribiore 2001: 167–172; cf. Macdonald 2005: 52–53, 64–66.

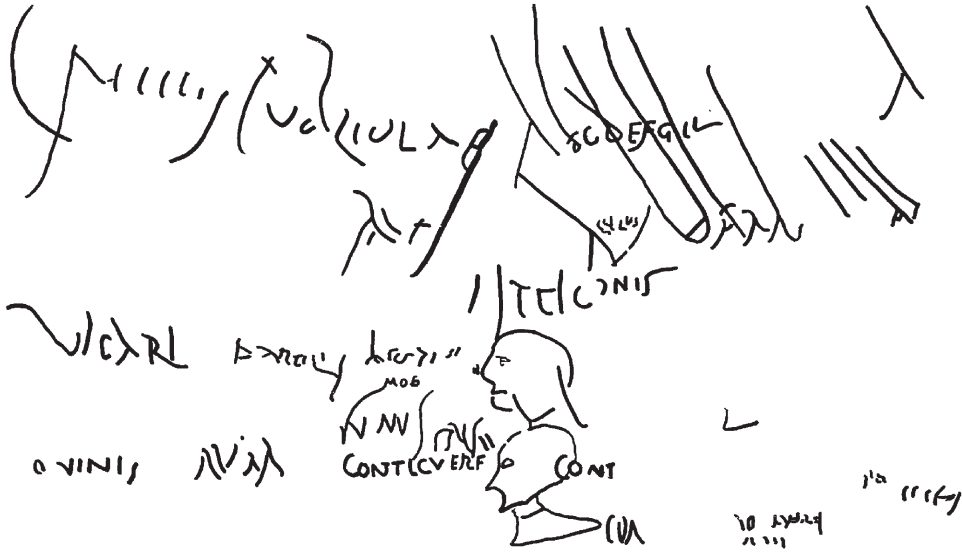


FIG. 34.1 Drawing of part of a graffiti-covered wall from the Forum of Caesar in Rome showing examples of informal writing. It includes (beginning in the upper left): (a) a greeting (*Crescens Publiolae ave*); (b) to its right, a practice alphabet, omitting “H” (*ABCDEFGIL*); (c) below it to the right, the first of four attempts to write the phrase *ad aram*; (d) in the middle of the lower portion, *conticuere*, the first word of *Aeneid* 2, to the left of two busts, one with mouth open, the other with mouth closed, as if illustrating the action of the verb; written partly within the drawing of the lower bust is the beginning of the same word, *cont(icuere)*; below it to the right is a third start, *con(ticuere)*.

coming to grips with a variety of writing that falls somewhere in the lower reaches of the broad range embraced by the concept of “semi-literacy,” i.e., beneath the levels of literary in which Harris showed a primary interest.⁶

READING LATIN INSCRIPTIONS: AUTHORS AND “ERRORS”

One striking example of an apparent ignorance of the language by one who might be expected to know at least the epigraphic forms of it illustrates well the complexity of the problem. A well known bilingual shop sign from Palermo in Sicily datable to the first century CE and advertising the services of a carver of inscriptions presents parallel

⁶ Harris 1989: 5–8; cf. Harris 1995: 25–26 for a critique of his own and others’ concepts of various more limited forms of literacy; see n. 35.



FIG. 34.2 Small bilingual “shop sign” from Panormus (Palermo) advertizing a stonecutter’s services, probably first century CE. Museo Archeologico “Antonino Salinas,” Palermo.

texts, side by side, in well arranged and well carved Greek and Latin letters (*CIL X 7296 = CIG III 5554 = IG XIV 297 = ILS 7680 = IGRR II 503*; Fig. 34.2):

	στήλαι	<i>tituli</i>	Inscriptions
	ἐνθάδε	<i>heic</i>	here
	τυποῦνται καὶ	<i>ordinantur et</i>	are arranged and
	χαράσσονται	<i>sculpuntur</i>	carved
5	ναοῖς ἱεροῖς	<i>aidibus sacreis</i>	for sacred shrines
	σὺν ἐνεργείαις	<i>qum operum</i>	and public
	δημοσίαις	<i>publicorum</i>	operations/works.

In both Greek and Latin versions the description of the services advertised in lines 1–5 is idiomatic and clear, but the nominal phrases appended in lines 6–7 depart from normal syntax and result in grammatical and lexical nonsense. Even if one recognizes in the Latin version the popular substitution of *qum* (= *cum*) for *et* at the end of a series of correlative terms, the phrase *qum operum publicorum* defies normal case usage. In the Greek text, the compound noun ἐνεργεία (“operations” or “activities”) in place of the simple ἔργα (“works”) makes no sense, while the preposition σὺν, which enjoyed no popular currency in contemporary Greek parallel to that of correlative *cum* in colloquial Latin, is best regarded as a lexical calque from the Latin. When viewed in this light, the nonsensical ἐνεργεία may perhaps be seen likewise as a back-formation from Latin: a misconstrual of *opera* as the feminine singular noun, with which it shares an overlapping semantic range, rather than the neuter plural of *opus*.⁷

⁷ Kruschwitz 2000; Tribulato 2011.

If a grammatical explanation of the linguistic curiosities remains elusive, the motivation underlying them has also been called into question. The consensus view for more than a century, as articulated originally by Georg Kaibel (*IG XIV 297*) and Theodor Mommsen (*CIL X 7296*), was that the stonecutter was not a native speaker of either Greek or Latin and betrayed his lack of control of both. In fact, Latin flourished relatively briefly within the multilingual epigraphic cultures of Sicily. On the other hand, the biliteracy (matching of language and script) demonstrated here, however imperfect, was far rarer in the Roman world than bilingualism, especially of Greek and Latin.⁸ Twenty years ago, however, Géza Alföldy argued that the solecisms in our text, like the similar, curiously nonsensical, texts of two other inscriptions advertising stonecutter's services, should be seen as purposefully jarring samples of typical epigraphic phrases, meant to catch the customer's eye as examples of the stonecutter's work. In the more striking of these texts (*CIL IX 4549*, Nursia) a jumbled string of improbable office titles and nomenclature is preceded by an injunction to prospective customers to read the text: "*legite!*"⁹

Alföldy also remarked on the contrast between the idiomatic and lexically precise description of the services advertised in lines 1–4 and the syntactically awkward final phrases. He noted that the disjunction coincided with a visual separation of the final three lines from the preceding two by a wider spacing (Fig. 34.2), suggesting that they should be construed independently. Similarly, in an epitaph from Rome (*CIL VI 9556 = ILS 7679*), the standard dedication *D(is) M(anibus)* incongruously precedes a statement that is both grammatically and contextually independent of it: *titulos scribendos vel / si quid ope/ris marmor/ari opus fu/erit, hic ha/bes* ("Here you have inscriptions that can be written or any work in marble that you need.")

Whether or not it is correct, Alföldy's interpretation clearly demonstrates why it is necessary to go beyond the question of whether or not those who carved inscriptions were literate in order to understand how even such simple texts were written and read. Leaving aside for the moment intended readers, evaluating the "literacy" of the author of a text is no straightforward matter. The production of a stone inscription normally comprised three distinct stages: (1) the composition of the text; (2) the transfer and laying out of the words onto the field on which they would be inscribed (the "ordination"); and (3) the inscribing itself (cf. Ch. 7). The French paleographer Jean Mallon is generally credited with emphasizing the importance of the various stages in the genesis of an inscription, but editors of Greek and Latin inscriptions since the nineteenth century had regularly remarked on the realities of epigraphic production in their comments on individual texts.¹⁰ Of these three phases, the first is by far the most important for comprehending the text and thus for the question of literacy. Unfortunately, it is also

⁸ Prag 2002: esp. 29–30. Biliteracy: Adams 2003: 40–41; Price and Naeh 2009: 257–260, 270–275; Bodel 2012: 67–69.

⁹ Alföldy 1989: 167–176.

¹⁰ Mallon 1952: 55–73, esp. 57–58; 1982: 45–214, 262; Di Stefano Manzella 1987.

the stage about which least is known, and the circumstances that determined it varied considerably according to time, place, and context. Neither of the second two stages is uninformative about literacy, but they have seldom been investigated from that perspective, nor has their potential influence on our estimation of the writing ability of the author of an inscribed text always been sufficiently recognized. Sidonius Apollinaris, for example, in ordering an inscribed verse epitaph for his grandfather, worried that a malicious reader might attribute a mistake on the part of the stonecutter to himself (*Ep.* 3.12.5, possibly recalling Plin. *Ep.* 6.10.3–5).¹¹

Sometimes, as with most graffiti, there is no practical separation between composing and inscribing the text, and a single author is responsible for the written document. In practice, however, the creation of a stone inscription normally involved a more fragmented and complex series of operations than Mallon imagined. Several important decisions about the final form of the text might be made by any one of several persons other than the author. The author, in turn, might be guided in choice of phrasing or other detail by suggestions of the stonecutter, who might himself be drawing on handbooks of model or sample texts.¹² Susini's suggestion that the anomalous genitive phrase *operum publicorum* in the Palermo sign was simply copied verbatim from the familiar title *curator operum publicorum*, found frequently in public inscriptions, may thus point to what may be a peculiarly epigraphic form of literacy that falls somewhere between reading and decoding.¹³

This kind of reading would not qualify as "literate" for Harris or in the estimation of many cognitive linguists, who generally conceive of writing as a subclass of speech and tend to focus on alphabetic forms. Others, however, interested in the broader communicative function of writing rather than in its relation to spoken language would recognize it as perfectly comprehensible within a coherent semasiographic system that may or may not be verbal but is in any case primarily visual and representational rather than oral and acoustic.¹⁴ It may also be what is suggested by one of the freedmen guests at Trimalchio's table in Petronius' *Satyrical*. In a much discussed passage (*Sat.* 58.7) that seems to provide a solitary piece of literary testimony for a direct link between inscriptions and literacy, Hermeros claims to know *lapidariae litterae* in a context which suggests that he characterizes his reading and writing abilities in this way in direct contrast to the sort of literacy acquired in schools. What skills Hermeros' knowledge of "lapidary letters" is meant to represent is unclear, but the specification

¹¹ cf. Edmondson 2002: 47 and the next note.

¹² Susini 1973: esp. 9–16 (terminology), 30–38 (preparation of the field), 39–45 (the causes of errors); cf. Solin 1995: esp. 101–102), 46–49 (workshop models and manuals); Petrucci et al. 1981; Adams 1999: 129–130. Manuals: Cagnat 1889.

¹³ Susini 1973: 10. A lead water pipe from Rome stamped with the simple legend *operum publicorum* (*CIL* XV 7235b = *ILS* 8695a) suggests that the genitive phrase alone may have been recognized as marking public works.

¹⁴ Olson 1994: 65–78; 2009: esp. 391–401. Semasiographic systems: Boone 2004: esp. 313–315; Powell 2009: 16–18; cf. Bodel 2012.

“lapidary” indicates the type of script found in monumental lettering in stone (block capitals, rather than the cursive capitals used in business documents and routine correspondence) (Figs. 15.3–4, 29.1).¹⁵

To what extent the abilities to read block capitals and cursive script were mutually interchangeable is likewise uncertain, but the evidence of *abecedaria* and practice alphabets in various scripts from Rome (Fig. 34.1), Italy (*CIL* IV 2514–40a, 3206–10; VI 3074, 6831, 29849a; *AE* 1992, 608; 1993, 456; 2000, 362), and various western provinces (*AE* 1971, 504; 1996, 963c; 2000, 972; 2003, 1233c), as well as from educators like Quintilian (*Inst. Orat.* 1.1.24–25, 26), indicates that block capitals were learned first in schools, and those who learned to read at all probably learned first to read monumental lettering.¹⁶

According to one influential view, an evolutionary split in Roman cursive script in the mid-first century CE into “official” and “popular” branches originated precisely with individuals like Hermeros who lacked formal education and so modeled their writing on the forms of capital lettering on public view, especially in monumental inscriptions.¹⁷ Most assume that an ability to read (in some form) is implied, but Hermeros has also been likened to one who in Egyptian papyri would be described as a “slow-writer” (βραδέως γράφων), more skilled in copying and transcribing from memory than wholly ignorant of letters (ἀγράμματος), but not fully educated nor able to write independently.¹⁸ Reading and writing of this sort required (and implies) an ability to transfer word symbols as units from one context to another but not necessarily an understanding of their morphology or syntax or even of their precise meaning. A high portion of errors in a large sample of inscriptions from Rome seems to be attributable to misreading of cursive script by the carvers of epitaphs.¹⁹ The formulaic nature of much that was inscribed in Latin and the close association of particular contexts with certain standard phrases and sets of abbreviations means that “epigraphic literacy” (in the metaphorical sense in which we use the phrase “cultural literacy”) required skills (for instance, contextual decoding of abbreviations and scripts) that were both greater than and less than those required for “literacy” in its normal sense.²⁰

Unfortunately the difficulties involved in attempting to assess Roman literacy through the medium of inscriptions are rife from the outset. The inextricable link between any inscribed writing and the surface that carried it and the fact that most inscriptions were addressed to viewers who interpreted them as much from their form and context as from their textual content, means that understanding what inscriptions can tell us about contemporary reading and writing is always indirect and never unproblematic.

¹⁵ Harris 1989: 198, 251–252; Horsfall 1989: 205. Monumental lettering: Corbier 2006: 9–50. Cursive: Camodeca 1999; Marichal 1950: 119–134.

¹⁶ Della Corte 1933; Pandolfini and Prosdocimi 1990; cf. Criboire 2001: 167–169.

¹⁷ Petrucci 1962: esp. 127–132; Tjäder 1983; cf. Susini 1973: 52; Bischoff 1990: 54–57.

¹⁸ Daniel 1980: 157–159.

¹⁹ Solin 1995: 103–105.

²⁰ Bodel 2010: 108–109.

EARLY LITERACY

Estimates of literacy in the archaic age (for Romans, the eighth to the early fifth century BCE) rely on exiguous and sometimes ambiguous evidence and vary widely. Relevant Latin texts number fewer than seventy, and arguments about what level and diffusion of literacy they represent necessarily rely on inference from what are thought to be the prevailing socio-political conditions in a small region of central western Italy where Greek, Etruscan, Latin, and Faliscan speakers seem to have shared a common epigraphic culture (cf. Ch. 32). A minimalist view widely favored in Anglophone scholarship sees writing as a closely guarded tool of ideological domination by an elite aristocracy and Latium as a mere provincial appendage to Greater Etruria. This has been disputed on the grounds that “the surviving epigraphic evidence is unrepresentative, biased and misleading.”²¹ Most of the earliest alphabetic inscriptions in Latium are simple claims of ownership or authorship (usually a single name) scratched onto ceramic vessels and other portable objects. The earliest of all, from the necropolis of Gabii (Osteria dell’Osa) and datable to the eighth century BCE, has been interpreted both as Greek and as Latin written left to right in characters drawn right to left. Between four and six inscriptions more certainly written in Latin can be dated to the seventh century, but none is from Rome.²² Latin seems to have been a latecomer among the inscribed languages of archaic Italy, and Rome was in many respects more a crossroads than a center of innovation in art, architecture, urban planning, and, it may be argued, writing. Etruscan, Greek, and, in the form of the famous *cippus* from the Roman Forum, the Lapis Niger (*CIL* I² 1 = *ILS* 4913 = *ILLRP* 3; Fig. 6.4), Latin are all first attested at Rome around the same time, at the end of the seventh or early sixth century. Within the known epigraphic patrimony of Italy and Sicily of the eighth and seventh centuries BCE, amounting to some 275 texts, Latin inscriptions are outnumbered by Greek documents nearly twenty to one and by Etruscan texts sixty to one.²³ The earliest literacy in Rome was almost certainly in languages other than Latin.

If we carry the figures forward through the sixth and fifth centuries, the predominance of Etruscan in the inscribed record increases; the ratio of Greek to Latin inscriptions diminishes; and Latin remains a minority language. Two features stand out in the epigraphical profile of Latium and southern Etruria during the archaic period. Whereas in Rome the (admittedly low) total number of known inscriptions in Latin (seven) is roughly equal to that in Etruscan (five or six), elsewhere in Latium Latin inscriptions outnumber Etruscan texts two to one (fourteen to sixteen in Latin compared to six to eight in

²¹ Minimalist view: Stoddart and Whitley 1988: esp. 769–770; Harris 1989: 151. *Contra* Cornell 1991 (quotation, p. 33).

²² Osteria dell’Osa: Ampolo 1997; Colonna 2005. The earliest Latin texts: Hartmann 2005.

²³ Bartoněk 1993 (c. 200 inscriptions in Etruscan, c. 75 in Greek, 3–5 in Latin); cf. Poucet 1989. Recent finds do not change the overall picture.

Etruscan). In this respect, Rome more closely resembles Etruscan cities such as Caere than it does other communities in Latium. As for the usage of inscriptions, votive texts predominate in Rome, other Latin cities, and Veii, while funerary texts are more common in Etruria.²⁴ This suggests that the epigraphic behaviors of neighbouring communities might diverge and converge in different ways, with linguistic preference following one path and uses of inscribed objects another.

Scriptural practices might chart a third, independent course. In contrast to the regular right-to-left direction of Etruscan writing, for a short period around the turn of the seventh and sixth centuries Etruscan inscriptions at Veii regularly (*CIE* 6480, 6616, 6627, 6630) and at Chiusi and Poggio Civitate at least occasionally ran left to right, as did the few nearly contemporary Latin texts in Latium.²⁵ In general during the first three centuries of alphabetic literacy in central Italy (eighth to sixth century BCE), there was no strict division of languages and scripts and uses of inscriptions among those who adopted the technology of writing. Practices in all three areas were variable and fluid, and those who could understand any form of writing could probably understand much if not all of whatever form of it they were likely to encounter. When order and system eventually came to Latin script, around the beginning of the fifth century BCE, it may have been in part to mark it as distinct from the well established right-to-left orientation of Etruscan writing, the script that then dominated the epigraphic landscape.²⁶ One of the earliest Latin (or Latino-Faliscan) inscriptions to exhibit the characteristic orientation and ordination of a Roman inscription is the so-called *lapis Satricanus*, a base for an object, found at Satricum, some 25 km south of Rome, and apparently datable to the early fifth century (*CIL* I² 2832a; Fig. 34.3):²⁷

[- -]juiei steterai Popliosio Valesiosio
suodales Mamartei

The companions of Poplios Valesios (= Publius Valerius) set . . . up to Mars.

The end of the archaic phase of epigraphy in Rome, c. 450 BCE, coincides—perhaps not by chance—with the publication of the inscription about which more has been written and less is known than about any other enigmatic early text. The Twelve Tables, according to tradition, were drawn up by a board of *decemviri* appointed by popular demand to write down laws and to post them for public viewing. (*RS* 40 is the most authoritative attempt to restore the text of this complex document.) The story presumes an aristocratic monopoly on law and requires a plausibly imagined plebeian

²⁴ Known inscriptions in Italy and Sicily, eighth through fifth century: Etruscan (c. 1,400, according to Rex Wallace, *per litteras*), Greek (c. 300), Latin (c. 60–65). Bartoněk 1993: 23–24 (Rome); Cornell 1991: 12–16 (Veii).

²⁵ Veii: Wallace 2009: 6–7 (22 texts, 2 *abecedaria*, letters on roof tiles). Chiusi and Poggio Civitate: Wallace 2008: 78 n. 24. Latium: *CIL* I² 474, 2832a (*lapis Satricanus*, Fig. 34.3), 2833a; Hartmann 2005: 286–288, 434.

²⁶ Cornell 1991: 16–21 (“a Tyrrhenian cultural *koiné*”). Orientation of Roman script: Bodel 2012: 75–82, esp. 81–82.

²⁷ Stibbe et al. 1980; Prosdocimi 1984; Holloway 1994: 142–155; Lucchesi and Magni 2002.

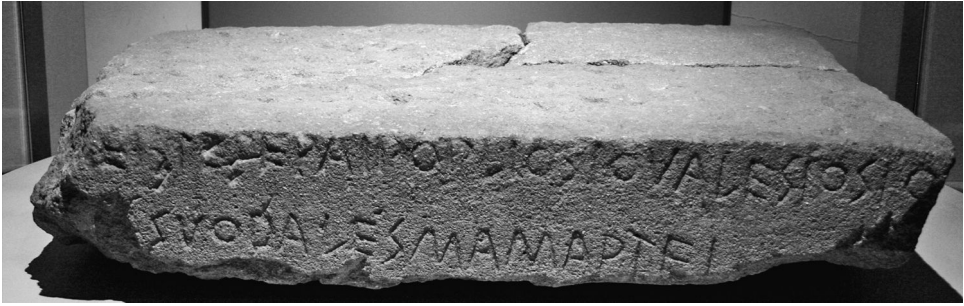


FIG. 34.3 Votive base to support an object dedicated to Mars, from Satricum. Early fifth century BCE. Museo Nazionale Romano.

readership, which Livy in his version duly provides, having the *decemviri* instruct the people “to go forth and read the posted laws” (*ire et legere leges propositas*, 3.34.2). That notion, like the idea that publishing the law served the interest of the public, who could for the first time know its contents, is no more likely or demonstrable than the conventional modern view which sees its codification as an assertion of aristocratic predominance, since access to the contents (via reading) remained the preserve of the elite.²⁸

More certain and noteworthy is the abrupt disappearance after *c.* 450 BCE of virtually all written documentation in Latin for nearly a century, until around the mid-fourth century, when the epigraphic record resumes and begins to assume the contours of the profile that would later emerge as characteristic of the Roman epigraphic habit. It is not until after the Hannibalic War, however, that a sufficient number of inscriptions survives for us to begin to recognize its most distinctive features (cf. Ch. 9): a predominant use for commemorative and contractual purposes, in the former case mainly funerary and euergetic, in the latter to assert claims to property or financial or social obligation and to articulate administrative or regulatory authority. To what extent and in what ways any of these developments may reflect general changes in literacy is difficult to say, but it is unlikely that any great advances occurred during the two centuries between the time of the Twelve Tables and the “birth” of Roman literature around 250 BCE.

LITERACY IN THE EPIGRAPHIC AGE

In 1991 Alföldy identified Augustus as the chief instigator of the epigraphic revolution that saw a steady rise in the use of Latin inscriptions in more prosperous provinces across the Empire during the first two centuries CE (to be followed by a steep decline

²⁸ Conventional modern view: Harris 1989: 153.

in the third) and a more concerted use throughout that period of inscriptions of all types to represent ideological or cultural allegiance (cf. Ch. 8).²⁹ The seeds of growth may have been planted a century earlier, but there is no question that the rise of the Roman epigraphic habit coincided with the spread of Roman political control and cultural influence across the Mediterranean (cf. Figs. 8.3–4).³⁰ In many regions of the West where the custom of inscribing monuments was unknown, Latin inscriptions represent the most conspicuous evidence we have for the advance of Roman ways into new territories.³¹ One productive line of interpretation has therefore focused on Roman epigraphic behavior as a sort of crude barometer of “Romanization” and has seen the adoption of Latin inscriptions through the lens of individual or collective claims to identity, power, or status.³² This approach has the advantage of embedding the uses of inscriptions in their broader social and cultural contexts but tells us little about literacy per se.

A recent collection of essays examining how Latin became the *lingua franca* of the Roman West highlights both the necessity and the limitation of relying upon epigraphic evidence. For direct testimony they are all we have, but written texts of any sort provide an unreliable index of the languages spoken in any given area, and monuments inscribed in Latin, hybrid blends of Latin, or various local languages carry such complex semiotic baggage that disengaging any pertinent information they contain about literacy is seldom unproblematic.³³

Since Harris’s study, approaches to Roman literacy and language use through epigraphic evidence have generally fallen into one of two categories: the textual and the meta-textual. The first, linguistically oriented and essentially philological, focuses on the orthography, morphology, and syntax of inscribed documents, attempting to define the literacy of the writer, with all the difficulties that entails. The second, grounded in interpretive methodologies more commonly applied to the material culture of antiquity, focuses on the uses of inscriptions, types of literacies (not surprisingly often tracking classifications of inscriptions), and the identities of users, an approach that it is fundamentally anthropological and historical in orientation. Despite its emphasis on active processes, the historical approach usually attempts to interpret the reception rather than the production of Latin texts and to gauge the responses of presumed readers and the ways inscriptions were perceived rather than the linguistic competencies of the writers, which are the principal target of philological investigations.

²⁹ Alföldy 1991; cf. MacMullen 1982.

³⁰ Solin 1991 (origins); MacMullen 1982 (contours of the rise).

³¹ Beltrán Lloris 1999; Stylow 2007.

³² Woolf 1994: esp. 96–98; 1996; 2000: 891–897. Habinek (1998, 2009: 121–124) argues, less persuasively, that epigraphic and literary practices alike enhanced elite status by “authorizing performance”; cf. Horsfall 2003: 53–63; Milnor 2009: 304–306; Keegan 2011: 174–176.

³³ Cooley 2002, esp. Edmondson 2002: 42–47; Prag 2002: 16–19; Häussler 2002: 61–67, 71–73. Cooley 2002: 12, concluding that the various regions of Italy and the western provinces “do not necessarily share much in common as regards the processes by which Latin writing spread in the West.”

Such a crude dichotomy is useful for dividing the broad territory that Roman literacy studies nowadays encompass, but it obscures an underlying interdependence between the two approaches. Without attention to context, studies of the language of inscriptions would tell us nothing about literacy, and without consideration of language, or at least of the communicative function of inscribed objects, studies of the uses of inscriptions would have no more relevance for the topic than studies of textiles. Fortunately, the better investigations in both categories never lose sight of this mutual nexus.

Even within the two categories, different routes sometimes lead to the same destination. Two recent developments in the historical approach seem to point in opposite directions but may paradoxically converge. One has been toward recognizing, articulating and describing, and, more recently, flattening out the multiplicity of literacies attested by the variety of the Roman epigraphic record. Harris noted the utility of defining various subcategories of ancient literacy, such as “scribal literacy” or “craftsman’s literacy,” to distinguish the specialized reading and writing practices of socially circumscribable groups (scribes, craftsmen, etc.), and various other sub-literacies—virtually all of them epigraphic—have subsequently been identified.³⁴ Harris himself suggested the designation “specialist literacy” to characterize the decoding skills required of those who manufactured, transported, and traded the portable objects known as *instrumentum domesticum* (cf. Ch. 31). Others have recognized distinct categories of “military literacy” (the writing practices associated with the Roman army), “commercial literacy” (contracts, bills of sale, bills of lading, payroll records), “monumental literacy” (the familiar, municipal type closely associated with Roman cities of the early Empire), even “literary literacy” (the penchant shown by Pompeian graffiti writers for certain types of verse quotation).³⁵ A counter-argument, however, has now been made that all these specialist literacies were essentially linked. Those who could read and write in one form could do so also in others; there were no isolated sub-literacies. The diffusion of literacy of all varieties through the adoption of elite writing practices by those who lacked the benefit of formal education (i.e., the vast majority) was, moreover, primarily an urban phenomenon centered on the aristocratic household, where slaves were involved in all forms of reading and writing from accounting to the education of the master’s children (cf. Ch. 28). The administrative apparatus of Empire may thus have developed directly out of the literate practices of these elite households.³⁶

The other recent development, by contrast, has encountered unexpected forms of literacy at the rural margins of the Empire among groups little touched by the practices of elite households. In the landlocked interior of Hispania Tarraconensis, for example, where literacy was unknown among the Celtiberian tribes before the arrival of the Romans, rock-carved graffiti of the local Celtic dialect in the Latin alphabet (*MLH IV*

³⁴ Harris 1989: 7–8.

³⁵ “Specialist literacy”: Harris 1995: 25–26, deprecating the less precise “functional literacy”; cf. Woolf 2009: 56–58. “Military literacy”: Bowman 1994. “Commercial,” “monumental,” and “elite” literacy: Woolf 2002: 185. “Literary literacy”: Milnor 2009. See also above, n. 6 and n. 20.

³⁶ Woolf 2009: 46–53; cf. Woolf 2000: 897, 2002: 185–186; Baird and Taylor 2011: 11.

K.3.3; cf. Ch. 32) have been found at the rural sanctuary at Peñalba de Villastar (Teruel) together with original verse compositions in Latin quoting phrases of late Republican and Augustan poets.³⁷ In a similarly landlocked region of central Anatolia, a curious set of some 150 “confession” inscriptions written in Greek and dating to the first three centuries CE attests and represents the punishments inflicted by a deity on individuals guilty of various religious infractions (cf. Ch. 20; Fig. 20.3).³⁸ The variable orthography and syntax of the confessions suggests individual authorship. The practice itself of inscribing seems to reflect simultaneously a newly acquired literacy and a nascent epigraphic habit.

Unexpectedly, it is Britain above all that has provided fertile territory for those seeking Latin literacy in places where little of it is thought to have existed except in small pockets among soldiers and in cities. A thorough survey of almost all the inscriptions of Britain published before 1995 found that most of the texts reveal basic or moderate levels of literacy of a sort unlikely to have been acquired in schools and only a relatively small minority that seem to have been written by those with formal training.³⁹ The surprisingly prevalent evidence of writing tablets, inscribed votive dedications, writing *stili*, and above all curse tablets at a variety of rural sites throughout S. Britain indicates a wider diffusion of writing across the countryside than has previously been suspected and further illustrates various localized adaptations of its use.⁴⁰ Common to all these instances is the manifestation of unschooled literacy through the medium of inscriptions and the use of inscribed texts for new as well as traditional purposes.

Philological approaches to Latin literacy, on the other hand, have concerned themselves less with the varied uses of writing than with what it reveals about the evolution of the language in both oral and written form (cf. Ch. 33). “Errors” in Latin inscriptions that betray a phonetic origin point to a form of literacy that responds to the spoken language but departs from its conventional written orthography.⁴¹ These have naturally attracted the attention of linguists, who have used the evidence of “misspellings” in inscriptions to trace developments in Latin phonology and morphology over time or to try to identify regional variations of it. Loosely labeled “vulgar” or “colloquial” or, in certain contexts, “archaizing,” examples of such variant usages have often been taken as a sign of imperfect or partial literacy when they may more properly be seen as reflecting a perfect command of the written form of a living Latin language long

³⁷ Celtiberian texts: Beltrán Lloris, Jordán Cólera, and Marco Simón 2005: 914–930; Latin texts: Navarro Caballero 1994: 139–158, nos. 27A–Q (the poetic texts are nos. 27M, N, and P). See also Beltrán Lloris and Marco Simón 2008. In general on literacy in this region, Curchin 1995.

³⁸ For example, Petzl 1994: nos. 10, 18, 35, 52, 54, 57, 67, 78; cf. de Hoz 2006.

³⁹ Raybould 1999: 161–173.

⁴⁰ Ingemark 2000–1 (writing tablets from Vindolanda and curse tablets from Bath); Pearce 2004 (votive dedications); Hanson and Connolly 2002 (*stili*); Tomlin 2002 (curse-tablets, especially from Uley).

⁴¹ Common examples include B for V, short E for short I (Adams 2007: 626–670), and C for G (Gordon and Gordon 2006: 255–256). The aspirate (H) was particularly liable to misuse: cf. Gordon and Gordon 2006: 264–268 (*h omissa*), 268–270 (*h adiecta*).

departed from the artificially frozen standards of the classical literary form (cf. Ch. 33). Examples dating to the third and fourth centuries CE from the western provinces often resemble more closely the romance languages of their regions than they do the Latin spoken and written by Cicero, but identical or similar variations can be found in inscriptions from peninsular Italy in earlier periods as well.⁴²

Studies of the evolution of the written language, based on tens of thousands of examples from across the Empire and paralleled by developments in manuscript sources, are more reliable than those that attempt to identify regional dialects, which are often based on sample sizes too small to be statistically meaningful and which tend to attribute aberrant spellings to regional variation when differing levels of literacy or stylistic register offer more plausible explanations.⁴³ For the same reasons, studies of regional variations in literacy based on epigraphic evidence run the risk of confounding epigraphic habit with levels of education and linguistic competence; accurate counts of inscriptions within large regions are difficult to come by and even where known can provide only a crude and selective index of literacy at local levels. Thus Harris's tabulation of monumental Latin inscriptions per 1,000 square km in selected western provinces has been shown to be insufficient as even a rough index of levels of provincial literacy.⁴⁴

Greater hope for progress may come from large-scale, closely focused analysis of features of the script of epigraphic texts that reflect the articulation of speech or otherwise convey semantic information visually. In addition to orthography, punctuation marks (including interpuncts), word division, paragraphing, and other forms of arrangement of the text offer windows through which we can sometimes see not only how well Romans read and wrote but also *how* they read and wrote. An exemplary study of this sort by Walter Dennison, published in 1906 but seldom cited in the scholarly literature, examined practices of syllabification (by internal punctuation within words within lines and by word break at line ends) in some eighty thousand Latin inscriptions from Italy of the first two centuries CE (excluding *instrumentum* but including graffiti) in order to discover whether Roman stonecutters and graffitists followed more regularly the rules prescribed by Roman grammarians or the phonetic theories of pronunciation espoused by modern linguists.⁴⁵ In finding decisively in favour of the latter (when dividing words, inscribers regularly split double consonants between syllables, grouping the first with a preceding vowel or diphthong and the second with one following), Dennison showed clearly how painstaking analysis of discrete elements of epigraphic script in a large but well-defined sample can yield meaningful results concerning the literate practices of a circumscribed population.

⁴² Pulgram 1978: 230–250, with detailed linguistic commentary on, among others, *CIL* VI 27498a (Rome); X 8249 (Minturnae, a *defixio*); XIII 7645 (Germany; Fig. 33.4).

⁴³ Adams 2007: 37–40, 108–109, 629–635, 649, 676.

⁴⁴ Harris 1989: 268, Table 4; cf. Edmondson 2002: 44–47; Prag 2002: 15–16.

⁴⁵ Dennison 1906.

Other material ripe for study along these lines may be found in the pages of the Gordons' indispensable guide to the paleography of Latin inscriptions on stone of the first century CE from central Italy: *apices* and tall and small letters (especially but not only tall I) to indicate vocalic quantity, gemination of consonants and vowels, enclitic and proclitic prepositions, and so on (cf. Ch. 7, p. 125–127).⁴⁶ Though much of this material has been sifted and some of it sorted, seldom has it been interrogated for what it may reveal about literate practices of the period. For all their obvious (and not so obvious) evidentiary limitations, inscriptions thus offer unique opportunities not afforded by manuscripts or papyri to examine linguistic usage and scriptural practice among segments of the Roman population not otherwise represented in the written record and to identify particular literacies, or aspects of literacy, defined by the contexts in which they emerged. They are valuable, in other words, less for what they say about how literate the Romans were than for what they reveal about how they were literate.

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⁴⁶ Gordon and Gordon 1957, esp. 148–149 (*apices*), 183–185 (punctuation), 185–206 (tall and short letters), 206–207 (word division at line end).

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CHAPTER 35

CARMINA LATINA EPIGRAPHICA*

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CHARACTERISTICS AND FREQUENCY OF VERSE INSCRIPTIONS

LATIN verse inscriptions, the so-called *carmina epigraphica*, are among the treasures of our epigraphic heritage. These inscriptions are especially demanding because of their metrical form, length, and sophisticated textual content. Depending on the writer's intentions, they are related to epideictic literary genres such as encomium and biography, scoptic epigram (i.e., mocking verses), lament and consolation, hymn and prayer, as well as ecphrasis (i.e., the literary description of architecture or works of art).¹ They are thus very different from the majority of prose inscriptions, which are mostly short and limited to the bare necessities, and which usually consist of a listing of names, offices, or objects in asyndeton, sometimes closing with a stereotypical, often abbreviated, verbal phrase such as *hic situs est* or *posuit* (in funerary inscriptions), *fecit* or *restituit* (in building inscriptions), *dedit* (in texts dealing with financial foundations) or *dedicavit* (in dedications). Above all, for epitaphs the name, age of the deceased, and a funerary formula usually suffice.² As a result, one may reach reliable socio-historical conclusions only if one carefully compares similar texts in sufficient quantity.³

Of the total number of over 400,000 Latin inscriptions (excluding the so-called *instrumentum domesticum*), only between one and two percent are metrical. This is hardly a sufficient quantity for statistical studies,⁴ especially since many questions about the “epigraphic habit” can only be resolved when inscriptions are studied in their provincial and

* Translated by Orla Mulholland (Berlin).

¹ For questions of genre from another point of view, see the inspiring article by Berger 1984: 1149–1273.

² Cagnat 1914: 280–293; Ch. 29.

³ “Epitaphs in bulk”: Bodel 2001: 35.

⁴ Cf. Sanders 1981: 707–720; Gamberale 1989: 379; Cugusi 2007: 10–11.

regional context. The resulting smaller sample makes it still more difficult to draw any statistically valid conclusions. We also need to ask how representative the transmitted texts are, when, for example, only three verse inscriptions are known from the province of Mauretania Tingitana, but over one hundred originate from the neighbouring province of Mauretania Caesariensis.⁵

At the same time, however, verse inscriptions permit interpretations of language and content even at the level of the single inscription, because they provide a continuous, syntactically connected text meeting the requirements of a poetic form, with a formal structure, and sometimes a striking visual arrangement: for example, *apices* or special word-dividers to point up the quantities or metrical cola; stichic arrangement (i.e., by lines of verse); acrostics or telestics (i.e., when the first or last letters of each line together form a coherent and significant word).⁶ On occasion, there is a discrepancy between the metrical form of a poem and its epigraphic representation. The stonecutter did not always respect the metre with the result that single lines of verse sometimes take up more than one line of inscribed text or multiple lines of verse were inscribed on a single line: for example, the verse inscriptions from Lambaesis, Pompeii, and the Cueva Negra, discussed below.

The literary motifs, poetic formulas, funerary commonplaces, biographical, philosophical, and religious themes are similar to literary texts and create for these inscriptions a literary context in addition to their epigraphic and archaeological setting.⁷ In certain cases it is important to take into account this background information, namely when material by an individual author is transmitted in both literary and epigraphic versions (for example, St. Ambrose or Paulinus of Nola), when a literary author has only survived in epigraphic form (as with Pope Damasus), or when we suspect that literary epigrams have a partly epigraphic background (as in the case of Luxurius, poet at the Vandal court in Carthage in the sixth century CE). It is perhaps not entirely coincidental that all these examples come from Late Antiquity.⁸

The small percentage of metrical texts among all Latin inscriptions (a percentage which fluctuates depending on the period) is mitigated by the fact that the text of a *carmen epigraphicum* is usually much longer than that of a prose inscription. The longest Latin verse inscription yet known—from the tomb of the Flavii in Cillium (Africa Proconsularis)—consists of over one hundred lines in total (*CIL* VIII 212 + 11300b = *CLE* 1552a).⁹ But even in their shortest form, a single line of verse (*monostichium*), metrical inscriptions are of special interest to both philologists and historians. Although its metrical form has previously not been recognized, an unusual example

⁵ Pikhaus 1983: 170–203 (Appendix II). The numbers from Mauretania Caesariensis have now increased.

⁶ Wingo 1972: 140–163; Zarker 1966: 125–151; Sanders 1991: 87–110, 183–205; Bodet 2001: 25–30. For an unusually arranged text from Madauros, see p. 766.

⁷ Galletier 1922; Lissberger 1934; Hoogma 1959; Chevallier 1972; Cugusi 1996, 2002; cf. Mayer, Miró, and Velaza 1998.

⁸ St. Ambrose: p. 767; Pope Damasus: Ferrua 1942; p. 774; cf. Ch. 21; Luxurius: Happ 1986; cf. Pikhaus 1994: 76–77; Cugusi 2007: 123–124, 181–183. For a survey, Schetter 1989: 229–230.

⁹ New edition and full study: *Flavii* 1993; English translation and commentary in Courtney 1995: 186–193; Pillinger 2013.

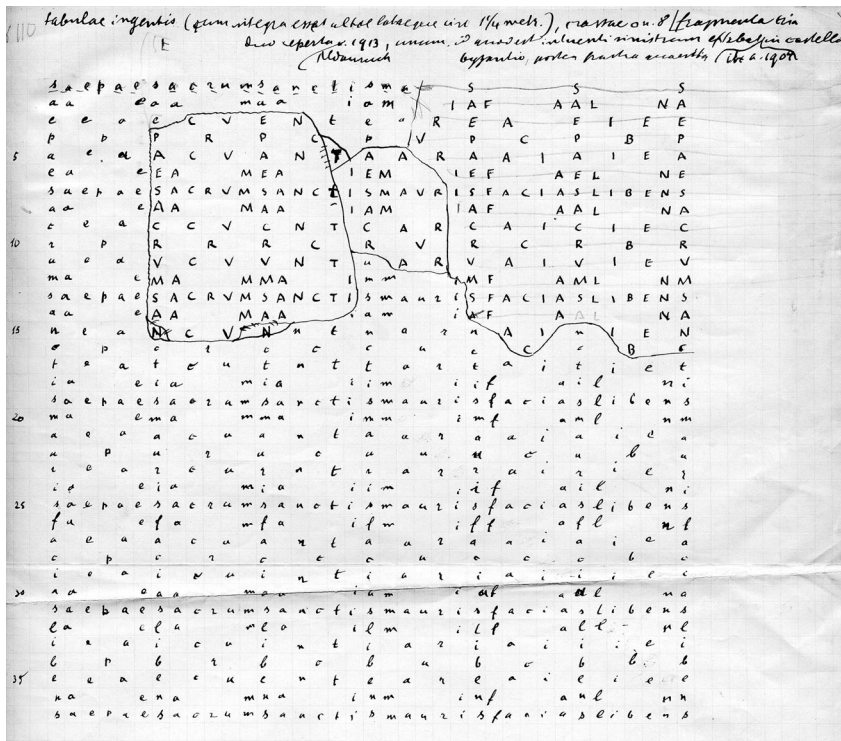


FIG. 35.1 Magical grid incorporating a metrical verse (*senarius*) from Madauros in Numidia (*ILAlg* I 2078). Drawing by Hermann Dessau.

of a metrical text comes from Madauros in Numidia. In a magical grid of six times six letter-squares, a verse comprising six metrical feet (an iambic *senarius*), consisting of six words, each of six letters, is repeated again and again horizontally, vertically, and diagonally, admonishing the reader (*ILAlg* I 2078 + add. p. 395 = *AE* 1914, 49; Fig. 35.1):

saepae(!) sacrum sanctis Mauris facias libens

Offer sacrifice often and gladly to the Moorish gods!

It is tempting to relate the number six to these “Moorish gods” (*dii Mauri*) themselves and to rob the “divine collectivity” of their anonymity by identifying them as a sextet of gods.¹⁰

THE ANTHOLOGIA LATINA

Latin verse inscriptions should be viewed in the context of a broader Roman poetic tradition, from which they differ only through the accident of transmission. This is

¹⁰ Schmidt 2008: 1910–11, focusing on its structure and interpretation.

demonstrated by the presence of *carmina epigraphica* together with shorter poems or poetic fragments variously transmitted in manuscripts in the *Anthologia Latina*, a work that traces its origins to Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages, as in the *Codex Salmasianus* of the seventh or eighth century.¹¹ Thus, in the older edition of the *Vetere-rum Latinorum epigrammata et poemata* by Pieter Burmann the Younger and Heinrich Meyer (1759–1835), quotations from poets preserved in the literary tradition are gathered together with examples transmitted in manuscript and epigraphic form.¹² For example, in the first group of poems in this edition, the *elogia* from the sarcophagi of the Cornelii Scipiones are found alongside literary quotations from Cicero, Livy, Gellius, and others. For these early epigrams in Saturnian metre this is a sensible editorial decision, since both manuscript and epigraphic traditions are relevant, though in different ways, for the understanding of this ancient Italic metrical form. The beginning of the *elogium* to A. Atilius Calatinus (*cos.* 258 BCE), transmitted by Cicero (*Sen.* 61; *Fin.* 2.116: *unum cum plurimae consentiunt gentes / populi primarium fuisse virum <Atilium?>*),¹³ even in this version in classical Latin shows great similarity to one of the oldest Latin inscriptions, the *elogium* of L. Cornelius Barbati f(ilius) Scipio (*cos.* 259 BCE) in Saturnians (*CIL* I² 9 = *CLE* 6 = *ILLRP* 310 = *ILS* 3; Fig. 35.2):¹⁴

*hunc oino ploirume cosentiont R[omai]
duonoro optumo fuisse viro
Luciom Scipione filio{s} Barbati
consol censor aidilis hic fuet a[pud vos]
5 hec cepit Corsica Aleriaque urbe
dedet Tempestatebus aide mereto[d]*

Most people agree that this man, Lucius Scipio, son of Barbatus, was uniquely best among the good men at Rome. He was consul, censor, aedile among you, he captured Corsica and the city of Aleria, he gave to the Storm-deities a temple, as they deserved.

Likewise, six hundred years later the epigraphic epigrams of St. Ambrose from the end of the fourth century CE take their place as a matter of course alongside his literary works and need to be treated from historical, theological, and philological perspectives, as in the case of Ambrose's epitaph in elegiac couplets for his brother, Uranius

¹¹ Riese 1869: p. xii–xxxiii; cf. Happ 1986: 1.125–126. In general, Tarrant 1986: 9–13, without any mention of the epigraphic tradition.

¹² cf. Burmann and Meyer 1835: p. iii: “Anthologia latina tripartita est, quia partim e codicibus manu scriptis, partim ex ceteris litterarum Romanarum auctoribus, partim ex inscriptionibus est conflata.”

¹³ Stein 1931: 48, 68–69 for Cicero's text.

¹⁴ The text in classical Latin would read: *hunc unum plurimi consentiunt Romae / bonorum optimum fuisse virum / Lucium Scipionem, filium Barbati. / consul, censor, aedilis hic fuit apud vos. / hic cepit Corsicam Aleriamque urbem, / dedit Tempestatibus aedem merito.* Text and translation from Courtney 1995: 40, 263–264 no. 9; but see the earlier editions and Kruschwitz 2002a: 58–70 no. 3 (L. Cornelius Barbati f. Scipio) and 220–223, Appendix 3 (A. Atilius Calatinus).



FIG. 35.2 *Elogium* of L. Cornelius Barbati f. Scipio from the Tomb of the Scipios, Rome. Etching by G.B. Piranesi of the inscribed face of a sarcophagus then preserved in the Palazzo Barberini, Rome.

Satyryus (*CIL* V p. 617 no. 5 = *ILCV* 2165 = *CLE* 1421, Mediolanum, from the grave beside that of the martyr Victor):¹⁵

*Uranio Satyro supremum frater honorem
martyris ad laevam detulit Ambrosius.
haec meriti merces, ut sacri sanguinis umor
finitimas penetrans adluat exuvias.*

To Uranius Satyrus his brother Ambrosius
does the final honour at the left hand of the martyr:
Let this be the wage of (his) merit, that the blood of the saint
seep through and bathe the remains at his side.

Collections made up exclusively of *carmina epigraphica Latina*, and as a result their classification as a specific group of inscriptions, originated in the seventeenth century, when attempts were made to collect in anthologies a broad range of epigraphic examples of mostly anonymous Latin poetry. This editorial model, on the one hand,

¹⁵ The *CIL* entry is derived from *Cod. Pal. Lat.* 833, f. 42 r.; cf. inter alia *CLE* 906–908 and *CLE* 1347 B (= *CIL* VI 1756; cf. *Suppl.* 8.3, p. 4752–53 with commentary; Schmidt 1999); *epigrammata Ambrosiana*: Cugusi 2007: 123–124, 182–183.

helps to remedy the fact that verse inscriptions are scattered broadly among the whole mass of inscriptions. In addition, the prosimetric character (i.e., part prose, part verse) of many inscriptions precludes the unambiguous classification of these “commatica” (a term coined by F. Bücheler)¹⁶ as verse inscriptions, since some of them comprise single metrical *cola* or *commata* together with sections in prose. This often occurs not through artistic design, but rather from a lack of skill or knowledge of prosody and metre. Amateurish—i.e., non-professional—and faulty poems were, therefore, as a rule not included in the anthologies. As subliterary creations, they were neither compared to other occasional poetry nor in any other way evaluated as evidence of Roman everyday verse.¹⁷ From the *Musae lapidariae* of G.B. Ferretti (1672) to Edward Courtney’s similarly entitled collection (1995), this tradition of research remains alive today and has determined our selective picture of the *carmina epigraphica Latina*. Also epigraphy, which is largely dominated by historical research, has until recently tended to neglect verse inscriptions. It is characteristic, for example, that Hermann Dessau in a general article on Latin epigraphy, published in 1925, devotes barely a quarter of a page to “poetic epitaphs” and, apart from the Scipionic inscriptions, he only cites one republican epitaph (*CIL* I² 1211 = VI 15346 = *CLE* 52 = *ILLRP* 973 = *ILS* 8403), evidently because “Mommsen, *RG* I⁵ 58, granted [it] the honour of a translation.”¹⁸ It is hardly a coincidence that in Jean-Marie Lassère’s almost twelve-hundred-page epigraphic manual only eight pages are devoted to verse inscriptions, one of them precisely to this inscription.¹⁹

THE CARMINA LATINA EPIGRAPHICA (CLE)

The first edition of all Latin verse inscriptions by Franz Bücheler and Ernst Lommatzsch, published in 1895 and 1897, has never been superseded. (Lommatzsch published a supplement in 1926 and then prepared a second edition of the original work in 1930.)²⁰ It was published as volume II of the *Anthologia Latina* of Alexander Riese,²¹ but was separated from the literary tradition as a collection consisting exclusively of verse inscriptions.

¹⁶ Kruschwitz 2002b.

¹⁷ For example, Burmann and Meyer 1835: p. vii: “Omisi enim pessimas, in quibus sententia absurda, verba barbara, numeri innumeri erant, quas omnino haud ornamentum, verum dedecus latinae poeseos esse apparebat.”

¹⁸ Dessau 1925: 1–37 (quotation from p. 27).

¹⁹ Lassère 2007: 186; cf. 8–9, 246–250. cf. the instructive surveys on Latin verse inscriptions from a philological perspective: Radke 2002: 37–41; Sallmann 1997: 600–604 (“Epigraphische Gelegenheitsgedichte”), 605–607 (“Carmina sepulcralia”); Schetter 1989: 224–236 (“Epigraphische Poesie”), unfortunately based only on *CLE*; Cugusi 2007.

²⁰ Following the practice of the *CIL*, only a selection of Christian metrical inscriptions are included in the *CLE*.

²¹ Bücheler and Lommatzsch 1895–97 (2nd ed., 1930), with numerous reprints; Lommatzsch 1926. Subsequent additions to *CLE*: Engström 1912; Zarker 1958; and many works by Cugusi and Gómez

Its title became synonymous with this group of inscriptions. The publication of the *Carmina Latina Epigraphica* (= *CLE*) took place in cooperation with the editors of the *CIL*, Lommatzsch among them, and can therefore be regarded as a product of the comprehensive project to create a fundamental research tool (“Grundlagenforschung”).²² With the poems arranged by metre, this now canonical edition included all *carmina epigraphica Latina* then known from the Roman world, both the true verse inscriptions and the commatica and fragments mentioned above.

How difficult it was for Bücheler, however, to find criteria for a sensible selection is revealed in a note to one entry in the collection which contains various commatica: “The number of the ‘commatica’ as I call them, would be increased beyond measure if I chose to present whatever is in any way poetic and every piece of metre in the inscriptions, however small. But that would be a different task” (Bücheler ad *CLE* 1851).²³ Nonetheless, Bücheler’s collection was impressively comprehensive. He provided no preface to his edition, which might have revealed the principle of organization he employed. Therefore, it will be useful to sketch its arrangement here, as it implicitly also provides information on topics such as the frequency of the metres used, the proportion of different inscription-genres, and their chronological development. In what was then a complete collection—and still remains at least a representative one—of around 2,500 inscriptions, the relative proportion of the different categories of texts remains valid:

- a small group of *Saturnii* (*CLE* 1–17)
- numerous *Iambi* (*CLE* 18–226, 847–849, 1788–99, 1859–1901)
- a small number of *Trochaei* (*CLE* 227–247, 1902–5)
- the main group of more than sixteen hundred *Hexametri* (*CLE* 248–846, 850–859, 1800–40, 1906–2034) and *Elegiaci* (*CLE* 860–1503, 1841–50, 2035–2140)²⁴
- *Hendecasyllabi*, *Ionici*, and *Anapaesti* (not in all cases with securely transmitted texts, *CLE* 1504–24, 2141–50)
- *Polymetra* (*CLE* 1525–62, 2151–56)
- *Commatica* (*CLE* 1563–1622, 1851, 2157–2222)
- various poetic fragments of uncertain type except for a small group of *Disticha* (*CLE* 1623–1785, 1852–58, 2223–91).
- three collective *lemmata* containing at least one hundred inscribed literary quotations, mostly from the *Aeneid* and other classics (*CLE* 2292–94).

Pallarès (cited in the bibliography); cf. Fernández Martínez 1998, a very useful two-volume translation of the *CLE*.

²² Schmidt 1998: 164–165.

²³ “Commatica quae vocavi augerentur numero ad immensum, si poetica quotquot sunt et quantulacumque inscriptionum commata producere vellem, quae res novi negoti est.”

²⁴ As many of the polymetrics, commatica, and fragments have sections in hexameters, the number of hexameter verse inscriptions in this edition probably already reaches two thousand.

Within these groups there is mostly an “eidographic order.”²⁵ In other words, after dedicatory inscriptions come texts from buildings, honorific monuments, funerary inscriptions, then miscellaneous texts—above all graffiti from Campanian cities, which form a special group. Within this division, the inscriptions which can be dated with any degree of security appear first, while formulaic material with no individualizing characteristics come at the end.

A new edition of all *carmina epigraphica Latina* is currently in preparation as part of the *CIL* project. This differs from older editions both in the presentation of the texts and in its system of arrangement.²⁶ It provides a critical edition of the entire inscription, both its metrical and non-metrical sections. It also presents the inscriptions in a geographical and systematic order, following the long-standing schema of the *CIL*. Paolo Cugusi’s extensive preliminary work for a revision of the *CLE* has been helpful in providing an overview of the enormously increased bibliography on individual verse inscriptions and of the overarching themes in epigraphic poetry. In collaboration with Maria Teresa Sblendorio Cugusi, he has begun to edit, province by province, a very useful collection of Latin verse inscriptions, which, in contrast to the *CIL*, largely omits autopsy of the inscriptions.²⁷

TYPOLGY OF VERSE INSCRIPTIONS

Although the practice of composing verse inscriptions began in Rome with the *elogia* of the Scipiones, in the succeeding period no notable separate tradition of such *carmina* developed for use on commemorative funerary monuments of the nobility.²⁸ This is perhaps not surprising, since the quantity of metrical inscriptions from the archaic and republican periods is exceedingly small.²⁹ A list of metrical inscriptions transmitted in literary or epigraphic form down to the death of Sulla (78 BCE) is provided by Suerbaum and some current statistics on “metrical inscriptions of the republican period” can be found in the collection of essays, edited by Peter Kruschwitz.³⁰ From the Augustan period to the third century it is above all epitaphs for individuals below

²⁵ In the difficult task of identifying a consistent editorial structure, I have relied in part on the observations of Wissowa 1899: 413.

²⁶ *CIL XVIII/2 = Carmina Latina epigraphica provinciarum Hispanarum*, ed. C. Fernández Martínez et al., Berlin and Boston (provisionally 2016); *CIL XVIII/1 = Carmina Latina epigraphica urbis Romae*, ed. B.E. Thomasson et al., Berlin and Boston (the first fascicle of which will provisionally appear in 2015).

²⁷ Cugusi 2003a (Sardinia), 2006 (Britannia); Cugusi and Sblendorio Cugusi 2007 (Pannonia), 2008 (Moesia and Thracia), 2011 (Greek East), 2012 (Hispania), 2014 (African provinces).

²⁸ Massaro 2002: 17–37.

²⁹ The otherwise valuable older selection, mostly of verse inscriptions, Lindsay 1897, devotes 113 pages to the inscriptions of the Republic and the “classical” period (i.e., the age of Cicero and the early Empire), but a total of just fifteen pages to the imperial period. For metrical inscriptions of the Republic, Massaro 1992. On Saturnians, see Kruschwitz 2002a.

³⁰ Suerbaum 2002: esp. 329–338; Kruschwitz 2007. So, for example, Fassbender 2007: 170–171 counts thirty-seven epigraphic examples from Rome, while Buonocore 2007 reaches a total of thirteen

the elite that are composed in verse. Only in Late Antiquity do verse epitaphs become normal also for *equites* and senators. One of the few exceptions is the epitaph which the highly respected consular and literary figure Verginius Rufus composed for himself, transmitted by the younger Pliny (Plin. *Ep.* 6.10.4; 9.19.1; cf. Cass. Dio 68.2.4).³¹

Around eighty percent of all *carmina epigraphica* derive from a funerary context. Such texts are often moving and are thus, on the one hand, a useful source for the history of mentalities (cf. Ch. 26). On the other hand, most treat a narrow range of very similar themes, such as life and death, body and soul, ideas of the afterlife in general, *mors immatura*, divine justice, and the virtues of the deceased. Therefore, their relation to certain literary genres inevitably produces a rather formulaic set of elements of lamentation, grief, and consolation, which were in part already present in Greek funerary epigraphy.³² This has led to the question whether there was a separate genre of epigraphic funerary poetry which includes typically “epigraphic” elements beyond those found in literary versions of the genre.³³ *Carmina epigraphica* often establish a link between the monument and its audience by including distinctive elements, such as an address to the passer-by (*viator* or *hospes*) by the dedicator or the deceased, a kind of “speaking” *titulus*. One sometimes even finds an exchange of poems between “speakers,” as in the verse epitaph of Vettius Agorius Praetextatus and his wife Paulina (*CIL* VI 1779, cf. p. 4757 = *CLE* 111 = *ILS* 1259).³⁴ Strikingly similar, indeed identical sections are found in many verse epitaphs, even from quite different regions of the Roman Empire. Some scholars have argued that these similarities derive from the conventions of the genre.³⁵ Cagnat and, following him, Susini preferred to assume that model- or formula-books were used to provide help in the composition of funerary verses (cf. Plut. *De Pythiae oraculis* 25 = *Mor.* 407 B–C).³⁶

Most verse inscriptions, however, follow individual patterns and each one reveals its own adaptation of funerary themes. Verse is normally used only for the section of the text that deals with the details of life and death, the deceased’s special characteristics, the family, grief, lamentation, and consolation. A pre- or postscript in prose is, in contrast, devoted to such matters as the deceased’s name,³⁷ offices held, age-at-death, since all of these elements are hard to fit into a metrical scheme. In the verse sections, names

from Italy’s Regio IV; Solin 2007 has in total five from Latium adiectum and Campania, Gómez Pallarès 2007: 223–228 includes only seven *carmina* from Hispania.

³¹ Stein 1931: 54–55.

³² In general, Lattimore 1942; Schetter 1989: 227. For Greek inscribed epigrams, Kaibel 1878; Robert 1948; Peek 1955, 1957, 1960; Vêrilhac 1978–82; Merkelbach and Stauber 1998–2005. On a striking funerary epigram from Rome dating to Domitian’s reign, *IGUR* 1336 = *SEG* 50, 1060 = *CIL* VI 33976 = *ILS* 5177, see Döpp 1996.

³³ Fernández Martínez 1999: 119.

³⁴ Häusle 1980: 41–63, esp. n. 44.

³⁵ Cugusi 2007: 190.

³⁶ Cagnat 1889; cf. Susini 1973: 48; Zarker 1958: 110–121; Häusle 1980: 17–18 esp. n. 44; Hernández Pérez 2001 (focusing on Hispania); Cugusi 2003b; cf. 2007: 190–191. For justified scepticism, Schetter 1989: 228.

³⁷ cf. Sblendorio Cugusi 1980 on the ambiguous use of proper names in verse inscriptions.



FIG. 35.3 Funerary plaque for L. Sentius Lucrio, his wife Pontia Procula, and their son L. Sentius Pietas from Carsulae (Umbria), with verse in lines 4–11. Museo Nazionale Romano.

with inappropriate prosody are avoided, while complicated numbers for the deceased’s age-at-death can only be fitted into the metre if one of the four basic methods of counting (addition, subtraction, multiplication, division) are used. Hence, for example, in an epitaph from Carsulae in Umbria (*CIL* XI 7856 = *CLE* 2068; Fig. 35.3) the precise age of the deceased is stated in the prose prescript (line 2) and also in a metrically inept periphrasis in lines 10–11:

L(ucius) Sentius L(uci) et (mulieris) lib(ertus) Lucrio sib(i) et Pontiae
L(uci) f(iliae) Proculae ux(ori)
et L(ucio) Sentio L(uci) f(ilio) Pietati vix(it) ann(is) XVII m(ensibus)
IX die(bus) VII
v(ivae) et Speratae libert(ae) nutrici filii
hóc quicumque legis tituló, rogó carmen, amice,
perlege! sic vitae commoda multa ferás.
Sentius hic iaceo Pietas cognomine dictus
praereptusque patri flore vigente meo.
artibus ingenuís studió fórmatus honestó
inter et aequales gratus amóre fuí.
duodevigintí natalés ní (= ne) numerarem,
surrupuit menses tres mihi Luna suós.
in fro(n)te p(edes) XIII, in agr(o) p(edes) XII.

L. Sentius Lucrio, freedman of Lucius and his wife, for himself and his wife Pontia Procula, daughter of Lucius, and for L. Sentius Pietas, son of Lucius; he lived seventeen years, nine months, seven days. Also for the freedwoman Sperata, who is still alive, nurse of their son.

Whoever you are, stranger, who reads this inscription, please
 read the poem to the end! Thus may you have many pleasant things in life.
 Here I lie, Sentius, called by the *cognomen* Pietas,
 torn from my father in the full bloom of my life,
 trained in the liberal arts with honourable effort,
 I was also among my peers well loved.
 To prevent me from reaching eighteen full years of age,
 Luna snatched away from me three of her months.
 Frontage: 14 feet. Depth: 12 feet.

In Late Antiquity, under the influence of Christianity (Ch. 21), it is not only new values that start to appear in verse epitaphs (for example, virtues in praise of the deceased), but Christian ideas of the afterlife also take their place alongside traditional material from popular philosophy. These are sometimes eccentrically heterogeneous, so that often a person's religion can only be detected by the addition of Christian formulas such as *neofitus/neophytus*.³⁸ So, for example, on the sarcophagus of Iunius Bassus, urban prefect in 359, a pagan verse epigram is combined with a Christian prose inscription (*in ipsa praefectura urbi neofitus iit ad Deum*) alongside reliefs with motifs from the Old and New Testament (*CIL VI 32004 = 41341a–b = ILS 1286 = ILCV 90 = ICUR II 4164*). It is, however, due to the innovative force and political instinct of a pope that in the funerary context—in the catacombs just outside Rome—a new form of *elogium* was developed. The exemplary death of the martyrs is presented vividly to the pilgrims by Pope Damasus I in the hexameters he composed—not entirely altruistically.³⁹ By promoting the ruined crypts and catacombs as an exercise in propaganda, he opposed the imperial presence in the city of Rome with a papal presence in the catacombs on the periphery of the city, which were central places in the growing religion.⁴⁰ He created shrines to the martyrs in a new, unified form, with a new type of verse inscription in a special script known as Philocalian, which has remained closely associated with the name of Damasus and which itself began a tradition.⁴¹ One of Damasus' *carmina* in hexameters refers directly to this period of developing the shrines (*CLE 310 = Damas. Epigr. 3 Ferrua*):

*cingebant latices montem teneroque meatu
 corpora multorum, cineres atque ossa rigabant.
 non tulit hoc Damasus, communi lege sepultos
 post requiem tristes iterum persolvere poenas.
 5 protinus adgressus magnum superare laborem
 aggeris immensi deiecit culmina montis,
 intima sollicite scrutatus viscera terrae
 siccavit totum, quidquid madefecerat humor,
 invenit fontem, praebet qui dona salutis.
 10 haec curavit Mercurius levita fidelis.*

³⁸ cf. Schetter 1989: 232–233; see further Ch. 21.

³⁹ The standard edition of the epigrams is Ferrua 1942; on the martyrs, Schäfer 1932; Ch. 21.

⁴⁰ Schmidt 2007: none of the *elogia* omits Damasus' name, though some omit that of the martyrs!

⁴¹ cf. Wesch-Klein 1999. On Philocalus, Salzmann 1990.

Water encircled the mountain and enmeshed with narrow streams
 the bodies, ashes, and bones of many.
 Damasus did not tolerate that those buried in the usual way
 should again suffer pitiable punishments after being laid to rest.
 At once he set about overcoming the great labour
 and had the mountaintop's huge pile of earth removed.
 He examined industriously the inmost parts of the earth,
 dried everything that the damp had seeped into
 and found a spring which gives gifts of salvation.
 Mercurius, faithful servant, carried out this work.

As with epigraphic material in general, verse inscriptions are mostly found in a funerary context, as we have seen. Apart from these, most of all dedications and building inscriptions were composed in hexameter verse. They are found primarily in connection with temples and bathhouses,⁴² churches and baptisteries. In Late Antiquity mosaic floors are a common medium for such texts.⁴³ An example of such metrical dedicatory inscriptions, which come primarily from North Africa,⁴⁴ is provided by an altar dedicated by a member of the municipal elite of Lambaesis to the Nymphs and, at the same time, to the *Numen Aquae Alexandrianae*. Laetus, the dedicator, is essentially commemorating the building of a *nymphaeum* and the aqueduct necessary for it, which was constructed under Severus Alexander (222–235), but he is also celebrating himself (*CIL* VIII 2662 = *CLE* 252 = *ILS* 3895, in hexameters, with two lines making up each hexameter; Fig. 35.4):⁴⁵

Numini aquae
 <<*Alexandrianae*.>>
hanc aram Nymphis extruxi
nomine Laetus,
 5 *cum gererem fasces patriae*
rumore secundo.
plus tamen est mihi gratus
honus, quod fascibus annus
 10 *is nostri<s> datus est, quo sanc-*
to nomine dives
Lambaesem largo perfu-
dit flumine nymphae.

To the divine spirit of the Alexandrian Aqueduct.
 I, Laetus by name, set up this altar to the nymphs,
 when I wielded the *fasces* of my native city to favourable acclaim.
 This honour is even more welcome to me, because precisely that year

⁴² Verse inscriptions on baths and bathing: Busch 1999; cf. González Blanco, Mayer, and Stylow 1996.

⁴³ cf. Gómez Pallarès 1990, 1990–91, 1993a–b.

⁴⁴ Overview based on the *CLE* in Schetter 1989: 234–235.

⁴⁵ The date is revealed by the erased and then rewritten name of the aqueduct in line 2, named after the emperor Severus Alexander. On the *nymphaeum* and its aqueduct, note also *CIL* VIII 2658; Janon 1973.

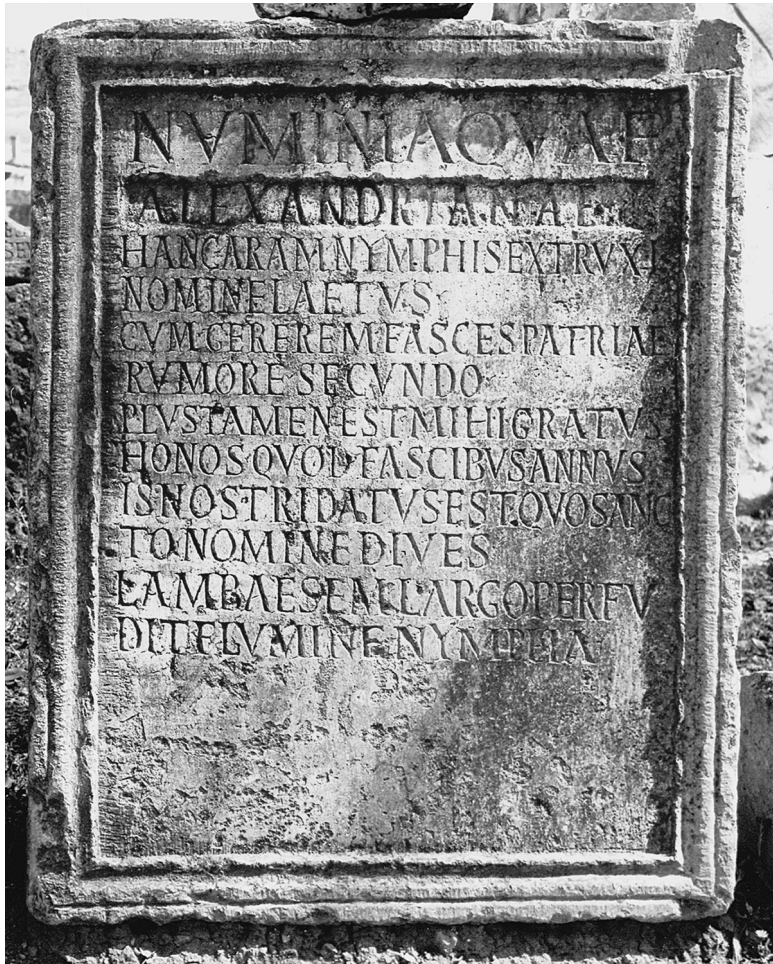


FIG. 35.4 Dedication to the Divine Spirit of the Aqua Alexandriana, with *Alexandrianae* excised from and then restored to line 2 of the text. Lambaesis, Numidia.

was given over to our magistracy (*fascēs*) in which the rich spring of imperial name flooded Lambaesis with its powerful stream.

Sometimes the discovery of inscriptions allows an entirely new approach to our understanding of the ancient world. For example, our view of Roman everyday life and culture was totally revolutionized following the discovery of the inscriptions of Pompeii, Herculaneum, and Stabiae, cities which were buried under the ashes of Vesuvius in 79 CE. Along with the archaeologically important wall-paintings, it is above all these “defacements” of the walls which have made Pompeii and its neighbouring towns famous. One mockingly self-critical verse inscription makes the point amusingly: “I am amazed, wall, that you have not fallen in ruins, since you have to bear the tedious products of so many writers!” (CIL IV 1904 = CLE 957: *admiror*

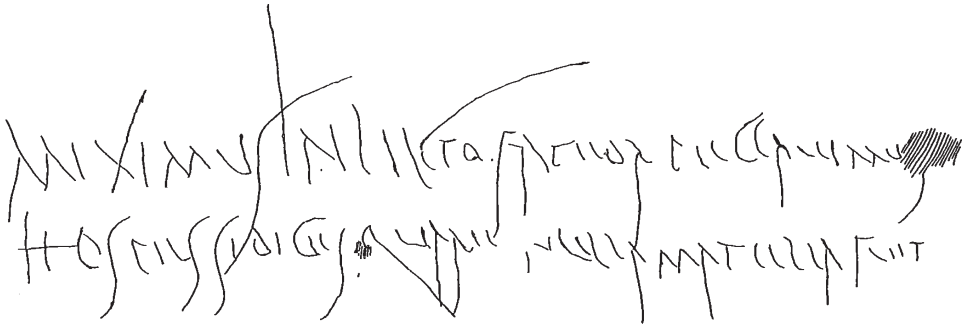


FIG. 35.5 Graffito from a house in Pompeii. The lines of the inscription do not correspond to the verse, with the word *hospes*, which belongs metrically at the end of the first line, appearing in line 2.

parie{n}s te non cecidisse ruinis qui tot / scriptorum taedia sustineas). Graffiti in prose and verse refract the life of the town in garishly bright colour. Among them can be found quotations from poetry—for example, from Virgil’s *Aeneid*—and couplets scribbled quickly with a stylus on a wall, full of praise or insults for figures from private and public life, curses and confessions of love, and of course obscenities, to which most publications on Pompeii like to devote much attention and which have undeniably contributed to our present-day picture of the “habits of the ancient Romans” (Ch. 23).⁴⁶ An example was found on a wall from a house in Regio VIII, insula 7 (*CIL* IV 4957 = *CLE* 932; Fig. 35.5):

*miximus in lecto; fateor, peccavimus, / hospes.
si dices quare: nulla matella fuit.*

We pissed in the bed; I admit it, landlord, we did wrong.
If you ask why: there wasn’t a pot.

Similarly, some painted inscriptions (“*dipinti*”) were brought to light in excavations in the Mithraeum below the church of Santa Prisca in Rome among the paintings related to the cult of Mithras found on the walls of a subterranean building renovated in the third century CE. These inscriptions can best be classified as hymns and are of some importance for the understanding of this mystery cult.⁴⁷ Thus, for example, the central theme of the iconography of the cult of Mithras—the killing of the bull—is explained in one hexameter verse as bringing blessings on the *mystae*, i.e., the initiates (*CIMRM* 485 = *AE* 1946, 84; uncertain reading):⁴⁸

et nos serva[s]ti eternali sanguine fuso
You have saved us too, by shedding the eternal blood.

⁴⁶ Numerous quotations from Latin literature: Gigante 1979. Erotic graffiti: Varone 2002.

⁴⁷ Vermaseren 1981: 110–111; Beck 2006. The similarity between Mithraism and Christianity is stressed by Betz 1968; cf. Sallmann 1997: 603.

⁴⁸ Full edition: Vermaseren and van Essen 1965: 217–218.

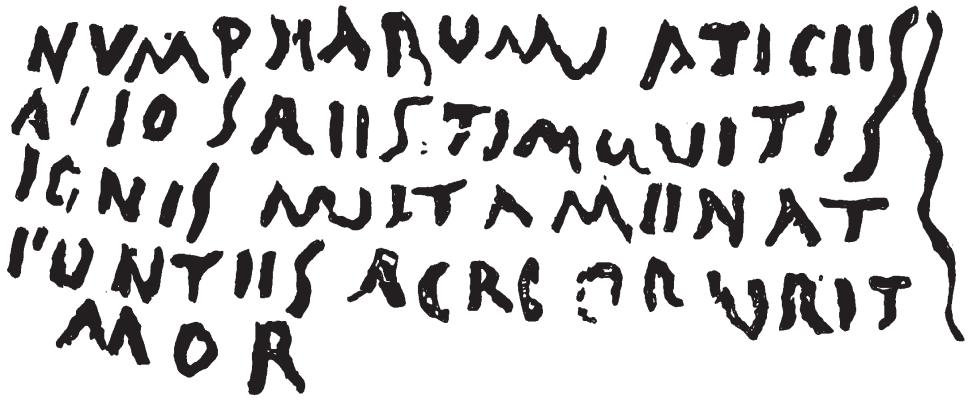


FIG. 35.6 Painted verse inscription from the Cueva Negra, near Fortuna, SE Spain. The two verses of the poem are spread over five lines.

While the relation of these texts to the cult of Mithras is unambiguous because of the occurrence of cultic terms such as *pater*, *leo*, and *taurus*, another set of texts, also painted, from a cave known as the Cueva Negra (“Black Cave”) near Fortuna (Murcia) in Hispania Citerior poses more of a problem, not least because of their poor preservation. All that can be said for certain is that these verses inspired by Virgil refer in general to a spring that rises in the cave itself and probably also to a cultic aspect of the site.⁴⁹ Visitors to this “sanctuary” then also composed occasional verses and painted them on the cliff wall—such as the following confession of love, preserved in different versions (AE 1987, 655e; Fig. 35.6):⁵⁰

*Numpharum latices, / alios restinguitis / ignis!*⁵¹
me tamen at / fontes acrior urit / [a]mor.

O waters of the nymphs, extinguish other fires!
 I am burned at the spring even more sharply by love.”

Thus behind every attempt at poetic artistry expressed in a *carmen epigraphicum* lies a special effort to give a depth, even uniqueness, to the act of commemoration, whether it is the memory of a beloved or deeply respected person, of a magnificent building, or, as we have just seen, to preserve the inextinguishable memory of a love that paradoxically flamed even more fiercely at the spring of the nymphs.⁵²

⁴⁹ Stylow and Mayer 1987; cf. González Blanco, Mayer, and Stylow 1996.

⁵⁰ cf. Cugusi 2007: 63–65.

⁵¹ After the apostrophe, the imperative, rather than the present indicative (here to prevent a hiatus), is actually required; cf. CLE 434, 14 (Pisaurum): *alios deludite quaeso*; similar verses: CIL VI 11743, 2 = CLE 1498, 2 (Rome); HEp 1994, 569 (Librilla, Hispania Citerior).

⁵² On *monumentum* and *memoria*, Häusle 1980: 29–40.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

EPIGRAPHIC CONVENTIONS

THE “LEIDEN SYSTEM”

<i>f(ilius)</i>	expansion of words abbreviated in the inscription
<i>Corn[elio]</i>	restoration of letters now lost through damage or loss of part of the inscription
ABC	letters are clear, but their significance is uncertain
<i>a b d s</i>	only a small part of the letter survives as a result of damage or loss of part of the inscription, but it can be restored from the context
++	traces of letters visible on the stone, but it is impossible to recognize what they are; one cross stands for each letter.
<u>abc</u>	letters were seen by a previous editor but are no longer visible
á é í ó ú	vowels marked with an <i>apex</i>
ì	I longa
<i>âb</i>	letters joined together in a <i>nexus</i>
[.]	one letter is lost that cannot be restored
[...]	letters lost that cannot be restored, the precise number of which can be conjectured (one full-stop for each lost letter)
[-c.5-]	letters lost that cannot be restored, the approximate number of which can be conjectured
[- - -]	letters lost that cannot be restored and their precise number cannot be conjectured
[- - - - -]	loss of complete line
- - - - -	loss of complete lines but their precise number cannot be ascertained
[[<i>abc</i>]]	letters erased from the original inscription
[[[<i>abc</i>]]]	letters erased from the original inscription, which the editors can restore
((<i>abc</i>))	the editor's explanation of letters or symbols; e.g., inverted or retrograde letters, numerals ((<i>decem milia</i>)) or symbols ((<i>centuria</i>)), ((<i>mulieris</i>)).
{ <i>abc</i> }	additional letters inscribed in error but suppressed by the editor
< <i>abc</i> >	letters incorrectly omitted but added by the editor
<< <i>abc</i> >>	letters inscribed in an erasure
ᵀ <i>abc</i> ᵀ	letters erroneously inscribed, but corrected by the editor
(vac)	space where no letters are inscribed
<i>D • M • s</i>	interpunction between words or letters
◻ <i>columba</i> ◻	image inserted into the inscription and described by the editor, commonly using Latin words (see p. 454 Fig. 21.2, p. 733 Fig. 33.4)

ADDITIONAL NOTES

1. For reasons of space, editors sometimes prefer not to expand all abbreviations. In this case, a full-stop (i.e., a period) must be used to avoid any ambiguity.
2. Editors sometimes use (!) to indicate either spelling or grammatical errors in the inscribed text.
3. / is used by editors to indicate the end of a line.
4. // is used to separate texts written on different surfaces of the same monument.
5. When an *apex* appears in the Latin text, such as á or ó (see Figs. 14.3, 27.1, 35.3), the purpose was to mark a long vowel.

APPENDIX II

EPIGRAPHIC ABBREVIATIONS

THIS list of some common epigraphic abbreviations used in Latin inscriptions lays no claim to completeness. A work of a different magnitude would be required for such an ambition. In J.-M. Lassère's *Manuel d'épigraphie romaine* (2nd ed., Paris 2007) the list comprises thirty-nine pages; in R. Cagnat's *Cours d'épigraphie latine* (4th ed., Paris 1914) it runs to sixty-four pages. Yet, a reader of epigraphic texts will discover that the ingenuity of the Roman stonemason and/or his clients surpassed what modern compilers of wordlists have accomplished. Even with the help of an extensive list some puzzles will remain. As illustrated below, a single initial letter can occasionally be used as an abbreviation for a great variety of words. For abbreviations of Roman voting tribes, see Appendix V.

A

A	ala—albata (factio)—annona—annus/anno/annos/annis/annorum —Aprilis—ara—as/assibus
A•A•A•F•F	aere argento auro flando feriundo
A•B	a balneis—amico bono
A•B•M	amico bene merenti
A•C	aere collato—armorum custos
A•COG	a cognitionibus
A•COMM	a commentariis
A•CVB	a cubiculo
A•D	ante diem—aram dedicat—ager divisus
AED	aedilis
AEG	Aegyptus
AER	aera (= stipendia)
AFR	Africa
A•H•N•P	ad heredem non pertinet
A•L•F•P	animo libens fecit/posuit
A•L•V•S	animo libens votum solvit
A•M	amico merenti—anima mea
A•MIL	a militibus
A•RAT	a rationibus
ARG	argentarius/argentum
ARK	arkarius
A•S	amico suo—a sacris—a senatu—a solo—anima sancta
A•S•F	a solo fecit/fecerunt
A•V	agens vices
A•V•P	agens vices praesidis

ACC	accensus—accepit—accepti
ACT	actor—actuarius—actum
ADI	adiutor—Adiutrix (legio)
ADL	adlectus
ADV	advocatus
AED	aedilis—aedituus
AER	aerarium—aeream—aerum (= stipendiorum)
AET	aetatis—aeternum
ALL	see ADL
ANN	annona—annus/anno/annos/annorum/annis
ANN•P•M	annos plus minus
AQ	aquarius
AQV	aquarius
AQVIL	aquilifer
ARB	arbitratu
ARC	arca, arcarius
AR(CHIT)	architectus
ARG	argentarius/argenteus/argentum
ARG•P	argenti pondo
ARK	see ARC
ARM•CVS	armorum custos
ATR	atriensis
AVG	augur—Augustalis—Augustus/Augusta
AVGG	Augusti (duo)
AVGGG	Augusti (tres)
AVGGG•NNN	Augusti (tres) nostri
AVG•L	Augusti libertus
AVG•N	Augustus noster

B

B	bene—beneficiarius—benemerenti
B•B	bonis bene
B•D•S•M	bene de se merenti
B•M	bene merenti—bonae memoriae
B•M•F	bene merenti fecit—bonae memoriae femina
B•M•V	bonae memoriae vir
B•Q	bene quiescat
B/BN•R•P•N	bono rei publicae natus
B•V	bene vale
B•VIX	bene vixit
BAL	balneator—balneum
BF	beneficiarius
BF•COS	beneficiarius consularis
BI	bixit (vixit)
BIS	bisellarius
BN•M	bene merenti
BX	bixit (vixit)

C

C	censuere—centenarius—centurio—cohors—colonia/coloni—comitalis—cuneus—cura/curavit/curaverunt—curia—conscripti
C•A	curam agens—custos armorum
CAES	Caesar—caesura
CAND	candidatus
CANN	cannophori
CAP	capitalis
CAS	castra
C•B•M•F	coniugi bene merenti fecit
C•C	collegium centonariorum—coloni coloniae—cuncti censuerunt
CC	ducenarius—Gai duo
CEN(S)	ensor
C•F	clarissima femina
CH, CHO, CHOR	cohors
C•I	clarissimus iuvenis
C•L	civis Latinus
CL	classis
C•M•F/P/V	clarissimae memoriae femina, puer/puella, vir
C•N	Caesar noster—colonia nostra
C•N•S(ER)	Caesaris nostri servus/serva
C•P	ensoria potestate—clarissimus puer
COH	cohors
COL	collega—collegium—colonia—columbarium
COMM	commentariensis
COND	conductio, conductor
CONL	see COL
CONS	conservus/conserva—consistentes—consularis
CONT	contubernalis
COR	corona—co(ho)rs—cornicen—cornicularius—coronarius
COS	consul—consularis
C•Q•V	cum quo/qua vixit
C•R	civis Romanus
C•V	clarissimus vir
CVB	cubicularius
CVR	curator—curavit

D

D	decessit—dedit—decreto—decumanus—defunctus—decuria—dedicatum—deus/dea—dies—domus—donum
D•C	decurio civitatis/coloniae—decurionum consulto
D•D	dare debebit—decreto decurionum—dedicatum—dedit dedicavit—dextra decumanum—diebus—dii deaeque—domini duo—domus divina—donis donatus—dono (donum) dedit

DDD	domini (tres)
D•D•L•M	dono dedit (-erunt) libens merito
DD•NN•PP•AVGG	domini nostri perpetui Augusti (duo)
DEC	decessit—decuria—decurialis—decurio
DEC•COL	decurio collegii, coloniae
DEC•M(VN)	decurio municipii
DED	dedicatio—dedicatum, dedicata
DEF	defensor—defunctus
DENT	dentatae (ferae)
DEP	depositus
DES/DESIG/DESIGN	designatus
D•I•M	deus invictus Mithras
DISC	discens
DISP	dispensator
D•L•M	dat libens merito
D•M	Dea Magna—decurio municipii—Deum Mater—devotae memoriae—Dis Manibus—dolus malus—Dominus
D•M•I	Dea Magna Idaea—Dis Manibus inferis
D•M•S	Deo Mithrae sacrum—Dis Manibus sacrum
D•N	dominus noster/domina nostra
DNI	Domini
D•N•MQ•E	devotus numini maiestatique eius (eorum)
DOL	doliare (opus), dolium
D•S	de suo—deus/a sanctus/a
D•S•B•M	de se bene meritus
D•S•F	de suo fecit
D•S•F•C	de suo faciendum curavit/curaverunt
D•S•P•C	de sua pecunia curavit/curaverunt
D•S•P•F	de sua pecunia fecit/fecerunt
D•S•S•F•C	de senatus sententia faciendum curavit/curaverunt

E

E	efficit—episcopus
EE(MM)•VV	eminentissimi viri
EID	eidus (idus)
EM	emeritus
E•M	ex monitu
E•M•V	egregiae memoriae vir
EPC	episcopus
EQ	eques, equester
EQ•R	eques Romanus
EQ•SING	eques singularis
E•V	egregius vir
EVOC	evocatus
EXAC	exactor—exactus

EX A•C	ex aere collato
EXC	exceptor—exceptus
EX•D	ex devotione
EX•FIG(L)	ex figlinis
EXP	expeditio
EX S•C	ex senatus consulto
EX V•L•M	ex voto libens merito

F

F	fastus—fecit—fetialis—filia/filius—fiunt—Forum—frater—fundus
FAB	faber
FAC	facere
FAC•COER	faciendum coeravit/-ere
F•C	faciendum curavit/-erunt—fiscus castrensis
F•D•S	fecit de suo
F•F	felix fidelis (legio)—filius fecit—fiscus frumentarius—funus fecit
FF	fili—fratres
FIG	figlinae
FISCI•CVR	fisci curator
FL	flamen, flaminica, flamonium—folles
FOL	folles
F•P	filius posuit—flamen perpetuus—frumentum publicum—fundi possessor—funus publicum
F•P•A	frumentum publicum accepit
FRVM	frumentarius
F•S	fecit sibi—filio suo
FVL•CON•PVB	fulgur conditum publice

G

G	garum—genius
GEM	Gemina (legio)
GEN	genius, genetrix
G•F	gari flos—Gemina Felix (legio)

H

H	heres/heredes—hereditatium—hic/haec, etc.—hora
HAR	haruspex
H•A•S•F•C	heres a se faciendum curavit
H•B•C	hic bene cubet
H•B•M•F	heres bene merenti fecit
H•B•Q	hic bene quiescat
H•C	hic conditus—honore contentus—honoris causa

H•E•N•S	heredem exterum non sequetur
H•F	heres fecit—honesta/us femina/filius—honore functus
H•F•C	heres faciendum curavit
HH•PP•P•R	hostes publici populi Romani
H•L•D•M•A	huic loco dolus malus abesto
H•M hoc	momentum—honesta missione—honeste missus
H•M• F/V	honestae memoriae femina/vir
H•M•H•N•S	hoc monumentum heredem non sequetur
HOR	hora—horrearius, horreum, horrea
H•P	heres posuit, heredes posuerunt
H•Q	hic quiescit
H•S	hic situs—hic sepultus
H•S•E	hic situs est—hic sepultus est
H•V	Hercules Victor—honore usus, usi

I

ID	idibus
I•D	invictus deus—Iuppiter Dolichenus—iure dicundo
I•H•D•D	in honorem domus divinae
I•M	invictus Mithras
IM	immunis
IMAG	imaginifer
IMP(P)	imperator/es
IN•A(GR)•P	in agro (agrum) pedes
IN•F(R)•P	in fronte (frontem) pedes
IN•P	in pace
IN•S•S	infra scripta sunt
I•O•M	Iuppiter Optimus Maximus
I•R	impensam remisit
IVG	iugerum
IVR	iuridicus
IVS	iussu

K

K	kalendae—kaput—kardo—kastellum
KAL	calendae—kalendarium
K•S	karus suis

L

L	legio—lex—libens
L•A	libens animo
LAR•ET•IMAG	lares et imagines
LAT	laticlavius

L•C•D•D	locus concessus decreto decurionum
L•D•D•D	locus datus decreto decurionum
L•H•N•S	locus heredem non sequitur
LEG	legio
LEG•AVG•PR•PR	legatus Augusti pro praetore
LEG•LEG	legatus legionis
LEG•PL•VE•SC	leges plebeive scitum
LIB	liberatus—libertus/liberta—liburna
LIB•AN	libens animo
LIB•LIB•Q•P•EOR	libertis libertabusque posterisque eorum
LIC	licet
L•IN•CIR	ludi in circo
L•M	libens merito—locus monumenti
LOC•PVBL	loco publico
LOC•SEP	locum sepulturae
L•P	Lares publici—Liber pater—libertus patrono—libens posuit
L•P•D•D•D	locus publice datus decreto decurionum
L•P•Q	locus pedum quadratorum
LVP, LVPERC	Lupercus
L•V•S	libens votum solvit
M	
M	magister—magistratus—magnus—Manes—mater—memoria— mensis—miles—minus—Mithras—monumentum—mortuus— mulier
MAG	magister/magistri—magistratus
MAG•QVIN/QQ	magister quinquennalis
MAR	marinus—maritus
MAT	mater—Matres
MAX	maximus/maxima
M•C	mater castrorum—memoriae causa
M•D•M•I	Mater deum magna Idaea
MED	medicus
MEM	memoria
MEN(S)	mensis (menses)
M•F	mater fecit—monumentum fecit—municipium Flavium
M•H•N•S	monumentum heredem non sequetur
MIL	miles, militavit, milia, miliaria
MIL•P	millia passuum
MIN	minister/ministri—minor
MIS	missio, missicius, missus
M•M	municipes municipii
MON	monetalis—monumentum
M•P	magister pagi—mater posuit—mille passus/milia passuum
M•V•F	monumentum vivus/viva fecit
MVR	murmillo—muria

N

N	natione—natus—nefastus (dies)—nepos—nomen—nonae—noster—novus—numen—numerus/numero—nummi
NAT	natione, natus
N•AVG	numen Augusti
NEG/NEGOT	negotiator
NEP	nepos
NER	Neronianus
N•F•N•S•N•C	non fui, non sum, non curo
N•M•Q•E•D	numini maiestatique eius dicatissimus
NN	nostri
NOB•CAES	nobilissimus Caesar
NOB•FEM	nobilissima femina
NON	nonae
N•P	nobilissimus puer
N•S	nomine suo
N•S•S	numero scripti sunt
NVM	numerus/numero—nummum
NVM•AVG	numen Augusti

O

O	officina—optimus—opus—ossa
OB•H/HON	ob honorem
OB•M•E	ob merita eius
O•B•Q	ossa bene quiescant
O•D	opus doliare
OF	officina
O•H•F	omnibus honoribus functus
O•M	optimus maximus
OP	optimus—optio—opus
OPL	(h)oplomachus
O•P•Q	ordo populusque
OPT	optimus—optio
ORD	ordinarius—ordinatus—ordo
O•V	optimus vir—oro vos
O•V•F•D•R•P	oro vos faciatis dignum rei publicae

P

P	pagus—parentes—pars—passus—pater—patronus—pecunia—perpetuus—pius—plebs—pondo—populus—post—posuit—praeses—praetor—proconsul—provincia—pugnarum
PAG	pagus—pagani
PAR	parentes

PAT	pater—patronus
P•C	patres conscripti—patronus civitatis/collegii/coloniae/corporis— ponendum curavit
P•D•D	publice dedicavit—publice decreto decurionum
PEC	pecunia
PED	pedatura—pedes—pedites
PER	peregrinus—permissu
P•ET•H	patronus et heres
P•F	pater fecit—parentes filio—pater filio—pia femina—Pia Fidelis (legio)— Pia Felix (legio)
P•G•N	provincia Gallia Narbonensis
P•H•C	provincia Hispania Citerior
P•I•S	pius in suis
PL	placuit—plebs/plebis—plumbum
PL•M	plus minus
P•L•M	posuit libens merito
PL•SC	plebis scitum
P•M	patronus municipii—pecunia multaticia—pia mater—pontifex maxi- mus—post mortem—pro meritis
PN	pronepos
PON•CVR	ponendum curavit
PONT, PONTIF	pontifex
POP	populus
POS	posuit
P•P	parentes piissimi—pater patriae—pater posuit—pecunia publica—per- petuus—populo postulante—portorium publicum—praepositus—pub- lice positus
P•PI	primipilus
P•P•O	posuit patrono optimo
PPO	praefectus praetorio
PP•VV	perfectissimi viri
P•Q	pedes quadrati—populusque
P•R	populus Romanus—pro reditu
PR	praedium—praefectus—praetor—pridie—primus—privata—pro— procurator—pronepos—provincia
PRAEF	praefectus
PRAEF•F•D	praefectus frumenti dandi
PRAEF•PRAET	praefectus praetorio
PR•AER	praefectus aerarii
PRO	proconsul—procurator—pronepos—provincia
PROB	probavit
PROC	procurator
PRO•COS	pro consule—proconsul
PRO•PR	pro praetore—propriator
PRO•S	pro salute
PROV	provincia—provocator
PR•M	praepositus militum

PR•PR	praefectus praetorio—praeses provinciae—pro praetore
P•S	pecunia sua—proprio sumptu—pro salute—pro se
P•V	perfectissimus vir
PVB(L)	publicus—publica—publice

Q

Q	quaestor—quinquennalis—Quirites
Q•A•V	qui annis vixit...
Q•B•F•F	quod bonum faustum felix (sit)
Q•D	quaestor designatus
Q•D•E•R•F•P•D•E•R•I•C	quid de ea re fieri placeret, de ea re ita censuerunt
Q•Q	quaestores—quinquennalis

R

R	ratio—recte—res—retiarius—retro—Roma—Romanus
RAT	ratio
REG	regio
REIP/REIPVB	reipublicae
REST/RESTIT	restituit
RET	retiarius—rettulit
R•P	ratio privata—res publica

S

S	sacrum—scriptus—semis—Senatus—sententia—sepultus—servus—sestertium—sibi—signifer—solvit—sub—suus
SAC	sacrum—sacerdos
SACR	sacrum
SAG	sagittarii
SAL	salve—salutem
S•AS•D	sub ascia dedicavit
S•C	scribendum curavit—senatus consultum—sub cura
SC•D•M	sciens dolo malo
SCR•ADF	scribendo adfuerunt
SCRIB	scriba
S•E	situs est
SER	servus/serva
SER•VIL	servus vilicus
S•ET•S	sibi et suis
SIG, SIGF, SIGNF	signifier
S•L•M	solvit libens merito
SOC	socius/socii

S•P	servus publicus
S•P•F	sua pecunia fecit
S•P•Q•R	senatus populusque Romanus
S•P•S•F	sibi posterisque suis fecit
S•S	senatus sententia—siti sunt—sumptu suo—supra scriptus—suspectum solvit
ST	stipendia
STAT	statio—stationarius—statua
STIP	stipendia
STLIT•IVDIC	stlitibus iudicandis
S•T•T•L	sit tibi terra levis
SVF	sufes—suffectus
S•V•L•M	solvit votum libens merito
SVS•VOT	suscepto voto
S•V•T•L	sit vobis terra levis
T	
T	tabula—terra—titulus—tribunus
TAB•P	tabulae publicae
TER	terminus—tertius
TES	tessera
TEST•LEG	testamento legavit
T•F	testamentum fecit
TIT	titulus
TORQ•ARMIL•PHAL	torquibus armillis phaleris (donatus)
TR	Thraex (gladiator)—tribunus—trierarcha—triumphator
TRIB	tribunus
TRIB•LAT	tribunus laticlavius
TRIB•MIL	tribunus militum
TRIB•P	tribunicia potestate—tribunus plebis
TRIB•POT	tribunicia potestate
TR•MIL	tribunus militum
T•R•P•D	te rogo praeteriens dicas
TR•PL	tribunus plebis
T•V•F	titulum vivus fecit
TVR	turma
V	
V	vale—verna—Vestalis—vester—via—vicit—vir—vividus/ viva—vixit—votum—vovit—urbs—uxor
V•A	vicens agens—vixit annos/annis . . .
V•A•S•L•M	votum animo solvit libens merito
V•B•D•R•P	vir bonus dignus rei publicae
V•C	vir clarissimus
V•D•P•R•L•P	unde de plano recte legi possit

V•E	vir egregius
VER	verna
VET, VETER	veteranus
VEX, VEXI, VEXIL, VEXILL	vexillatio
V•F	verba fecit—vivid fecit—utere felix
VIAT	viator
VIC	vicarius—vicit—victimarius—vicus—vicani
VIG	vigiles
VIL	vilicus
V•L•A•S	votum libens animo solvit
VL•K	ultra kardinem
V•L•S•M	votum libens solvit merito
VOT	votum
V•P	vir perfectissimus—vivid posuit—votum posuit—uxori pientissimae
V•S	votum solvit—voto soluto—vir spectabilis
V•S•F	vivid/viva sibi fecit
VT•F	utere feliciter
V•V	Valeria Victrix—Ulpia Victrix (legiones)
V•V•C•C	viri clarissimi
V•V•E•E	viri egregii
V•V•P•P	viri perfectissimi

APPENDIX III

ROMAN ONOMASTICS

CHRISTER BRUUN

ALMOST every Roman inscription contains one or more personal names. These names are crucial for the historical understanding of the text, and they can also play a useful role in dating the inscription. The importance of onomastics, i.e., the study of names, in Roman epigraphy is emphasized by the fact that the Romans developed a much more sophisticated system of personal naming than did the Greeks or most other civilizations of the classical period.

The use by free individuals of a family name, the *gentilicium* or *nomen gentile*, is a feature which the Romans apparently borrowed from the Etruscans and which other peoples of the classical world lacked. The *gentilicium* allows scholars to study many central issues, such as family formations and structures, inheritance of property, or the freeing of slaves and the social advancement of freed slaves. For this reason specific onomastic matters are discussed in several chapters above (Chs. 9, 11, 18, 26, 28); the purpose of this Appendix is to present a general survey.

Onomastic Elements

The term *tria nomina* is a common concept in Roman onomastics. It denotes the three fundamental parts of the full Roman name as used by free males during the late Republic and the first centuries of the Principate: the *praenomen*, the *gentilicium*, and the *cognomen*.

While in earlier times there was more variation, from the late Republic onwards the range of *praenomina* became relatively narrow. This fact, as well as the need to save space in official records (and, perhaps, in inscriptions), prompted the introduction and ongoing use of a set of standard abbreviations (Table III.1). As a result, *praenomina* are practically never written out in full in inscriptions.

Table III.1 The most common Roman male *praenomina* with their standard abbreviations

A.	Aulus	P.	Publius
Ap.	Appius	Q.	Quintus
C.	Gaius	Ser.	Sergius
Cn.	Gnaeus	Sex.	Sextus
D.	Decimus	Sp.	Spurius
L.	Lucius	T.	Titus
M.	Marcus	Ti. or Tib.	Tiberius
M'.	Manius		

The fact that the names *Gaius* and *Gnaeus* were abbreviated using the hard consonant “C” instead of the soft “G” shows that these abbreviations appeared in an early period of Roman history, before the letter G had been introduced into the Roman alphabet. Overall, the names *Gaius*, *Lucius*, and *Marcus* were the most common ones. Women carried *praenomina* only very rarely. Some regional differences developed, so that, for instance, *Sextus* was more than usually popular in the Gallic provinces. During the Principate, *praenomina* in practice became increasingly hereditary: the *praenomen* of a son rarely differed from that of his father by the late second century CE.

In a free individual’s name, the *praenomen* was followed by the *gentilicium*, the family name that was inherited from their father by sons and daughters alike. In contrast to many modern societies, it was not taken over by a man’s wife, who after marriage kept the *gentilicium* she had acquired at birth. Children acquired their father’s family name, so that M. Tullius Cicero’s son became a *Tullius*, his daughter a *Tullia* (the feminine form of the name).

Roman *gentilicia* originated in a manner similar to what is found in most cultures. Etymologically, these names are normally derived from Latin words relating to various natural and other phenomena, or to other names. So, for instance, the name *Octavius* derives from *octo* (eight), *Claudius* from the archaic Sabine name *Clausus*, while *Flavius* points to the colour *flavus* (yellow). From the first century CE onwards, in the provinces many non-Latin *gentilicia*, derived from Germanic, Gallic, Hispanic, Libyco-Punic, and several other languages, started to appear. When attempting to reconstruct a partially preserved name in an inscription, the onomastic *Repertorium* of Solin and Salomies is of great help.

A third name, the *cognomen*, eventually entered the Roman onomastic system. The range of *cognomina* is vast, since numerous features in the natural world and in human society inspired the creation of these names, which originally had the function of distinguishing individuals who carried the same *praenomen* and *gentilicium*. Such homonymous groups could include fathers and sons, brothers, and even cousins or more distant relatives, which must have been potentially very confusing. Thus the *cognomen* initially was the truly individual part of a person’s *tria nomina*. Yet the system was soon watered down because of the Romans’ inherent reverence for tradition and the social prestige derived from a renowned ancestry, so that *cognomina* also began to be inherited. As a case in point, Cicero’s brother was likewise called Tullius Cicero, and in the following generation, each man had a son called Tullius Cicero (although on the orator’s side the *praenomen* was *Marcus* instead of *Quintus*, the *praenomen* of the orator’s brother). Yet the number of possible *cognomina* was almost limitless, since among Roman *cognomina* one finds a very large number of names of Greek etymology, as well as a number of other names, for instance, of Semitic, Gallic, Germanic, Hispanic, African, Illyrian, or Thracian origin.

Cognomina appear throughout Greek and Latin literature of the Roman period, but only in relatively small numbers compared with the tens of thousands of instances to be found in inscriptions. In order to analyze what possible significance Roman authors may have attributed to the names they chose, it is necessary to evaluate everyday practices as they appear in the epigraphic record.

The form of most *gentilicia* differs from that of *cognomina*, in that the former normally, but not always, end in *-ius*.¹ Distinguishing between what is the *gentilicium* and what is the *cognomen* in a name is sometimes complicated by the fact that individuals could use a *gentilicium*

¹ Other types include the *gentilicium* *Caecina*, borne by a senatorial family of Etruscan descent during the Principate, and some *gentilicia* ending in *-us*, as *Funisulanus* (Ch. 11, esp. Fig. 11.2).

in the place usually reserved for a *cognomen*. For instance, Volusia Cornelia (*PIR*¹ V 667) of senatorial rank used two *gentilicia* but no *cognomen*.

As the Principate progressed and the potential of an inherited *cognomen* to distinguish individuals decreased, some Romans acquired a fourth name which in its type is identical to a *cognomen* but is known as an *agnomen*. This truly personal name is sometimes identified by the phrase *qui et* or *sive* (or, in Greek, ὁ καί), corresponding to the common English phrase “a.k.a.” (“also known as”). *Agnomina* were not inherited. So-called *signa* functioned as additional marks of identity in Late Antiquity (Ch. 18).

Thus it came about that Romans could bear more than three names, and even four was by no means the limit. This process is known as “polyonymy” (a term meaning “with many names”), and we shall return to it in more detail below.

Social Distinctions

Throughout history, personal names have served not only to distinguish individuals but also to establish social hierarchies; the Romans were no different in this. First of all, full Roman onomastic formulae clearly identified freeborn Romans, slaves, and ex-slaves:

- A freeborn Roman could emphasize his/her status by adding the father’s name and the voting-tribe (for men only) to the full onomastic formula, as in M. Tullius M(arcus) f(ilius) Cor(nelia tribu) Cicero.
- Some individuals were free but were not Roman citizens. The *tria nomina* formula without filiation and mention of tribe was used by slaves who had been manumitted without following the proper legal procedure; they were Junian Latin citizens. So were those provincials who lived in towns (*municipia*) that merely had Latin status, a common feature in the Hispanic provinces.
- Until 212 CE many provincials were free but only had the citizenship of their local community. They used a name formula which is best known from traditional Greek practice: personal name + personal name of the father, as in Mucatrio Seutonis f(ilius) (*AE* 1984, 801, Histria). In some areas names included an element indicating membership in a broader kinship group or clan (*cognatio*), such as Dobiterus Caburoniq(um) Equasi f(ilius) and Arena Mentovieq(um) Aelci f(ilia) (Fig. 26.2).
- A Roman slave had only one name, and the slave’s servile status was, in the simplest form, indicated by a reference to the owner’s *praenomen*, as in Tiro Marci s(ervus). Sometimes, when a slave could bask in the glory of a prominent master, the owner was singled out with a more explicit reference, as in Sophrus Sisennae Statili ser(vus) (Ch. 28). When women, who did not carry a *praenomen*, were owners of slaves, as frequently happened, this was indicated in inscriptions in a curiously impersonal way by the use of a sign, a retrograde C or, much less commonly, an inverted M, which gave no clear indication of the owner’s identity.²

² This sign derives from *Gaia*, which was used as a general designator for a Roman women (cf. Quint. *Inst.* 1.28). An inverted M designated *mulieris* (“of a woman”) (Isid. *Orig.* 1.23). When citing inscriptions containing this sign, it is customary to use the word (*mulieris*), as in Fortunata (*mulieris*) s(erva).

- Roman ex-slaves used the term *libertus/a* to indicate their status, as in M. Tullius M(arci) lib(ertus) Tiro. Freedmen and freedwomen were free individuals and so had the right to use the *tria nomina*, in which the single name they had borne as slaves became their *cognomen* after manumission, while they took on their master's *praenomen* and his/her *gentilicium* as their own. When manumitted by a female owner, an ex-slave took the *praenomen* of the owner's father.
- In order to emphasize their distinguished ancestry, some citizens were not content with citing just their father's name. They might trace their origin as free citizens back several generations through the addition of the terms *M(arci) n(epos)*, *M(arci) pron(epos)*, and even beyond (cf. Appendix IV).
- During the Principate, it was more common for members of the senatorial and equestrian elite to expand other onomastic elements. Such a person could easily carry four names (often two *gentilicia* and two *cognomina*), of which some might be derived from the mother's or paternal grandmother's side. There were no clear rules for this, which makes imperial prosopography and genealogy such a treacherous field. The main idea seems to have been to list prestigious names that would set a senator apart from any Roman of lesser rank or even from his peers. This feature is called "polyonymy," and blood relationship was not the only way to generate these long strings of *gentilicia* and *cognomina*. Adoptions account for an important number of cases of polyonymous names (cf. Ch. 26).
- In a proper adoption, the adoptee would normally continue to use part of his original name, as P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus Aemilianus (today known as Scipio Aemilianus or the younger Scipio Africanus) did during the Republic. The *cognomen* ending in *-anus* was formed from the *gentilicium* *Aemilius* and literally meant "the Aemilian Scipio Africanus," thus revealing the adoption that had occurred. During the Principate, however, such *cognomina* ending in *-anus* often originated within agnatic families and referred to an ancestor, and so rarely prove adoptions.
- So-called testamentary adoption was the most common cause of polyonymy. A Roman could bequeath part of his property to someone on the condition that the recipient add the donor's name to his existing *tria nomina*. In the simplest case, this created a name consisting of *praenomen* + *gentilicium* + *cognomen* + *gentilicium* + *cognomen*, as in the case of Pliny the Younger (cf. Ch. 24), C. Plinius Caecilius Secundus, born a Caecilius Secundus and adopted in the will of his maternal uncle, C. Plinius Secundus. It is now the general view that the testator's name appeared first, and the beneficiary's stood in second place. Even so, unfortunately for us there were many ways in which the *tria nomina* of the testator and adoptee might be combined. Such acquisitions of names may also have been due simply to friendship, and the situation was further complicated by the already mentioned tendency to preserve names derived from female ancestors. For instance, in the most famous case of polyonymy the name "Sex. Iulius Frontinus" (cf. Ch. 14) appears within the long string of names of Q. Pompeius... Sosius Priscus (cf. Table III.3), but the precise nature of his relationship to the senator of 169 CE is unclear.
- Beginning in the early second century CE, an epithet marking their rank (sometimes referred to by the German term "Rangtitel") was added to the names of senators. Members of the senatorial order were identified by the epithet *clarissimus vir* (or *femina, puer, puella*), while an *eques Romanus* was distinguished by the formula *egregius vir* (from the later third century *vir perfectissimus*). Other epithets with similar functions appeared in Late Antiquity (cf. Table 18.1).

Considering the important function that names had in establishing Roman social hierarchies, it is somewhat surprising that inscriptions often do not make clear what the precise social

status of a person was. Some individuals have only one name, as if they were slaves, although at least some of these were certainly not; scholars often use the German term “Einnamig” (“having one name”) for them. A more common practice was to use the simple *tria nomina*, without filiation or indication of freedman status. It is thus uncertain whether such a person was freeborn or an ex-slave (or a Roman or Latin citizen); scholars refer to them with the term “incertus.” The lively debate about what social status to attribute to such individuals, a debate which also relies heavily on the notion that a Greek *cognomen* in the West is proof of “servile origin” (a vague concept), cannot concern us here (cf. Ch. 28).

Historical Development

The history of Roman naming practices reveals the social dimensions of this phenomenon, while the many changes in the use of names over time make Roman onomastics a useful tool for dating purposes.

Originally, Romans used a one-name system, of which practically no epigraphic traces remain. Already by the early fifth century BCE the *gentilicium* appears, as in the Lapis Satricanus (Fig. 34.4). *Cognomina* begin to occur in inscriptions concerning senators around 300 BCE (Cover image: L. Cornelius Scipio Barbatus; cf. Fig. 35.2: L. Cornelius Scipio Barbati filius). Freeborn individuals of lower rank are not found using *cognomina* in inscriptions for a long time, while *cognomina* are consistently found in the onomastic formulae of freedmen from the last decades of the second century BCE onwards. Some freeborn persons avoided using *cognomina* for quite some time after this, although to an ever lesser extent as the Principate began. T. Vinius, the last consul not bearing a *cognomen*, held office in 69 CE.

In the provinces non-citizens (*peregrini*) continued to use native names, usually in the form of a single name plus patronymic: for example, Dolanus Esbeni f(ilius) (*CIL* XIII 7585) or Reburus Tangini (*AE* 1977, 379), the latter case showing that sometimes the Latin f(ilius, -a) was omitted. With grants of Roman citizenship, bicultural names such as Fabia Bira Izeltae f. (*IAM* II 448 = *IL Afr* 634) started to make their appearance.

As the *tria nomina* became standard, during the second century CE the elite developed the new feature now known as polyonymy. The *praenomen* tended to be omitted to an ever higher degree, since it had by now lost most of its role as an individual identifier. The last *praenomina* are found in North African inscriptions dating to the first decades of the fifth century; by then their use had become a rarity. Some *gentilicia* became particularly common through the influence of the emperor and his family. New citizens usually took the *gentilicium* of the ruler during whose reign they acquired the Roman franchise, and the numerous manumitted imperial slaves contributed to the spread of the imperial names. The most common names could be abbreviated in inscriptions without risk of confusion (Table III.2).

Table III.2 Commonly abbreviated *gentilicia* in inscriptions

Ael.	Aelia/Aelius
Aur.	Aurelia/Aurelius
Cl.	Claudia/Claudius
Fl.	Flavia/Flavius
Iul.	Iulia/Iulius
Val.	Valeria/Valerius

Such abbreviated *gentilicia* provide a convenient *terminus post quem*, as they are not found until after a particular dynasty had come to power. Sometimes, as in the case of the name *Flavius*, abbreviations may occur quite soon after.

Agnomina, characterized by the *qui et*-formula, and *signa*, which characterized a collective to which an individual belonged, are onomastic phenomena which began in the second century and became progressively more common thereafter.

Roman onomastics in Late Antiquity underwent other changes as well. On the one hand, Christianity made popular a new set of names (cf. Ch. 21), although by no means all older *cognomina* disappeared. Of greater consequence in some ways was the disintegration of the old *tria nomina* system. The *praenomen* had already practically disappeared, but now the *gentilicium* also began to fall out of use among the vast majority of individuals outside a restricted circle of aristocrats. The proliferation of a few imperial names, especially Aurelius, following the grant of Roman citizenship to all free inhabitants of the Empire in 212 CE (the *constitutio Antoniniana*) may have contributed to this, as probably did changes in society. By the fifth century, Roman society had largely reverted to a one-name system, which was to remain the European practice until the aristocracy around the year 1000 again began to use family names. For the convenience of readers, the most salient features of Roman naming practices are summarized in Table III.3.

Table III.3 The most common Roman onomastic formulae

simple <i>tria nomina</i> (<i>duo nomina</i> for women)	M. Tullius Cicero Caecilia Metella
a Roman citizen with <i>tria</i> (<i>duo</i>) <i>nomina</i> in the censor's roll or in official contexts	M. Tullius M(arcus) f(ilius) Cor(nelia tribu) Cicero Caecilia Q(uintus) f(ilia) Metella Caecilia Crassi (uxor) (Ch. 29)
an individual with a single name (often termed "Einnamig" in modern scholarship)	Felix Hermione
an individual of unclear status labelled "incertus" (or "incerta") in modern scholarship	Tullius Tiro M. Tullius Tiro Tullia Fortunata
a Roman slave	Felix M(arcus) s(ervus) Eutyclus M(arcus) Tulli (servus)
a Roman freedman / ex-slave	M. Tullius M(arcus) l(ibertus) Tiro Tullia M(arcus) lib(erta) Fortunata
a Roman with a clearly distinguished <i>agnomen</i> or <i>signum</i>	Atilia Tyche quae et Athenais (CIL VI 12640) Valeria Attica <i>signo</i> Amantia (CIL XII 2021)
adoptive nomenclature: the son of an Aemilius adopted by a Cornelius	P. Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus
adoptive nomenclature: the adoptee's original name is transferred in whole and placed last	C. Plinius L.f. Ouf(entina tribu) Caecilium Secundus
a polyonymous Roman citizen and member of the imperial elite	Q. Pompeius Q.f. Quir(ina tribu) Senecio Roscius Murena Coelius Sex. Iulius Frontinus Silius Decianus C. Iulius Eurycles Herculaneus L. Vibullius Pius Augustanus Alpinus Bellicius Sollers Iulius Aper Ducenius Proculus Rutilianus Rufinus Silius Valens Valerius Niger Cl(audius) Fuscus Saxa Amyntianus Sosius Priscus (CIL XIV 3609 = ILS 1104), the man commonly known as Q. Pompeius Sosius Priscus, consul in 169 CE.

Table III.3 Continued

a free non-citizen in the Roman world	Hebrenus Bithi f. (natione) Bessus (<i>AE</i> 2009, 1803) Ammilla Lotiusi f. (<i>CIL</i> XIII 2960) Δημήτριος Κώκου (υιός) Ἄνδρων (<i>AE</i> 2009, 1401)
a free non-citizen with kinship group affiliation (<i>cognatio</i>)	Albanus Melmaniq(um) (<i>CIL</i> II 3100)
a provincial granted Roman citizenship	M. Valerius Bostaris f. Gal(eria tribu) Severus (<i>IAM</i> II 448 = <i>IL Afr</i> 634)
a Roman with one name only in Late Antiquity	Quodvultdeus ("what God wishes") Paschasius (a reference to Easter)

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APPENDIX IV

ROMAN KINSHIP TERMS

Latin terms, with some Greek equivalents, all attested epigraphically.

GENERAL KIN

<i>adfinis</i> , γαμβρός	relative by marriage, affine
<i>cognatus</i> , συγγενής, συγγονός	blood relative
<i>necessarii</i> , ἀναγκαῖοι	relatives, kin
<i>propinquus</i>	relative, kinsman
<i>proximus</i>	nearest relative, very close kin

COLLATERAL

<i>collactius</i> or <i>collactia</i> , <i>collacticius</i> , -a, <i>collactaneus</i> , -a, συντροφός	fellow-nursling (whether a blood-relative or not)
<i>collibertus</i> , -a	fellow-freedman/woman
<i>concubina</i>	ongoing partner not formally united in marriage
<i>coniunx</i> , σύνβιος	spouse
<i>conlactius</i> , -a, <i>conlaticius</i> , -a, <i>conlacteus</i> , -a	See <i>collactius</i> , etc.
<i>conliberta</i>	fellow-freedwoman
<i>conlibertus</i>	fellow-freedman
<i>conservus</i> , <i>conserva</i> , συνδουλός	fellow-slave
<i>contubernalis</i>	literally “tent-mate”; i.e., ongoing marital partner who could not be one’s formal spouse in a lawful Roman marriage (<i>iustum conubium</i>)
<i>frater</i> , ἀδελφός	brother
<i>frater gemellus</i>	twin brother
<i>gemina/gemella</i>	twin sister
<i>geminus/gemellus</i> , δίδυμος	twin brother
<i>gemini</i> , δίδυμοι	twins
<i>marita</i> , γυνή	wife
<i>maritus</i> , ἀνὴρ	husband

<i>sobrinus</i> , ἀνεψιός	cousin or nephew (strictly, child of one's sister, but more generally any cousin)
<i>soror</i> , ἀδελφή	sister
<i>soror gemella</i> , διδύμα	twin sister
<i>sponsa</i> , ἔκδοτος	fiancée
<i>sponsus</i>	fiancé
<i>uxor</i> , γυνή	wife
γαμβρός	brother-in-law
πενθεριδής	brother-in-law; stepbrother
πένθερος or πενθεριδεύς	brother-in-law

ASCENDANT

<i>abavus</i>	great-great-grandfather
<i>amita</i> , πατρή	aunt (paternal)
<i>anus</i> , τήθη	grandmother
<i>atavus</i> or <i>abavus patris</i>	great-great-great-grandfather
<i>avia</i> , τήθη	grandmother (paternal/maternal)
<i>avunculus</i> , μήτρως	uncle (maternal)
<i>avus</i> , πάππος	grandfather
<i>mamma</i>	“mom,” “mummy” (also found as affectionate diminutive: <i>mammula</i>)
<i>mater</i> , μήτηρ	mother
<i>matertera</i> , τηθίς	aunt (maternal)
<i>noverca</i> , μητριά	stepmother
<i>novercus</i> , πατριός, κηδεστής	stepfather
<i>pappus</i> , πάππος	“papa” (affectionate term for grandfather or grandfatherly figure)
<i>parens</i> , γονεύς, γεννητής	parent, kinman, relative
<i>pater</i> , πατήρ	father
<i>pater adoptivus</i> , πατροποίητος or θρέψας	adoptive father
<i>patronus</i> , πατῶνος	patron, i.e., former owner of slave
<i>patruus</i> , πάτρων, πατῶιος or πατραδελφός	uncle (paternal)
<i>proavus</i>	great-grandfather
<i>propatruus</i>	great-grandfather's brother
<i>prosocer</i>	wife's grandfather
<i>socer</i> , πενθερός or γαμβρός	father-in-law
<i>socra</i> or <i>socrus</i> , πενθερά	mother-in-law
<i>tata</i>	“dad” (also found in affectionate diminutive form <i>tatula</i>); used to designate male childminders as well as biological fathers)
<i>vitricus</i> , κηδεστής	stepfather

DESCENDANT

<i>abnepos</i>	great-great-grandchild
<i>alumnus</i> , θρεπτός, τρόφιμος	foster-child
<i>consobrinus</i> , ἀνεψαδοῦς	cousin (strictly: the child of one's mother's sister; more generally, the child of mother's brother or sister)
<i>filia</i> , θυγατήρ	daughter
<i>filiaster</i> , προγονός	stepson
<i>fili</i> , τέκνά	children
<i>filius</i> , υἱός	son
<i>filius adoptivus</i> , θρεπτός	adopted son
<i>filius fratris</i> , ἀδελφιδοῦς	nephew (on one's brother's side)
<i>gener</i> , γαμβρός	son-in-law
<i>liberi</i> , παῖδες	children
<i>liberta</i> , ἀπελευθέρη	freedwoman
<i>libertus</i> , ἀπελεύθερος	freedman
<i>nepos</i> , ἔκγονος, υἰδιοῦς, θυγατριδοῦς	grandson or nephew
<i>neptis</i> , ἔκγονος, παιδοῦς θυγατήρ, θυγατριδῆ	granddaughter or niece
<i>nurus</i>	daughter-in-law
<i>privigna</i> , πρόγονος	stepdaughter
<i>privignus</i> , πρόγονος	stepson
<i>progener</i>	granddaughter's husband
<i>pronepos</i>	great-grandson
<i>proneptis</i>	great-granddaughter
<i>rapilla</i> , ὀρφανή	orphan (female)
<i>rupillus</i> , ὀρφανός	orphan (male)
<i>sobrina</i> , ἀνεψιά	cousin or niece (strictly, child of one's sister, but more generally any cousin)
<i>sobrinus</i> , ἀνεψιός	cousin or nephew (strictly, child of one's sister, but more generally any cousin)
<i>sororis filia</i>	niece (on sister's side)
<i>verna</i>	housebred (house-born) slave
ἀδελφιδοῦς	nephew (brother's son)

CHILDCARE

<i>collactius</i> or <i>collactia</i> , <i>collacticius</i> , -a, <i>collactaneus</i> , -a	See under Collateral Kin
<i>mamma</i>	See under Ascendant Kin

<i>nutritor</i> , παιδευτής	child-rearer
<i>nutrix</i> , τροφός, τιτθή	wetnurse
<i>paedagogus</i> , παιδαγωγός	pedagogue, child-minder
<i>papas</i>	tutor, governor
<i>tata</i>	See under Ascendant Kin

APPENDIX V

ROMAN VOTING TRIBES

AEM	<i>Aemilia</i>
ANI	<i>Aniensis</i>
ARN	<i>Arnensis</i>
CAM	<i>Camilia</i>
CLA	<i>Claudia</i>
CLV	<i>Clustumina</i>
COL	<i>Collina</i>
COR	<i>Cornelia</i>
ESQ	<i>Esquilina</i>
FAB	<i>Fabia</i>
FAL	<i>Falerna</i>
GAL	<i>Galeria</i>
HOR	<i>Horatia</i>
LEM	<i>Lemonia</i>
MAE	<i>Maecia</i>
MEN	<i>Menenia</i>
OVF	<i>Oufentina</i>
PAL	<i>Palatina</i>
PAP	<i>Papiria</i>
POB	<i>Poblilia</i>
POL	<i>Pollia</i>
POM	<i>Pomptina</i>
PVP	<i>Pupinia</i>
QVI	<i>Quirina</i>
ROM	<i>Romilia</i>
SAB	<i>Sabatina</i>
SCA	<i>Scaptia</i>
SER	<i>Sergia</i>
STE	<i>Stellatina</i>
SVC	<i>Suburana</i>
TER	<i>Teretina</i>
TRO	<i>Tromentina</i>
VEL	<i>Velina</i>
VOL	<i>Voltinia</i>
VOT	<i>Voturia</i>

APPENDIX VI

ROMAN NUMBERS

S(emis)	½
I	1
II	2
III	3
III <i>or</i> IV	4
V	5
VI	6
VII	7
VIII <i>or</i> IIX	8
VIII <i>or</i> IX	9
X	10
XX	20
XXI	21
XXXX <i>or</i> XL	40
L	50
LX	60
LXXXX <i>or</i> XC	90
IIC	98
XCIX	99
C	100
CC	200
CCCC <i>or</i> CD	400
) <i>or</i> D	500
)(<i>or</i> DC	600
)(((<i>or</i> DCCCC <i>or</i> CM	900
() <i>or</i> M <i>or</i> ∞	1,000, see p. 346 Fig. 17.1 and p. 548 Fig. 25.3
()() <i>or</i> MM <i>or</i> ∞ ∞	2,000
)) <i>or</i> V̄ <i>or</i> (V)	5,000 (V × 1,000 = 5,000)
(()) <i>or</i> X̄ <i>or</i> (X)	10,000, see p. 50 Fig. 3.2
))) <i>or</i> L̄ <i>or</i> (L)	50,000
((())) <i>or</i> C̄ <i>or</i> (C)	100,000, see p. 346 Fig. 17.1
)))) <i>or</i> D̄ <i>or</i> (D)	500,000
(((()))) <i>or</i> M̄ <i>or</i> (M)	1,000,000

APPENDIX VII

LIST OF DIGITAL RESOURCES

<i>Aphrodisias in Late Antiquity</i> (ALA2004)	http://insaph.kcl.ac.uk/ala2004
<i>Attic Inscriptions Online</i> (AIO)	http://www.atticinscriptions.com
<i>AWOL: The Ancient World Online</i>	http://ancientworldonline.blogspot.com
"CIL Open Access" in <i>Arachne</i>	http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/drupal/?q=de/node/291
<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i>	http://cil.bbaw.de
<i>Current Epigraphy</i>	http://www.currentepigraphy.org
<i>EpiDig Zotero Group: Digital Resources for the Discovery, Publication, Study, and Teaching of Epigraphy</i>	http://www.zotero.org/groups/epidig
<i>EpiDoc: Epigraphic Documents in TEI XML</i>	http://epidoc.sf.net
<i>Electronic Archive of Greek and Latin Epigraphy</i> (EAGLE) <i>Europeana Network</i>	http://www.eagle-network.eu
<i>Epigraphic Database Bari</i> (EDB)	http://www.edb.uniba.it
<i>Epigraphic Database Roma</i> (EDR)	http://www.edr-edr.it
<i>Epigraphische Datenbank Heidelberg</i> (EDH)	http://edh-www.adw.uni-heidelberg.de
<i>Epigraphische Datenbank zum antiken Kleinasien</i>	http://www.epigraphik.uni-hamburg.de
<i>Etruscan Texts Project</i>	original defunct; archive copy: http://web.archive.org/web/20091228061528/http://etp.classics.umass.edu
<i>Fontes Epigraphici Religionum Celticarum Antiquarum</i> (FERCAN)	http://www.oeaw.ac.at/praehist/fercan
<i>Images from the Squeeze Collection of the Ohio State University. Center for Epigraphical and Palaeographic Studies, OSU</i>	http://epigraphy.osu.edu/resources/attic
<i>Imaging Projects. Centre for the Study of Ancient Documents, Oxford</i>	http://www.csad.ox.ac.uk/CSAD/Images.html
<i>Inscriptiones Graecae</i> (project)	http://ig.bbaw.de
<i>Inscriptiones Graecae Digitale Edition. Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften</i>	http://pom.bbaw.de/ig
<i>Inscriptions of Aphrodisias</i> (IAph2007)	http://insaph.kcl.ac.uk/iaph2007
<i>Inscriptions of Roman Tripolitania</i> (IRT2009)	http://irt.kcl.ac.uk/irt2009
<i>Internet Archive</i>	http://archive.org
<i>Internet Archive Wayback Machine</i>	http://web.archive.org
JSTOR	http://www.jstor.org

- L'Année Epigraphique (AE)* in JSTOR <http://www.jstor.org/action/showPublication?journalCode=anneepig>
- Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua (MAMA)* <http://mama.csad.ox.ac.uk>
XI: *Monuments from Phrygia and Lykaonia*
- Mysteries at Eleusis: Images of Inscriptions.* <http://eleusis.library.cornell.edu>
Cornell University Library
- OhioLINK Greek & Latin Inscriptions* <http://hdl.handle.net/2374.OX/106>
- Packard Humanities Institute Searchable Greek Inscriptions: A Scholarly Tool in Progress.* <http://epigraphy.packhum.org>
- Persée. Portail de revues en sciences humaines et sociales* <http://www.persee.fr>
- Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum Online* <http://www.brill.com/publications/online-resources/supplementum-epigraphicum-graecum-online>
- Trismegistos* <http://www.trismegistos.org>
- Ubi Erat Lupa* <http://www.ubi-erat-lupa.org>
- U.S. Epigraphy Project* <http://usepigraphy.brown.edu>
- Vindolanda Tablets Online* <http://vindolanda.csad.ox.ac.uk>
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I ² 834	635	I ² 2537	660
I ² 838	162	I ² 2767	168
I ² 839	161-2 Fig. 9.3	I ² 2830	471
I ² 845	164	I ² 2832a	404, 753 Fig. 34.3
I ² 970, 991	404	I ² 2833	404
I ² 992	9 Fig. 1.3, 161-2 Fig. 9.2	I ² 2833a	97
I ² 1202	167	I ² 2835	154
I ² 1203-5	167, 632	I ² 2853	628
I ² 1211	571, 769	I ² 2867-69	405
I ² 1221	569-70 Fig. 26.3	I ² 2909	171
I ² 1236, 1292, 1332	166	I ² 2912	404
I ² 1349	166	I ² 2933-33a	676
I ² 1358, 1406, 1419	166	I ² 2948	93
I ² 1445-57	405	I ² 2951a	100, 306, 676, 701
I ² 1480-87, 1489-94, 1496-98	164	I ² 2961	169
I ² 1506	523 Fig. 24.3	I ² 2981	162
I ² 1513	159	I ² 3000	166
I ² 1517	170	I ² 3025	598
I ² 1521	165	I ² 3031a	174
I ² 1525	173	I ² 3034	629
I ² 1526	165	I ² 3036	607
I ² 1529	159	I ² 3044-79	405
I ² 1571, 1591	166	I ² 3093-3100	164
I ² 1593	156, 166	I ² 3217	607
I ² 1596	166	I ² 3245	168
I ² 1614	168	I ² 3403a	705
I ² 1617	615-16	I ² 3449g	689
I ² 1619-20	237	I ² 3538.1-9	684
I ² 1624	168	I ² 3556a	168, 715
I ² 1628	522	II 18	573
I ² 1632	235	II 114	437
I ² 1633	174, 235	II 172	193
I ² 1696	168	II 381	564
		II 387	564
		II 473	435

<i>CIL</i> (cont.)		III 411	290
II 474	519	III 459	370–1 Fig. 18.3
II 489	573	III 551	92
II 743	506	III 663a	118
II 1088	572	III 1032	430
II 1174	314 n. 38, 599	III 1181–82	573
II 1185	237	III 1312	281
II 1348	238	III 1315	571
II 1956	238, 502	III 1522–23, 1526	550
II 2661	190	III 1579	666 n. 36
II 2916a–e	113	III 1623	550
II 2968	666 n. 36	III 1933	434
II 3167	660	III 1992	571
II 3420	381	III 2920	228
II 3866	573	III 3198a	650–1 Fig. 30.1
II 4105	198, 380	III 3200–1	650
II 4114	126, 358–60 Fig. 17.4	III 3202	658, 659
II 4152, 4167	573	III 3844	635
II 4719	183	III 4013	213
II 4967.31	96	III 4061	335
II 5008	572	III 4243	231
II 5041	100, 309, 349	III 4275, 4315	643
II 5042	304 n. 12	III 4366	190
II 5181	690	III 4557	58
II 5439	437	III 5870	424–5
II 5523	525–6 Fig. 24.5	III 6075	660
II 5837	93	III 6123	653, 662
II 6096	13 Fig. 1.5	III 6580	183–4 Fig. 10.4
II 6278	547	III 6753	540
II ² /5, 31	551 n. 48	III 6832	551
II ² /5, 343	652	III 6866	384
II ² /5, 789	544	III 6994	540
II ² /5, 900	100, 186, 306	III 6998	314 n. 38
II ² /5, 1022	100, 229, 544	III 7106	547
II ² /5, 1180	687	III 7123	189
II ² /7, 221	524–6 Fig. 24.5	III 7405	381
II ² /7, 456, 466a–b, 571, 608, 608a	550	III 7836	190
II ² /14, 367	573	III 7954	438
II ² /14, 939	198, 380	III 7991.7–90	550
II ² /14, 975	126, 358–60 Fig. 17.4	III 8242	666 n. 36
II ² /14, 1051, 1057	573	III 9586	464
II ² /14, 1143	13 Fig. 1.5	III 10493a–x	550
II ² /14, 1364–1432	550	III 10514	323–4, Fig. 16.2
III 30–66	665	III 11253	550
III 321	179	III 12042	544
III 352 + 7000	361–2	III 12586.2	550
		III 12885	463

III 13398	635	IV 7610-33	103
III 13532	572	IV 7871-73	232-3 Fig. 12.2
III 13652	314 n. 38	IV 7991-93	103
III 13845	463	IV 7992, 7995	545
III 14198	370	IV 7996	546
III 14305	463	IV 8863	508 n. 39
III 14406	381	IV 8873	731
III p. 940	105	IV 9128a-b	233
III p. 948, nos. 10-11	690	IV 9379-99	685
IV 103	502	IV 10232a	503
IV 149, 180, 183, 274, 497	233	IV 10233	503
IV 429	502	IV 10236-38	555
IV 509	232	IV 10488	620
IV 719 = 2966, 886	233	IV 10603, 10674, 10677	503
IV 1173	729 Fig. 33.3	IV 10678	503
IV 1185	545-6	V 58*-61*, 63*, 65*, 66*, 69*	47
IV 1226	232	V 432*	58
IV 1331	503	V 47	236
IV 1679	504, 731	V 893	326
IV 1904	776	V 1664	453-4 Fig. 21.2
IV 2173-2296	503	V 1830	506
IV 2175-76	503	V 2785	231
IV 2193	503-4 Fig. 23.2	V 2864	303
IV 2210, 2259, 2273	503	V 3100	381
IV 2361	96	V 4312	519-20 Fig. 24.2
IV 2487	104	V 4340	413
IV 2569, 2574-78, 2589-91	685	V 4377	575
IV 2993	546	V 5050	194, 288, 309
IV 2996	233	V 5262	529-30
IV 3198	96	V 5428	463
IV 3294	502	V 5933	539-40 Fig. 25.1
IV 3337	96	V 6358	178
IV 3476	233	V 6799	550
IV 3494a-i	504	V 7989	660
IV 3775	502	V 8016	191
IV 3884	545-6 Fig. 25.2	V 8210	407
IV 3941	504	V 8319	573
IV 4353, 4397	555	VI 1*a-e	55
IV 4757	96	VI 1*l	56
IV 4832	96 Fig. 6.3	VI 1*n	60
IV 4957	777 Fig. 35.5	VI 3*g	57
IV 5399	555	VI 4*d	57
IV 5408	503	VI 6*	48, 54-5
IV 5679	685	VI 13*	55-6 Fig. 3.4
IV 6842	731	VI 17*	60
IV 7164, 7273	233	VI 48*	55
IV 7605	242		

<i>CIL</i> (cont.)		VI 1139	16, 23, 27, 369
VI 90*	58	VI 1157	367
VI 93*	55	VI 1175	379
VI 937*	50–1 Fig. 3.2	VI 1199	381
VI 1043*	60	VI 1200	364
VI 3036*	55, 60	VI 1234	488
VI 3094*–3123*, 3152*, 3298*–3389*	47	VI 1246	27
VI 3403*	60	VI 1248 + 31559	207
VI 3428*	58	VI 1252	198
VI 3440*–3442*	57	VI 1256–58	475
VI 3455*	55	VI 1256–59	27
VI 3477*	48	VI 1261	488
VI 3593*	56	VI 1274	95, 568, 628
VI 3612*	57	VI 1297	48
VI 43	51	VI 1299	658
VI 52	398	VI 1300	42, 345–7 Fig. 17.1
VI 68	410, 597	VI 1305 + 31594	474
VI 89	23	VI 1319	635
VI 93	186	VI 1343	636
VI 131	480	VI 1374	95
VI 225	190	VI 1375	636
VI 266	310, 481	VI 1408	360
VI 331	474–5	VI 1527	571, 583–5 Fig. 27.2
VI 402	53–4, 399	VI 1533	208, 210 Fig. 11.1
VI 445	409 n. 40	VI 1540	477
VI 461	489	VI 1585	488
VI 505	399–400 Fig. 19.1	VI 1587	596
VI 506	399	VI 1670	71
VI 572	415	VI 1676	45
VI 709	398	VI 1682	377
VI 802	406	VI 1684	367
VI 882	27	VI 1688–94	133
VI 896	42, 94, 128	VI 1689	367
VI 930 + 31207	100, 192, 353	VI 1690	376–7
VI 937, 938	23	VI 1693	375, 377
VI 939	25	VI 1704	376
VI 941	121 n. 29	VI 1710	375–6
VI 944	552	VI 1725	376, 382–4 Fig. 18.5
VI 945	23, 27, 179 Fig. 10.1	VI 1730–31	381
VI 958	413	VI 1750	35
VI 960	121 n. 29	VI 1756	374
VI 975	486, 614	VI 1759	377
VI 984–5, 991–2	27	VI 1763	551
VI 1016a–c	113, 282–3 Fig. 14.2	VI 1776	57
VI 1033	27, 188 Fig. 10.5, 196	VI 1778	376
VI 1130	35	VI 1779	585–6, 772
		VI 1783	378

VI 1788	380	VI 9834	608
VI 1793	369, 382	VI 9956	111–12 Fig. 7.1
VI 1877	577	VI 10038	42
VI 1885	687	VI 10048	541
VI 1958	632	VI 10049	540–1
VI 2051	191, 353	VI 10050, 10056, 10061	541
VI 2128	596	VI 10105	542
VI 2131–45	596	VI 10107, 10109	592–3
VI 2131–32	400	VI 10140, 10145–48	542
VI 2138, 2145	597	VI 10154	481
VI 2177	402 n. 7	VI 10180, 10196	539
VI 2305	102, 507–8, 675	VI 10223	487
VI 2767	483	VI 10227	487
VI 3518	25	VI 10229	314, 640
VI 3554	631	VI 10230	571, 585
VI 3768	411	VI 10234	413, 481
VI 3926–4326	482, 612, 633 n. 19	VI 10247	577
VI 3938, 3942, 3995, 4005, 4029	612	VI 10257	488 n. 73
VI 4057	595	VI 10266	414
VI 5197	617	VI 10298	481
VI 5318	641–2 Fig. 29.3	VI 10673	631
VI 5477	596	VI 10736	574–5 Fig. 26.4
VI 6213–640	482, 633 n. 19	VI 10857	611
VI 6358	610	VI 11602	571
VI 7281–393	482, 633 n. 19	VI 11673	637
VI 7393	576	VI 12037	573, 595
VI 7393a	115	VI 12372	572
VI 7579, 7581	571	VI 12652	29
VI 8398–9101	482	VI 13017	568–9
VI 8424a	663	VI 13025	572
VI 8456	51	VI 13040	631
VI 8495	284 Fig. 14.3	VI 13505, 13602	637
VI 8498	562	VI 13732	620
VI 8546	571	VI 14672	572
VI 8703	32–3 Figs. 2.3–4	VI 14844	562
VI 8862	653	VI 15110	595
VI 8878	571	VI 15258	479
VI 8972	573	VI 15346	571
VI 9015	631–2 Fig. 29.1	VI 15446	572
VI 9183	674 Fig. 31.1	VI 15592–95	641
VI 9214	673	VI 16468	572
VI 9221	113	VI 16534	116–17 Fig. 7.2
VI 9499	569–70 Fig. 26.3	VI 18358	595
VI 9556	749	VI 20307	666 n. 36
VI 9797	409	VI 20674	10–11 Fig. 1.4
VI 9801	593–4 Fig. 27.4, 673	VI 20788, 20852	596
		VI 20905	571

<i>CIL</i> (cont.)		VI 33892, 33898	595
VI 20950	595	VI 33971	542
VI 21020	631	VI 33976	543, 771
VI 22479	115	VI 36467	640
VI 22560	568	VI 36775	179
VI 26970	633	VI 36819	673
VI 27132a, 27134	596	VI 36840	97 Fig. 6.4, 169, 308
VI 27365	643	VI 36881	188 Fig. 10.5, 196
VI 28768	596	VI 36908	121 n. 29
VI 29722	687	VI 37022b, 37023	113
VI 29847a	631–2 Fig. 29.1	VI 37045	309, 336
VI 30755	53–4	VI 37068	475–6 Fig. 22.1
VI 30845	724 Fig. 33.1	VI 37077	121 n. 29
VI 30957	409 n. 40	VI 37106	380
VI 30983	488 n. 73	VI 37528	643
VI 31034	398	VI 37750a	113
VI 31211	179 Fig. 10.1	VI 37965	587
VI 31218	486, 614	VI 40310	121 n. 29
VI 31230	188 Fig. 10.5, 196	VI 40313	484
VI 31250	379	VI 40365	195
VI 31322	411	VI 40454	552 Fig. 25.4
VI 31419	380	VI 40500	413
VI 31537a–d	113	VI 40652–889	94
VI 31540	488	VI 40704	191
VI 31559	207	VI 40776	379
VI 31584	628	VI 40798	370
VI 31599	635	VI 40803	380
VI 31610	586	VI 40840	367
VI 31889	71	VI 40852	113
VI 31890–91	380	VI 40875–78	207
VI 31928	57	VI 40892	154
VI 31940	382	VI 40898	165
VI 31987	381	VI 40904a	658–9
VI 32004	375, 774	VI 40910	629
VI 32089	551	VI 40931–41021	471
VI 32098	549	VI 40890	285
VI 32323	544	VI 41036	484–5 Fig. 22.4
VI 32323–36	402	VI 41052	484
VI 32327	544	VI 41062	571, 583–5 Fig. 27.2
VI 32409–28	596	VI 41145	477
VI 32505	508–9 Fig. 23.3	VI 41179	115
VI 32932	122	VI 41328–30	377
VI 32939	462	VI 41331	382
VI 33191–202	542	VI 41331a	369
VI 33473	595–6	VI 41341a–b	774
VI 33821	42	VI 41341a	375
VI 33862	673	VI 41377	370

VI 41382	382	VIII 18122	646
VI 41403-5	380	VIII 18587	676
VI 41421	24	VIII 20288	574
VIII 24 = 10999	191	VIII 20743	429
VIII 51	522 n. 24	VIII 21486	607
VIII 212	96, 633, 765	VIII 21663	197
VIII 403	643	VIII 22173	652, 658, 660
VIII 1002, 1004	438	VIII 22671	380
VIII 1641	314 n. 38	VIII 22786a-m	676
VIII 2388	174	VIII 23956	682
VIII 2389	381	VIII 24659-61, 24664	550
VIII 2391	125	VIII 25902, 25943	680-1
VIII 2403	228, 385	VIII 26415	94
VIII 2591	430	VIII 26416	680-1
VIII 2615	360	VIII 26517	675
VIII 2638	332	IX 540*	58
VIII 2658	775	IX 338	228-9, 230-1 Fig. 12.1
VIII 2661	524 Fig. 24.4	IX 422	228
VIII 2662	775 Fig. 35.4	IX 808	240
VIII 2728	336, 666	IX 1455	244, 678
VIII 2975	331	IX 1503	508 n. 38
VIII 3293	550	IX 1558	185, 519
VIII 4440	676	IX 1961	573
VIII 4878	385	IX 2142	154
VIII 5365 = 17495	239	IX 2318	508 n. 39
VIII 5365-66	529	IX 2335	622
VIII 7151	542	IX 2438	309, 682
VIII 7998	505	IX 2689	509-10 Fig. 23.4
VIII 8993	615	IX 2845-46	96
VIII 10117, 10296	659	IX 2860	543
VIII 10327	660	IX 3154	565
VIII 10489	380	IX 3181	239-40
VIII 10516 + 11528	385	IX 3429	32
VIII 10570 + 14464	680-1	IX 3435	506
VIII 11126	451 n. 34	IX 3639	640
VIII 11300b	633, 765	IX 4192	102
VIII 11511, 11594	643	IX 4549	749
VIII 11824	370, 675	IX 4691	240
VIII 13426	463	IX 4907	505
VIII 14395	197	IX 4925	629
VIII 14428, 14451	680-1	IX 5052	506 n. 34
VIII 14852	190	IX 5420	198
VIII 17495	529	IX 5568	496-7
VIII 17824 + 17903	228, 385	IX 5747	49
VIII 17896	367, 380	IX 5811	195
VIII 17910	370	IX 5894	519
VIII 17938	505	IX 5998	519

<i>CIL</i> (cont.)		X 6849	652
X 197*	55-6 Fig. 3.4	X 7239	197
X 344*	53	X 7296	111, 747-9 Fig. 34.2
X 1008*	45-6	X 7608-10	550
X 1089*.6	53	X 7852	285, 309 n. 29
X 114, 118	240 n. 32	X 7856	712 Fig. 32.5
X 131	405	X 8222	618-19 Fig. 28.3, 629
X 333	516	X 8249	758
X 407	381	XI 30*	59-60
X 482-483	202	XI 34*	58-9 Fig. 3.5
X 810-811	598	XI 339*	55
X 844	235, 551	XI 126-127	240
X 845	544	XI 276	378
X 846	243-4, 528 n. 50	XI 433	542
X 852	235, 551	XI 571	211-13 Fig. 11.2
X 853-857	544	XI 944	308
X 854	525	XI 1027	609-10
X 861	563	XI 1147	244, 678
X 1138	575	XI 1828, 1831	27
X 1223	228	XI 2998	508 n. 38
X 1273	237	XI 3040	506 n. 34
X 1562	179	XI 3199	615
X 1569	615-16	XI 3303	240
X 1572-73	237	XI 3616	409-10 Fig. 19.2
X 1642	497, 542	XI 3723	240
X 1643	497-8 Fig. 23.1, 542	XI 3938	25
X 1647	542	XI 4580	240
X 1903	589	XI 4638	113
X 1961	663	XI 4687	705
X 1971	607	XI 4883	576
X 4631	228	XI 5265	369 Fig. 18.2, 385
X 4643	240	XI 5283	385-6
X 4654, 4760	522 n. 24	XI 5400	616
X 4842	522	XI 6167	501
X 4856	613	XI 6331	279
X 5056	314 n. 38	XI 6528	543
X 5183	552, 599	XI 6721.5, 14	586-7
X 5262	550	XI 7856	773-4 Fig. 35.3
X 5852	500	XII 594	507
X 5853	499-500	XII 700	240 n. 32
X 6079	198	XII 714k-m	240
X 6225	208-9	XII 716	550
X 6328	314 n. 38, 599	XII 810	572
X 6565	385	XII 850, 971	453
X 6589	589	XII 1005	240 n. 32
X 6677, 6682	240 n. 32	XII 1012	633
X 6824	651	XII 1241	550

XII 1244	677-8	XIV 375	216 n. 36, 598
XII 1506	453		n. 50
XII 1898	643	XIV 376	216 n. 36, 236
XII 2355	326	XIV 694, 970, 1040	571
XII 3153-56	519	XIV 1437	616
XII 3261	121 n. 29	XIV 2045	507 n. 36
XII 3316-17	240	XIV 2112	413, 481, 498, 613
XII 3619	641	XIV 2416	409
XII 4333	97, 186, 197, 308, 434	XIV 2861-88	405
XII 4512	663	XIV 2865	45-6 Fig. 3.1
XII 5668, 5671	657	XIV 2884	541
XII 5698.18	564	XIV 2934	314 n. 38
XII 6038	435, 549	XIV 2972	407
XII 6421-22	550	XIV 3015	501
XIII 259	666	XIV 3161	628
XIII 423	429	XIV 3237	583
XIII 1642	551	XIV 3996	208, 210 Fig. 11.1
XIII 1667e	240	XIV 4015	507
XIII 1668	32, 100, 356-8 Fig. 17.3	XIV 4199, 4275	553
XIII 1921	240	XIV 4450	600
XIII 2027	643	XIV 4458	687
XIII 2182	571	XIV 4616	591 n. 28
XIII 2220	572	XIV 4821	639
XIII 2843	421	XIV 5260-61	114
XIII 3643	430	XIV 5306	607
XIII 3689	666 n. 36	XIV 5347	222
XIII 4635	186 n. 14	XIV 5381	591 n. 28
XIII 5076	506	XIV 5394	600
XIII 5426	25	XV 390	679
XIII 5708	314, 640	XV 408	136
XIII 6244	218	XV 630	588
XIII 6429	666 n. 36	XV 731b	678
XIII 6800	179	XV 2558a, 2560, 2565, 2570	684
XIII 6898	335	XV 3702-10	686
XIII 7070	621	XV 4102, 4121-33	687
XIII 7234	320	XV 7125-70	665 n. 29
XIII 7645	733 Fig. 33.4, 734-5, 758	XV 7142	664-5
XIII 7700	428	XV 7194	621 Fig. 28.4
XIII 8648	321-2 Fig. 16.1, 631	XV 7235b	750
XIII 11359	620	XV 7300	284
XIV 405*	58	XV 7835.1-2	589
XIV 86	121 n. 29	XVI 97	338-9 Fig. 16.5
XIV 255	613	XVII.2 291	657
XIV 327-328	620	XVII.2 294	650
XIV 341	507	XVII.2 298	657
XIV 347	507 n. 36	XVII.2 312-317	654
		XVII.2 605-609	658

<i>CIL</i> (cont.)		1961	489
XVII.2 690	197	1965	595
XVII.4 1	657	1988	587
XVII.4 323a	659	2068	773-4 Fig. 35.3
XVII.4 70	657		
XVII.4, p. 130	650-1 Fig. 30.1		
<i>CILA</i>		<i>EAOR</i>	
II 1, 175	128	I 21-23, 26-31	540
		I 43	544
		I 75, 95	539
		II 2-4	540
<i>CIMRM</i>		II 20	369 Fig. 18.2, 385
485	777	II 50	539-10 Fig. 25.1
		II 72-74, 76	550
<i>CIRG</i>		III 2	543-4, 591
II 1-9	98	III 3-4	540
		III 75	528, 552
		III 85	550
<i>CLE</i>		IV 46	552, 599
3	474-5	IV 47	599
6	767 Fig. 35.2	V 40-46	550
7	cover image, 205, 628	V 40.10-11	240
11	167	V 75, 77-82	550-1
13	167	VI 1a	552 Fig. 25.4
15	166	VI 3	551
52	571, 769	VI 11, 13-14, 16-17	549
111	585-6, 772	VI 14-17	550
248	167	VI 17.67a-f, 72a-g	375
252	775-6 Fig. 35.4	VII 3	547
310	774-5	VII 4	540
436	10-11 Fig. 1.4	VII 6	540
449	636	VII 7	502
579	641	VII 16	544
931	731	VII 52a, 53-54b, 55c	550
932	777 Fig. 35.5	VII 56	551 n. 48
946	729-30 Fig. 33.3	VIII 1-2	540
957	776	VIII 16	553
959	569-70 Fig. 26.3	VIII 43	549
1007	621		
1028	32-3 Figs. 2.3-4	<i>ELRH</i>	
1238	370, 675	C9	676
1328-29	643	C42	689
1408	24	SP4, 6	688
1421	768	SP13, 31	688
1499	479	SP17, 30, 34	688
1516	375	U1	100, 309, 349
1552a	633, 765	U2	100, 309, 349-50
1799	640		Fig. 17.2
1882	595		

<i>EphEp</i>		III 153	522
VIII 23	179	III 162–163	309 n. 29
VIII 624	408	III 165	310
<i>ERAvila</i>		<i>Glad. paria</i>	
40	566 Fig. 26.2	5	545–6 Fig. 25.2
		6–8	545–6
		Plate I.2	546
<i>ET</i>		<i>GLIAnkara</i>	
Cr 0.4, 3.26, 4.4–5	706	I 1	179–82
LL	706	I 116	215
Na 0.1	706	<i>HAE</i>	
OI G.2	706	1639	728 Fig. 33.1
Pe 8.4	706	<i>HEp</i>	
Ta 1.107	713	14, 348	237
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