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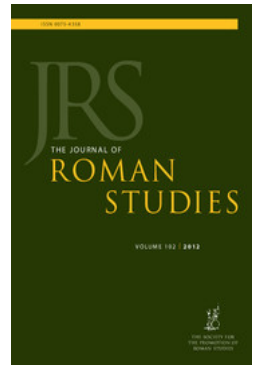
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## Roman Inscriptions 2001–2005

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SURVEY ARTICLE  
Roman Inscriptions 2001–2005

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ALISON E. COOLEY, STEPHEN MITCHELL *and* BENET SALWAY

For J. M. Reynolds

I GENERAL

1.1 *General Introduction*

The intentions of this survey are similar to preceding quinquennial surveys but the team and format are different.<sup>1</sup> The historical scope of coverage remains in line with that of the overall policy statement of the *Journal* ('from the earliest times down to about A.D. 700'); the geographical and cultural parameters of the survey naturally expand and contract according to the waxing and waning of Roman power over that period. Aside from Latin, inscriptions in Greek and other non-Latin languages are considered in so far as the peoples producing these texts were subject to Roman domination or had very close relations with Rome. The principal aims of the survey remain the same: signalling important newly published inscriptions, significant reinterpretations of previously published texts, new trends in the scholarship on the subject, and recent studies drawing heavily on epigraphic sources, as well as reporting on the progress of major publishing projects. Also, given the interests and expertise of the current team, the continued bias towards the social and political aspects of Roman history, to the detriment of the linguistic and literary, is acknowledged. We have endeavoured to restrain our comments to those publications that fall within the stated chronological parameters. At the same time we have refrained from revisiting material from 2001–2003 that had already received attention from the previous survey.

The categories into which we have organized the survey do not exactly match those employed in its immediate predecessors (for example, the discussion of late antique inscriptions is integrated into the appropriate categories rather than being consigned to a separate section). Moreover, a new approach has also been taken, to a certain extent responding to concerns raised by Joyce Reynolds in her coda to the last survey (*JRS* 93 (2003), 292). There she questioned whether it was any longer either feasible or desirable to continue to deliver the depth of coverage to which readers of this journal had become accustomed. In practical terms, the volume of epigraphic publications has increased to such an extent that comprehensive digestion is no longer possible within a desirable time-scale, even with a two- or three-person team. In addition, the need for such thoroughness has become less imperative as the annual round-ups of *L'Année épigraphique* and the *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum* have come to form an increasingly comprehensive record of new finds and reinterpretations. Nor, on a five-year time-scale, is it possible to replicate the depth of comment to be found in the annual *Bulletin épigraphique* of the *Revue des Études grecques* without the result becoming unmanageably dense for the reader. It is worth noting that significant proportions of that material have been made more accessible by two recent publications: indices to the *Bull. ép.* 1987–2001 and the republication, with indices, of Denis Feissel's notices on the late antique and Byzantine inscriptions from the *Bull. ép.* 1987–2004.<sup>2</sup> Although narrower in focus, another

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<sup>1</sup> All three authors have contributed notes and observations throughout but primary responsibility for individual sections is as follows: Cooley (1.iii–v, 11.ii, 14), Mitchell (11.i, 14, 11), and Salway (1.1–11, 11, 11.iii, 11, 11). Credit for co-ordinating the end product belongs to Cooley. Abbreviations for epigraphic publications follow F. Bérard *et al.*, *Guide de l'épigraphiste*<sup>3</sup> (2000), those for periodicals *L'Année philologique*. Citations by author and date refer to the consolidated bibliography at the end of the survey.

<sup>2</sup> Aneziri *et al.* (2005); Feissel (2006).

epigraphic survey worthy of individual mention is the extremely thorough review of work on inscriptions relating to Roman law by Jean-Louis Ferrary, which concludes with a very useful concordance relating the work to the standard collections of Roman legal texts.<sup>3</sup> The specialist scholar with access to a copy of the third edition of the *Guide de l'épigraphiste* is now also well served by its timely annual supplements, the first of which appeared in October 2001, and which have appeared subsequently each June. These are available for download free of charge.<sup>4</sup> Moreover, the ability of the non-specialist to keep abreast of some of the latest work is greatly facilitated by the web-site of the *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*, which offers not only full indices to past volumes and many back issues in freely downloadable form but also the contents pages of the latest number while still in press.<sup>5</sup> Given these developments, and in an attempt to recapture the initial ideals expressed for the surveys (serving readers responsive to the implications of new epigraphic finds and interpretations, but lacking the time to search out the original publications themselves), we offer a rather more impressionistic and less comprehensive account than in the recent past.

### 1.ii Information Technology

The interrelation of the worlds of computer technology and epigraphic scholarship has become increasingly complex and has developed a literature of its own. Epigraphy and papyrology feature heavily in an analysis of the significance of electronic resources for classical studies.<sup>6</sup> The potential aid of an imaging technique named 'shadow stereo' to the deciphering of writing-tablets has been demonstrated by experiment on the **stilus tablets from Vindolanda**. The same engineers demonstrate how software employing the Minimum Description Length (MDL) technique might be applied to images of scarcely discernible traces on stilus or ink tablets to suggest plausible interpretations.<sup>7</sup> The methodology of producing electronic epigraphic editions has also featured in the traditional media.<sup>8</sup> However, the natural home of this debate is on screen rather than on page and a **web-log** ('blog') devoted to these issues has recently been established, a weekly summary of which promises to enliven the hitherto rather sedate e-mail discussion list devoted to epigraphic questions.<sup>9</sup>

While the existing searchable databases of epigraphic texts have continued to expand with the addition of new finds and digitization of already published texts, such as volumes I–II of the Vindolanda Tablets,<sup>10</sup> the last five years have seen significant developments in the realm of digital epigraphy in both Greek and Latin fields. At the same time the predominance of on-line accessibility through the internet as the preferred method of delivery has become assured. This quinquennium has witnessed one very significant milestone for Roman epigraphy. This was the appearance in 2004 of the first completely electronic edition of a traditional corpus, that of the late antique Greek **inscriptions of Aphrodisias** in Caria.<sup>11</sup> The fact that this is a second edition of an existing print publication — Charlotte Roueché's *Aphrodisias in Late Antiquity* (1989) — does not detract from

<sup>3</sup> Ferrary (2005); cf. Licandro (2002).

<sup>4</sup> [www.antiquite.ens.fr/txt/dsa-publications-guideepigraphiste-fr.htm](http://www.antiquite.ens.fr/txt/dsa-publications-guideepigraphiste-fr.htm). Note that the address has changed from that signalled in the last survey, *JRS* 93 (2003), 218.

<sup>5</sup> [www.uni-koeln.de/phil-fak/ifa/zpe](http://www.uni-koeln.de/phil-fak/ifa/zpe): free download of content of vols 73 (1988) to 133 (2000), with those of 2001 to 2004 available on payment.

<sup>6</sup> Alvonì (2001).

<sup>7</sup> Brady *et al.* (2003).

<sup>8</sup> Fusi (2002).

<sup>9</sup> Blog: [www.currentepigraphy.org](http://www.currentepigraphy.org) (ISSN 1754-0909); list: Inscriptiones-L (to subscribe: [Inscriptiones-L-subscribe@yahoogroups.com](mailto:Inscriptiones-L-subscribe@yahoogroups.com)).

<sup>10</sup> <http://vindolanda.csad.ox.ac.uk/> (a searchable on-line edition of *Tab. Vindol.* 118–573, with accompanying images for each text).

<sup>11</sup> Roueché (2004).

its pioneering status. In fact, the relationship between first and second editions is not straightforward. Alaz004 (the preferred abbreviation) differs from its predecessor in that it includes twenty-one new texts. However, omitted in alaz004 are Joyce Reynolds' editions of Diocletian's currency revaluation decree and edict on maximum prices, both, of course, in Latin. The explanation for this is not to be sought in technical and copyright problems but, in the case of the lengthier of the two texts (the prices edict), the fact that developments in the understanding of the original location of the inscription (the façade of the Flavian basilica facing the south agora) mean that the layout of all its surviving fragments can now be mapped.<sup>12</sup> This permits a far more accurate estimate of the extent of the complete text, as well as a long-overdue renumbering of the (now complete) total of its chapters (1–70). Thus a separate re-edition of the entire edict, using the Aphrodisias copy as the master template, is now in progress.

Textual content aside, alaz004 differs from its print predecessor in more significant respects. Freed from the monetary and spatial constraints that usually restrict the level of illustration, each text is here liberally illustrated, often with photographs from several perspectives and also with scans of the sketches from the notebooks of earlier European visitors to the site.<sup>13</sup> This gives a new depth to the commentary. The most pioneering aspect of the publication is one of which the average user will probably remain blissfully ignorant. As mentioned in the last survey, *Aphrodisias in Late Antiquity* was chosen as a pilot project for the development of editing tools and common standards according to the Text Encoding Initiative (TEI) for the marking up of epigraphic texts in the particular variant of computer code known as Extensible Mark-up Language (XML). The virtue of using this system, christened EpiDoc,<sup>14</sup> is that information relating to the nature of the text is encoded independently of the way that it is presented visually. EpiDoc marks a departure from the conventional systems of editorial signs developed for print publications. It obviates the need to seek the holy grail of a complete harmonization of the separate systems currently in use, as the technology has the potential to allow the user to determine how he or she would like to see particular phenomena represented. Another advantage is the possibility to create alternative versions from the same basic source text. So, for example, a suitably encoded version of Diocletian's prices edict could be manipulated to display the text as represented in any specific surviving copy. Now that the technology has been proven, the pilot project is already being extended to produce a complete corpus of all the inscriptions of Aphrodisias, of which the first instalment is due as I Aph2007. Incidentally, the naming format adopted for both of these collections is far from accidental. Rather it represents a deliberate attempt to overcome a perceived problem in the nature of on-line editions. How, given that one of the virtues of such electronic editions is the ease with which they can be updated, to ensure that unambiguous reference can be made to a specific version? A further refinement in the foreseeable future for electronic corpora of this type will be the possibility to link the texts with the historical data of the *Barrington Atlas of the Greek and Roman World* and the geographical data of Google Earth, via the Pleiades project.<sup>15</sup>

A very welcome arrival for students of the provinces of the Greek East is an on-line version of the **Cornell Greek Epigraphy Project's database of Greek inscriptions**,<sup>16</sup> hitherto only available as a Packard Humanities Institute CD-Rom.<sup>17</sup> This collection is organized into regional subsections according to the geographical division of *IG I–XV* but adds six

<sup>12</sup> Crawford (2002), 157–62.

<sup>13</sup> <http://insaph.kcl.ac.uk/alaz004/refer/noteb.html> (including the complete notebook of J.-P. Gandy-Deering from 1812).

<sup>14</sup> <http://epidoc.sourceforge.net/>.

<sup>15</sup> [www.unc.edu/awmc/pleiades.html](http://www.unc.edu/awmc/pleiades.html).

<sup>16</sup> *Searchable Greek Inscriptions: A Scholarly Tool in Progress*. (<http://epigraphy.packhum.org/inscriptions/>).

<sup>17</sup> Packard Humanities Institute CD-ROM: *Greek Documentary Texts #7* (1) Inscriptions (2) Papyri (Los Altos CA, 1996; rev. 2000).

more (Upper Danube, North Coast of the Black Sea, Asia Minor, Greater Syria and the East, Egypt, Nubia and Cyrenaica, North Africa), making it more a modern day *CIG*. Although superficially similar, the on-line database is not simply an open access version of the last edition of the CD-Rom. In fact it contains both more and less. For, while additional texts have been added, retro-conversion of the old database does not yet appear to be entirely complete. The interface is very user-friendly and the searching straightforward. It is a very simple matter to browse or search through the entire database, a particular region, or simply through the inscriptions of a single community. Although far from comprehensive, the coverage of the PHI database is extremely impressive. As well as allowing unrestricted access to an array of material that is otherwise often confined to superior research libraries, the database provides a particularly useful service in bringing together the overlapping corpora of Greek epigraphy with many isolated publications. This effectively creates virtual corpora for areas that have never been served in this way, as well as providing make-shift indexing. A measure of the extent to which the PHI database has become a corpus to be reckoned with is that it has begun to feature in the concordances of traditional print editions.<sup>18</sup>

The world of Latin epigraphy has seen nothing so spectacular. However, important agreements have been brokered to reduce some reduplication of effort (and material) between different existing on-line projects. In November 2003, under the auspices of the Association Internationale d'Épigraphie Grecque et Latine, the grandly acronymed E.A.G.L.E. (**E**lectronic **A**rchive of **G**reek and **L**atin **E**pigraphy) was able to announce at the end of a conference entitled *Dall'Orto Lapidario a Internet* (a sort of epigraphic Yalta, held at the head of the Adriatic), that a tripartite alliance had been formed to divide up the world of Roman and (largely) Latin epigraphy into discrete spheres. Here the Bari-based project to digitize the c. 23,000 inscriptions of *ICUR* (the Epigraphic Database Bari)<sup>19</sup> became 'federated' with Géza Alföldy's long-established (dating back to 1986) Epigraphische Datenbank Heidelberg (EDH)<sup>20</sup> and Silvio Panciera's Epigraphic Database Rome (EDR).<sup>21</sup> According to the agreement, and building on existing strengths, the respective spheres of responsibility are henceforth to be: (i) the inscriptions of the provinces of the Roman Empire, excluding Rome and Italy (EDH), (ii) the inscriptions of the city of Rome and of Italy but excluding the Christian inscriptions from Rome (EDR), and (iii) the Christian material from the city of Rome (EDB). In addition, the energies of Jürgen Malitz at Eichstätt have been harnessed to feed the texts of new Greek inscriptions of the imperial period into the EDH, while the impressive concordance to Greek and Latin inscriptions of Asia Minor (ConcEyst) can be acquired on-line but can only be run off-line, involving the installation of specific software and a sizeable data file.<sup>22</sup> The political outcome of the forging of the EAGLE alliance is the implicit exclusion of the considerable collections amassed by Manfred Clauss at Frankfurt. These remain useful for basic text searching because of their greater comprehensiveness.<sup>23</sup> The practical outcome of EAGLE has not been a harmonization of structures of the three principal databases but a symbolically important shared portal that does offer some benefit to the user.<sup>24</sup> If only a simple search is needed, then repeated typing can be obviated by entering search terms in the shared search function which is however limited to those categories common to all three

<sup>18</sup> e.g. Marek (2006), even if that author does not use the uniquely identifying six-digit 'PH numbers' but, for Kaunos, the 'McCabe' numbers, which may ultimately be less stable.

<sup>19</sup> [www.edb.uniba.it/](http://www.edb.uniba.it/).

<sup>20</sup> [www.uni-heidelberg.de/institute/sonst/adw/edh](http://www.uni-heidelberg.de/institute/sonst/adw/edh) (AE 1894–1990, *CIGPannon*, *CIL* II<sup>2</sup>.5, 7, 14.1, VI.8.2–3, *IK* 47 (*I.Heraclea Pontica*), *ILJug*, *IMS*, *TRHR* Suppl.).

<sup>21</sup> [www.edr-edr.it/](http://www.edr-edr.it/).

<sup>22</sup> [www.gnomon.ku-eichstaett.de/LAG/conceyst/ConcEyst.exe](http://www.gnomon.ku-eichstaett.de/LAG/conceyst/ConcEyst.exe) (software), .../Tituli.exe (texts).

<sup>23</sup> Now entitled the Epigraphik-Datenbank Clauss/Slaby (EDCS: <http://compute-in.kueichstaett.de:8888/pls/epigr/epigraphik>), including material from *CIL*, *AE*, and recent corpora.

<sup>24</sup> EAGLE Portale ([www.eagle-eagle.it/Italiano/portale\\_it.htm](http://www.eagle-eagle.it/Italiano/portale_it.htm)).

databases. Another benefit of the EAGLE federation is that it brings the Italian databases together with the EDH image archive (which includes, for example, the archives of the *CIL* I<sup>2</sup> team).

Finally, the Berlin Academy has recently put on-line a series of resources supplementing the published volumes of *CIL*.<sup>25</sup> Most significant is perhaps the searchable database, the *Archivum Corporis Electronicum*, providing access to digital images of photographs and squeezes of, and updates to the bibliography on, individual inscriptions. Notable among the others are the indices for parts of some on-going volumes that currently lack them (*CIL* I<sup>2</sup> 2, 4: republican inscriptions; and XVII/4, 1: milestones of Raetia and Noricum), as well as the concordances between *CIL* entries and older collections and Dessau's *ILS* that can be downloaded as PDFs.

### 1.iii Major Historical Highlights

All the inscriptions selected as major historical highlights derive from the eastern part of the Empire. The following newly discovered inscriptions seem outstanding to us for the breadth of their historical and epigraphic importance, and for the way in which they relate to so many different themes, that it would have been difficult to insert them into just one of the subsections which we have adopted below. To an extent, this focus on the East redresses the bias towards the West seen in recent times, with the discovery of Spanish bronzes such as the *senatus consultum de Cn. Pisone patre* or the Augustan Edict on the Paemeiobrigenses (cf. *JRS* 93 (2003), 236–7, 240–1). Our selection spans a satisfyingly wide chronological period, from 46 B.C. to A.D. 533.

We start with the newly published **treaty between Rome and Lycia of 46 B.C.**<sup>26</sup> Readers should note that the publication appears in a collection that is otherwise largely devoted to papyrological texts. This 78-line text in Greek, carved on a bronze stele, contains almost the complete text of a treaty between Rome and Lycia, established at a ceremony on the Capitol in Rome on 21 July 46 B.C. The inscription probably originated from Lycia, perhaps from the sanctuary of Leto at Xanthos, which served as the religious centre for the Lycian League. The inscription begins with standard formulae establishing the reciprocal obligations of the treaty partners to each other, and it includes a version of the *maiestas* clause, whereby the Lycians acknowledge the higher authority of Rome. It also contains specific features, such as procedures for criminal and civil cases at law involving Lycians and Romans, contraband, and the seizure of pledges. These may have corresponded to general conditions that applied to free cities in a treaty relationship with Rome. There is, however, also an important paragraph containing two lists of places that were assigned to Lycian control, and which define the northern boundary of Lycia as running from Telmessus in the west, across the territory of Choma, to Phaselis in the east. A reconstruction of the historical circumstances leading up to the treaty suggests that the Lycians had been at war with the people of Oinoanda, and that some of the territorial assignments were at the Oinoandans' expense. One of the ambassadors present at the swearing of the oath was Naukrates, son of Naukrates. He appears to be identical with the Xanthian demagogue who remained true to the Caesarian cause and organized Lycian resistance to Brutus in 43 B.C. (Plutarch, *Brutus* 30).

Staying within the confines of Lycia, we turn to some interrelated inscriptions, which shed light upon the **annexation of Lycia under Claudius**, and which give a perhaps surprising impression of the Lycians' enthusiasm for direct Roman rule. The inscriptions commemorate the construction of the road-network that was an integral part of Claudius' pacification and reconstruction of the new province. The central monument in the group

<sup>25</sup> <http://cil.bbaw.de/dateien/hilfsmittel.html>.

<sup>26</sup> Mitchell (2005). For a preliminary evaluation of the first publication, see the discussion by D. Rousset and J.-L. Ferrary, *Bull. ép.* 2006, 143 (in *REG* 119, 638–42).

— the ‘Miliarium Lyciae’ from Patara of A.D. 45/46 — came to light after a bush-fire in 1992 revealed its blocks reused in the Byzantine walls. These blocks originally formed a rectangular pillar that stood approximately 6 m tall, 1.6 m wide, and 2.3 m deep, overlooking the quayside of the ancient harbour. The monument may have supported an equestrian statue of Claudius and bore two texts, inscribed in Greek over three of its sides.<sup>27</sup> These inscriptions have reshaped our understanding of the history and geography of Lycia in the mid-first century A.D., a picture since complemented by even more recent epigraphic finds.<sup>28</sup>

Although the definitive edition of this monument has yet to appear, a preliminary edition has now been published. The general content of the inscriptions was communicated in a preliminary notice by S. Şahin,<sup>29</sup> and the full text first presented in a diplomatic majuscule transcription by H. Engelmann,<sup>30</sup> on which basis C. P. Jones offered various important supplements and a complete minuscule text of the inscription on the front face and of the first eight lines of that on the left side.<sup>31</sup> Şahin has since offered some alternative supplements in his own minuscule version of the full texts on all three sides.<sup>32</sup>

Face A presents a dedicatory text by the Lycians, ‘Rome- and Caesar-loving’ allies of Rome, to Claudius, honouring him as ‘the saviour of their nation’ ([τῶν] σωτήρ[ι τ]οῦ ἑαυτῶν ἔθνους), who has freed them ‘from faction, lawlessness and brigandage through his divine foresight’ (ἀπαλλα[γέ]ν[τε]ς στάσεως καὶ ἀνομίας καὶ ληστ[ε]ριῶν [δι]ὰ τὴν θεῖαν αὐτο[ῦ] πρόνοιαν) through the agency of his praetorian legate, Q. Veranius. They also celebrate an anti-democratic reform of the constitution of the Lycian *koinon*, dressed up as a return to ancestral customs. Similar political changes seem to have occurred in the new province of Thrace, as revealed by a new inscription regarding **embassies between Maroneia and Rome**.<sup>33</sup> Maroneia had been granted valuable privileges in a treaty with Rome, perhaps around 167 B.C.<sup>34</sup> These appear to have been threatened or overlooked shortly after Claudius became emperor, perhaps as a result of the creation of the new province of Thrace in A.D. 45/46. The inscription relates how Claudius (‘the most conspicuous god of the universe and creator of new blessings for all men’) has confirmed their privileges in response to an embassy sent to him, and establishes a procedure for sending future embassies to whomever happens to be emperor at the time in an attempt to protect the city’s interests. The inscription’s opening formula, ‘by the decision of the members of the council and the priests and the magistrates and the Romans living in the city and all the remaining citizens’, documents the take-over of real power in Maroneia by an interest group of the leading inhabitants and the marginalizing of the majority of citizens. It is this group which devises a procedure for choosing future ambassadors, in an anti-democratic scheme.

Returning to the inscription at Patara, a second text commemorates Claudius’ road-building programme. The overwhelming bulk of this second text (63 out of its 71 lines) comprises the listing of the distances between at least fifty places across the entirety of Lycia. This is preceded by an eight-line preface, proclaiming that Claudius, ‘emperor of the world’ (ὁ τῆς οἴκου[μένης ἀ]ντοκράτω[ρ]), has constructed roads throughout the whole of Lycia, through the agency of his legate Q. Veranius. The last lines of Face C (ll.

<sup>27</sup> Eck (2004a), 22.

<sup>28</sup> French (1999/2000), 174–7 = *SEG* 50 (2000), 1350; Marksteiner and Wörrle (2002) = *AE* 2002, 1472 (on which see further below).

<sup>29</sup> Şahin (1994), 134–7 = *SEG* 46 (1994), 1205.

<sup>30</sup> Işık *et al.* (2001), 107–9.

<sup>31</sup> Jones (2001a) = *AE* 2001, 1931.

<sup>32</sup> Şahin and Adak (2004), 227–47; reported in *SEG* 51 (2001), 1832, where T. Corsten suggests slightly divergent readings on re-examination of the photographs and drawings of the individual blocks presented in Işık *et al.* (2001), Taff. 12–35.

<sup>33</sup> Clinton (2003) = *AE* 2003, 1558–9; (2004); Wörrle (2004).

<sup>34</sup> But note the suggestion of Canali De Rossi (1999), who restores the name Lucius Cornelius in place of Lucius Paullus, and suggests that the text may be Sullan.

28–9) herald a shift in emphasis and geography, and mention roads in Asia too. This new discovery has greatly enriched our understanding of the ancient topography and political geography of the region. Lastly, the monument's similarity to Augustus' *miliarium aureum* at Rome may further illustrate Claudius' emulation of his predecessor.

A substantial altar found by the roadside in the territory of Limyra is a **commemorative monument from A.D. 45 celebrating the same road-building programme** as is recorded at Patara.<sup>35</sup> It is dedicated to Claudius by 'the Caesar-loving and Roman-loving Lycians in thanks for the peace and road-building' (Λύκιοι φιλοκαίσαρες καὶ φιλ[ο]ρώμαιοι εὐ[χ]αριστοῦντες περὶ τῆς εἰρή[ν]ης καὶ περὶ τῆς κατα[σκευ]ῆς τῶν ὁδῶν). The Lycians thus describe themselves in the same way as at Patara, and give a positive picture of their enthusiasm for their new Roman rulers, and the concomitant road-building. A further **dedication to Claudius** from Gagai, as 'the most manifest saviour god', reflects the same enthusiastic response to Roman authority.<sup>36</sup>

This group of monuments thus gives the official version of the circumstances and rationale for the Roman annexation of Lycia as a province. They complement passages in Suetonius and Cassius Dio, and the epitaph from the tomb of the Veranii outside Rome (Suet., *Claud.* 25.9; Dio 60.17.3; *CIL* VI.41075), particularly in their common emphasis upon the fact that Lycia needed Roman intervention to help it to achieve peace and stability against the background of severe internal discord in the region. The local response, while clearly directed by the Roman authorities, may effectively have taken the form of a colossal 'team-building' enterprise by the inhabitants of the new province.

Our last, and latest, highlight — rightly described by its editor, D. Feissel, as evidence for an 'epigraphic renaissance' in the sixth century — is a new **rescript of Justinian from Didyma** (Caria), inscribed on a substantial marble stele (height 173 cm, width 79 cm, depth 44 cm) found reused, but intact, in an apsidal structure in 1991.<sup>37</sup> It records the official responses given to a request from the Justinianopolitans that their land tax of 61 gold pieces should become the responsibility of Miletus, and be levied out of the income produced by newly-reclaimed land in the lower Maeander valley. It emerges from this inscription that Didyma had already been granted its own civic status and independence from Miletus, together with a new name, Justinianopolis. Of crucial importance for the workings of the late Roman state, it sheds illumination upon fiscal administration and the complicated mechanics of imperial bureaucracy, as well as offering an intriguing picture of the stonemason's craft.

It contains an imperial rescript (more accurately, a 'divine pragmatic sanction', ll. 1–35, issued at Constantinople on 1 April 533), followed by letters from the prefect of the East, containing a verbatim extract from proceedings presided over by the prefect at which the imperial decision was officially adopted (ll. 36–56, 2 April), and from the governor of Caria (ll. 57–64). The second of these types of document is found here for the first time in the East. It would be good to know how typical this enviable efficiency was, with the prefect responding to the emperor's rescript on the very next day. These three documents offer only a selective, simplified picture of the several stages through which the request must have passed, in which the prefect emerges as the lynch-pin, co-ordinating the forwarding of information between the various parties involved. This prefect is none other than John of Cappadocia (*PLRE* III 627), whose full nomenclature is now revealed: Flavius Marianus Michaelius Gabriellus Ioannes Eutropius. Feissel suggests that his adoption of so many names relating to his Christian piety is designed to disguise the fact that he could not boast of a mass of distinguished ancestors, from whom to derive an impressive polyonymous title, as was the contemporary fashion.

The inscription is expertly cut by a single hand. It includes both Latin and Greek, as well as a hybrid script rendering Greek words in the Latin alphabet, which is typical of the

<sup>35</sup> Marksteiner and Wörrle (2002) = *AE* 2002, 1472.

<sup>36</sup> French (1999/2000), 174–7 = *SEG* 50 (2000), 1350.

<sup>37</sup> Feissel (2004); Mitchell (2007), 175–7.



sixth century, and appears to reflect the continuing prestige of Latin script, even though there was something of a shift away from using it in the East. The stonemason has paid careful attention to layout, marking the start and end of the different sections of the text with a cross or ivy leaf. The style of lettering itself is designed to give an impression of the relative rank of the different agents whose words are being reported. Thus, the final section containing a letter from the provincial governor is engraved in markedly smaller letters than the earlier sections, even though there was enough space remaining on the stele for it to be engraved in letters of the same size. Most strikingly, we find the first known epigraphic example of *litterae caelestes* (ll. 36–7), the archaizing Latin script found in papyri of the fifth and sixth centuries. It appears from all of this that the stonemason tried to imitate as closely as possible the different styles of lettering which appeared in the manuscript from which he was working to produce his monumental copy. This stylistic imitation reassured the viewer of the inscription's derivation from an authentic official document.

#### 1.iv *New Corpora*

We start by noting the appearance of a two-volume concordance to the whole of *CIL*, up to the fascicule published in 2000 (*CIL* VI.8.2), along with some other related corpora.<sup>38</sup> The concordance is designed to help readers locate entries to a particular inscription when it is published in more than one fascicule. It would be even more helpful if this concordance were available on-line, since it could then be updated as new fascicules and editions of *CIL* continue to be published.

The only volume of *CIL* to appear in our period is *CIL* XVII.4.1.<sup>39</sup> The corpus contains 229 milestones from the provinces of Raetia and Noricum. The work's western limit is contiguous with the already published fascicule for the Gallic provinces (*CIL* XVII/2) so that together they provide continuous coverage of the Empire's continental provinces north and west of the Alps. Each stone, wherever possible, is illustrated by a photograph and a drawing traced from a squeeze. Indices are available in provisional form on the *CIL* web-site, <http://cil.bbaw.de>. A glance at these shows that the huge preponderance of texts dates to the Severan period between A.D. 195 and 215. The presentation of the material is concerned above all with the texts of the inscriptions, which more often present problems of reading than of interpretation. The cartography of the volume is limited to two schematic colour maps of the road systems of the two provinces, and simple black-and-white maps of the region's seventeen ancient roads (as they are here interpreted). It has not been possible to indicate the actual find-spots of the milestones on these maps. The editors of the volume have put together a fine example of careful epigraphic scholarship, but have not aimed to produce a new topographical study beyond the state of present knowledge represented in the Barrington Atlas. The appearance of this corpus is nicely complemented by a study of the value of milestone inscriptions as a source of historical information concerning the territory of *Aquileia*, which occupies the space between the southern boundaries of Noricum and Raetia and the Adriatic.<sup>40</sup> The nineteen texts from this region date between A.D. 235 and 375 and thus present a chronological pattern that is significantly different from those in the new *CIL* volume. The visible impact of the Severan dynasty on the region's epigraphic culture was far more muted in Italy than it was in western Illyricum. C. Witschel's discussion addresses familiar but central questions about the significance of milestones. Are they essentially of functional or symbolic significance? Were they erected as a record of road-building activity, or were they designed as a medium for presenting imperial power? The overwhelming majority of later milestones take the form

<sup>38</sup> Fassbender (2003) = *AE* 2003, 7; reviewed in *CR* 55.1 (2005), 363–4 (J. R. W. Prag).

<sup>39</sup> Kolb *et al.* (2005).

<sup>40</sup> Witschel (2002) = *AE* 2002, 14.

of dedications in the dative case. Witschel argues that they were now primarily conceived as a way of rendering honour to the ruling emperors, and relate only tenuously to actual road-building and repairs. The increasing use of milestones for honorific purposes also reflects a new development of the epigraphic habit in the promotion of Roman power by shifting such monuments away from urban centres to the countryside. Another symptom of this shift was the growing importance of non-urban *mansiones* and *mutationes* in the Later Empire.

Although not a corpus, Appendix 6.5 of M. Rathmann's study of state-organized road-building in the Western provinces provides a useful checklist of all the milestones of the Latin-speaking provinces from Augustus to Neronian, organized chronologically and geographically and analysed according to the grammar of the dedication, though one now needs to take account also of the latest fascicule of *CIL* XVII, mentioned above.<sup>41</sup>

We now turn to important **new corpora arranged by geographical location**, starting with Italy, and then proceeding around the Empire roughly in an anticlockwise direction.

The *Supplementa Italica* series has continued to make steady progress in updating *CIL*, with the following volumes appearing: 19 — **Interamna Nahars, Pollentia, Augusta Bagiennorum, Vercellae, Inter Vercellas et Eporediam**; 20 — **Venusia**; 22 — **Forum Iulii Iriensium**.<sup>42</sup> The epigraphic record of Venusia in particular has grown significantly since *CIL* and *EE* were published, with 587 inscriptions now attributed to the town instead of 288. As well as the inscriptions themselves, the usual helpful wider historical analysis may be found. In *Suppl. It.* 19, for example, M. Fora revisits the problem of the municipal status of Interamna Nahars, a topic of relevance to our interpretation of the Romanization of Umbria, and argues that it became a *municipium* only in the aftermath of the Social War.<sup>43</sup> He contends that the decisive piece of evidence is a *cippus* relating to a border dispute (*CIL* XI.4806a). If this is associated with Interamna Nahars rather than Spoletium, it demonstrates that the town could not have been a *municipium* already at the end of the second/early first century B.C. because it would not in that case have had its dispute resolved by external judges. *Suppl. It.* 22 also contains *Supplementorum Supplementa* updating earlier volumes. Of note is the discovery in 1998 of a Republican temple at Superaequum, complete with a dedicatory inscription at its entrance, which reveals the role of a *pagus* in decreeing the construction of the temple.<sup>44</sup>

Various articles also offer updates to Italian volumes of *CIL*. A series of articles presents revisions of inscriptions from *CIL* VI in the **Lapidary Gallery in the Vatican**.<sup>45</sup> M. Chelotti has published fifty inscriptions from **Luceria**, for the most part re-editing entries in *CIL* IX, but with a handful of *inedita*. Each inscription is published with a photograph and detailed commentary, and each article ends with onomastic and thematic indexes.<sup>46</sup> H. Solin has also provided a preview of part of the new edition of *CIL* X, by way of illustrating the problems in tracing the provenance of inscriptions from **Antium**.<sup>47</sup> In addition, over 200 inscriptions from **Aesernia** (all of them previously published) have been re-edited in a catalogue, which provides photographs of the extant stones, and otherwise facsimile copies of entries from *CIL* or reproductions of epigraphic manuscripts.<sup>48</sup> **Rock-carved inscriptions from Region IV** of Italy (all previously published) have been brought together

<sup>41</sup> Rathmann (2003) = *AE* 2003, 158 and *CIL* XVII/4.1 (2005).

<sup>42</sup> *Suppl. It.* 19 (2002) Interamna Nahars: C. Andreani and M. Fora = *AE* 2002, 418–37; Pollentia, Augusta Bagiennorum: G. Mennella and E. Bernardini = *AE* 2002, 487–505; Vercellae: S. Giorcelli Bersani = *AE* 2002, 594–606. *Suppl. It.* 20 (2003) M. Chelotti = *AE* 2003, 361–547. *Suppl. It.* 22 (2004) L. Boffo.

<sup>43</sup> *Suppl. It.* 19 (2002), 23–7 (M. Fora).

<sup>44</sup> *Suppl. It.* 22 (2004), 139–41, no. 58 (M. Buonocore).

<sup>45</sup> Negroni (2001); Di Giacomo (2001); Ilardi (2001) = *AE* 2001, 169.

<sup>46</sup> Chelotti (2001); (2004).

<sup>47</sup> Solin (2003a) = *AE* 2003, 298–303.

<sup>48</sup> Buonocore (2003a) {non vidimus} = *AE* 2003, 563; reviewed in *Epigraphica* 66 (2004), 397–9 (F. Cenerini).

into a small corpus.<sup>49</sup> The majority of these are funerary, but there are also two sacred inscriptions and three concerning the definition of roads and boundaries.

Two new volumes of *Supplementa Italica Imagines* have appeared. The first covers inscriptions in the **Caelian Antiquarium** and funerary stelae in the **Vatican**, and the second makes a start on **Latium Vetus** (excluding Ostia).<sup>50</sup> The stelae in the Vatican are organized by type, and a sub-group of particular interest is provided by stelae of the *equites singulares*, which probably all come from their cemetery on the Via Labicana (nos 2716–2810). G. L. Gregori's publication of the Latin inscriptions in the Caelian Antiquarium complements his recent catalogue of the collection.<sup>51</sup> *Suppl. It.* sorts the inscriptions into monumental categories, but this is not always helpful since a single category of monument (such as altars) can bear different types of inscription (religious dedications and epitaphs). This is a particular problem with the monumental category of 'cippi', since here we find a *mêlée* of tombstones, milestones, pomerial boundary stones, and aqueduct-markers. The fascicule includes modern copies of genuine Roman inscriptions from the Aldobrandini Collection. The indexes are superb, covering monumental features of the inscriptions as well as their texts; they also provide coverage of the first volume relating to the Capitoline Museums published in 1999. The volume on Latium Vetus provides up-to-date photographs (but without scales) and bibliography for 1,090 inscriptions in *CIL* XIV and *EE* VII and IX, arranged initially by geography and then by type of monument. It includes inscriptions belonging to the category of *instrumentum domesticum*, such as *fistulae* and other metal objects (including the Praeneste mirrors and *cistae*), excluding tiles and other forms of stamped pottery. At the risk of seeming ungrateful for such a splendid volume, some regret must be expressed that the catalogue does not include inscriptions found more recently too, since this means that the epigraphic patrimony of each site is only partially represented. The section on Lavinium, for example, omits such important inscriptions as the archaic bronze plaque dedicated to Castor and Pollux (*AE* 1976, 109) and the architrave inscription recording the restoration of the town's baths in the early fourth century A.D. (*AE* 1984, 151).

Gallic epigraphers have been particularly busy during our quinquennium, resulting in a handful of major new corpora, cataloguing both Latin and Greek inscriptions. The first volume in the new series *Inscriptiones Latinae Galliae Belgicae* (*ILGB*) has now appeared, covering the city of the **Lingones**.<sup>52</sup> The volume focuses on stone inscriptions only, and excludes both Gallic and Christian inscriptions, although metal inscriptions are included in an appendix. The decision to launch the series in this way is itself significant since there is some dispute over whether the Lingones belonged to Germania Superior or Gallia Belgica. An appendix is devoted to the famous testament of an anonymous member of the tribe (*ILS* 8379). The latest instalment of *Inscriptiones latines de Narbonnaise* (*ILN*) offers three fascicules for the city of **Vienne**.<sup>53</sup> Volume 1 starts with a historical introduction, with a series of thematic analyses dealing with the limits of the city and its territory (amounting to a huge area, *c.* 13,000 km<sup>2</sup>), the history of the city from the Roman conquest to the end of the third century A.D., its magistracies and priesthoods, epitaphs, and the history of epigraphic scholarship relating to Vienne. Particularly useful is a table outlining criteria for dating epitaphs (Vol. 1, 54). The corpus includes 931 inscriptions (Christian inscriptions are excluded), arranged geographically, with milestones included in the third volume. Among the inscriptions found relatively recently is a dedication to a previously unknown Celtic goddess, Coriotana, by M. Iulius Primulus (*ILN* V.565). The text is stamped on a bronze handle from which something must originally have been suspended.

An illustrated catalogue contains just under one hundred inscriptions found in **Grenoble** (**Cularo**, a village of the Allobroges in Gallia Narbonensis) and its environs, dating from

<sup>49</sup> Antolini (2004) {non vidimus}; reviewed in *Epigraphica* 67 (2005), 572–6 (G. Mennella).

<sup>50</sup> *Supplementa Italica Imagines – Roma* (*CIL* VI) 2 (2003); *Latium Vetus* 1 (2005).

<sup>51</sup> Gregori (2001) = *AE* 2001, 166 on which see further below.

<sup>52</sup> Le Bohec (2003a) = *AE* 2003, 1262.

<sup>53</sup> Rémy *et al.* (2004).

the first to third centuries A.D.<sup>54</sup> The majority of them are epitaphs, but others include religious dedications, building inscriptions, and honorific statue bases. The catalogue is prefaced by an analysis, based on the epigraphic evidence, of themes such as the town's urban development and administration, and the composition of its population and their religious practices.

A new fascicule of *Inscriptions latines d'Aquitaine (ILA)* has also appeared, relating to the territory of the *civitas Petrucoriorum*.<sup>55</sup> Almost all of the 156 inscriptions were found in Vesunna (modern Périgueux). One of the exceptions is a bronze statuette of Apollo, found in 1995 in a cave at Saint-Amand de Coly, along with some Gallic and Gallo-Roman pottery and some other pieces of bronze. The inscription carved in cursive lettering upon its base reveals that it was dedicated by Pompeius Recinus *ex visu* (sic) (no. 156 = *AE* 2003, 1380). This discovery points to the existence of a sacred cave in the countryside to the east of Vesunna.

*Inscriptions grecques de la France (IGF)* updates *IGG*, presenting Greek inscriptions found in France, arranged geographically by ancient province and modern département (Narbonensis, Aquitania, Lugdunensis, Belgica, and Corsica).<sup>56</sup> Of these, Narbonensis lays claim to over half of the collection. It does not include all graffiti, but an appendix includes 'mixed language' inscriptions such as 'Gallo-Greek'.

A catalogue of the military diplomas and related texts held in the *Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseum at Mainz* complements a monograph on military service as a mechanism for social mobility.<sup>57</sup> The first volume of the catalogue publishes sixty-four complete or substantially complete texts (of which only sixteen were previously published), seven fragments, and three certificates of *honesta missio* (honourable discharge). All the new texts are now indexed (but not all reproduced) in *RMD V* (2006). Amongst the many previously unpublished texts is no. 63, a discharge certificate for L. Septimius Dolatralis of Ulpia Philippopolis (Plovdiv), veteran of the *III cohors praetoria Alexandriana*, dated 7 January A.D. 234. Although not commented upon, the name of the last witness is of note: *M. Aureli Pyrrhi* (extr. tab. II, l. 7). The Macedonian *cognomen* is not uncommon in the south-eastern Balkans, from where many praetorians of this era came, and the *nomina* banal after A.D. 212, but it would be a nice coincidence if he were the same as the Aurelius Pyrrhus who nearly four full years later communicated the petition of his home town, Scaptopara (modern Rilči) on the upper Strymon river, to Gordian III.<sup>58</sup> This was submitted to the emperor in Rome *per Aur(elium) Purrum mil(item) coh(ortis) X pr(aetoriae) p(iae) f(idelis) Gordianae ... convicanum et conpossessore* and answered on 20 December A.D. 238 (*AE* 1994, 1552 = Hauken, *Petition and Response* (1998), no. 5). If it is the same man, then we may even be able to match a seal ring to this diploma, because a silver ring labelled AYP·Π|ΥΡΡΟΥ found close to Scaptopara has plausibly been linked with the praetorian *convicanus*.<sup>59</sup>

A third volume of writing-tablets from the fort of *Vindolanda* (*Tab. Vindol. III*) includes nearly 150 new texts (nos 574–720); in addition, there are over 130 descriptions of less legible fragments (nos 721–853) and a list of corrections to the texts of *Tab. Vindol. I–II*, many of which are the fruit of new digital scanning techniques.<sup>60</sup> Most belong to the late Domitianic and Trajanic period and almost all are ink tablets. They represent the most significant body of documentary material from Roman Britain to have been published in the quinquennium, providing a unique window onto the everyday workings of an auxiliary unit and its linguistic culture. The most historically interesting of the new

<sup>54</sup> Rémy (2002) = *AE* 2002, 928.

<sup>55</sup> Bost and Fabre (2001) = *AE* 2001, 1378.

<sup>56</sup> Decourt (2004); for a detailed synopsis, see review in *BMCR* 2005.05.37 (F. Canali De Rossi).

<sup>57</sup> Pferdehirt (2002) = *AE* 2002, 91 and Pferdehirt (2004).

<sup>58</sup> Nearly fifty Pyrrhi in *LGPV* IV, and as many as six of the twelve examples from Thrace are Aurelii Pyrrhi.

<sup>59</sup> Paunov and Dimitrov, *Chiron* 26 (1996), 183–93.

<sup>60</sup> Bowman and Thomas (2003) = *AE* 2003, 84, 1036–7.

texts (no. 574 = AE 2003, 1037) is a single wooden leaf that bears a status report (*renuntium*) made by the *optiones* and *curatores* of the *cohors VIII Batavorum*, presumably to the commander at Vindolanda, on the 15 April in an unspecified year. As it happened, all people and baggage were where they ought to have been (*omnes ad loca qui debunt* (sic) *et impedimenta*). This is the first complete document of its kind to be published and as such provides the key to decoding various similar fragmentary *renuntia*. Another very important text is no. 581 (a revised edition of AE 1996, 958a–j), which comprises two lists providing accounts for things consumed (*a[bsumpta ?]*) and disbursed (*expensa*) over a period of two-and-a-half years from spring A.D. 102 to summer A.D. 104, presumably by the commander's establishment.

While no further fascicules of *CIL* II have emerged in the last five years, the continued strength of local scholarly enthusiasm in the regions of modern Spain has produced a wealth of minor corpora. From the north-west comes a new corpus of the Roman inscriptions of **León and province**, all 402 of them in Latin, except two dedications in Greek (nos 58 and 61) to Zeus Serapis-Iao and the Smyrnaean Nemeseis respectively, the latter made by an imperial procurator.<sup>61</sup> A particular strength of the work is the clarity of the photographs illustrating many of the texts, including the *tabula hospitalis* of the Desonci and Tridiavi (no. 303), the edicts of Augustus from Bembibre or *tabula Paemeiobrigensis* (no. 304), and the dubious clay itinerary tablets from Astorga (no. 339). The highlight of the corpus of **Ávila and province** is a series of altars dedicated to a range of Roman and Iberian deities: Atta Lugua (no. 134), Jupiter (no. 131), Ilurbeda (no. 130), the *Lares Viales* (no. 132), and to the last two together (no. 133).<sup>62</sup>

Amongst the highlights of the new corpus of the Roman inscriptions of **Segovia** is Gezá Alföldy's reconstruction of the dedication in bronze letters from the aqueduct (no. 66). Aside from the graffiti from the *Cueva de la Griega*, all surviving or locatable inscriptions are illustrated with photographs. Despite the very thorough work of documentation that has gone into the work, much of the increase in the number of entries compared with the respective sections of the corpus put together by R. Knapp, *Latin Inscriptions from Central Spain* (1992) is illusory. Excluding the graffiti, of the c. 169 'texts' presented, nearly thirty are previously unpublished, but of these nearly half are sculpted stones that either have no surviving text or never bore an inscription. Of the remaining *inedita*, most are very small fragments. Notable, however, is no. 49, which apparently gives the name of a previously unattested tribal family group (the *Quiravi*), if the interpretation is correct. In another, one might note that, after the *praenomen* *T(itus)*, the resolution of the drastically abbreviated *nomen* is equally, if not more likely, to be *Ae(lius)* than the suggested *Ae(milius)*, even given that it is followed by the *cognomen* *Aemilianus*.

Newly gathered together are the 125 granite **funerary stelae**, dating from the second and third centuries A.D., from the hilltop site of **La Cabeza de San Pedro** on the river Duero, close to the border with Portugal.<sup>63</sup> These include an interesting cluster of names of specifically local flavour (Caburus, Dobiterus, Reburus, and Tancinus).

J. Corell has continued his output of local corpora of the Roman inscriptions from the region of Valencia, now forming a series entitled *Inscripciones romanes del País Valencià*. This currently comprises the inscriptions of Saguntum and territory (vol. I), of the upper Palància valley and area around Edeba and Lesera (vol. II.1), the milestones of the Valencia region (vol. II.2), and now a second revised and enlarged edition (adding about twenty texts) of his *Inscripciones romanes de Saetabis i el seu territori* (1994).<sup>64</sup> Each volume, despite being remarkably inexpensive, is beautifully produced with photographs, distribution maps, indices, and for each entry a translation and ample commentary in

<sup>61</sup> Rabanal Alonso and García Martínez (2001) = AE 2001, 1217.

<sup>62</sup> Hernando Sobrino (2005).

<sup>63</sup> Hernández Guerra and Jiménez de Furundarena (2004).

<sup>64</sup> Corell (2002); (2005); (2006).

Valencian Catalan. The corpus of Latin inscriptions of **Andalusia** (*CILA*) now includes a fourth volume devoted to Granada,<sup>65</sup> while that of the Roman inscriptions of **Catalonia** (*IRC*) was rounded off with a volume of *instrumentum domesticum* and supplements to the texts on stone from the previous four volumes.<sup>66</sup>

Turning now to North Africa, the corpus of Latin inscriptions of **Morocco** (*IAM II*) has been brought up to date with a supplement, including many bibliographical additions to the commentaries of the existing volume and adding over a hundred new texts (nos 814–917).<sup>67</sup> The major addition to the corpora of North African epigraphy in the last five years is the publication of the third part of the second volume of *Inscriptions latines de l'Algérie*.<sup>68</sup> This completes coverage of the communities of northern Numidia, most importantly Cuicul and Milev. The major change from the previous instalment, published in 1976, is that the volume is liberally illustrated, not just with photographs but with scans of transcriptions from H.-G. Pflaum's own notebooks. Its full riches will await exploitation until indexes appear. M. Khanoussi and L. Maurin have edited an important new corpus of funerary inscriptions from **Dougga** (cf. pp. 229–30 below), which gathers together 1,617 inscriptions (representing almost 10 per cent of the total number of inscriptions known from the region); 483 of these are previously unpublished, belonging to monuments excavated since 1922.<sup>69</sup> Recent excavations have considerably expanded the corpus of inscriptions of Oudhna (ancient **Uthina**) in Tunisia from 50 to 201 texts, over 80 of them coming from the amphitheatre.<sup>70</sup>

Comprehensive corpora for individual cities or for specific regions continue to be the commonest format for systematic collections of inscriptions in the Greek East. The most substantial volume of the genre (in modern Greek) collects the inscriptions of the **Aegean coastal regions of Thrace** eastwards from Abdera, including Maronea, Traianupolis, and Plotinupolis and their territories.<sup>71</sup> There are 500 texts, full testimonia, indexes, and excellent photographs of many of the stones. The presentation is on the scale and matches the quality of Mihailov's classic volumes for the Bulgarian regions of Thrace. *Inscripfen griechischer Stadten aus Kleinasien* continues to be the most copious series relating to Asia Minor. The second volume for **Perge in Pamphylia**, contains 'historical' texts of the third century A.D., interpreted as inscriptions relating to the imperial household, Roman officeholders, and the high points of civic history.<sup>72</sup> It also contains funerary texts from the first to third centuries A.D. and fragmentary material. A third volume will include inscriptions from Late Antiquity. Many of the texts are published here for the first time. They include references to a new proconsul of Lycia-Pamphylia, Naucellius Reginus (no. 285), and a statue of Galerius set up by M. Ulpus Urbanus, *praeses of provincia Pamphylia* (here not linked to Lycia) (no. 287, cf. no. 288). A chapter is devoted to the important inscriptions for the emperor Tacitus (resident in Perge for much of his reign in A.D. 275), including the widely discussed series of acclamations and the more recently published poem that praised the city, which is also accessible, with commentary, in the fourth volume of inscribed epigrams from the Greek East.<sup>73</sup> This series of volumes, which has rapidly established itself as indispensable, now has a fifth volume of indexes and addenda.<sup>74</sup>

The first volume of the inscriptions of **Sinope** includes many *inedita* and several texts that have been significantly revised on the basis of autopsy.<sup>75</sup> This is a rich collection

<sup>65</sup> Pastor Munoz (2002) = *AE* 2002, 641.

<sup>66</sup> Fabre *et al.* (2002) = *AE* 2002, 749.

<sup>67</sup> Labory (2003a) = *AE* 2003, 2032.

<sup>68</sup> Pflaum (2003) = *AE* 2003, 1888.

<sup>69</sup> Khanoussi and Maurin (2002) = *AE* 2002, 1683.

<sup>70</sup> Ben Hassen and Maurin (2004).

<sup>71</sup> Loukopoulou *et al.* (2005).

<sup>72</sup> ahin (2004).

<sup>73</sup> Merkelbach and Stauber (2002), 133–8.

<sup>74</sup> Merkelbach and Stauber (2004).

<sup>75</sup> French (2004).

including many highlights from the pre-Roman period, but there are also notable additions to the epigraphy of the Roman colony, founded by Julius Caesar, including a new fragment of the early fourth-century edict *de accusationibus* (no. 96), and the letter of a proconsul, Iunius Kanus, referring to the *gerusia* (no. 97).

An exhaustive corpus of the inscriptions and testimonia of Pessinus, the Phrygian religious centre in western Galatia, includes extensive but fragmentary material from the current excavations, full testimonia, presentation of inscriptions and papyri mentioning the city and its citizens who appear away from home, and indexes.<sup>76</sup> This long-awaited work has full and careful commentaries, although few illustrations. There are not many *inedita*, but the volume refers to an eighth fragmentary text, yet to be published, belonging to the dossier of correspondence between Pessinus and the Attalids around 160 B.C.

The chronological range and diversity of material from Galatian Ancyra, the metropolis of Galatia, is illustrated by a selection of 100 texts, which includes the epitaph of the younger Deiotarus from the Galatian tumulus at Karalar and several important, previously unpublished texts.<sup>77</sup> Probably the most eye-catching of these is the large base put up by a *collegium veteranorum qui Ancyrae consistunt* in honour of M. Iulius Rufus, centurion of *legio III Scythica*, who had been honoured with *dona* by Vespasian and with the right to wear white dress uniform (*dealbata decursione*) by Domitian.

Two volumes provide compilations of the Greek inscriptions found in predominantly Latin-speaking provinces of the Balkans, **Pannonia and Dacia**.<sup>78</sup> Most of these form part of the *instrumentum domesticum* or were of a private nature. Only twenty-five of the Dacian items were publicly-displayed stone inscriptions. The remaining 123 texts are on amphora handles, gemstones, or other small items.

Two indexes have been published in the *ZPE* for the corpus of Roman inscriptions from **Hungary**. The first relates to *Die römischen Inschriften Ungarns* (RIU 6 (2001)), containing the inscriptions of Aquincum, the *civitas Eraiscorum*, sites along the *limes* from Matrica to Annamatia, and the territory of Gorsium.<sup>79</sup> G. Alföldy offers some observations on newly published texts in this collection.<sup>80</sup> The second covers 203 texts which were found after the six volumes of *Römischen Inschriften Ungarns* appeared, and also forty-nine further texts from beyond the Danube.<sup>81</sup> Surveys of new finds in the epigraphy of **Noricum and Pannonia**, found within the current boundaries of Austria, are published in the journal *Tyche*.<sup>82</sup>

Some important **thematic corpora** have also appeared. *In primis* are three new volumes of **Jewish inscriptions**, presented on a regional basis. D. Noy has collaborated with A. Panayatov and H. Bloedhorn to collect and edit the Jewish texts from eastern Europe.<sup>83</sup> This volume contains 141 inscriptions found across a vast geographical region extending from Pannonia to the north shore of the Black Sea, and south to Achaëa and the islands of the Aegean. The chronological spread is from 162 B.C., the Delphic manumission document of a *Ioudaios*, to A.D. 539. Many of the texts refer or allude to Samaritans and the review of the volume by H. Sivan draws particular attention to the problems of drawing a serviceable distinction between Jewish and Samaritan groups, both of which retained a sense of their identity with equal tenacity throughout antiquity. Noy has also worked with Bloedhorn on a volume which covers the northern Levant and Cyprus.<sup>84</sup> This volume contains sixty-eight texts from the region of Syria, Mesopotamia, Phoenicia, and Cyprus

<sup>76</sup> Strubbe (2005).

<sup>77</sup> French (2003).

<sup>78</sup> Kovacs (2001) = *AE* 2001, 1626; Ruscu (2003).

<sup>79</sup> Lórinç (2004).

<sup>80</sup> Alföldy (2002a) = *AE* 2002, 1186–99.

<sup>81</sup> Kovacs (2005).

<sup>82</sup> ‘Annona Epigraphica Austriaca 2001–2’, *Tyche* 17 (2002), 205–33; ‘Annona Epigraphica Austriaca 2003’, *Tyche* 18 (2003), 233–47; ‘Annona Epigraphica Austriaca 2004’, *Tyche* 19 (2003), 237–50.

<sup>83</sup> Noy, Panayatov and Bloedhorn (2004); reviewed in *BMCR* 2005.09.58 (H. Sivan).

<sup>84</sup> Noy and Bloedhorn (2004); reviewed in *BMCR* 2005.02.23 (D. Stockl Ben Ezra).

that were not included in Frey's earlier corpus, and includes texts in all languages. The biggest problem with this, as with any other collection of Jewish inscriptions, is applying consistent criteria for inclusion. Those applied in this case are the use of Hebrew, Jewish symbols, Jewish terminology or designations, Jewish names, or provenance in a synagogue or in a Jewish cemetery. As D. Stoekl points out in his review, what cannot be included are inscriptions set up by or for Jews which happen not to contain any identifiable signs of Jewishness. The intervening geographical space of Asia Minor has been covered with masterly authority by W. Ameling, including comprehensive bibliography and discussion of the Jewish epigraphy of Aphrodisias and Sardis, which emphasizes the importance of Jewish communities within the Christian Empire.<sup>85</sup> The only obvious omissions from these volumes are photographs or other illustrations of the stones. The southern part of the Levant, including Palestine, remains an important gap to be filled, but all students of ancient Judaism now have a remarkable *instrument de travail* at their disposal, which replaces that of J. B. Frey. Given the problems of distinguishing Jewish from non-Jewish texts in the epigraphy of Asia Minor, Ameling has scrupulously included an appendix listing texts not included in his corpus, with reference to the footnotes and sections of the commentary where he has discussed the problems of ascription.<sup>86</sup>

Several works have appeared re-editing various *carmina Latina epigraphica*, which will eventually be included in *CIL XVIII* (see also p. 243, below). A preview of fascicule 2 provides detailed analysis of twelve inscriptions from the province of Cádiz.<sup>87</sup> The forty-two Latin verse inscriptions known from Catalonia have also been republished.<sup>88</sup> An oddity of the otherwise useful indexes is the categorization of three single names of the Christian period (Iohannes, Iustinianus, and Sergius) under *praenomina*, while other similar examples are to be found more logically under *cognomina*. A collection of twelve metrical or semi-metrical texts from Ammaedara (Tunisia) has also been published.<sup>89</sup> P. Cugusi has collected together the verse inscriptions of Roman Sardinia (all but one fragmentary text previously published).<sup>90</sup> Nearly a third of the texts are late antique and/or Christian. The volume is intended as an aid to teaching and the very full analysis of linguistic and metrical matters makes this a real possibility. Elsewhere, Cugusi offers a detailed discussion of three verse inscriptions from Region IX in Italy, and A. Buonopane presents a new fragment from Vicenza.<sup>91</sup> Finally, P. Kruschwitz offers a corpus of sixteen inscriptions composed in saturnian verse dating from the third to first centuries B.C., with the aim of providing an accurate assessment of which inscriptions really belong to this category, and concludes that eight of the inscriptions usually thought to belong to this category should now be excluded.<sup>92</sup> Analysis of the *carmen arvale* may be found in an appendix.

Two corpora illustrate the world of spectacles, in Rome and Spain. S. Orlandi has produced the latest volume in the series devoted to the epigraphy of amphitheatres, that dealing with the city of Rome itself.<sup>93</sup> As well as providing an exhaustive edition of the various categories of text associated with the Flavian Amphitheatre, she includes other texts that relate to arenas and gladiatorial schools (the *Ludi Magnus*, *Dacicus*, and *Gallicus*) in Rome, including thirty-eight graffiti and the section of the marble plan of the city labelled *ludus magnu[s]* (no. 34). Most intriguing is a fragmentary marble plaque (no. 1), published here for the first time, that reads in line 4 [---]AMPITH[---]. She identifies this as the remains of an elogium of T. Statilius Taurus (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> S 853) that referred to his

<sup>85</sup> Ameling (2004).

<sup>86</sup> Ameling (2004), 575–80.

<sup>87</sup> Gómez Pallarès *et al.* (2005).

<sup>88</sup> Gómez Pallarès (2002b) = *AE* 2002, 757.

<sup>89</sup> Benzina Ben Abdallah *et al.* (2005).

<sup>90</sup> Cugusi (2003).

<sup>91</sup> Cugusi (2005); Buonopane (2002).

<sup>92</sup> Kruschwitz (2002a) = *AE* 2003, 177.

<sup>93</sup> Orlandi (2004).



construction of Rome's first permanent arena, and tentatively suggests that lines 4–5 be supplemented: [---] *ampith[eatrum (sic) lapideum primus] in urbe [fecit]*. The bulk of the volume is made up of the texts of the Flavian Amphitheatre, beginning with Alföldy's reconstructions of the two phases of the original bronze-lettered dedication on the architrave (*CIL* VI.40454). Afterwards come inscriptions relating to sections of reserved seating and then the hundreds of individual seat labels for dignitaries of the late Roman period, many of them very fragmentary. Here she offers dozens of revisions to the readings and the prosopographical identifications of André Chastagnol, enshrined in the *Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire* vols I and II. In fact, as is made clear in Appendix II, she discerns five chronological clusters of overlapping individuals between the late third and early sixth centuries A.D.

A. Ceballos Hornero has assembled the epigraphic documentation from **Spain** relating to public spectacles of all types. Of particular interest are the lists of names of charioteers and horses and city-by-city comparison of the chronological spread of the evidence for the various types of spectacle. Evidence for amphitheatre shows generally dries up in the fourth century A.D., except at Mérida, while the theatre enjoys a long life at Mérida and Saragossa (into the sixth century in the latter case).<sup>94</sup>

A collection has been made of all the texts relating to the **Roman roads of Galicia**.<sup>95</sup> This comprises 674 inscriptions, about 650 of them milestones. This seems a remarkable number, given that we are dealing with the rugged north-western corner of Hispania Citerior. This may in part be explained by the presence in the region of Legion VII Gemina (at León) but is still remarkable in comparison with the totals for socially similar areas in the north-western regions of the Empire. It is nearly six times as many as are known from Britain (*c.* 110) and nearly matches the total of *c.* 700 from the Gallic and German provinces combined. The high number may, of course, reflect superior rates of survival in an area that has remained relatively underdeveloped economically.

A corpus presents 524 Greek inscriptions relating to **doctors and medical practitioners** from the Archaic period to Late Antiquity, but with a preponderance of texts from the Roman imperial period, covering the entire ancient world.<sup>96</sup> The objective is to provide the basis for further study of the medical profession (rather than the practice of medicine) and there is a substantial introduction dealing with medical personnel and their training, the exercise of the profession at private and public level, and the place of doctors in society. There are no illustrations and the indexes are rather sparse, but it does include a prosopographical list of doctors attested by the inscriptions and selected Greek vocabulary.

B. Puech has produced an indispensable work of reference for the many students of the intellectual and literary life of the Eastern Roman Empire — a corpus of texts, with translations and extensive commentary, of inscriptions for **Greek rhetors and sophists** in the imperial period.<sup>97</sup> One of the most original aspects of the collection is that the chronological scope extends into the fourth and fifth centuries, and the texts draw attention to the continuities and development in Greek *paideia* under the Christian empire as well as in the high days of the 'Second Sophistic'. The commentaries are concerned above all with identifying the personalities and their connections, but are written with full awareness of current debates about the significance of Greek intellectual life under the Roman Empire.

A. Cristofori has studied the **civilian occupations** recorded on inscriptions from the **Picene region** of Italy. The bulk of the book comprises a community-by-community catalogue, a thematic analysis, and ample illustrations. An unexpected bonus is an appendix collecting inscriptions recording medical doctors throughout Italy.<sup>98</sup>

<sup>94</sup> Ceballos Hornero (2004), especially 469, 588–9.

<sup>95</sup> Rodríguez Colmenero *et al.* (2004), reviewed in *JRA* 19 (2006), 577–82 (A. Kolb).

<sup>96</sup> Samama (2003) = *AE* 2003, 120.

<sup>97</sup> Puech (2002) = *AE* 2002, 157.

<sup>98</sup> Cristofori (2004).

A comprehensive catalogue of **graffiti drawings** from the ancient world, focusing chiefly upon Pompeii, is presented in a well-documented volume.<sup>99</sup> In addition to the excellent illustrations in the book itself, the accompanying CD-Rom provides a wonderful research tool. It offers a database of 2,541 graffiti from 684 sites, which is searchable by theme or by publication reference, and each entry provides findspot, transcription, description, dimensions, dating, picture, comments, and bibliographical notes.

Finally we turn to **museum catalogues**, several of which publish substantial collections of inscriptions. Starting with **Rome**, the epigraphic collection of the **Museo Nazionale Romano alle Terme di Diocleziano** is covered by a small-scale guidebook designed as a vade mecum around the new galleries in the Palazzo Massimo.<sup>100</sup> Given the significance of many of the museum's inscriptions, it is a shame that no index is included. It is also frustrating that despite drawing attention to the Arval *acta*, the *fasti Antiates*, and *fasti Praenestini* as among the collection's highlights, nothing further is said about them. The coverage is rather uneven, and comments not always helpful (for example, in identifying the husband of the '*laudatio Turiae*' as Lucretius Vespillo).

The new catalogue of the epigraphic collection of the **Caelian Antiquarium**<sup>101</sup> presents revised readings of published inscriptions and includes 320 previously unpublished inscriptions, including a few inscriptions relating to the imperial family and magistrates (*AE* 2001, 219–495) found too late to be included in *CIL* VI part 8, fascicules 2–3.

Moving away from Rome, a brief guide to the *lapidario* at **Modena** includes twenty-five entries relating to funerary monuments of the first and second centuries A.D. excavated in ancient **Mutina** from the 1960s onwards. Many of the stelae are preserved intact, complete with ornamentation and portraits.<sup>102</sup> The Museo Provinciale Campano di **Capua** has issued the first in what is intended to be a series of works cataloguing the museum's epigraphic collections. This first volume contains 296 entries, mainly covering the most important Latin inscriptions on display in the museum.<sup>103</sup> Most of them originate from Capua and the *ager Campanus*, but some come from further afield, including Nola and Venafrum. It is unfortunate that the photographs of the inscriptions, though abundant, are not of a consistently high quality (often making it impossible to check readings of the inscriptions), but the catalogue still offers a useful preliminary edition of the inscriptions, and a rough impression of their monumental form. Also from Campania is an illustrated catalogue of the sixty-one Latin inscriptions from **Surrentum** in the Museo Correale, Sorrento.<sup>104</sup> The catalogue is preceded by a synoptic chapter on the institutions and prosopography of Surrentum. Of particular interest is the cluster of forty-one imperial slaves and freedmen, which points to the existence of an imperial estate in the area during the first half of the first century A.D. The inscription for one of these, an *opstetrix* (sic), *Secunda Aug. l.*, commemorated on a columella (the local type of funerary stele), was published after the catalogue was issued.<sup>105</sup>

The Latin inscriptions in the **Kelsey Museum of Archaeology** (University of Michigan) have now been published all together.<sup>106</sup> The vast majority of them belong to two collections of Latin inscriptions originating from Rome and Campania, but a few are the result of Michigan excavations at Terenouthis, Karanis, Carthage, and Pisidian Antioch. The bulk of the collection consists of epitaphs, only a few of which had previously escaped publication, such as a cinerary casket from Puteoli (no. 264) for an anonymous adolescent

<sup>99</sup> Langner (2001) = *AE* 2002, 164.

<sup>100</sup> Friggeri (2001) = *AE* 2001, 167.

<sup>101</sup> Gregori (2001) = *AE* 2001, 166.

<sup>102</sup> Pellegrini and Pulini (2003) = *AE* 2003, 654–60.

<sup>103</sup> Chioffi (2005).

<sup>104</sup> Magalhaes (2003) = *AE* 2003, 305.

<sup>105</sup> Magalhaes and Russo (2005).

<sup>106</sup> Tuck (2005a); reviewed in *BMCR* 2006.12.14 (K. J. McDonnell).

who allegedly lived precisely 13 years, 3 months, and 1 night. The new texts are also published in a separate article.<sup>107</sup> The catalogue supplements rather than replaces earlier publications of inscriptions in the museum, since Tuck chooses to provide only brief comments on the inscriptions published by D'Arms in *AJA* 77 (1973) and by Baldwin and Torelli in their *Latin Inscriptions in the Kelsey Museum* (1979).

Moving across from the Italian peninsula, we turn to the epigraphic collections of two museums in Sicily. A new catalogue covers the epigraphic collection in the Museo Regionale di Messina.<sup>108</sup> The collection mainly includes epitaphs from two excavated sites, the necropolis of S. Placido and the Orti della Maddalena, on which brief archaeological notes are provided. An analysis of the inscriptions suggests that the town was strikingly cosmopolitan in character, reflecting its strategic location and consequent economic importance.

The reorganization of the Museo Civico housed in the Castello Ursino in Catania (the third most important epigraphic collection in Sicily after Palermo and Syracuse) has prompted a thorough re-examination of the monumental inscriptions in that collection.<sup>109</sup> This catalogue contains 364 ancient inscriptions (241 from Sicily, 115 from Rome, 8 unknown), including 54 unpublished texts (mostly small fragments, with a few intact epitaphs), and 193 modern copies, mostly dating from the 1700s. The collection offers one particular challenge, that of accurately identifying the provenance of its inscriptions. Whereas Mommsen assumed a provenance from Rome as a default setting, K. Korhonen has revisited the question of provenance by focusing upon the distinctiveness of Catanian epigraphic culture, as well as by offering detailed analysis of the history of the collections in the museum. As a result, forty-five Latin and four Greek inscriptions have now been reassigned to Catania rather than Rome; further, *CIL* X.7114 has been reclassified as a modern copy (p. 141B). The aim of revisiting the question of provenance is laudable, but one might wonder about the certainty of these results. The method used is that of creating a typology of funerary formulae (for example, type L4 comprises name and age of deceased, followed by name of dedicator/s) and then comparing their relative popularity in Catania and Rome (using a sample of just 400 inscriptions from the capital). It is worth noting that although the catalogue does not include photographs of the inscriptions, these may be found online at [www.helsinki.fi/hum/kla/catania](http://www.helsinki.fi/hum/kla/catania).

The collection of six Gallo-Greek and over two hundred Latin inscriptions (including Christian ones) in the *Musée Calvet at Avignon* has been published in two volumes.<sup>110</sup> The collection includes some inscriptions found outside Gallia Narbonensis, notably a dedication to Germanicus on a black marble base by the *magistri Larum Aug.* from Alexandria (A.D. 19).<sup>111</sup> V. Gaggadis-Robin's catalogue of pagan sarcophagi dating from the second to fourth centuries A.D. in the *Musée de l'Arles Antique* includes sixteen inscribed examples. Alongside providing detailed photographs of the ornamental features and inscriptions on the sarcophagi, the catalogue's main aim is to identify workshops for sarcophagus production on the basis of style, iconography, and marble analysis. This reveals that the sarcophagi in this collection were produced in Asia Minor, Attica, and Rome, as well as in local workshops.<sup>112</sup>

Delegates to the XII Congressus Internationalis Epigraphiae Graecae et Latinae (Barcelona, 2002) were lucky enough to receive copies of the substantial bilingual (Catalan-Castilian) catalogue that was put together to accompany the exhibition entitled 'Scripta manent' mounted at the *Museu d'Arqueologia de Catalunya*, which illustrated

<sup>107</sup> Tuck (2005b).

<sup>108</sup> Bitto (2001) = *AE* 2001, 1105.

<sup>109</sup> Korhonen (2004); the thesis is also published online.

<sup>110</sup> Gascou and Guyon (2005).

<sup>111</sup> Gascou and Guyon (2005), 269–70, no. 226 = *ILS* 175.

<sup>112</sup> Gaggadis-Robin (2005).

aspects of public and private life from the Roman period.<sup>113</sup> The star of the exhibition was the *SC de Cn. Pisone*, of which full majuscule transcriptions of the two main copies, a handy minuscule text, and bilingual translation are provided and, as for every object, splendid photographs.

The content of the non-Christian Latin inscriptions held in the **Carthage Museum** and the **Bardo Museum in Tunis** has now been made more accessible by the publication of an index to the c. 1,800 texts published in various places, most of them coming from the cemetery of the governor's staff.<sup>114</sup>

A preliminary report has been published on the work of the team directed by L. Kolonas to examine the epigraphic collections of the two most important museums in the region of ancient Acarnania (**Thyrion and Agrinion**).<sup>115</sup> Although no texts are given, the content of several important *inedita* are discussed. Amongst the Agrinion material are two completely preserved second-century B.C. manumission texts from ancient Trichinion. The Thyrion museum holds over fifty unpublished inscriptions, including a new fragment of the treaty between that city and Rome of 94 B.C. (*IG IX.I<sup>2</sup> I, 242*), and part of a Greek version of a Roman *senatus consultum* of c. 100 B.C., found at nearby Rouga, concerning a dispute between the 'Islanders' (*Nesiotai*) and Thyrrheion.

The National Museum in **Warsaw** houses the largest collection of Greek inscriptions in Poland. Of the 125 texts now published in an illustrated catalogue, a significant number come from the Roman period, chiefly from Egypt, but some also from Thrace, Asia Minor, Syria, and Italy.<sup>116</sup>

#### 1.v *Handbooks, Methods and Approaches*

Several recent handbooks to epigraphy deserve to be widely used. M. Schmidt's **introduction to Latin epigraphy**, in German, is a concise guide, focused upon the first to third centuries A.D.<sup>117</sup> J.-M. Lassère's **manual to Roman epigraphy**, in French, conceived with the purpose of replacing R. Cagnat's *Cours d'épigraphie latine*, is on an altogether more ambitious scale, amounting to more than 1,000 pages in two volumes, and covering both Latin and Greek inscriptions.<sup>118</sup> The manual adopts an innovative structure and approach, which gives it a distinctive voice, as does the author's insistence on the importance of integrating Greek inscriptions in order to offer a diverse picture of the Roman Empire. After an Introduction dealing with epigraphy as a discipline, Part One focuses upon the individual; Part Two turns to the city; finally, Part Three discusses the state. The manual ends with some useful appendices, listing consular fasti down to A.D. 541, imperial titles as far as Justinian, equestrian procuratorships, administrative jobs belonging to imperial freedmen, Greek translations for Roman institutions, abbreviations, and measures. The chapters are liberally peppered with discussion of over 500 individual inscriptions (presented with transcription, translation, and commentary), some of which are illustrated. These volumes thus have much to offer not only to the raw recruit, but also to the experienced epigrapher, despite the author's modest disclaimers.

B. McLean's handbook on **Greek epigraphy of the Hellenistic and Roman periods** fills a very real gap in provision for today's students.<sup>119</sup> This work introduces the world of post-classical epigraphy in Greek up to the era of the Christian empire, where the increasing influence of the Roman habit of abbreviation gives the texts of this period an unfamiliar flavour for those trained on classical Greek inscriptions. McLean has included

<sup>113</sup> Comes and Rodà (2002) = *AE* 2002, 11.

<sup>114</sup> Ladjimi Sebai (2001).

<sup>115</sup> Freitag (2001).

<sup>116</sup> Łajtar and Twardecki (2003) = *AE* 2003, 8.

<sup>117</sup> Schmidt (2004).

<sup>118</sup> Lassère (2005), with a second updated edition (2007) {non vidimus}, and a translation into Italian in preparation.

<sup>119</sup> McLean (2002a) = *AE* 2002, 3.

more than just the standard guidance on editorial sigla, list of abbreviations, and orientation in the relevant journals and secondary literature. He also includes detailed practical information on the making of squeezes, even on how to get hold of a squeeze brush and the requisite grade of filter paper. In addition, he packs in much reference information such as the tables of month names found in the eastern Roman provinces (p. 170).

As well as co-editing a volume on epigraphy and **boundaries (geographical) and disciplinary**), A. Donati has produced a short book on **inscriptions as a means of communication** that covers a whole range of types of inscription, from the monumental to the mass-produced, considering issues such as the levels of literacy (for which it offers an optimistic reckoning) and bilingualism.<sup>120</sup> For an even briefer discussion of the **distinctiveness of monumental writing** displayed in public, students can turn to M. Corbier's chapter in *L'écriture publique du pouvoir*.<sup>121</sup>

The proceedings of a conference on the theme of the **'Roman World through Epigraphy: Methods and Practice'** contain papers of very diverse types.<sup>122</sup> The contributions are divided into two sections: hellenistic/early imperial and late antique. The bibliographic essay of Ferrary has been singled out already (see p. 177, above). Most useful as demonstrations of the possibilities and limits of epigraphic evidence are papers by C. Hoët-Van Cauwenberghe (Latin onomastics in the Greek East), S. Demougin (prosopographical fictions), J. Scheid (religious identity), S. Lefebvre (*damnatio memoriae*), R. Delmaire (late Roman *cursus* inscriptions), J. Desmulliez (Christian prosopography), and F. Prévot (late antique verse inscriptions). Another recent methodological study poses questions about the quantification and qualitative assessment of the **operations of the Roman state** of the Principate through an examination of its surviving documentation.<sup>123</sup> To this end it compiles checklists of various categories of official documents, including seventy-seven epigraphic addenda to J. H. Oliver's *Greek Constitutions of the Early Roman Emperors from Inscriptions and Papyri* (1989).

R. Grasby revisits the complex subject of **how inscriptions were designed and produced**, and makes the attractive suggestion that some texts may have been drafted with a stylus onto a stone surface coated with a thin layer of plaster before being cut.<sup>124</sup>

#### 1.vi *History of Epigraphic Scholarship*

A number of important volumes reissuing works of epigraphic scholarship from the Italian Renaissance onwards have recently appeared. E. Bodnar has complemented his earlier work on the travels of the merchant **Cyriacus of Ancona** in the northern Aegean and Propontis in the mid-1440s (E. W. Bodnar and C. Mitchell, *Cyriacus of Ancona's Journeys in the Propontis and the Northern Aegean, 1444–1445* (1976)) with a critical edition of Cyriacus' Latin letters from 1443 to 1449. The original text is accompanied by an English translation and notes.<sup>125</sup> Since this correspondence is littered with transcriptions of inscriptions (mostly Greek), notably from the Aegean and Peloponnese, it is a valuable witness to many lost or now very damaged texts. Also drawing on scholarly work in manuscript rather than print, M. Buonocore has collected together seventeen of his contributions to the journal *Epigraphica* from the years 1985–2003.<sup>126</sup> These articles are

<sup>120</sup> Angeli Bertinelli and Donati (2004); Donati (2002) = *AE* 2002, 4.

<sup>121</sup> Corbier (2005a), a preview of her book, *Donner à voir, donner à lire: Mémoire et communication* (2006).

<sup>122</sup> Desmulliez and Hoët-Van Cauwenberghe (2005).

<sup>123</sup> Burton (2002) = *AE* 2002, 64.

<sup>124</sup> Grasby (2002) = *AE* 2002, 13; cf. *PBSR* 64 (1996), 95–138.

<sup>125</sup> Bodnar (2003).

<sup>126</sup> Buonocore (2004).

the product of his combing through the **epigraphic manuscripts in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana** at Rome. Their content is made much more accessible thanks to indices of names, manuscripts, and inscriptions. W. Stenhouse has produced two works relating to the epigraphic interests of the literary circles of late fifteenth- to early seventeenth-century Rome. First, in the series devoted to publishing the *Museo cartaceo* ('Paper museum') assembled for the patron **Cassiano dal Pozzo**, he has edited the volume collecting together the drawings of inscriptions taken from the works of Pirro Ligorio and his successors.<sup>127</sup> Of course the original focus was not just (or even primarily) on the textual content but on the monumental aspect of the inscriptions, a wider perspective that is once again flourishing, especially when photographic illustration can be provided economically in space-saving electronic form. Stenhouse prefaces the work with an introduction to the history of epigraphy, a topic which is developed in his more recent monograph on the part played by the study of inscriptions in the **development of historical scholarship in the late Renaissance**.<sup>128</sup> He traces how a shared enthusiasm for antiquities brought together members of the clerical and secular élite, often irrespective of religious affiliations, as part of a scholarly discourse about the value of epigraphic evidence for the study of the Latin language and Roman history. A particular strength of the book is the appendix giving biographies of all the main protagonists.

Two very affordable facsimile editions of epigraphic works of the late eighteenth century have recently become available. M. Christol provides an introduction and commentary to the *Dissertation* of Jean-François Séguier **on the inscription on the Maison Carrée at Nîmes**, originally published in Paris in 1776.<sup>129</sup> A similar service has been done for the **corpus of inscriptions of Cartagena** published in Madrid in 1796 by the nobleman Antonio Valcárcel Pio de Saboya y Moura, Principe Pio, Marqués de Castel Rodrigo y Conde de Lumières.<sup>130</sup> Additional material includes an essay setting the Conde de Lumières' work in the context of prior scholarship and a handy concordance to modern publications and current locations for the inscriptions. Moving closer to our own day, M. Buonocore has published the letters of **Theodor Mommsen** preserved in the Vatican, including correspondence with G. B. de Rossi from 1847 to 1893, and F. Baratte has reissued **René Cagnat and Henri Saladin's** account of their trip together around Tunisia from November 1882 to April 1883, originally published in 1894, together with Cagnat's letters from Tunisia from 1881 to 1883.<sup>131</sup> The inscriptions that Cagnat noted down have been translated, but it rather undermines the volume's utility that the original Latin has generally been suppressed.

## II GOVERNMENT, LAW AND AUTHORITY

### II.i Republic

Roman foreign policy in the Greek East is reflected by many major inscriptions spanning the period from the treaty of Apamea in 189 B.C. to the age of Sulla. Military and diplomatic engagement was most intense after 133 B.C. during the war with Aristonicus to secure control of the province of Asia, and during the wars with Mithridates. A new inscription from the Ionian city of **Metropolis** throws light on the **revolt of Aristonicus**. It carries two **decrees of the city in honour of Apollonius**, who was killed in action alongside a contingent of young men from the city, fighting on the Roman side against the forces of Aristonicus at a battle near Thyateira. The first decree relates to his earlier career, the

<sup>127</sup> Stenhouse (2002), reviewed in *JRS* 96 (2006), 238–40 (B. Harvey).

<sup>128</sup> Stenhouse (2005), reviewed in this volume (p. 267) (B. Salway).

<sup>129</sup> Séguier (2005).

<sup>130</sup> Valcárcel Pio de Saboya y Moura (2002), reviewed in *Veguetta* 8 (2004), 293–4 (M. Ramírez Sánchez).

<sup>131</sup> Buonocore (2003b); Baratte (2005), reviewed in *Rev. arch.* 2006.1, 187–8 (L. Maurin).

second to the actions that led to his death. In his honour the city allowed a heroon to be erected by his sons, immediately in front of the city gate, a monument that also carried the names of thirteen young men who had fallen in battle beside him.<sup>132</sup> The texts have been provided with extensive and invaluable commentary by B. Dreyer, and have already earned themselves a place among the most important epigraphic documents of the middle Hellenistic period. C. P. Jones has reconsidered Dreyer's reconstruction of the historical events that led to Apollonius' death, arguing persuasively that he was killed in the early phases of the war, during fighting by a coalition drawn from the Greek cities of western Asia Minor in the winter of 133/2 B.C., who joined modest Roman forces, which were despatched hastily to Asia with the five senatorial legates sent to deal with the Pergamene legacy. Dreyer's chronology would link Apollonius' death to the later phases of the war in 131 B.C. under the consul Licinius Crassus. If Jones's reconstruction is correct, it suggests that Roman intervention following the death of Attalus III was rapid rather than hesitant.<sup>133</sup>

In the first part of a new study of the *tabula* of Heraclea, containing the Latin text of the Lex Julia, A. Giovannini discusses the section of the law concerning the re-organization of grain distribution for Roman citizens. He argues that eighteenth-century scholarship was correct to date the law not to Julius Caesar but to around 90 B.C., when it was intended to exclude newly enfranchised Italian citizens from the *frumentationes* by insisting that these should be organized on the basis of declarations by the owners of rented property at Rome.<sup>134</sup>

Three texts from Messenia for L. Licinius L.f. Murena imp., L. Cornelius L.f. Sulla imp., and Cn. Manlius L.f. legatus relate to the offensive campaigns against Mithridates.<sup>135</sup> The third of these had been left behind by the commanders to take charge of the Peloponnese c. 83–81 B.C.<sup>136</sup> Recent epigraphic survey work at Carian Stratonicea has led to the discovery of a new fragment from the missing middle section of the Sullan *SC de Stratonicensibus* (RDGE 18, 81 B.C.). It provides the date (16 March) and place (the temple of Concordia) of the meeting, and adds three new names of senatorial witnesses: C. Fannius C.f., Marcus Vulcius M.f. Arn., and C. Fundanius C.f. –na.<sup>137</sup> Finally, there is an important new edition with commentary of the *SC de Asclepiade* (RDGE 22), which granted privileges to three sea-captains, allied *peregrini*, who had provided military help to Rome during the Social War and against Mithridates.<sup>138</sup>

## II.ii Emperors and the Imperial Family

Recent excavation at the site of Octavian's victory monument for Actium at Nikopolis, has uncovered six new blocks of its dedicatory inscription, one of which reveals that the name of Mars preceded that of Neptune.<sup>139</sup> A. Raggi has presented a new text and translation of the inscribed dossier concerning Seleucus of Rhosus, one of Octavian's naval commanders. This includes three letters addressed by Octavian to the small city of Rhosus on the border of Cilicia and Syria, and the official act conferring Roman citizenship and other privileges on him and members of his family.<sup>140</sup>

C. Letta attempts to rehabilitate the municipal cult of the *genius Augusti* during the Augustan era, against recent work by D. Fishwick in *Epigraphica* 57 (1995) and I. Gradel in *Emperor Worship and Roman Religion* (2002), arguing that it was associated with the

<sup>132</sup> Dreyer and Engelmann (2003) = AE 2003, 1679.

<sup>133</sup> Jones (2004a).

<sup>134</sup> Giovannini (2004).

<sup>135</sup> SEG 48, 494–6; AE 2000, 1336–8.

<sup>136</sup> Dohnicht and Heil (2004).

<sup>137</sup> Çetin Şahin (2002), 3, no. 2; cf. Çetin Şahin (2003), 7 for corrected reading of l. 25.

<sup>138</sup> Raggi (2001).

<sup>139</sup> Zachos (2003) = AE 2003, 1609.

<sup>140</sup> Raggi (2004); (2006).

cult of the *Lares Augusti*, and proposes new readings of inscriptions from Capena, Pompeii, and Acerrae.<sup>141</sup> Other inscriptions continue to illustrate the pervasiveness of **emperor worship**: the first attestation of the village of Olyndondra(?) comes on a small marble altar to Augustus found in the modern village of Karanfilli, to the north of Alabanda (Caria).<sup>142</sup> Livia too was regarded as a goddess before her deification at Rome, according to a new dating of the dedicatory inscription on the architrave of the Temple of Nemesis at Rhamnous (IG<sup>2</sup> II.3242), which in the past has been assumed to date after her deification in A.D. 41.<sup>143</sup> This redating also suggests that the rededication of the temple at Rhamnous should be viewed against the background of the wider reorganization of major public cults in Attica under Augustus. A new base for a statue of Livia found in the modern village of Kestel (Lydia) strikingly refers to her as wife of ‘Lord Emperor Caesar’ (τῆς γυναῖκα τοῦ Κυρίου Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος), an unusual way of referring to Augustus, who did not encourage the title of *dominus*.<sup>144</sup>

(For an important new edition of the epigraphic dossier relating to the *ludi saeculares*, see p. 234, below.)

A new fragment of the *Res Gestae Divi Augusti* has been identified at Pisidian Antioch as relating to one of the most problematic passages of all in the ‘queen of inscriptions’, ch. 34.1, dealing with Augustus’ impact upon the state. It indicates that we should read [po]tens re[ru]m om[nium] in place of Mommsen’s suggestion of [potitus] re[rum omnium], vindicating the reading suggested by R. Kassel.<sup>145</sup> We may now suggest the following text and punctuation: *in consulatu sexto et septimo, po[stquam] bella [civil]ia exstinxeram, per consensum universorum [po]tens re[ru]m om[nium], rem publicam ex mea potestate in senat[us] populique Rom[ani] [a]rbitrium transtuli*. Translated as ‘in my sixth and seventh consulship, after I had put an end to civil wars, although by everyone’s agreement I had power over everything, I transferred the state from my power into the control of the Roman senate and people’, this allows us to disprove the charge of hypocrisy against Augustus for this passage at any rate. The most important work on the text is the republication of the fragments of the *RGDA* from Pisidian Antioch by Th. Drew-Bear and J. Scheid, together with superb photographs of them taken by C. Crowther. Their article contains several new readings, and a survey of previous scholarship on ch. 34.1.<sup>146</sup> In his monograph devoted to the inscription, R. Ridley offers extensive discussion of the text’s reliability, since he rightly points out that the publication of the text in a public place is no guarantee that Augustus told the truth in it.<sup>147</sup> He offers detailed analysis of omissions, lies, and obfuscations, in the course of which he presents a digest of many of the knotty historical problems that exist in the text. He also revisits such familiar territory as possible parallels for the *RGDA*, and provides an overview of the discovery and publication of the *Monumentum Ancyranum*. Unfortunately, Ridley was unable to take account of the new fragment. P. Botteri revisits the question of the monumental contexts of the *RGDA* in Ancyra, Antioch, and Apollonia, and how these may have influenced viewers’ interpretation of the text.<sup>148</sup>

Detailed analysis by G. Rowe of the ‘new Tiberian senatorial decrees’ (i.e., *Tabula Siarensis*, *Tabula Hebana*, *SC de Pisone*, honours for the younger Drusus) and other inscriptions provides a fresh perspective upon the impact of the emergence of a dynastic monarchy at Rome upon different social groups in the Roman world and the nature of

<sup>141</sup> Letta (2003) = *AE* 2003, 277, 315, 643 on *AE* 1994, 624 and *CIL* X.816; Letta (2002) on *CIL* X.3757 = *AE* 2002, 360.

<sup>142</sup> Tanriver and Yilmaz (2003) = *AE* 2003, 1690.

<sup>143</sup> Lozano (2004).

<sup>144</sup> Aydaş (2004), no. 5.

<sup>145</sup> Botteri (2003a), 264 = *AE* 2003, 46; Lebek (2004a).

<sup>146</sup> Drew-Bear and Scheid (2005).

<sup>147</sup> Ridley (2003) = *AE* 2003, 44.

<sup>148</sup> Botteri (2003b) = *AE* 2003, 42.



political participation in early imperial society.<sup>149</sup> Rowe offers interesting perspectives upon the role of the Senate in early imperial politics, as evidenced in particular by its decision to publish senatorial decrees in inscribed form throughout the Empire, and on the changing nature of local politics in cities of the Greek East.

A large-scale (7+ m long) fragmentary inscription from Brescia, interpreted by Mommsen as honouring Livilla and her twin sons, has been reinterpreted in a more mundane fashion by G. L. Gregori, as relating to the unsurprising group of **Tiberius, Germanicus, and Drusus**.<sup>150</sup> Back at Rome, the epitaph for a two-year-old household slave of **Antonia Minor**, *Communio* (*CIL* VI.16057), records that he shared a wet-nurse with Drusus, son of Rubellius Blandus and Tiberius' granddaughter Julia, who had the distinction of being great-grandson of both Antonia and Tiberius.<sup>151</sup> B. Rawson observes that the wet-nurse in question was probably *Communio's* mother, herself also likely to have been a slave in Antonia's household, and that the situation offers a rare glimpse of the links between two imperial households created through the sharing of staff. She also makes the attractive suggestion that we have here yet another instance of Antonia intervening in the affairs of junior members of the imperial family.

A new inscription from **Pisidian Antioch** on a tall statue base honouring **Claudius**, which, to judge from its dimensions, must have borne an over-lifesized statue of the emperor, shows how a member of the *colonia's* magisterial élite, C. Caristianus Fronto Caesianus Iullus, had made a vow on behalf of Claudius as he embarked upon his conquest of Britain. Subsequently, he fulfilled this vow in celebration of the emperor's victory in Britain by providing games, sacrifices, and a beast hunt, as well as by setting up this statue.<sup>152</sup> G. Standing sets this new inscription into the context of inscribed dedications made in fulfilment of vows by individuals in many parts of the Empire, from Narbonne to Corinth, and comments on the creation of the cult of *Victoria Britannica* in A.D. 43.<sup>153</sup>

M. Kajava offers a reinterpretation of the fragmentary (and long lost) *IG* XII.2, 262 (= *IGR* IV.23). This involves assuming that a stonemason inscribed *NTON* in place of *ΣTON* in the emperor's title *ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΝ*. He suggests that it may be a base that once supported statues of **Claudius and Agrippina the Younger** as *Eueteria Sebasta*, set up in Mytilene by a local priest to Artemis Thermia in her sanctuary.<sup>154</sup>

The new handbook to the epigraphic collection of the Museo Nazionale Romano provides excellent coverage of the series of inscriptions from a curious **dynastic monument** set up by the *aenatores, tubicines, liticines, and cornicines Romani* in honour of Augustus, Nero, Claudius, and Agrippina found in 1992–93 in the area of the Arch of Constantine, Rome.<sup>155</sup> Alterations made to the monument reflect the vicissitudes experienced by the imperial family, with the dedication in honour of Agrippina being removed, and the final word describing the dedicators, *Romani*, having to be reinscribed awkwardly beneath the dedication to Claudius. The expression of dynastic aspirations through statue-groups is nothing new, but a freshly identified fragment of an inscription from the **Basilica at Corinth** invites us to see there a dedication of some sort to the Caesares Augusti (rather than to the *Lares Augusti*), alongside the imperial statues displayed in the building.<sup>156</sup>

S. Benoist considers how fragments of the *Acta Arvalium* reflect the rapidly changing political situation in A.D. 69, providing a public account of how legitimacy was conferred upon the new regimes of Galba, Otho, and Vitellius in turn. In particular, a sequence of entries relating to Otho shows how he was granted his powers piecemeal over a period of

<sup>149</sup> Rowe (2002) = *AE* 2003, 47.

<sup>150</sup> Gregori (2003), 115–24 = *AE* 2003, 715, on *CIL* V.4311/ *Inscrit* X.V.736.

<sup>151</sup> Rawson (2005); cf. (2003), 256–8 = *AE* 2003, 113.

<sup>152</sup> Christol *et al.* (2001), 1–6, no. 1 = *AE* 2001, 1918.

<sup>153</sup> Standing (2003) = *AE* 2003, 1014.

<sup>154</sup> Kajava (2002) = *AE* 2002, 1357.

<sup>155</sup> Friggeri (2001), 75–7; *AE* 1996, 246–68; cf. *JRS* 93 (2003), 231.

<sup>156</sup> Scotton (2005).

three months or so. The ceremonies documented in the *acta* thus provide insight into the evolution of the concept of the Principate, and help to confirm the centrality of Rome in legitimating new emperors, even those initially created in the provinces.<sup>157</sup>

A large monumental inscription recording **Vespasian's** restoration of an **aqueduct at Ostia** is not yet fully published, but receives a brief mention in two catalogues.<sup>158</sup>

The rise and fall of Domitian are reflected in a number of recent studies. A large monument (perhaps a city-gate or triumphal arch) at **Nicaea**, whose inscribed architrave has been found reused in the Byzantine rampart, was dedicated perhaps by a governor or procurator in A.D. 78/79 to Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian, illustrating the promotion of Domitian along with his brother in the dynastic line-up.<sup>159</sup> The problems caused by **Domitian's** downfall are illuminated by H. Flower's analysis of the urban and political contexts of a large inscribed base initially set up by the *colonia* of **Puteoli** to honour Domitian for his construction of the Via Domitiana, and later probably incorporated into an arch for Trajan.<sup>160</sup> Although erased, the inscription is sufficiently legible to reveal the extravagant language with which the colony chose to honour Domitian, described as *maximus* and *divinus*. The unusual decision to erase the whole inscription, and to leave the erased monument on display for some years before it was reversed and reused, may well reflect the particular embarrassment faced by the *colonia*, which had celebrated Domitian's *indulgentia* (notably the earliest known example of a community describing an emperor's beneficence in this way) for effectively bringing the town closer to the capital through his road-building programme. Domitian's downfall has also now been invoked as an important moment in the history of the Roman arch at **Medinaceli** in Spain.<sup>161</sup> As part of their detailed archaeological and architectural study of the monument, J. M. Abascal Palazón and G. Alföldy present a survey of previous attempts to reconstruct the lost dedicatory inscriptions on both the north and south faces, of which only the fixing-holes of their bronze letters survive. Alföldy brings to bear here the same method that he has famously applied to the dedication of the aqueduct at Segovia and the original dedication of the Flavian Amphitheatre at Rome. Accordingly, he discerns on the north face a generic dedication to the imperial *numen* (*Numini Augusto sacrum*) but explains the pattern of holes on the south side as representing a specific dedication initially to the *numen* of Domitian (*Numini Imp. Domitiani Aug. Ger.*), later adjusted to honour Trajan (*Numini Imp. Traiani Aug. Ger.*). It should be noted that the reconstruction of a second, lower line on the south face (*Ocilitani arcum erexerunt*) is really just *exempli gratia*, as the surface is too worn to allow the fixing-holes to be accurately plotted, and so does not constitute confirmation of the identity of modern Medinaceli with the unlocated ancient community of Ocilis or Ocili.

Some light is shed upon imperial economic interests in the south-east of Italy in an analysis of recently excavated tile-stamps.<sup>162</sup> These stamps suggest exploitation by the imperial household of local clay to produce tiles for export during the first half of the first century A.D. via tile-production at imperial estates in the territory of Gravina di Puglia. This new evidence suggests links between resources for tile-production and transhumance, and that the Flavians initiated a scheme to purchase properties in the area suitable for pasture and tile-production, with the intention of maximizing their economic gain.

Tantalizing glimpses of still unpublished inscriptions offer partial insight into **Hadrian's** relationship with the Greek East. An unpublished epitaph from **Aphrodisias** mentions that one of the town's tribes was designated *Hadrianis*.<sup>163</sup> At **Pergamon**, an unpublished

<sup>157</sup> Benoist (2001), especially 285–91.

<sup>158</sup> Horster (2001), p. 270 Ia 11,2; Schmölder (2001), 101.

<sup>159</sup> Adak (2001) = *AE* 2001, 1857.

<sup>160</sup> Flower (2001) = *AE* 2001, 842, on *AE* 1973, 137.

<sup>161</sup> Abascal Palazón and Alföldy (2002) = *AE* 2002, 796a–c.

<sup>162</sup> Small *et al.* (2003) = *AE* 2003, 350.

<sup>163</sup> Chaniotis (2003), 251.

inscribed fragment containing a letter from Hadrian to the city, c. A.D. 135–138, contains a rejection of its request to build a temple in his honour, instead allowing it to place his statue in the temple of Trajan.<sup>164</sup> More significant is the reassessment by R. van Bremen of the two dossiers of letters concerning the **Epicurean School at Athens**.<sup>165</sup> The first of these contains four documents dating to A.D. 121: (a) traces of a letter written in Greek, but with a Latin consular date of A.D. 121; (b) a letter from Plotina to Hadrian in Latin relating to the procedure for the appointment of the Head of the School; (c) a rescript from Hadrian in Latin granting Plotina's wishes; (d) a letter from Plotina to her Epicurean friends celebrating Hadrian's decision and offering them advice. The second stone contains a letter to the Epicureans dating to A.D. 125, usually thought to be written by Hadrian, and last edited by S. Follet in 1994.<sup>166</sup> Van Bremen offers a detailed critique of S. Follet's edition of this letter, arguing that the line length is significantly longer than allowed for by Follet. She presents a detailed analysis of the stone's dimensions, and argues that it was a physical match for the other stone inscribed with the earlier dossier. Much hinges upon the original size of the stone, since van Bremen's greater elaboration of its text leads her to the conclusion that Plotina, not Hadrian, was the author of this second letter to the Epicureans too. This is a far from obvious conclusion, not least since the letter dates from a couple of years after Plotina's death (a date not known with accuracy, however). Nevertheless, van Bremen strengthens her case considerably by presenting a detailed analysis of the Epicurean characteristics of the language used in this letter, and compares them with the first letter, which can definitely be attributed to Plotina, and which bears striking similarities to it in style and content. She argues that Plotina deliberately wanted to use idiosyncratically Epicurean language in order to emphasize her affiliation to the School, but that Hadrian would not have been in a position to do so as early as A.D. 125, since, she maintains, it seems unlikely that he was seriously interested in the School before his visit to Athens in that year. Presumably, however, this does not exclude the possibility of his simply being a quick learner! This debate is of self-evident importance. At stake is Hadrian's attitude to the Epicureans: phrases interpreted as ironic by Follet in the mouth of Hadrian, become humorous according to van Bremen if spoken by Plotina. The Epicureans themselves also emerge rather unfavourably in the first instance, since Hadrian appears to twit them gently for their grasping attitude towards material goods. As van Bremen acknowledges, however, even if the second letter was composed by Hadrian, it would indicate a remarkable unity of spirit between Hadrian and Plotina in the way they expressed themselves.

An unprepossessing fragment of a marble block in Rome's Caelian Antiquarium, notable for the size of its lettering (10 cm), is interpreted as possibly coming from an honorific arch or building set up in honour of **Marcus Aurelius** some time during A.D. 164–169.<sup>167</sup> Archival research by A. Kalinowski and H. Taeuber in the papers of John Turtle Wood, the first excavator of Ephesos, has shed new light upon an imperial statue-group of the Antonine era (perhaps A.D. 148/49 or 149/50) from the *bouleuterion* at Ephesos. They have identified an inscription, now lost, from a base for a statue of **Marcus Aurelius**.<sup>168</sup> This was set up, together with statues honouring **Lucius Verus** and a **Faustina** (possibly Domitia Faustina, daughter of Marcus Aurelius and Faustina Minor), by Publius Vedio Antoninus III, the prominent local benefactor who built the *bouleuterion*. It is likely that Faustina Minor and Antoninus Pius also appeared in this statue-group representing various members of the family of Antoninus Pius, including his adopted sons and granddaughter. What is now clear is the way in which Vedio Antoninus not only built the *bouleuterion* but also arranged for it to be decorated with an imperial statue-group. In this

<sup>164</sup> Burrell (2004), 27.

<sup>165</sup> van Bremen (2005).

<sup>166</sup> *SEG* 43, 24/ *REG* 107 (1994), 158–71. On the recipient see below p. 212.

<sup>167</sup> Gregori (2001), 101–2, no. 18 = *AE* 2001, 236.

<sup>168</sup> Kalinowski and Taeuber (2001) = *AE* 2001, 1898.

way he may have taken the opportunity to promote himself by juxtaposing statues of himself and his wife Flavia Papiane alongside those of the imperial family, as well as to acknowledge the support he had received from Antoninus Pius in his building projects which had been a source of contention with the Ephesians.

Excavations in the **amphitheatre at Virunum** (Noricum) have turned up a marble tablet relating to the building's reconstruction during A.D. 183/84, paid for by a local magistrate, Sex. Sabineius Maximus (incidentally the first known instance of that *gentilicium* in Noricum).<sup>169</sup> The inscription bears a prominent heading, stating that the work was carried out *pro salute* of **Commodus**, whose names and titles were subsequently erased from ll. 2–3. Curiously, a bronze tablet from Virunum set up by *cultores Mithrae* in A.D. 182/83, listing the names of those who had contributed to funding the rebuilding of the temple of Mithras, was also prominently dedicated in the same way, *pro salute Commodi*.<sup>170</sup>

Other recent studies explore the changing character of **epigraphic culture during the early Principate**, from the Julio-Claudians to the Antonines, as Rome's élite had to grapple with the constraints and possibilities of using epigraphy for their self-representation alongside the ever-increasing dominance of the medium by the emperor.<sup>171</sup> Public inscriptions played an important part, alongside coins, in communicating imperial ideology, particularly promoting emperors' claims to possess various virtues. Changing patterns in the promotion of different virtues can be traced, with *liberalitas*, for example, emerging in inscriptions and literature under Trajan, and then being adopted on coins issued under Hadrian.<sup>172</sup> The overall picture that emerges argues for the importance to emperors of their personal generosity in sustaining their position in society.

Two teams have independently published a new **rescript of Septimius Severus and Caracalla** to the *coloni Tymiorum et Simoen[tium]*, A.D. 205, which responds to complaints from the tenants of imperial estates in Phrygia.<sup>173</sup> It is a copy of a text on display in the portico of the Baths of Trajan in Rome, and consists of a heading in Greek followed by the rescript in Latin. The emperors promise that their procurator will take action against illegal exactions being demanded from the *coloni*, and recommend that the matter is referred to the provincial governor, if necessary. S. Mitchell observes that ll. 13–14 should read *aut si res maiorem v[indicam] desiderabit*.

Three **imperial letters** inscribed together on a marble plaque at **Ephesus** offer some interesting perspectives upon the public image of **Julia Domna and Caracalla**.<sup>174</sup> The first letter concerns the Artemisia festival and its privileges, but the second is the only known example of words attributed directly to Julia Domna. In a letter to the city, she praises Ephesus as particularly worthy to receive benefits from her son the emperor, as it is (in a new reading by C. P. Jones) 'a school for those [coming] from everywhere [or] a workshop(?)', τὸ παιδ[ευτήριον] εἶναι τοῖς πανταχόθεν ἐ[λθούσιν ἢ] ἐργαστήριον (ll. 13–14). This description appears to allude to the city's importance as both commercial centre and cultural focus for the 'Second Sophistic' movement. It is worth noting how carefully Julia Domna avoids giving the impression that she herself has any influence in the matter, despite Dio's suggestion (78.18.2) that she was in charge of sorting out Caracalla's correspondence at this time; she simply recommends the city as worthy to receive benefits from her son. In the third letter, Caracalla transfers the neocorate which he has granted to Ephesus from himself to Artemis, stating that he has referred the matter to the Senate for approval.

The account of a judicial hearing brought by the Goharieni before Caracalla, which was inscribed upon a **temple at Dmeir in Syria**, illustrates the power of the image of the

<sup>169</sup> Dolenz and Jernej (2002), 485–8.

<sup>170</sup> Dolenz and Jernej (2002), 496–8 = *AE* 2002, 1094.

<sup>171</sup> Niquet (2003); Alföldy (2003) = *AE* 2003, 52.

<sup>172</sup> Noreña (2001), 160–4.

<sup>173</sup> Hauken *et al.* (2003) = *AE* 2003, 1690; Lampe and Tabbernee (2004).

<sup>174</sup> Jones (2001b) = *AE* 2001, 1896, with revisions of *I.Epb.* II, 212/ *AE* 1966, 430; cf. Burrell (2004), 71–2.

emperor as judge.<sup>175</sup> Whereas the narrative framework of the account is in Latin, the verbatim report of proceedings is in Greek. At first sight this seems paradoxical, but perhaps it was deemed important to record verbatim what the emperor actually said (though there is some debate about whether the peculiarities of the Greek text reflect idiosyncratic usage by the emperor and his officials, or betray a clumsy translation). The decision to inscribe the account was probably designed to guarantee the rights of the Goharieni to appoint a priest for the temple of Zeus Hypsistos. The personal involvement of the emperor himself may have been a crucial factor in deciding to display the account so prominently; in any case, the detailed account shows the way in which the emperor was prepared to bypass formal procedure in order to support a group of villagers and ‘to make justice prevail over law’.<sup>176</sup>

An unillustrated catalogue of **imperial statue bases**, arranged by emperor and then by geography, extends from Augustus to Commodus (imperial women are excluded) and includes material down to *SEG* 2000 and *AE* 2001.<sup>177</sup> The volume is a feat of data-collection, which will be useful for further study of the practice of honouring emperors with statues. (Its data need careful checking for accuracy, however: some entries are disputable, such as *CIL* X.805, Pompeii, which is more likely to be a building inscription than a statue base, and some inaccuracies have crept into the entries, with L. Mammius Maximus at Herculaneum becoming Mannius). It is frustrating that the work does not provide any description of statues belonging to the bases, or include the full texts of inscriptions. A series of tables offers statistical analysis of the bases in various ways, complemented by histograms and distribution maps. The catalogue is preceded by thematic chapters on types of monuments, dating inscriptions, geographical distribution, pre-accession and posthumous dedications, and dedicators. The discussion of occasions for setting up bases is quite limited in outlook, concluding that no specific occasion was actually needed to prompt the setting up of an imperial statue, and that statues were often unrelated to important events in an emperor’s career (the statue at Pisidian Antioch celebrating Claudius’ victory in Britain (*AE* 2001, 1918) is missing from the catalogue; see p. 199 above). The passing comment that statues might be motivated by events related to the dedicator rather than to the honorand deserves more discussion.

Epigraphic evidence plays a prominent part in two major studies relating to emperor worship. B. Burrell has exhaustively collated and analysed evidence for the institution of the *neokoria* in the Greek East — numismatic, epigraphic, literary, and archaeological — in a weighty volume, which promises to be an invaluable tool for those wishing to pursue important subjects such as the relationship between *polis* and *koinon*, how the Romans ruled their provinces, the role of the emperor in the Roman world, and the respective parts played by the provincial élite, Roman senators, and emperors in shaping emperor-worship. At the end of each chapter dealing with each individual city, she presents a catalogue of inscriptions referring to the city as *neokoros*.<sup>178</sup> D. Campanile has argued for a return to the traditional view that identifies the titles *Asiarches* and *archiereus* of Asia as referring to the same institution, the provincial priesthood of the imperial cult.<sup>179</sup> For the West, our quinquennium has seen the completion of Volume 3 of D. Fishwick’s massive project to document and discuss **the imperial cult in the western provinces**. The overall theme of the volume is the organization of the various cults, and its four parts are entitled *Institution and Evolution* (a chronological survey discussing cults of Roma and living emperors as well as deified emperors); *The Provincial Priesthood* (a geographical survey, with a final chapter of synthesis); *The Provincial Centre; Provincial Cult* (a city-by-city survey); *Bibliography, Indices, Addenda* (this last section notable for taking issue in many ways with

<sup>175</sup> Stolte (2003) = *AE* 2003, 42 on *SEG* XVII.759.

<sup>176</sup> Stolte (2003), 268.

<sup>177</sup> Højte (2005); reviewed in *BMCR* 2006.12.07 (E. Bartman).

<sup>178</sup> Burrell (2004); reviewed by J. König, *JRS* 95 (2005), 255–6, K. Hendrick, *BMCR* 2005.10.07.

<sup>179</sup> Campanile (2004).

I. Gradel's *Emperor Worship and Roman Religion* (2002)).<sup>180</sup> For the provincial cult of the *Tres Galliae* just outside Lyon, he discerns three phases of development, based on the evolving titulature of its priests: initially an altar of *Roma et Augustus* was established, to which Hadrian added a temple of *Roma* and the *Augusti* in the plural, and then, as the fullest version of the priestly title (*sacerdos ad aram Caes(s.) n(n.) apud templum Romae et Augustorum*) implies, under the Severans the focus of the cult at the altar was switched to the current emperor(s). This phenomenon, apparently unique in the western provinces, is to be explained as a pointed reminder of loyalty in the wake of the defeat of Severus' erstwhile colleague, Clodius Albinus, at Lugdunum in A.D. 197.

The movement of a statue base bearing an honorific inscription for Aurelian in the guise of *deus* set up by the *Valentini veterani et veteres* from the museum at Valencia (ancient Valentia, Hispania Citerior) has revealed the existence of another inscription on its rear face.<sup>181</sup> Although this inscription is erased, G. Alföldy has detected a similar text there too, an earlier inscription in honour of **Elagabalus**, set up by the same dedicators in December A.D. 218. The dating of an altar from Aquincum (*AE* 2003, 1415) allows the death of **Decius** at the hands of the Goths to be dated more precisely to 27 May/1 June A.D. 251 (see further p. 236 below). A dedicatory inscription upon a marble slab, probably originally part of a statue base, to **Valerian** dating from A.D. 257–260/1 from Neapolis (Sardinia) reveals that it was executed in accordance with a decree of the decurions out of public funds. This raises the question of the town's status, which R. Zucca suggests may have been a *civitas peregrina*.<sup>182</sup>

A large limestone slab found at Henchir Thibar in Tunisia (ancient Thibaris, Africa Proconsularis) records the dedication in A.D. 296–300 of a **temple for the gens Valeria aeterna**, as represented by emperors **Diocletian and Maximian** (whose name is erased), and Caesars **Constans Chlorus and Galerius**.<sup>183</sup> The text appears to emphasize popular enthusiasm for the building project, which may have been started by the proconsul L. Aelius Helvius Dionysius, but completed by the town.

One of the most prized commodities listed in the Diocletianic Prices Edict, purple dye, has emerged as the main reason for the prosperity of **Aperlae** (Lycia) during the Tetrarchic period.<sup>184</sup> A road only a mile in length was built to link Aperlae to a large harbour to its east, along which were transported the piles of *murex trunculus* harvested from the bay at Aperlae, itself of very limited use for navigation. A Diocletianic milestone was even set up for this minor road (autopsy of the stone by S. Mitchell reveals, however, that it is not of porphyry, but of local limestone), an unusual indication of imperial investment in this region unconnected with military affairs.

An imperial letter from **Galerius and Maximinus Daia** of A.D. 307/8 (10 December–30 April) to the *quattuorviri* and decurions of Heraclea granting them city status at their request has recently come to light on a marble stele found in a reused context in the village of Rupite, in the middle Strymon valley in south-western Bulgaria (ancient Macedonia).<sup>185</sup> This has now pinpointed the location of the town of Heraclea Sintica, previously known only in literary sources, but this is by no means the only interesting aspect of this text. The omission of any emperors in the West from the letter's heading reflects how isolated the remaining Tetrarchs had become before the settlement at the Conference of Carnuntum in November A.D. 308. The letter also provides good evidence for the prevailing ideology in favour of urbanism, the idea that the growth of cities was in the interests of Rome (cf.

<sup>180</sup> Fishwick (2002a); (2002b) = *AE* 2002, 139; Fishwick (2004); (2005).

<sup>181</sup> Alföldy (2002b) = *AE* 2002, 851; Aurelian's text: *CIL* II<sup>2</sup>/14, 19.

<sup>182</sup> Zucca (2003) = *AE* 2003, 817.

<sup>183</sup> Khanoussi and Mastino (2003), 411–23 = *AE* 2003, 2010.

<sup>184</sup> Leadbetter (2003) = *AE* 2003, 1735.

<sup>185</sup> Mitrev (2003) = *AE* 2002, 1293 = *AE* 2003, 1597; Lepelley (2004) offers only a few minor emendations to Mitrev's text, but discusses the broader historical issues raised by it.

especially ll. 15–19: *quandoquidem rei publicae| ipsius intersit ut, provisionis ac beni|volentiae nostrae favore amplificatis| civitatibus, eiusdem r.p. florescat utilitas*), also in evidence in similar fourth-century inscriptions relating to the towns of Tymandus (*CIL* III.6866/*ILS* 6090) and Orcistus (*CIL* III suppl. 7000/*ILS* 6091). Unlike Orcistus, however, Heraclaea seems already to have had civic magistrates and an *ordo*, and may not have been dependent upon a neighbouring community. The town may have been unable to maintain civic institutions because of the uncertain conditions and threats from barbarians in the mid/late third century A.D. It is also worth mentioning that the letter ends with the word *feliciter*, which is engraved as if in italics, seemingly to differentiate it as something originally added in the emperor's own hand.

A large limestone block found at **Dougga** (modern Thugga), which has been recut into a circular shape, but which was originally perhaps part of a statue base, is the first example of a dedication to **Constantine** to have been found in this town (A.D. 313), set up by C. Annius Ceionius Anullinus, *legatu[s Numidiae?]*. It does, however, fit into a context of widespread enthusiasm for Constantine in the province as a whole, and repeats the official view of Constantine's victory over Maxentius as the suppression of a tyrannical faction.<sup>186</sup> The discovery of three inscriptions at **Aquileia** with a Constantinian connection, along with a reassessment of the city's topography, has led to the conclusion that Aquileia was the location of an imperial palace at this time, and that activity in the city shifted away from the area of the forum to the palace district near the circus.<sup>187</sup> The first is a highly panegyric inscription in honour of Constantine (*CIL* V.8269/*AE* 1984, 434); the second comprises two fragments from a marble statue base, probably for Constantine, found during excavations of the Large Baths; the third is a fragmentary marble base referring to Constantine's restoration of some collapsed baths, probably during the period A.D. 324–330. Various members of the Constantinian dynasty, who cannot be identified with any certainty, were also honoured at **Athens**, to judge from five very fragmentary Latin inscriptions, whose choice of language was surely influenced by their location in the Roman Agora.<sup>188</sup>

The texts of 192 Greek and Latin inscriptions mentioning **Julian** are now conveniently collected together in a monograph.<sup>189</sup> The catalogue is preceded by thematic chapters dealing with their geographical and chronological distribution, their classification as monuments, and what they reveal about imperial titulature, and legislation.

Inscriptions offer a picture of the fragile relationship between the Valentinianic emperors and the senatorial aristocracy of Rome, as the city of Rome gradually lost its position of dominance in the Roman world in a process that culminated under the Theodosian dynasty. In particular, the case of M. Iulius Festus Hymetius illustrates the shifting dynamics of this relationship; exiled by Valentinian I, he was then rehabilitated in spectacular style by **Valens, Gratian, and Valentinian II** in A.D. 375–378, by being honoured with a *statua sub auro* in Trajan's Forum in the heart of Rome, as they sought to compensate for their predecessor's hasty actions.<sup>190</sup>

B. Ruck's re-examination of the monumental form of a large marble statue base found in Rome's *Forum Iulium*, set up by the *praefectus urbi* Nicomachus Flavianus in c. A.D. 399/400 to **Arcadius**, leads to the suggestion that it once supported an equestrian statue of the young emperor upon a rearing horse, trampling down a prostrate barbarian, and the hypothesis that it was originally balanced by a second statue for his brother Honorius, flanking the entrance to the forum, as a symbol of imperial harmony and victory.<sup>191</sup>

<sup>186</sup> Khanoussi and Mastino (2003), 424–36 = *AE* 2003, 2014.

<sup>187</sup> Rieß (2001) = *AE* 2001, 1008–9.

<sup>188</sup> Sironen (2001), nos 1–5 = *AE* 2001, 1827–31.

<sup>189</sup> Conti (2004); reviewed in *JRA* 19 (2006), 703–5 (G. W. Bowersock).

<sup>190</sup> Niquet (2001a).

<sup>191</sup> Ruck (2001), on *CIL* VI.40798.

We return once again to **Justinian** (for his recently published rescript to Justinianopolis, cf. pp. 182–3 above), to note **acclamations** wishing him victory and long life, painted in red upon three columns flanking a street at Hierapolis, probably in connection with his promotion of the city in A.D. 535 to the status of a metropolis in Phrygia Pacatiana.<sup>192</sup>

Finally, a demotion. A new reading of an inscription (*AE* 1945, 97) which has usually been attributed to the late fifth century and thought to refer to an **African ‘emperor’ Masties** (*dux et imperator*), now appears to relate to a local chieftain (*dux*) allied (and loyal) to the Byzantine administration under the title *lim(itis) p(rae)p(ositus)*.<sup>193</sup> The last two lines of the text name the dedicator as *ego Vartaia*, who should probably be identified with the ‘Ortaias’ of Procopius, *Bell. Vand.* 2.13, 39. Accordingly, Masties’ forty-one years of service can be placed in the mid-sixth century (c. A.D. 539–580).

### II.iii *The Elite and the Governing Class*

This section is to be understood as covering both the élite of Roman society, effectively those engaged in public service (as senators, *equites*, or imperial slaves and freedmen), and the top social strata of provincial communities (particularly from the Greek East) who interacted with them as social equals, two groups that, of course, came increasingly to merge over time. Given the nature of the Roman epigraphic habit, compared with humbler members of society, whose only epigraphic memorial is usually an epitaph, members of these groups are much more likely to be attested by multiple epigraphic documents, which form the vast bulk of the raw material for many studies of Roman government and high society. We begin by considering works of reference, such as lists of office-holders, to which the surveying of epigraphic material is central, before turning to monographs analysing particular categories, and lastly individual notices on some newly attested persons and significant reinterpretations.

No new parts of the second edition of the *Prosopographia Imperii Romani* emerged in the survey period. Pars VII, fascicule I (containing persons with names beginning with Q and R) came out in 1999, fascicule II (S) in 2006. In 2003 W. Eck predicted that the last volume would be complete by 2005 and out in 2006;<sup>194</sup> no such hostages to fortune are offered in the preface to the papers from a conference held under the auspices of the project in 2004.<sup>195</sup> In the meantime supplementary material is now available on-line, namely a searchable index of persons and a file of addenda to the letter A.<sup>196</sup> Given that, on the model of the first edition, no indices (not even in the form of limited but useful fasti like those in *PLRE*) are envisaged, a searchable electronic version containing the full text of each entry remains a desideratum for the future, ideally one that would allow the dynamic creation of fasti and other indices that would automatically take into account the latest addenda. The conference focused on the reality and public presentation of Roman senators as a ruling class and the published papers offer a range of studies on the housing, honours, religion, and literary culture of senators. Most directly relevant in this context is Eck’s paper analysing the presentation of senatorial *curricula vitae* in the ubiquitous *cursus* inscriptions, drawing attention, for example, to the identical wording of this information in honours to the same individual from different dedicators. This provides clear evidence, if such were needed, of the honorand’s hand in the formulation of such texts. One aspect of the expression of senatorial status was, of course, the adoption of the formal dress code of the toga with broad purple stripe (*latus clavus*). An analysis of the use of the adjective *laticlavus* as it appears in inscriptions (noting that it is not found in the combination *puer laticlavus*) shows that the term was applied to the youthful sons of

<sup>192</sup> Miranda (2002) = *AE* 2002, 1414–16.

<sup>193</sup> Morizot (2002) = *AE* 2002, 1687.

<sup>194</sup> Eck (2003e).

<sup>195</sup> Eck and Heil (2005).

<sup>196</sup> [www.bbaw.de/forschung/pir/](http://www.bbaw.de/forschung/pir/) and follow links to ‘stichwortliste’ and ‘addenda’.



*equites* who had been admitted into the senatorial order.<sup>197</sup> This usage highlights their social enhancement and improved prospects in comparison with the preceding generation.

Looking at the interface between governed and governor, D. Erkelenz has produced a study devoted to **honorific monuments for Roman provincial governors** in both the republican and early imperial periods (second century B.C. to third century A.D.).<sup>198</sup> Among other questions posed is the extent to which honours stemmed from specific benefits conferred or whether they were an expected ritual. One phenomenon that emerges from comparison of all the evidence is the relative reticence in Latin inscriptions of the dedicators to mention a specific reason, relationship, or context (30 per cent as compared to 60 per cent). The analysis is based on a sample of over 1,360 individual honours, each one catalogued and categorized according to location, chronology, content, and wording (section 7.1), an extremely useful resource, even without presentation of the full texts of each one. Some of this material recurs in C. Eilers' study of the **Roman patrons of Greek cities**, which like Erkelenz's also spans the transition from Republic to Empire.<sup>199</sup> This focuses on the patrons of cities of non-Roman status in the Greek-speaking provinces and chronologically from the first traces of the phenomenon in the second century B.C. down to c. A.D. 100. The discussion is based primarily on an analysis of the epigraphic evidence for patrons, predominantly the texts of honorific statue bases erected by the client community. These often (but not always) celebrate the honorand as generic benefactor (εὐεργέτης) as well as technical *patronus* (πάτρων) and Eilers is keen to emphasize that such *patroni* had a specific function in representing the interests of their clients in some external arena. Nearly a third of the book is made up of several appendices. The first, a geographically arranged, city-by-city catalogue of patrons, is far more than a simple listing; for each entry the text of every testimonium (usually epigraphic and occasionally revised) is given in full, in the original and English translation, followed by a commentary explaining the arguments for attribution and dating. Subsequent appendices include a person-by-person key to the catalogue and concordances to the similar lists of J.-L. Ferrary ('De l'évergétisme hellénistique à l'évergétisme romain', in M. Christol and O. Masson (eds), *Actes du X<sup>e</sup> Congrès International d'Épigraphie Grecque et Latine* (1997)) and F. Canali De Rossi.<sup>200</sup> Eilers notes that, while the pattern of evidence seems very different between the Greek East and the Latin West, this may be a mirage created by the different profiles of the epigraphic habit in the respective cultural spheres. In the East the phenomenon seems to be primarily a republican and Augustan one. In the West, the phenomenon is hardly attested at all epigraphically until the early Empire and then reaches a peak in the Severan period. However, when absolute numbers of attested senatorial *patroni* for communities in the Eastern provinces and attested senatorial *patroni* for provincial (i.e. excluding Italy) communities in the West are compared against the respective overall numbers of relevant inscriptions, Eilers diagnoses a noticeable tailing off in the prevalence of *patroni* in the epigraphic record, even as their absolute numbers rise in the West. However, leaving *patroni* of equestrian status out of the equation may distort the results. One aspect of the continuing phenomenon in Late Antiquity has been examined by F. Chausson, who has compiled an epigraphic dossier of civic patrons in Italy and Africa who inherited their links *a maioribus* or *ab origine*.<sup>201</sup>

<sup>197</sup> Christol (2001) = *AE* 2001, 105.

<sup>198</sup> Erkelenz (2003) = *AE* 2003, 61.

<sup>199</sup> Eilers (2002) = *AE* 2002, 68.

<sup>200</sup> Canali De Rossi (2001).

<sup>201</sup> Chausson (2004).

Another study drawing heavily on epigraphic evidence is a revised version of *The Fasti of Roman Britain* (1981).<sup>202</sup> This is more than simply an up-date of the original. As well as taking the opportunity to take account of new material, most significantly, of course, the Vindolanda Tablets, A. Birley's new title (*The Roman Government of Britain*) reflects an intention to produce a handbook or documented history of Britain under Roman rule. Although the introduction on the format of senatorial careers is condensed, overall the coverage is much expanded, with new sections devoted to outlining the careers of procurators, the subordinate staff of legates and procurators and of late Roman governors and *duces*, civic government, and the evidence for imperial visits to the island. In short, it effectively offers an examination of the general structures of the government of a Roman imperial province, illustrated with the documentary evidence from Britain. A big change in the presentation of the epigraphic evidence is the expansion of all abbreviations and the translation of all the Greek and Latin texts, even the most formulaic *cursus* inscriptions, a process that has provoked a revision in one case.<sup>203</sup> Each inscription discussed is quoted in full so that, since so much of the evidence comprises honorific dedications and epitaphs, this book can also be recommended as a handbook to the interpretation of this material for anglophone students. A different category of epigraphic evidence offers a window into the nature of Roman provincial government.<sup>204</sup> In a study largely based on the analysis of **milestones**, M. Rathmann emphasizes the close link between the army (and their commanders) and the building and maintenance of the road network, and also the growing role of cities in responsibility for its upkeep, which he links to the switch to the league as the unit of measurement in Gallia Comata in the Severan period, and the use of milestones for imperial dedications (in the dative). Appendix 6.1 offers a catalogue of republican and imperial governors, within the geographical and chronological limits of the study, mentioned on milestones. Appendix 6.3 offers chronological analysis of the language of road-building and repair.

Moving from government in general to one executive action in particular, a single act of decision-making by a Roman governor is the subject of a new study by P. Nigdelis and G. Souris.<sup>205</sup> They offer a new critical edition, with commentary (in modern Greek), of the edict of the second-century A.D. proconsul L. Memmius Rufus of Macedonia to the city of **Beroia concerning the financing of its gymnasium** (*AE* 1998, 1213a–b, discussed in the last survey). The governor's intervention was required to provide for stable funding because the gymnasium had run into difficulties over the expense of its oil consumption. This, the editors calculate (pp. 83–7), amounted to a third of the gymnasium's annual budget. The monograph ends with a useful catalogue (pp. 119–26) of the editions of twenty-one other epigraphically attested Greek, Latin, or bilingual **edicts of proconsuls and legates** of the provinces of the Greek East (excluding Egypt). A similar catalogue (amounting to twenty-six examples) is provided by E. Meyer-Zwiffelhofer (pp. 342–3), whose study of the governing style of the proconsuls and legates of the eastern provinces in the Principate appeared too late for Nigdelis and Souris to take full account of it.<sup>206</sup> Other appendices to Meyer-Zwiffelhofer's study with significant epigraphic content are those devoted to listing honours to governors as saviours, founders, or *patroni* (entirely epigraphic), and that giving references to imperial *mandata* (of which eight are epigraphic).<sup>207</sup>

A more modest level of government is represented by a catalogue of and analysis of the evidence for the prefects appointed in the stead of normally elected magistrates in the municipalities of Italy (*praefecti iure dicundo*), when the latter could not for various

<sup>202</sup> Birley (2005).

<sup>203</sup> Birley (2005), 208 n. 70, discussing the status of the recipient of *CJ* 4.15.2 (A.D. 205).

<sup>204</sup> Rathmann (2003) = *AE* 2003, 158.

<sup>205</sup> Nigdelis and Souris (2005); reviewed in *BMCRA* 2007.08.31 (N. M. Kennell).

<sup>206</sup> Meyer-Zwiffelhofer (2002) = *AE* 2002, 66.

<sup>207</sup> *AE* 1974, 629; 1976, 653; 1984, 508; *IGBulg.* IV.2236; *IGLS* V.1998; *IGRR* IV.336 and 572; and the *SC de Cn. Pisone patre* (*CIL* II<sup>2</sup>/5, 900), 38–9.

reasons be present in person.<sup>208</sup> This sometimes occurred because the community elected a member of the imperial family in order to add lustre to the local fasti and, no doubt, generate an excuse to send a delegation to the imperial court. Of the 190 prosopographical entries, just over a quarter (fifty) are marked with an asterisk indicating that the individual was acting as a *praefectus Caesaris* or *imperatoris*. The evidence for these individuals derives almost entirely from honorific *cursus* inscriptions, for their powers almost entirely from republican legal texts, such as the Lex de Gallia Cisalpina and the Lex Ursonensis. Most prefects turn out to be local civic notables, sometimes having fulfilled some equestrian *militiae* or the office of *praefectus fabrum*. None of these is known to have reached the heights of the procuratorships but one was a senator. Generally more successful stories of social mobility are the subject of a major study by Y. Burnand.<sup>209</sup> He has published the first of a planned four-volume work analysing and cataloguing the **Gallic element of the Roman senatorial and equestrian classes** from Caesar to the third century A.D. Volumes 2 and 3 promise to be the heart of the enterprise, containing the prosopography and analysis of the contribution of the Gallo-Roman élite to Roman government generally. Volume 1 is devoted to methodology and, naturally, since much of the source material is epigraphic, much of the explanation revolves around the principles applied in interpreting the relevant *cursus* inscriptions. Similar processes of social ascension and political assimilation are examined in H. L. Fernoux's study of the **leading members of Bithynia's cities**, which includes a prosopography of senators and *equites* from the province.<sup>210</sup> This, however, is able to treat a longer period (from the third century B.C. to the third century A.D.). Thanks to the region's hellenization long in advance of its provincialization, there is sufficient pre-Roman epigraphic testimony to put the social history of the Roman period in some context.

In reconsidering the description of one Q. Baebius Modestus, procurator of the emperors and prefect of Sardinia, as *allectus inter amicos consiliarios* by Caracalla and Geta in an inscription from Forum Traiani (Fordongianus), C. Bruun assembles a list of thirty-five men attested as *amici of the emperor* in documentary sources.<sup>211</sup> He turns up nine examples that do not feature in the catalogue of J. Crook's *Consilium Principis* (1955), mostly from inscriptions and most of them, but not all, new finds since Crook's study. More procurators have come under the scrutiny of S. Demougin. First, with S. Lefebvre she has compiled a new list of the procurators of **Noricum**.<sup>212</sup> Second, with X. Lorient she has turned her spotlight on the careers of procurators of the **Thracian Chersonese**.<sup>213</sup> These are to be considered patrimonial rather than praesidial, i.e. as the administrators of an imperial domain, and not to be confused with the governors of the province of Thrace created by Claudius, who were initially equestrian procurators but were replaced by senatorial *legati Augusti pro praetore* from the time of Trajan.

O. Salomies has compiled a catalogue of **senators known for their eloquence**, who might be classified as orators and sophists, relying to a certain extent on epigraphic allusions to their *facundia*.<sup>214</sup> At the later end of our period, a catalogue of nearly 1,749 **stamped bricks** from late antique (fourth- to sixth-century) **Constantinople** does not itself provide much analysis of patterns of landownership or building patronage.<sup>215</sup> The identifications of *domini* and *officinatores* are embryonic. However, the many indices, specifically that of personal names, provide the raw material for further study.

<sup>208</sup> Spadoni (2004).

<sup>209</sup> Burnand (2005).

<sup>210</sup> Fernoux (2004).

<sup>211</sup> Bruun (2001), 361–4 = AE 2001, 1112.

<sup>212</sup> Demougin and Lefebvre (2002) = AE 2002, 1588.

<sup>213</sup> Demougin and Lorient (2005).

<sup>214</sup> Salomies (2005a).

<sup>215</sup> Bardill (2004).

Before moving from studies of social or functional categories and types of inscription to new epigraphic evidence relating to individuals, it should be noted that a resource of prime importance is B. Thomasson's on-line addenda to his *Lateralculi praesidium* (in *Opuscula romana* 24 (1999)), where he incorporates new evidence for provincial governors since 1999.<sup>216</sup>

Moving on to new inscriptions relating to individuals, here the ambition is more limited. Rather than noting additions to the evidence for individuals already known, the focus will be on previously unknown individuals or known individuals in previously unknown roles, running in roughly chronological order. As ever there are slim pickings for the republican period, especially from the Latin West. While the period from Trajan to Severus is, as ever, well represented by new material, there has also been an extraordinary cluster of new inscriptions revealing the names of new governors in the twenty years or so either side of A.D. 250.

The inscriptions relating to the legateship of **Gnaeus Manlius** in *Achaea* to the *imperatores* Sulla and Licinius Murena in the late 80s B.C. have been discussed on p. 197, above. The historical significance of the arrangement is the way in which it prefigures the later action of Pompey in relation to Spain and, of course, the general practice of the Principate.<sup>217</sup> One relationship between a consul of the late first century B.C. or early first century A.D. and two communities in Macedonia appears to have been severed. On re-examining three fragments of a **decree from Serrhai** copied in 1937–38 by Charles Edson, C. Habicht has put an end to a debate that has been rumbling on quietly since 1942.<sup>218</sup> The clearly surviving letters name the honorand as [---]inius Rebilus, who was commonly identified as a Caninius Rebilus and accordingly as one of the members of the family that produced three generations of consuls from the Caesarian to Tiberian periods.<sup>219</sup> This man attested at Serrhai was probably also the same as the Rebilus responsible for a testamentary gift recorded in an inscription at Thasos (Dunant and Pouilloux (1958), 80–2). Habicht's new edition resolves the discussion as to whether the man in question was one of the famous Caninii Rebili or an otherwise unknown **Varinius Rebilus** in favour of the latter.

H. Engelmann relates a recently published statue base to **Marcus Agrippa** erected at the port of Patara in Lycia (*SEG* 44.1208) to two other examples at Xanthus, a little way inland.<sup>220</sup> Given this clustering, and the simplicity of the stone, he suggests that all may be connected with a visit to this independent state by Augustus' right-hand man. The romantic notion that the consul of 151 B.C., A. Postumius Albinus, who was known for his philhellenism, acted as a *patronus* for the Delphians has been denied by C. Eilers.<sup>221</sup> The former interpretation depended on fitting his name into the lacuna in a dedication of a statue to Pythian Apollo by the city of Delphi to Po[... c. 8 ...]lbinus as *patronus* and benefactor on account of the salvation of the Greeks (*SEG* 1.152). Eilers prefers to see this as an honour to **C. Poppaeus Sabinus** (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> P 847), governor of Macedonia under Tiberius, in reference to his crushing a rebellion of Thracian auxiliaries in the mid-20s A.D. (Tacitus, *Ann.* 4.46–51). At the end of the century, once Thrace had been incorporated as a peaceful province, a newly published statue base shows the *boule* and *demos* of Philippopolis honouring as their benefactor the senator **Ti. Claudius Sacerdos Iulianus** of Asia Minor origin, who, before his promotion to the *amplissimus ordo*, had been equestrian procurator of the province some years previously under Domitian. Published together with this is a second text, a fragmentary building inscription from the stage of the theatre, relating to work on the *pyrgos*, which may refer to one of the projecting *parascaenia* that looks rather

<sup>216</sup> Thomasson (2006) [= [www.radius.nu/LP.Addenda.IV.html](http://www.radius.nu/LP.Addenda.IV.html)].

<sup>217</sup> Dohnicht and Heil (2004).

<sup>218</sup> See *SEG* 18, 350; 29, 775; 32, 843.

<sup>219</sup> *PIR*<sup>2</sup> C 390 (cos. suff. 45 B.C.), C 391 (cos. 12 B.C.), C 393 (cos. A.D. 37).

<sup>220</sup> Engelmann (2004).

<sup>221</sup> Eilers (2001) = *AE* 2001, 1840.

tower-like. This mentions a governor, this time a *legatus*, of whose name only the *praenomen* (Cn.) survives but who may be identified as **Cn. Minucius Fundanus**, a suffect consul in A.D. 117.<sup>222</sup> New information on the career of another senator of the Trajanic period has come to light at Trebula Mutuesca. Twelve fragments of a marble plaque retrieved from the site of a limekiln during the excavations of the amphitheatre have been attributed to **T. Prifernius Sex. f. Quir. Paetus Rosianus Geminus** Laecanius Bassus (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> P 938).<sup>223</sup> Rosianus Geminus was recommended to Trajan by Pliny (*Ep.* 10.26) and it seems that the recommendation was highly successful since he went on to fill the magistracies of tribune of the plebs and then praetor as the emperor's candidate (*in quibus honoribus candidatus [divi Traiani fuit]*). G. Alföldy publishes six fragments of an inscription recovered from a late antique context on the acropolis of **Pantelleria**, where a remarkable group of portraits of Julius Caesar, Titus, and the younger Antonia have also recently been found.<sup>224</sup> This new text was set up by **L. Appuleius M.f. Quir. Insulanus** (the *cognomen* is nice, given the context!) for his father, who had been adlected into the five equestrian *decuriae*, was made prefect of the *cohors I Ulpia Traiana Cugernorum civium Romanorum* and decorated in the Dacian wars, and held two other commands before obtaining the previously unattested office of *procurator Augusti ab annona ad Puteolos*. The article contains a valuable discussion of the administration of the harbour at Puteoli, which may be compared with similar measures for Ostia. The new career may be compared with that of **M. Vettius C.f. Quir. Latro** (*ILTun* 720 and 721; *PIR*<sup>1</sup> V 332), who seems to have been *procurator annonae Ostiae et in portu* at the same time as the newly attested procurator held office at Puteoli. Both terms may have coincided with Trajan's major reconstruction of the port at Ostia. Evidence for the presence in Britain of members of the lower echelons of the imperial staff (the *familia Caesaris*) is provided by the record of the sale and purchase of a slave girl found at the site of 1 Poultry in the City of London.<sup>225</sup> The surviving leaf of a stilus tablet diptych records that Vegetus the *vicarius* (sub-slave) of the imperial slave Montanus paid 600 denarii for a girl of Gallic origin, Fortunata, now at the bottom of three tiers of ownership, enveloping each other like a Russian doll. The likely date of Vegetus' presence in London is somewhere in the period A.D. 75–125, making him possibly the earliest *Caesarianus* attested in Britain. He, or at least Montanus, should be added to the late Paul Weaver's *Repertorium* of imperial slaves and freedmen, recently published on-line.<sup>226</sup>

The patronage of an imperial legate of the early Hadrianic period can be detected in the nomenclature of a later senatorial family from the south coast of Asia Minor. W. Eck has published a dedication to Marcia Volusia Egnatia Quieta set up by **P. Aelius Bruttianus**, who should be identified with **P. Aelius Bruttianus Lucanus**, a senator attested by *IGRR* III.776 (Attaleia).<sup>227</sup> The combination of the *praenomen* and *nomen*, P. Aelius, with the *cognomen* suggests that the family had received the Roman citizenship from Hadrian through the agency (*suffragium*) of L. Bruttius Praesens, who was governor of Cilicia, c. A.D. 117–118. A marble statue base found at Karacasu near Aphrodisias in the winter of 2001/2 has also shed light on the granting of citizenship in an earlier generation. This text has revealed important new facts about the peripatetic philosopher, **Alexander of Aphrodisias**, best known for his commentaries on Aristotle.<sup>228</sup> Approved by a vote of the *boule* and *demos*, the base was dedicated by the philosopher to his homonymous father, also styled *philosophos*. Both bear the Roman names 'Titus Aurelius'. Not only does this show them to be Roman citizens but also probably to have derived that citizenship from

<sup>222</sup> Sharankov (2005).

<sup>223</sup> Granino Cecere (2003) = *AE* 2003, 94, 579.

<sup>224</sup> Alföldy (2005).

<sup>225</sup> Tomlin (2003) = *AE* 2003, 1016.

<sup>226</sup> Weaver (2005), which quotes the epigraphic evidence for each in full.

<sup>227</sup> Eck (2001) = *AE* 2001, 1938.

<sup>228</sup> Chaniotis (2004a), no. 4 and (2004b).

the agency of T. Aurelius Fulvus Antoninus (the future emperor Antoninus Pius) when he was proconsul of Asia in A.D. 135–136. Of significance for students of philosophy is the fact that Alexander styles himself *diadochos* at Athens, suggesting that the chair in philosophy that he was known to have gained with imperial sanction is likely to have been the succession to the Peripatetic School there. Since the elder Alexander also seems to have been a scholar, it has been suggested that he may be the true author of the treatises on *Medical Questions*, *Physical Problems*, and *On Fevers* that have adhered to the corpus of the peripatetic in the manuscript tradition but are generally considered spurious.<sup>229</sup>

On the other hand, while the Alexanders have received promotion to Roman citizenship, an overlap between the Greek intellectual élite and personnel of the imperial bureaux has been denied by the reinterpretation of the dossier of imperial correspondence with the **Epicureans in Athens** in the A.D. 120s.<sup>230</sup> The general consensus of opinion has held the **Heliodorus** addressed as the successor of Popillius Theotimus to the Epicurean School in the second letter on *SEG* 43 (1994), 24 (ll. 8–29) to be identical with Avidius Heliodorus, *ab epistulis* to the emperor Hadrian c. A.D. 128–130 and prefect of Egypt in A.D. 137–142 (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> A 1405). On re-examination of the stone, R. van Bremen has proposed that the author might be the dowager empress, Plotina, rather than Hadrian and that the Roman *nomen* of Heliodorus ends with the rare –rus and certainly not –dius (see also p. 201, above). Further epigraphic evidence on the activities of philosophers is discussed in a series of notes by C. Jones. One note argues that **L. Flavius Hermocrates**, a philosopher mentioned on inscriptions from Pergamum (*I. Askl.* 27–8) should be distinguished from the Hermocrates mentioned in Philostratus (*VS* II, 25, 608–12, 109–12K), who was a major sophist of the time of Hadrian. His second discussion concerns a newly published text from Trebenna in Pisidia for **M. Aurelius Torquatus**, a rhetor of the later third century A.D.<sup>231</sup> In a subsequent set of notes Jones identifies the **Mestrius Euphrates** of *IG* II/III.3.1 (1935), 3945 as the philosopher Euphrates of Tyre, a key figure among the Stoics of his day (the late first/early second century A.D.).<sup>232</sup>

A newly published statue base from Perge plausibly provides the father, prior equestrian career, and *nomina* of the late Antonine senator (**Ti. Claudius Plotinus** (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> P499) and, in Arabia, a newly discovered milestone from the road between Gerasa (Jerash) and Philadelphia (Amman) leads to revision of the dates of **governors of Arabia** under Septimius Severus: P. Aelius Severianus Maximus in A.D. 193 and 194/5 (under Severus as *imp.* VI), Q. Scribonius Tenax in A.D. 196, M. Caecilius Fuscus Crepereianus Flor(i)anus before A.D. 198, L. Marius Perpetuus in A.D. 200–202 or 203.<sup>233</sup> From the reign of Severus Alexander comes new evidence on the Roman representative responsible for the refounding of **Uchi Maius** as a *colonia* in A.D. 230. Three fragments of the dedicatory inscription of the southern arch of the town, recovered between 1993 and 2000, have been joined with *CIL* VIII.26262 to reveal that the [*Colonia Alexandria*]na Aug(usta) Uchi Ma[i]us su[b] eius nomine auspicioqu[e] deducta per Caesonium Luc[illum] c(larissimum) v(irum) partes proco(n)s(ulis) pont[ific?]em v(ices?) adm(inistrantem).<sup>234</sup> This accords with what was already known from the *cursus* inscription of **L. Caesonius Lucillus Macer Rufinianus** (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> C 209) from the territory of Tibur (*CIL* XIV.3902 = *ILS* 1186 = *Inscr.It.* IV.1<sup>2</sup>, 104), that, while serving as a legate to the proconsul, he stood in for the regular governor.

From the middle of the third century A.D. comes a series of statue bases erected in honour of various public officials. These important inscriptions have the honour of being the subject of independent publications by two pairs of scholars in the same year.<sup>235</sup> **L. Egnatius Victor Lollianus** (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> E 36), already well attested as proconsul of Asia for a

<sup>229</sup> Sharples (2005).

<sup>230</sup> van Bremen (2005).

<sup>231</sup> Jones (2003a) = *AE* 2003, 1666, 1669.

<sup>232</sup> Jones (2003b).

<sup>233</sup> Şahin (2004), no. 293; Agusta-Boulerot and Seigne (2002) = *AE* 2002, 1569.

<sup>234</sup> Pianu and Ruggeri (2001) = *AE* 2001, 2086.

<sup>235</sup> Christol and Drew-Bear (2003) and Herrmann and Malay (2003) = *AE* 2003, 1670–1.

triennium under Gordian and Philip (A.D. 242/3–244/5), is hailed here as the ‘mightiest of rhetors’. Another text that alludes to intellectual achievements is one in honour of **Appius Alexander** (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> A 183), philosopher and procurator *ducenarius* of Asia under the Philips (A.D. 244–248), who went on to act as *procurator vice praesidis* in Lugdunensis (cf. *I.Eph.* 616 and 617). An addition to the catalogue of epigraphically attested *amici Caesaris* is one **Flavius Balbus Diogenianus**, who is described as proconsul of Asia and an *amicus* of the two reigning emperors (most probably under the Maximini in A.D. 236–238 or Decius and colleagues in A.D. 250–251). Also honoured are **Appius Rufinus Metillianus**, *legatus pro praetore*, and his father Attius Rufinus, the proconsul, who may be identified with a legate of Syria with the same *cognomen* in A.D. 241. Lastly **M. Valerius Turbo** is honoured as proconsul, at a date that should also be in the middle of the century, if he is the same as the homonym who appears amongst the senatorial *patroni* of the colony of Canusium in Apulia in A.D. 223 (*CIL* IX.338, 1. 27; *PIR*<sup>1</sup> V 146). At approximately the same time, a newly published milestone dated by the emperors Gallus and Volusianus (A.D. 251–253) named one **Aelius Decr[janus]**, possibly the son of an earlier procurator of Mauretania of the same name (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> A 167), as legate of Pontus and Bithynia.<sup>236</sup> Contemporary with Decrianus in Bithynia should be the activities of the legate of Numidia, **C. Macrinus Decianus** (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> M 23), according to the arguments of M. Christol.<sup>237</sup> He discusses the text of *CIL* VIII.2615, cf. 1739 = *ILS* 1194 from Lambaesis, which gives a relatively developed account of four campaigns fought by C. Macrinus Decianus and the *legio III Augusta* against four tribal opponents across Mauretania and Numidia. The stone should be dated to A.D. 253/4 and the campaigns to A.D. 252–253, suggesting that the legion had already been reinstated at Lambaesis before Macrinus’ promotion to the governorship of Noricum, which the text celebrates. Meanwhile a previously unknown **Asinius Maximus** was governing Dalmatia as a consular *legatus*, according to an altar found at Čačak in Serbia, approximately 80 km south of Belgrade.<sup>238</sup> This was erected for the safety of the emperor Aemilianus by the *cohors miliaria nova Delmatarum equitata Aemiliana* under their tribune Sextilius Marinus and the *co(n)s(ularis)* Maximus.

The name, or at least *cognomen*, of another hitherto unknown **governor of Pontus and Bithynia, Senecio**, is revealed amongst a series of weights naming governors of the province and *curatores* of the cities from the time of Trajan to Valerian.<sup>239</sup> Senecio is at the end of the sequence, in A.D. 260. Sometime after this belongs the equestrian (ὁ διασημώτατος) governor of Galatia, with the uninspired name **Aurelius Aurelianus**, newly revealed by an inscription from Iconium (*RECAM* IV.2 = McLean (2002b), 1). Another equestrian *praeses*, **M. Ulpius Iulianus**, is named in a memorial erected by the provincial *koimon* at Thessalonica to his daughter, who had by her death acquired senatorial status, probably by marriage. M. Heil places Iulianus’ governorship in the middle years of the century but Thomasson prefers some time later, bringing him chronologically closer to the tetrarchic *praeses* **M. Ulpius Urbanus** than to the mid-century *proconsul* **Naucellius Reginus**, both newly attested in Pamphylia (see above p. 188).<sup>240</sup>

The complicated matter of the development of the **praetorian prefecture** from Diocletian to Constantine is re-examined in a detailed study.<sup>241</sup> P. Porena seeks to harmonize the evidence of the dates and places of the various imperial pronouncements issued to named prefects that survive in the *Codices Theodosianus* and *Iustinianus* with the epigraphic testimony for the college of prefects, which expanded from the traditional pair to as many as five by the end of Constantine’s reign. Porena offers new readings for four inscriptions naming the prefects of this period, most significantly suggesting that the

<sup>236</sup> Marek (2003), 52, with n. 4 (p. 62); in fact the stone reads *per Aelium Dicr[eanum]* (sic).

<sup>237</sup> Christol (2002) = *AE* 2002, 1691.

<sup>238</sup> Dušanić (2003b).

<sup>239</sup> Haensch and Wiess (2005), 474–6, no. 12.

<sup>240</sup> Heil (2004), cf. Thomasson (2006), 23.57a.

<sup>241</sup> Porena (2003) = *AE* 2003, 64.

awkward order of the prefects' names in the dedicatory inscription on the arch from Ain Rchine in Africa Proconsularis is to be explained by a supposed iteration of the tenure of the office by Iunius Bassus (*PLRE I Bassus 14*).<sup>242</sup> There is no intrinsic problem in imagining that there is sufficient space in the fragmented text to insert 'II' after Bassus' name but the phenomenon of demission and reappointment to the prefecture that is found regularly in the later fourth century, when the office had become one with a relatively short tenure (two to three years), sits uncomfortably in the Constantinian period. This uncomfortable solution would probably have been unnecessary with a different methodology that laid greater weight on the epigraphic evidence than on that of the law codes, which is more susceptible to corruption by the defective manuscript tradition.

The same Bassus' son, **Iunius Bassus signo Theotecnius** (*PLRE I Bassus 15*) has been the subject of recent reassessment by Alan Cameron.<sup>243</sup> As the inscription around the lip of his sarcophagus (*CIL VI.32004*) records, he died in office as Prefect of the City, aged forty-two, on 25 August A.D. 359, proceeding to heaven free of sin, having recently been baptized (*neofitus iit ad Deum*). This famous sarcophagus from St Peter's in the Vatican is decorated with much-discussed Christian motifs, but the implications of the Latin inscription that adorned its lid have been overlooked. Cameron points out that the wording of the fragmentary verse epitaph (*AE 1953, 239 = CIL VI.41341*) indicates that he received a public funeral, a rare distinction in the mid-fourth century. Quite how the form of this ceremony for such a prominent Christian would have related to the traditional public funeral is an interesting question.

Finally a major new text from the fifth century has come to light in the excavations at **Caesarea Maritima**, having been reconstructed from eight fragments of a slab that was originally fixed to a wall near the headquarters of the governor of the late Roman province of Palaestina Prima.<sup>244</sup> The text comprises a heading in large letters that runs the full width of the stone, below which are three columns, the middle one particularly fragmentary. Nevertheless sufficient survives to show that the plaque displayed a **list of the gifts (*sportulae*) and fees (*ἀναλώματα*)** for services rendered by officials of the imperial government according to regulations (*τύποι*) of the praetorian prefects. As was normal protocol, the regulations are formally promulgated in the heading as if emanating from the entire college of prefects from both eastern and western halves of the Empire but the only prefect named is Pusaesus, who is attested in office as prefect of *Oriens* twice in the third quarter of the fifth century (A.D. 465–467 and 473). In content the inscription is strongly reminiscent of the appendix to the so-called *ordo salutationis* of A.D. 362/3 from Thamugadi (Timgad) in Numidia, a decree of the provincial governor, Ulpian Mariscianus, establishing a schedule of fees to be paid to various officials on his staff by those wishing to have a case heard by the governor's court (cf. A. Chastagnol, *L'Album municipal de Timgad* (1978)). In the case of the Caesarea schedule one higher tier of government is involved. Before listing the fees applicable in every bureau of the region, the *sportulae* due to the prefect's subordinate official (*ἐπαρχικός*) in charge of judicial administration specifically in *Oriens* are laid down. The original editors take the sphere of responsibility in question to be the entire *praefectura Orientis*, which of course did comprise the majority of the *pars Orientis* of the Empire. To be preferred, however, is the interpretation of D. Feissel (*Bull. ép.* 2004, 394) that sees the geographical designation as referring to the diocese of *Oriens*, to which the province of Palaestina Prima belonged. This implies that there would have been equivalent *ἐπαρχικοί* for each of the other dioceses within the prefecture (Thrace, Asiana, Pontica, and Egypt), whose specific remuneration may have been different. Unlike the Timgad text, where remuneration is stipulated in *modii* (of grain), which might be commuted to cash, at Caesarea each service is priced in cash terms (*νομίσματα*, i.e. *solidi*,

<sup>242</sup> *AE* 2003, 207 (Rome), 1685 (Ephesus), 1832 (Aqaba), 1988 (Ain Rchine).

<sup>243</sup> Cameron (2002) = *AE* 2002, 208.

<sup>244</sup> Di Segni *et al.* (2003) = *AE* 2003, 1808.



or their subdivision *κεράτια*, i.e. *siliquae*), perhaps reflecting the greater monetary stability achieved by the fifth century. The principal significance of the text lies in the documentation for the various stages of the judicial process, and the associated contemporary Greek terminology (much of it derived from or calqued on Latin), that it provides. The types of services listed range from the procedural (initial convening of a case by the *ἐπαρχικός*), and executive (nomination of a *tutor* or *curator* by the governor), to the purely clerical (production of documentation on papyrus), much of which is paralleled in the Timgad text and near contemporary imperial legislation (cf. *CJ* 12.35.18 of Anastasius, A.D. 492). This new find is also further ample illustration of the open way in which access to public services was sold in the Late Empire, an essential feature marking the ideological separation of its government from that of the Principate according to the recent important study by C. Kelly, to the mill of whose arguments this text adds considerable extra grist.<sup>245</sup>

#### II.iv *Military Inscriptions*

The most important new epigraphic evidence that has accrued in the last five years concerning military matters, and, in a broader sense, the administrative structures of Roman imperial administration, has derived from the publication of **newly discovered diplomas**. Margaret Roxan, who made the study of these documents her life's work, died in 2003, after witnessing the explosive recent growth of this material. The same year saw the publication of *Roman Military Diplomas IV* containing editions of 121 complete or fragmentary examples, which had come to light since 1995.<sup>246</sup> The final edition of the texts was taken over by Paul Holder, and he has since produced a sequel to the volume.<sup>247</sup> A celebratory conference to mark Margaret Roxan's achievement was held in 2002, and the papers, accompanied by a bibliography of Roxan's work, were published the following year.<sup>248</sup> Four important papers deal directly with the torrent of discoveries. W. Eck provides an authoritative survey of the new and previously known information, derived from details of the diplomas, about the entire procedure for citizenship grants to discharged soldiers. This synthesizes the results of many of the individual studies reviewed below in this survey.<sup>249</sup> S. Dušanić discusses the choice of significant imperial days in the calendar for military *constitutiones*.<sup>250</sup> P. Weiss surveys the present and future state of diploma studies, underlining the value of Roxan's achievement in making the large quantity of dispersed and fragmentary material accessible and intelligible to scholars.<sup>251</sup> Among the other papers there is also an illustrated survey of the monuments of early legionary veterans from the eastern and western parts of the Empire by L. Keppie.<sup>252</sup>

Individual studies of diplomas have appeared predominantly in two journals, *ZPE* and *Chiron*, although there have been significant contributions elsewhere. The following notes are not exhaustive, but aim to reflect the very large amount of new information that these documents have contributed to our understandings of the Empire in the first and second centuries A.D. Because the format of diplomas followed a strict pattern (naturally with significant variations), even very small fragments can be interpreted to produce important new information. A minute fragment of a diploma of A.D. 141/2 naming a consul identifiable as Tussidius Campester allows for a virtuoso reconstruction and interpretation of the *Fasti Ostienses* in A.D. 141–142. The deaths of **Faustina maior** in October A.D. 140 (*CIL* XIV.5326) and of **Faustina minor** in A.D. 176 (Cassius Dio 71.31.1) were commemorated in

<sup>245</sup> Kelly (2004), especially 107–8, 138–45.

<sup>246</sup> Roxan and Holder (2003) = *AE* 2003, 81.

<sup>247</sup> Holder (2006).

<sup>248</sup> Wilkes (2003) = *AE* 2003, 26.

<sup>249</sup> Eck (2003a).

<sup>250</sup> Dušanić (2003a).

<sup>251</sup> Weiss (2003).

<sup>252</sup> Keppie (2003).

similar fashion by sacrifices carried out by young brides and their bridegrooms, which were performed in Rome and then mirrored in Ostia.<sup>253</sup> A similar tiny fragment, datable to the consulship of T. Caesernius Statianus (A.D. 141), permits the identification of the then governor of Pannonia Superior from traces of the interior inscription as Statilius Hadrianus.<sup>254</sup> The evidential value of the precise chronological information on diplomas also leads to a revision of the *fasti Ostienses* of A.D. 160.<sup>255</sup>

Other texts provide evidence for **significant changes in imperial policy**. A Hadrianic constitution of A.D. 121 provided **citizenship** not to discharged veterans, but to serving soldiers, and included both the parents and birth siblings in the donation.<sup>256</sup> The commentary leads to an important analysis of the implications of giving Roman citizenship to individuals who were normally thereby separated from their natural relatives in terms of their legal status and privileges, an issue which underlies the remarks of Pliny, *Pan.* 37–40. Hadrian's successor was not so generous. W. Eck and P. Weiss demonstrate, on the basis of the growing number of diplomas under Antoninus Pius, that discharge from the auxiliary regiments did not lead to the grant of citizenship to children of discharged soldiers, except in the cases of those who had reached the rank of *decurio* or centurion, or in the case of ordinary soldiers (*caligati*) who could prove to the provincial governor that these were their own offspring, born before they had entered military service.<sup>257</sup> The emperor is thus seen, for a period, to have been more restrictive than his predecessor in citizenship grants to veterans.

A period during the sole rulership of Marcus Aurelius between A.D. 168 and 177 from which no bronze diplomas survive is interpreted as caused by the **effects of the plague**, and the military and economic emergencies which beset the Empire during this decade.<sup>258</sup> Diplomas in this period would have been issued on a cheaper material than bronze. There was a significant amount of personnel continuity among the witnesses to surviving diplomas issued in A.D. 167/8 and then after A.D. 178, which suggests that the procedures of issuing constitutions and the diplomas associated with them were not themselves interrupted, but that the recording of these processes took a more economical form. We should, however, be cautious in assuming that the plague was the unique factor causing disruption in this period, since the effects of warfare may have been similarly potent.<sup>259</sup> The interpretation of another new text shows that the emperor Philip did assume *trib. pot.* on the usual day, 10 December, not 1 January as had been postulated by H. Mattingly.<sup>260</sup> The growing body of data from diplomas shows that grants of citizenship to veterans involved two closely related procedures: first, the imperial decision to award *civitas*, second, its publication. On the documents in question for Philip the *trib. pot.* date indicates the first, and the consular dating the second. Normally there was a ten to fourteen day gap between the two procedures.

Some of the diploma texts allude directly or indirectly to the significance of **major campaigns**, which leave an echo in their wording or other details. W. Eck adds to the large number of diplomas already known from A.D. 70–71, which hitherto, with one exception for a soldier of a *cohors urbana*, have all been for men who served in the Italian fleets.<sup>261</sup> A new example is the first recorded for an auxiliary unit, for a Thracian soldier of *ala I Britannica*. These units were probably constituted soon after the conquest of Britain in the Claudian or early Neronian period. This Thracian soldier may have been enlisted in A.D. 46, when Claudius conquered Thrace, and then transferred to a British unit. Another new

<sup>253</sup> Eck and Weiss (2001a) = AE 2001, 2164.

<sup>254</sup> Alföldy and Lőrincz (2002) = AE 2002, 1147.

<sup>255</sup> Dietz (2002) = AE 2002, 1084.

<sup>256</sup> Eck and Pangerl (2003b) = AE 2003, 2059.

<sup>257</sup> Eck and Weiss (2001b) = AE 2001, 2156.

<sup>258</sup> Eck, MacDonald and Pangerl (2003) = AE 2003, 2057.

<sup>259</sup> Greenberg (2003).

<sup>260</sup> Eck (2002b) = AE 2002, 59.

<sup>261</sup> Eck (2003b) = AE 2003, 2060.

text provides evidence for heavy recruiting in Thrace and Pannonia in A.D. 62/63 to compensate for the heavy losses under Caesennius Paetus in the East and to prepare for the campaigns of Corbulo.<sup>262</sup> A diploma dated by L. Iulius Frugi and P. Iuuentius Celsus, the suffect consuls of mid-A.D. 115, is used to reconstruct the list of auxiliary units which had been transferred to the East for Trajan's Parthian expedition.<sup>263</sup> W. Eck has also collaborated in producing an important overview of the diploma evidence for auxiliary troops in the Syrian army between A.D. 119 and 145.<sup>264</sup> A major paper brings up to date our knowledge of the deployment of auxiliary units throughout the Empire under Hadrian.<sup>265</sup>

Four documents for the **garrison of Dacia** have been published.<sup>266</sup> The first of these texts is a diploma of 11 August A.D. 106, which is comparable to *CIL* XVI.160 in giving special mention to troops who had served in the Dacian expedition of A.D. 106. There are three diplomas for troops from the procuratorial province of Dacia Inferior, and one for a soldier from Dacia Porolissensis, whose praesidial governor *c.* A.D. 133 was Flavius Italicus. P. Weiss discusses the deployment in these provinces of *cohortes I and II Augusta Nerviana Pacensis Brittonum*.

**Troops based in Italy** have also been re-examined.<sup>267</sup> These of course included the fleets, whose diplomas are appearing in growing numbers. A discussion of a text for a Thracian Bessan, probably from Nicopolis ad Nestum, includes a useful table listing the origins of all the **sailors attested for the Italian fleets** between A.D. 52 and 160.<sup>268</sup> A diploma from a group issued to officers and soldiers in the Ravenna fleet includes the formula *quod se in expeditione belli fortiter industrieque gesserant*, which links this to a constitution issued on 5 April A.D. 71.<sup>269</sup> In publishing three new fragmentary diplomas of the Antonine period for veterans of the Misenum fleet, P. Weiss points out that the Thracians who served in the crews more usually came from the interior than from the harbour towns of Thrace.<sup>270</sup> Unexpected revelations emerge from a diploma for a veteran of the Ravenna fleet, commanded at the time by its prefect L. Aemilius Sullectinus, who made a dedication to Minerva at Lyon (*CIL* XIII.1770).<sup>271</sup> This may now be dated, as the diploma demonstrates, to the Severan, not the Neronian period. One of the suffect consuls on the diploma is C. Cassius Regallianus. He must be a forebear of the usurper who challenged Gallienus, whose name is known only in the abbreviated form P. C. Regalianus. His *gentilicium* was perhaps not Cornelius but Cassius.

There is plentiful new data for **provincial governors**. W. Eck and A. Pangerl publish a diploma for the *exercitus Germaniae* dating to A.D. 81–83/84, during the legateship of Sex. Iulius Frontinus.<sup>272</sup> The exterior text of a second diploma should be restored to refer to *exercitus pius fidelis Domitianus* in A.D. 95–96, as it was retitled after the coup attempt of A.D. 90. The earliest constitution to distinguish the armies of Upper and Lower Germany is recorded in A.D. 90. Two new diplomas relate to this constitution of A.D. 90 and a subsequent one of A.D. 152; the second is a remarkably preserved item complete with metal lace (the 'Verschlussdraht') which holds the two sides together.<sup>273</sup> A previously unattested governor of Judaea, T. Pomponius Bassus (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> P 705), appears on a diploma of A.D. 90.<sup>274</sup> A new governor of Upper Germany is identified from a small fragment, Sex. Lusinius

<sup>262</sup> Eck (2003c) = *AE* 2003, 2061.

<sup>263</sup> Eck and Pangerl (2005d).

<sup>264</sup> Eck, MacDonald and Pangerl (2002a) = *AE* 2002, 1746–9.

<sup>265</sup> Holder (2003).

<sup>266</sup> Weiss (2002b) = *AE* 2002, 1741–5.

<sup>267</sup> Eck, MacDonald and Pangerl (2002b) = *AE* 2002, 1733–9.

<sup>268</sup> Roxan and Holder (2004).

<sup>269</sup> Chiriac, Mihailescu-Birliba and Matei (2004).

<sup>270</sup> Weiss (2002c) = *AE* 2002, 1758–61.

<sup>271</sup> Eck (2002a); cf. *AE* 2001, 2161.

<sup>272</sup> Eck and Pangerl (2003a) = *AE* 2003, 2054.

<sup>273</sup> Eck (2004b).

<sup>274</sup> Cotton, Eck and Isaac (2003) = {non vidimus} *AE* 2003, 2062.

Proculus, who had been *cos. suff.* on 10 August A.D. 93.<sup>275</sup> Four fragments assignable to Moesia Inferior and dated to September A.D. 97 have been published or republished.<sup>276</sup> The governor, despite being named on the text in the form L. Pomponius Rufus, should be identified as Q. Pomponius Rufus, who was still in office in A.D. 100. Two of the fragments are probably part of the same diploma.<sup>277</sup> A diploma issued for a veteran of *cohors I Aelia Gaesatorum milliaria* from Upper Pannonia reveals a new governor in A.D. 159–162, Nonius Macrinus.<sup>278</sup>

Diplomas are now beginning to appear in larger numbers from **provinces for which there had previously been little documentation**. Many of the reasons for this uneven representation of troops from different parts of the Empire are discussed by W. Eck and A. Pangerl.<sup>279</sup> A new text for a Cappadocian veteran, awarded citizenship in A.D. 100, attests the suffect consuls M. Marcius Macer and C. Cilnius Proculus. It was issued on the basis of an original document designed for two individuals only, *qui militaverunt eques in ala Thracum Herculana et centurio in cohorte I Augusta c. R. quae sunt in Cappadocia*. This demonstrates that alongside the large bronze plaques set up in Rome to record the grant of citizenship to several hundred veterans, there will have been others for much smaller groups. The chances of recovering individual diplomas corresponding to the larger groups are clearly greater than for the smaller ones. Even so, the **diploma survival rate** for attested discharge ceremonies in no case currently exceeds 0.5 per cent. This explains why so few diplomas are known for soldiers serving in provinces (especially the proconsular provinces) with small garrisons. The Cappadocian example also shows that there would have been a significant number of citizenship ceremonies for small groups who did not, for whatever reason, fit in with the larger ones. Another Cappadocian veteran is attested from A.D. 94.<sup>280</sup>

We now have the first example of a diploma for a veteran discharged from **the troops that garrisoned Arabia**, dating to A.D. 142.<sup>281</sup> It attests two *alae* (*ala Gaetulorum veterana*, *ala I Ulpia dromedariorum Palmyrenorum milliaria*) and five cohorts (*coh. I Augusta Thracum equitata*, *coh. I Thracum c. R.*, *coh. I Hispanorum Cyrenaica*, *coh. I Aelia Classica*, *coh. II Aurelia Classica*), thus giving a reliable picture of the Roman military presence after the second Jewish revolt.

A publication of new diplomas for Mauretanian troops includes a table which shows the distribution of diplomas for soldiers who had served in **African provinces**: two for the *exercitus Africanus* (Numidia), two (+ one unpublished) for Mauretania Caesariensis, twenty for Mauretania Tingitana.<sup>282</sup> The first new text from Caesariensis is for a Dacian, naming also his wife, three sons, and two daughters. The constitution of A.D. 131 was issued to soldiers of a single unit, *coh. I Fl. Musulamiorum*. Such single-unit constitutions are relatively unusual (twenty-one examples listed) because the chances of diplomas being preserved and recovered are much lower than for constitutions issued to soldiers from many units at the same time. Despite the small number of surviving examples, such constitutions for single units would have been routine, not exceptional. A second text for Caesariensis, dated between A.D. 128 and 131, mentions the *cohors III Sugambrorum* for the first time in a diploma of this province. Two diplomas from Tingitana result from the same constitution of A.D. 153, making six in all, a very high number. They should have been recruited shortly before or in A.D. 128, the year of **Hadrian's inspection visit** to the province, and perhaps show that the provincial governor recruited intensively to bring his troops up to strength for this occasion.

<sup>275</sup> Weiss (2004b).

<sup>276</sup> Eck and Pangerl (2005a).

<sup>277</sup> Weiss, *ZPE* 117 (1997), 238 and *RMD* III 140.

<sup>278</sup> Beutler-Kränzl (2002).

<sup>279</sup> Eck and Pangerl (2004).

<sup>280</sup> Pferdehirt (2004), 18f., no. 7.

<sup>281</sup> Weiss and Speidel (2004).

<sup>282</sup> Eck and Pangerl (2005c).

Individually and cumulatively, new texts are providing the basis for wholesale revision of the **consular fasti** of the second century as well as revealing many new provincial governors.<sup>283</sup> A text found in Mauretania Tingitana dated to 12 December A.D. 133 or 134 for a veteran of the *ala Gemellina c. R.*, mentions a new pair of suffect consuls, P. Rutilius Rabianus and Cn. Papirius Aelianus.<sup>284</sup> Five diplomas have now been recovered from excavations at the site of Thamusida.<sup>285</sup> Many of the troops serving in Africa, as in other parts of the Empire, were of Balkan origin, and they show a marked propensity to return to their homeland after service, as illustrated by a text for a Dacian who had served in Mauretania.<sup>286</sup>

W. Eck updates the evidence for suffect consuls between A.D. 132 and 134, but his study is particularly helpful for establishing that the appearance of the term *proconsul* in Hadrian's titles relates precisely to the periods that he spent outside Italy.<sup>287</sup> The results of collating the evidence of several new finds allow for a full revision and presentation of the **consular fasti under Hadrian**.<sup>288</sup> P. Weiss adds a new pair of suffect consuls in office on 7 April A.D. 145 and discusses the auxiliary garrison of Moesia Inferior and Thrace at this date.<sup>289</sup> A diploma fragment from the Lower Danube region also reveals a previously unattested suffect consul, P. Caelius Optatus, in A.D. 167 or 168.<sup>290</sup> The texts of fourteen new fragmentary diplomas all yield new information about consuls between A.D. 96 and 158 and probably subsequently under Commodus.<sup>291</sup>

Some of these individual items have unexpected wider implications. P. Weiss has provided an excellent illustration of the richness of information that diplomas can provide.<sup>292</sup> The first of these (in perfect condition), for a Thracian soldier of the *ala I Thracum Victrix*, is a particularly large example which deliberately reproduced the appearance of the original bronze tablet posted in Rome. This had been placed on the rear side of the base of the large statue of Apollo, *in tribunal(i) Apollinis magni parte posteriore*. This was the statue, 30 cubits (13.30 m) high, which had been brought to Rome from Apollonia Pontica by Lucullus (Strabo 7.6.1, 319; Pliny, *NH* 4.13, 92; 34.18, 39). The text mentions the **praesidial procurator of Noricum**, P. Sextilius Felix, who was already in control of the province in A.D. 68 (Tacitus, *Hist.* 3.5.2; 4.70.2) and had been critical in securing the allegiance of Noricum to the *pars Flavia*. Tacitus' account shows him to have been a highly effective organizer, and Weiss argues that he was responsible for the creation of the Danubian *limes* in Noricum under Vespasian and for the foundation of Colonia Flavia Solva. The second text discussed by Weiss shows that M. Iallius Bassus Fabius Valerianus succeeded Nonius Marinus as governor of Pannonia Inferior in A.D. 153 or 154. The discharged soldier was a native of Andizetes in Pannonia Inferior. A text of May–August A.D. 92 for an *equus of coh. VII Gallorum* called Macrinus son of Acresio, from Syrian Apamea, shows that one of his daughters, unusually, was called Augusta.<sup>293</sup> The list of units on the diploma includes a reference to *ala II Claudia Gallorum*, previously unattested, but this may be an engraving error for *ala I Claudia Gallorum (Capitoniana)*. Elsewhere Weiss presents two fragmentary diplomas for veterans from Lower Moesia.<sup>294</sup> The first, dated 14 June A.D. 92, relates to the constitution published by Petolescu and

<sup>283</sup> Eck (2004c).

<sup>284</sup> Papi (2003) = *AE* 2003, 2034.

<sup>285</sup> Papi (2004).

<sup>286</sup> Holder (2004).

<sup>287</sup> Eck (2003d) = *AE* 2003, 63.

<sup>288</sup> Eck and Weiss (2002).

<sup>289</sup> Weiss (2001a) = *AE* 2001, 98.

<sup>290</sup> Weiss (2002a) = *AE* 2002, 1740.

<sup>291</sup> Eck and Pangerl (2005b).

<sup>292</sup> Weiss (2004a).

<sup>293</sup> Petolescu and Popescu (2004).

<sup>294</sup> Weiss (2005).

Popescu.<sup>295</sup> He provides a commentary based on a political distinction between those who were *dimissi honesta missione* and those simply classified as *militantes*.

In an earlier publication, P. Weiss collects a series of new documents for provinces that are otherwise little attested, **Africa and Mauretania Caesariensis**, and includes a discussion of the features of **later diplomas**.<sup>296</sup> Bronze diplomas were apparently no longer issued to most *auxilia* after the Severan period, and ceased to be issued at all after A.D. 254, with the exception of a small group dating to the Tetrarchy. Diplomas under the Severans up to c. A.D. 220 are of good quality, but much less attention was paid to the interior than to the exterior texts, suggesting that they were rarely opened. The visible cover essentially served as the valid authentication of the owner's status. Three small fragments of diplomas for fleet veterans, probably also all originating, like the great majority of new finds, from the Lower Danube region, illustrate the generally observable decline in the care given to the drafting of the interior texts, which in the third century could be seriously defective or lacunose.<sup>297</sup> The exterior texts were always carefully drafted. The validity of the document was guaranteed by its contents as a whole, and these were represented by the external appearance. It would have been very unusual to consult or check the interior text. An unusual late document contains discrepant texts: the exterior refers to Severus Alexander in A.D. 232, the interior to Maximinus Thrax c. A.D. 237.<sup>298</sup> A diploma found in Bulgaria was issued on 7 January A.D. 230 to M. Aurelius Bithys, a praetorian veteran from Marcianopolis.<sup>299</sup> The praetorians, like the veterans of the Italian fleets, still continued to receive bronze certificates at this period.

Military inscriptions other than diplomas inevitably make a less coherent impression. A survey of all the **inscribed sling bullets** found in the Iberian peninsula offers a starting point. Many of the examples that have been found name individual republican commanders, including Sertorius and Pompeius, and specific legions.<sup>300</sup> All the other texts relate to the armies of the emperors. Also primarily of relevance to the imperial army is the volume of indices (including an index of epigraphic sources) that has appeared to accompany the publication of the *Légions de Rome* conference at Lyons in 1998. In the same vein the utility of the late Hubert Devijver's prosopography of the holders of equestrian *militiae* in the Principate has been greatly enhanced by the addition of a volume of indices to the auxiliary and legionary units mentioned (*PME* 6).<sup>301</sup> Two recent monographs in the series of *Wiener archäologische Studien* focus on the epigraphic evidence for specific units of the Roman army. B. Lőrincz's study of the *auxilia* of Pannonia had in fact been waiting to see the light of day since 1992, but was held up by the financial problems afflicting the Akadémiai Kiadó in Budapest. It now appears in a revised form completed in 1999 and (happily) translated into German. Lőrincz compiled a catalogue of 510 inscriptions (including diplomas) that attest the auxiliary units normally stationed in Pannonia between Tiberius and the end of the third century.<sup>302</sup> The catalogue is preceded by a set of useful essays on the history of each unit and the auxiliary garrison as a whole at various periods. The diplomas (which provide snapshots of sections of the provincial garrison) aside, the inscriptions are organized according to the individual units mentioned on them, rather than geographically by findspot. In fact a number of the texts are 'exotic', either because they are *cursus* inscriptions of officers that happen to mention commands of Pannonian-based units or because they actually relate to periods when units were temporarily removed on campaign elsewhere, such as the epitaphs for the cavalrymen of the *ala*

<sup>295</sup> Petolescu and Popescu (2004).

<sup>296</sup> Weiss (2002d) = *AE* 2002, 1751–7.

<sup>297</sup> Weiss (2004c).

<sup>298</sup> Weiss (2001b) = *AE* 2001, 2162.

<sup>299</sup> Sánchez (2001) = *AE* 2001, 2166.

<sup>300</sup> Diaz-Ariño (2005).

<sup>301</sup> Devijver (2001) = *AE* 2001, 80.

<sup>302</sup> Lőrincz (2001) = *AE* 2001, 1627.

*I Flavia Augusta Britannica* from Apamea in Syria (nos 63–6) of c. A.D. 252. A full transcription of each text is provided but none is illustrated. By contrast a study of the stone memorials of the *legio XV Apollinaris* is lavishly illustrated.<sup>303</sup> This collects 241 inscribed stones that mention this legion, based first at Carnuntum, later at Satala. The catalogue provides not only texts but very detailed information on each monument and is organized by type. Most are various forms of epitaph (nos 1–195), the remainder is made up of twenty-two religious dedications, sixteen building inscriptions, and a handful of other texts. As with Lórinicz's collection, a considerable number come from beyond the immediate vicinity of the bases. In fact a soldier was buried as far west as Lusitania (no. 9) and vexillations are recorded in operation as far east as Caenopolis (Valarsapa) in Armenia (nos 236–7). Of a similar sort is a prosopography of the **centurions of the legions stationed along the Rhine** between Augustus and Diocletian. As might be expected the evidence is overwhelmingly epigraphic and for each of the 410 individuals the texts of the testimonia are given in full. Under the early Antonines three-fifths of these officers still came from Italy but thereafter provincials dominated, with over time an increasing proportion coming from the Anatolian provinces, Syria, and North Africa, although Gallo-Germans and Pannonians remained in the majority.<sup>304</sup>

G. Alföldy has christened the first issue of a new journal, the *Revue des études militaires anciennes* (REMA), with two examples of his characteristically ingenious reconstructions from the most unprepossessing of fragments.<sup>305</sup> He argues for the restoration of the name of the great general of Domitian's Dacian campaigns, **M. Cornelius Nigrinus Curiatius Maternus** (PIR<sup>2</sup> C 1407), in two building inscriptions. [*Ma*]terno c[o(n)s(ule)] is suggested in place of [*Pa*]terno O[- -] in *ILBulg.* 13 from Oescus in Moesia, of which province he is known as a governor from his funerary epitaph (*CIL* II<sup>2</sup>/14, 124). Identity established, the whole breadth of the text is reconstructed to demonstrate that a lengthy job description may better suit the space. He was perhaps, then, a governor of Moesia Inferior after the division some time between A.D. 86 and 89. An earlier phase of activity is illuminated by a fine but meagre piece of limestone (a stray find) from Mirebeau-sur-Bèze, near Dijon, the base of the *legio III Augusta* before it settled at Strasbourg. Building on a suggestion by Y. Le Bohec, Alföldy reads *M. Cor[nelio Nigrino | leg(ato) Aug(usti)]* towards the bottom. Above, in the traces NS with a deletion below he discerns Titus Caesar as censor and the *damnatio* of Domitian's name, so narrowing the date to A.D. 75–78. If this stone records the dedication of the completed camp, then the accepted chronology of the legionary commands of Nigrinus and A. Bucius Lappius Maximus, whose name appears on the brickstamps of the camp's walls, are to be reversed. Maximus was commander during construction c. A.D. 72–75, Nigrinus at completion.

Publication of the *ostraca* from the **fort of Crocodilo** in the Egyptian desert on the route to Myos Hormos on the Red Sea provides a similar kind of insight into the internal operations of the Roman army as provided by the Vindolanda tablets at the opposite extreme of the Empire both geographically and climatically.<sup>306</sup> The surviving texts all relate to periods between A.D. 108 and c. 118 and are of many different types, including commanders' circulars to the *curatores* of the various individual *praesidia*, official and private letters, and duty reports. Notably almost everything is in Greek, even if strongly imbued with military jargon transliterated from Latin as well as technical translations (e.g. κλήροϛ for *sors/sortitio*, meaning term of duty). Also of more than local significance is the new study (edited by Le Bohec) of the monument on which **Hadrian** gave his **speeches** to the assembled troops at **Lambaesis** in July A.D. 128.<sup>307</sup> The rectangular monument stood at

<sup>303</sup> Mosser (2003).

<sup>304</sup> Richier (2004).

<sup>305</sup> Alföldy (2004).

<sup>306</sup> Cuvigny (2005).

<sup>307</sup> Le Bohec (2003b).

the centre of the exercise ground and is plausibly taken to be the rostrum from which the speeches were delivered. Included is a critical text incorporating seventy-nine new fragments (*AE* 2003, 2020a–j) and a French translation, palaeographic analysis, and index of words from the *orationes*.

From **Rome** itself, a sixteen-line fragment retrieved from near the **Praetorian camp** lists soldiers who made a collective dedication on their discharge some time between *c.* A.D. 212 and 250.<sup>308</sup> Twelve had their origin in the Danubian provinces, and one each came from Tarsus, Caesaria Germanica, and Carthage. A tombstone of earlier date has been published for C. Oppius Velina Secundus of the third praetorian cohort, in the century of L. Baebius Sabinus, probably from the second half of the first century A.D.<sup>309</sup>

The peaceful condition of imperial Italy was interrupted during the reign of Commodus by the **revolt of Maternus**. J. Linderski produces an authoritative commentary on *CIL* XI.6053, the dedication of a statue of a two-horsed chariot by the Urvinates to C. Vesnius C.f. Stel. Vindex, who was military tribune of *legio VIII Augusta* when it was involved in suppressing this revolt. The inscription illustrates details of the campaign in A.D. 186–187, including the contested fact that the legion was liberated from a siege.<sup>310</sup>

There is a sprinkling of new texts from the **Balkan regions**. The damaged gravestone of M. Ulpius Imam[nus? D]ramni f. Batavus, set up by fellow-soldiers of *coh. I Batavorum c. R. miliaria*, and dated between A.D. 102/6 and 118, confirms that the unit was located at Solva in Pannonia.<sup>311</sup> An edition has appeared of the gravestones of military personnel attached to *legio XV Apollinaris* stationed at Carnuntum in Pannonia Superior.<sup>312</sup> A new fragment now joins *CIL* III.14507 = *Inscriptions de la Moesie Supérieure* II.53, a list of soldiers recruited in A.D. 169 and discharged in A.D. 195, containing part of the right-hand edge of column 1 and thirty-one names in column 2.<sup>313</sup> A third out of five known prefects of the *ala Moesiaca* has now been identified as Italian, probably of Claudio-Neronian date.<sup>314</sup> Two new military inscriptions have been found in Thrace, in the region of Prishovetz (ancient Neine), a military camp 35 km from the site of Scaptopara, the provenance of the famous rescript of Gordian III, which mentions that it was located between two military camps. One of the new Greek texts mentions an *eques alae Macedonicae*.<sup>315</sup> L. Ruscu publishes a dedication to Iuppiter Optimus Maximus set up in the Tauric Chersonesus by M. Antonius Valens, a soldier of *cohors II Lucensium*.<sup>316</sup> These troops, part of the most north-easterly garrison of the Roman Empire, were deployed from Moesia Inferior. Ruscu shows that the unit was initially recruited in Callaecia and that this stone probably dates to A.D. 120–129. In this connection we should note an important study by Rudolf Haensch of the connections between Rome and Chersonesus, based on a fresh study of the inscription set up at Chersonesus for T. Aurelius Calpurnianus Apollonides and his wife in A.D. 174 (*SEG* 1995, 985). He argues that Apollonides was the equestrian procurator of Moesia Inferior with additional military responsibilities for commanding a vexillation stationed in Chersonesus, whose Roman garrison was dependent on his province. As a parallel he adduces and offers a new interpretation of the lengthy verse epitaph from Caesarea-Hadrianopolis in Paphlagonia for Priscus (*SEG* 1983, 911), which has hitherto been viewed as a monument set up for a ranking soldier rather than an equestrian officer.<sup>317</sup>

<sup>308</sup> Benefiel (2001) = *AE* 2001, 555.

<sup>309</sup> Bertrand et al. (2004).

<sup>310</sup> Linderski (2003) = *AE* 2003, 598.

<sup>311</sup> Alföldy and Lőrincz (2003) = *AE* 2003, 1373.

<sup>312</sup> Beszédes and Mosser (2003).

<sup>313</sup> Mirković (2004).

<sup>314</sup> De Carlo (2004).

<sup>315</sup> Angelov (2003) = *AE* 2003, 1599.

<sup>316</sup> Ruscu (2005).

<sup>317</sup> Haensch (2005).



There is a range of interesting texts from **Asia Minor**. A. Comfort supplements the epigraphic record of the Anatolian section of the Euphrates *limes* with a new Latin inscription, carved in large letters in a *tabula ansata*, copied at the quarry which supplied building stone for a bridge over the Kara Su, 38 km north of the legionary base at Zeugma.<sup>318</sup> It reads LEG IIII SCHY / OPEROSA FELIX. The penultimate word might be an allusion to the burdensome task of stone-cutting and moving. The most remarkable new document relating to this unit is the statue base set up for M. Iulius Rufus, a centurion of *legio IV Scythica*, by the *collegium* of veterans which was resident at Ankara. Their colleague, among other distinctions, had been awarded the right to parade in a white uniform (*dealbata decursione*) by Domitian, an honour previously first attested for the Severan period.<sup>319</sup> Another centurion, a *primipilaris* of an unspecified legion, appears at Patara in Lycia, dedicating an unusual triple lampstand to the chief Lycian divinity, Apollo Patrôos.<sup>320</sup>

More dedications by soldiers are reported from **southern Jordan**, a group of texts recovered from the *principia* building of the fort excavated at Humayna, which housed a vexillation of *legio III Cyrenaica* in the late second and early third century A.D. They include dedications to Zeus Megistos Kapetolinos (Greek), Iuppiter Ammon by the legionary vexillation (Latin), Zeus Sarapis (Greek), and a god designated as Soter (Greek), and a Latin text mentioning a *praesentem legatum*.<sup>321</sup> A rectangular slab of red sandstone found at Madā'in Sālih, north-western Saudi Arabia (Roman province of **Arabia**), records the restoration of a *v[al?]lum* by the *civitas Hegrenorum*, on behalf of the welfare of Marcus Aurelius probably at some point between A.D. 175 and 177, and demonstrates a Roman military presence at Hegra before the Severan period.<sup>322</sup> The construction work was supervised by Amrus son of Haian, *primus civitatis*, the leader of the Hegreni, the local tribal community, under the supervision of Pomponius Victor and Numisius Clemens, centurions of the *legio III Cyrenaica*, and the auspices of the (hitherto unknown) propraetorian *legatus Augusti* Iulius Firmanus. The text demonstrates the interplay between the provincial governor, senior and experienced military figures under his command, and a leading personality in the local population which enabled Rome to control this outlying region east of the Red Sea, 800 km away from the legionary headquarters at Bostra. The use of the term *civitas*, applied to an Arab tribal group, is a reminder of the variety of social structures that the Empire encompassed.

A Severan-period text from **Lydia** reveals a soldier with unexpected cultural aspirations.<sup>323</sup> In A.D. 195/96, P. Cl. Thrasybulus, στρατιώτης/*optio*, set up a tombstone for his wife L. Amatia Prosdokia, daughter of L. Amatius Didymus a *comoedus paradoxus* from Alexandria. Thrasybulus' own gravestone reveals that he had not only been honoured by the emperors for military services, but was also himself an artist: ποιητὴν ὑποκρίναμεν σοφὸν ἄνδρα Μένανδρον, εὐγενέτην μουσηγέτην. Plutarch (*Mor.* 673b) refers to mimes and ἠθολόγοι performing scenes from Menander at private symposia. A new reading has improved the restoration of ILS 8875 = *I.Tralles* 189, the gravestone of a soldier of *legio I Illyricianorum* who was not *tutor* but *aiutor quaestionarius*.<sup>324</sup> The Greek text, containing unusual but not unparalleled renderings of Latin terms, was set up by his *contubernalis* apparently towards the end of the third century. Two studies concern the history of units in the Late Empire, the Cimbriani, the *equites Dalmatae* and the *cunei Dalmatarum*.<sup>325</sup>

<sup>318</sup> Comfort (2002).

<sup>319</sup> French (2003), no. 46.

<sup>320</sup> Onur (2001) = *AE* 2001, 1933.

<sup>321</sup> Oleson, Reeves and Fisher (2002) = *AE* 2002, 1570–3.

<sup>322</sup> Al-Talhi and Al-Daire (2005).

<sup>323</sup> Petzl (2002) = *AE* 2002, 1391–2.

<sup>324</sup> Christol and Drew-Bear (2002) = *AE* 2002, 1419.

<sup>325</sup> Scharf (2001a); (2001b).

## III CITIES

This section is necessarily arbitrary and heterogeneous. Most public inscriptions of the Roman world relate to civic, often to urban contexts. Many papers from two conferences devoted to **municipal élite culture** analyse this rich patrimony.<sup>326</sup> Many 'civic' texts have appeared in other parts of this survey, particularly the corpus volumes for individual cities or regions. The selection that follows is confined to groups of texts from particular cities which represent significant additions to local epigraphy, and others that throw light on institutions at civic or municipal level. It seems appropriate to begin with an important discussion of texts that typically refer to **honours voted by the *patris/patria*** to an individual.<sup>327</sup> Usually commentators have taken these texts as proof that the person honoured was a native of the given community. However, often the reference of the pronominal adjective (*suus*) or the personal pronoun (*eius*) is not to the honorand but to the honouring body and therefore is not probative for the former's place of origin. There are many clear cases in which Roman officials were given local citizenship, and such cities could be named as their *patris* without also being their place of origin. This has implications for the interpretation of a considerable number of careers, for example that of the prominent equestrian from Asia Minor, Ti. Claudius Vibianus Tertullus, who is more likely to be a *civis* of Pergamum (Habicht) than of Selge (Nollé). A new text for this individual has been found at Melli in Pisidia.<sup>328</sup> There is also a lengthy speculative discussion of his possible connections to Ti. Cl. Tertullus, consul, and his son, apparently named Ti. Cl. Vibianus Tertullus, who are attested as active benefactors of Perge in the late Antonine-Severan period (*I. Perge* I, pp. 205–27).

New light has been shed upon the status of **Cirta** by two inscribed statue bases, found together with another uninscribed base, seemingly *in situ*, in a courtyard of an Ottoman-period building, perhaps to be identified as the site of the town's forum.<sup>329</sup> The first base is dedicated to the emperor Constantius II by (the newly attested) Fl. Ovidius Athonus v.c. consularis. Its inscription has been cut on the rear face of a base originally inscribed for another purpose but then carefully erased. The base also has vegetation carved in relief, perhaps to be identified as *salvia argentea* (silver sage), a plant reputed to bring immortality. A second base carries on one side a funerary text of the second or third century A.D., on the other a record of the decoration of the town's *curia* by Caesius Aufidianus Polybius, a newly attested *vicarius* of Africa, in honour of Honorius and Theodosius, some time between A.D. 408 and 423. This new evidence leads to a discussion of the question of the governor's residence in Numidia, and the vicar's residence in Africa, with the conclusion that both were at Cirta.

From Spain there are important new finds from **Segobriga**.<sup>330</sup> The texts include a votive dedicated by a *magister larum Augustorum Segobrigensium*, a fragment for a large altar for Augustus set up between 2 B.C. and A.D. 14, and monuments for C. Calvisius Sabinus, probably *cos. ord.* 4 B.C. (as *legatus Augusti pro praetore* of Hispania Citerior, whom G. Alföldy slots into the fasti of governors between 1 B.C. and A.D. 9), and M. Licinius Crassus Frugi, *cos. ord.* A.D. 27. Other notable figures are L. Manlius L.f., *praef. eq.*, and M. Porcius M.f. Pup. *Caesaris Augusti scriba*. The last was clearly of high social standing and his presence might be explained by Augustus' periods of residence in Spain between 26–24 and 15–13 B.C. There are also honorific statue bases for *quattuorviri* of the town, and the publications include a plan of the forum showing the current location of the inscriptions. C. Heius Mansuetus, soldier of *legio I Adiutrix*, buried in Mainz between A.D. 70 and 85, is identified from his gravestone as from Arcobriga, a *civitas stipendiaria* in

<sup>326</sup> Cèbeillac-Gervasoni and Lamoine (2003); Cèbeillac-Gervasoni *et al.* (2004).

<sup>327</sup> Erkelenz (2001) = *AE* 2001, 106.

<sup>328</sup> Mitchell (2003), 246–8.

<sup>329</sup> Benseddik (2005).

<sup>330</sup> Alföldy *et al.* (2003a); (2003b) = *AE* 2003, 977–99

Celtiberia, which should be one of the Spanish communities which obtained Latin rights under the Flavians.<sup>331</sup>

Following his collection of the Christian inscriptions of Mérida (*Catálogo de las inscripciones cristianas de Mérida* (2000)), J. L. Ramírez Sádaba has now assembled a useful little catalogue of the sixty-six ‘imperial’ inscriptions from the same city,<sup>332</sup> by which he means those texts that mention or are directly linked to the emperors and the imperial household in some way. An unexpected delight is the inclusion of the one label (‘Agrippa’) and a series of workshop marks found on honorific statues, most variations on *ex of<f>icina Gai Auli f(i)lii* (nos 77–85, illustrated in pls LXII–LXVIII). A study of society and epigraphy in Roman Granada is largely an extended commentary on the religious dedications and funerary inscriptions of the city and its territory.<sup>333</sup>

There is a rich recent epigraphic haul from Asia Minor. G. Lehmann continues his series of papers dealing with the late hellenistic Colophonian decrees from Claros with a discussion of *androlepsion*, the occurrence of kidnapping in disputes between cities, to avenge murders and other inter-personal crimes, and argues that the reference to this in the inscription for Menippus of Colophon should not be linked to the revolt of Aristonicus.<sup>334</sup> A rich variety of new texts has been published from the region of Mylasa, including a building inscription with architectural terms (including a reference to ‘carved bacchic animal figures’), mention of a divinity called ἀγαθὸ(ν) κρυπτὸ(ν) ἐπήκοον (or -ος), three gladiatorial texts, a statue base of Marcus Agrippa, an altar for the *Fortuna* of Hadrian, and a statue base set up by the council and people for Arcadius.<sup>335</sup> In another group from Mylasa there is a text that mentions a priest of C. Marcus Censorinus, *procos. Asiae* A.D. 2–3.<sup>336</sup> A stele in a private collection in Fethiye (Telmessus of Lycia) with a twenty-two-line inscription, broken at the beginning, provides details of a territorial dispute. The land in question appears to have been outside Lycia, as Lycians, described as ‘foreigners’, are said to have come into possession of it illegally. One of the parties to the dispute is Claudius Antipatros, member of a known Rhodian family which was active in Lindos at the end of the first century A.D. The interpretation of the text is particularly problematic as its find-spot has not been identified.<sup>337</sup> An analysis of the customs zone of the Lycian League leads to the conclusion that tax would only be paid at a single port of entry to Lycia, and that a mechanism was created for dividing income from customs between individual cities and the Lycian League.<sup>338</sup> Customs issues are also raised in the treaty between Rome and Lycia (cf. p. 180 above),<sup>339</sup> and by a clause in the first decree for Apollonios of Metropolis (cf. pp. 196–7 above), which suggests that he achieved better terms from the royal officials of Pergamum for goods imported to his city through the port at the mouth of the river Cayster.<sup>340</sup>

Civic epigraphy in southern Asia Minor has received further attention. Seventeen newly found texts from Melli, a small city in southern Pisidia, whose ancient name is unknown, can be added to those already published in G. Horsley and S. Mitchell, *The Inscriptions of Central Pisidia* (2000).<sup>341</sup> These include statue bases of emperors from the agora, honorific inscriptions for members of the local élite, a dedication to Zeus Megistos and the civic gods, and the first Greek copy of a dedication known in nine Latin versions from the western part of the Empire to the gods and goddesses, set up following an interpretation of a

<sup>331</sup> Alföldy (2001) = *AE* 2001, 1541.

<sup>332</sup> Ramírez Sádaba (2003) = *AE* 2003, 868–75.

<sup>333</sup> Pastor Muñoz (2004).

<sup>334</sup> Lehmann (2003) = *AE* 2003, 1680.

<sup>335</sup> Blumel (2004).

<sup>336</sup> Rumscheid (2004), 53–4, no. 10.

<sup>337</sup> Köktürk and Milner (2003) = *AE* 2003, 1740.

<sup>338</sup> Schwarz (2001) = *AE* 2001, 1929.

<sup>339</sup> Mitchell (2005), 195–8.

<sup>340</sup> Dreyer and Engelmann (2003); cf. Jones (2004a).

<sup>341</sup> Mitchell (2003) = *AE* 2003, 1752–67.

Clarian oracle. Conjecturally, this might have been a clarification supplied by Claros, following the dissemination of the well-known, but undated, Clarian oracle concerning monotheistic belief and worship. This would have reassured adherents of traditional cults that their prayers should not be interrupted. An alternative interpretation is that the oracle concerned prayers to be offered to avert the great plague under Marcus Aurelius.<sup>342</sup> It is not impossible that the two interpretations should be combined.

Twenty-one texts from the southern Pisidian city of Pednelissos have been republished, based on autopsy of the stones during a recent survey.<sup>343</sup> The Pednelissans are also known to have erected statues at Perge for Hadrian, perhaps at the time of the emperor's visit to Pamphylia in A.D. 132, and for T. Aelius Aurelius Asclepiades, an Olympic victor and *demiourgos* of Perge, for some significant civic service (*I. Perge* I.11 and 179). C. Saliou clarifies a point about the topography of Pednelissos' eastern neighbour, Selge.<sup>344</sup> The term ΠΑΙΝΘΕΙΟΝ, which occurs in an inscription from Selge, *I.Selge* no. 17, can mean an urban 'island' in the context of city lay-out or town-planning, and could thus be used to denote an agora or other public square. Th. Drew-Bear and G. Labarre reconsider two previously known inscriptions from Pisidian Antioch, mentioning *homonoia* with the cities of Tavium in Galatia and Lystra in Lycaonia, and add a third verse text for Claudioseleucia, a modest city in the Phrygo-Pisidian border zone, west of Antioch.<sup>345</sup> Since the text describes Antioch as *metropolis*, a title that it only received officially after A.D. 309, they date this inscription to the fourth century. However, as nothing else in the wording points to this late period, it seems possible that the term *metropolis* was here being used informally at an earlier period.

In Phrygia, there are notable new finds from Aezani, where an extensive epigraphic survey has continued alongside the excavation and restoration work of the German Archaeological Institute. A publication of about seventy newly discovered gravestones from the city's territory supplements the quasi-corpus, *MAMA IX*.<sup>346</sup> The finds include a bilingual text for L. Mamius Fabius Longus, who was promoted to an equestrian career having been a *scriba quaestorius*, probably on the staff of the proconsul of Asia. Epigraphy on a strikingly different scale is represented by a long series of inscribed lead weights naming governors of the province and *curatores* of the cities of Pontus and Bithynia from the time of Trajan to Valerian.<sup>347</sup> One of these, inscribed in Greek, is dated to A.D. 236 with a governor's name, L. [ . .]ius Optatus, to be identified as L. Ranius Optatus, *leg. Aug. pro pr.* of Pontus and Bithynia, who is attested on an inscription of Amastris of A.D. 238 (*SEG* 48 (1998), 1502).<sup>348</sup>

#### IV FUNERARY EPIGRAPHY

Most importantly, the *lex libitina* from Puteoli has been re-edited independently by two separate groups of distinguished scholars. The first of these editions is closely focused upon the Puteolan inscription, offering a new text, together with a translation into French, a line-by-line commentary, and various thematic chapters dealing with the language used in the inscription, the historical and topographical context at Puteoli, and other broader themes, such as funeral business, economic matters, judicial procedures, and punishments.<sup>349</sup> It includes an *index verborum* to the inscription. The second presents a re-edition

<sup>342</sup> Jones (2005).

<sup>343</sup> Behrwald (2003).

<sup>344</sup> Saliou (2004).

<sup>345</sup> Drew-Bear and Labarre (2002) = *AE* 2002, 1464–6.

<sup>346</sup> Lehmler and Wörrle (2002) = *AE* 2002, 1393–9.

<sup>347</sup> Haensch and Weiss (2005).

<sup>348</sup> Mirković (2005).

<sup>349</sup> Hinard and Dumont (2003) = *AE* 2003, 336.

of the text, together with discussion of its physical form — heading, length, and layout — and how its overall structure succeeds in balancing both public and private concerns.<sup>350</sup> G. Camodeca offers convincing evidence for the inscription having originally been displayed in Puteoli's Augustan forum.<sup>351</sup> Of the two editions, the latter is quicker to detect errors by the stone-cutter, and bolder at suggesting supplements in order to produce a comprehensible text. A comparison of both editions reveals some identical improvements to the text and both agree on dating the inscription to the Augustan era; what is now required is an assessment and integration of both editions. The second edition presents the Puteolan inscription within a rich historical context. Part One offers two articles on the theme of the cult of Libitina and funerary groves; Part Two revisits not just the *lex* from Puteoli, but also the less well preserved example from neighbouring Cumae, with detailed discussion of the texts, as well as various thematic chapters (dealing, for example, with the organization of public contracts and the funerary business in those towns); Part Three starts by editing sixty-four unpublished inscriptions and re-editing thirty-one others relating to burial laws at Rome, and then turns to consider *iura sepulcrorum* in Latium, Puteoli, Romagnano Sesia (Novara), and as far afield as Hierapolis in Phrygia, including editing some unpublished inscriptions.

New **sarcophagi** have been uncovered at **Aphrodisias** (Caria) from the south-east necropolis, some of whose inscriptions include detailed injunctions against future reuse of the sarcophagi.<sup>352</sup> They explicitly rule out not only intervention by local authorities (assembly or council), but also intervention by the provincial governor, showing that Roman powers might get involved in local disputes even in a free city. A. Chaniotis makes a stronger claim based on this evidence, namely that the Aphrodisians must have expected interventions from the *proconsul Asiae*, and he contrasts this impression with the inscriptions of the 'archive wall', arguing that the Aphrodisians' much-vaunted independence was in reality rather circumscribed.<sup>353</sup> Another striking feature is the chronological clustering of these decorative sarcophagi in the period immediately following the A.D. 212 Antonine Constitution. Many of the sarcophagi belong to newly-created citizens, and assimilate them into types of portraiture traditionally associated with the élite, with the women displaying *à la mode* imperial hair fashions, and the men sporting 'sling'-type himatia. C. Ratté and R. R. R. Smith posit some sort of link between 'the arrival into Roman citizenship of large numbers of middle-level propertied families and the remarkable density of surviving sarcophagi of this period'.<sup>354</sup>

Patient re-examination of a **stilus writing-tablet** found in the nineteenth century at **Trawsfynydd** (Gwynedd, Wales) has revealed substantial traces (three sentences) of the only extant tablet containing a Roman will so far known outside Egypt.<sup>355</sup> The will echoes the proper legal terminology for such documents, and is the work of a Roman citizen, perhaps an auxiliary veteran. It provides a glimpse of the spread of Roman law even into a remote part of the British Isles. Part of another **unusual will** (c. A.D. 50–150) by a testator whose identity is not preserved has been found at **Büyüktaşlı Höyük** in north-western Cappadocia.<sup>356</sup> In it, the testator, who was probably a major local landowner who had obtained Roman citizenship, gives instructions with a view to ensuring that the tomb continues to be cared for in the future by his freedmen and their descendants. The text ends with an extraordinary curse against anyone who appropriated for himself any of the bequests or who damaged the tomb. The curse requires the malefactor to appease the

<sup>350</sup> Panciera *et al.* (2004).

<sup>351</sup> *ibid.*, G. Camodeca, 'Per la riedizione delle *leges libitinariae* flegree', 83–104, especially 85–7.

<sup>352</sup> Ratté and Smith (2004), 175–82; Chaniotis (2004a), 400–13, nos 23–31. For example, Ratté and Smith (2004), 176, no. 2, 177, no. 5 = Chaniotis (2004a), 400, no. 23, 405, no. 26, with comment 378.

<sup>353</sup> Chaniotis (2003) = *AE* 2003, 42.

<sup>354</sup> Ratté and Smith (2004), 180–1.

<sup>355</sup> Tomlin and Hassall (2004), 347–8, no. 27.

<sup>356</sup> Aydaş (2002) = *AE* 2002, 1489; Jones (2004b); Debord (2005).

goddess Ma in Komana as well as three local deities with such impossible offerings as nine white swallows and nine rams with golden fleeces.

V. Hope examines funerary monuments of the imperial period found in **Aquileia, Mainz, and Nîmes** for the insights they offer into **social status** in those communities.<sup>357</sup> She argues that ‘status dissonance’ and a sense of being outsiders in a given community may have been an important factor in the decision by certain groups (notably freedmen, *seviri*, gladiators, veterans, auxiliary soldiers, and *peregrini*) to set up striking tomb monuments, with tombs acting ‘as corrective mechanisms for status dissonance’.<sup>358</sup> This model chimes with the analysis by H. Mouritsen of the social composition of the deceased in the Porta Romana and Porta Laurentina **necropoleis of Ostia**, in which he argues for an even closer link than has been suspected hitherto between the tendency to build funerary monuments and the phenomenon of manumission.<sup>359</sup> He asserts that only a handful of these tombs at Ostia had no connection whatever with the world of freedmen, suggesting that it is misleading to draw a clear distinction between *ingenui* and *liberti* since the former would typically have been the sons, daughters, or spouses of the latter; he further argues that the third generation descended from freedmen is conspicuous by its absence from funerary inscriptions, in contrast to the second generation consisting of the first *ingenui*. In a subsequent article, he develops these ideas still further, making bold claims for the **primacy of freedmen in the funerary epigraphy of imperial Italy** more generally.<sup>360</sup> He concludes that ‘sentimental’ reasons were uppermost in explaining why epitaphs were inscribed, but that it was their unique position in society that prompted freedmen specifically to inscribe epitaphs in response to the common experience of losing loved ones. This is a strikingly one-dimensional approach to funerary epigraphy, but the principle that we should look for distinct epigraphic cultures within different sections of society is surely one that could bear further fruit.

By contrast, F. Feraudi-Gruénais starts out by questioning whether funerary inscriptions were used for **self-representation** in her examination of thirty-two tombs from necropoleis at **Rome**. She draws some interesting conclusions from a detailed consideration of these epitaphs in their architectural context. In particular, she puts to the test the assumption that the central niche opposite the entrance to a *columbarium* is usually reserved for the most significant burial. Although she shows that this assumption is justified in some cases, the actual hierarchy of burials can defy expectation. In the tomb of the Octavii on the Via Triumphalis (K26), for example, the prime burial place is reserved for a six-year-old girl, Octavia Paulina: her death evidently prompted the construction of this tomb, as shown by the fact that the painting around this central niche is appropriate to her. So, we do find a hierarchy of burial, but not the one we might expect. Instead, we receive a poignant echo of this family’s grief for a child. The other important methodological point illustrated by this book is that whilst a tomb may originally have been planned as a unit, expressing a family’s self-representation and hierarchy, it gradually lost this over time.<sup>361</sup> In an earlier book, F. Feraudi-Gruénais catalogues surviving traces of the **decoration inside eighty-four tombs at Rome** during the imperial period.<sup>362</sup> She assesses the extent to which funerary art is distinctive from domestic art, and how closely linked it is to social status. Inscriptions play a relatively minor role in her work, but our understanding of them in their monumental context benefits from integrating them into their artistic surroundings. It is worth drawing attention to K11, the *columbarium* of C. Scribonius Menophilus, which was found in 1984. It originally contained roughly 500 niches, each accompanied by a painted *tabula ansata*, which seems to have remained blank.

<sup>357</sup> Hope (2001) = *AE* 2001, 149.

<sup>358</sup> Hope (2001), 59.

<sup>359</sup> Mouritsen (2004).

<sup>360</sup> Mouritsen (2005).

<sup>361</sup> Feraudi-Gruénais (2003) = *AE* 2003, 189.

<sup>362</sup> Feraudi-Gruénais (2001).

The inscriptions from the necropolis of the *Via Triumphalis* uncovered beneath the Vatican car park were originally published in 1973, but the latest volume devoted to this necropolis (primarily publishing small finds from the excavations of 1956–58) offers some valuable observations on their significance for social history.<sup>363</sup> In particular, it is possible that there was a link between the burial of some imperial slaves and the nearby location of the imperially-owned *horti Serviliani*, suggesting a rare instance where choice of burial place may have been influenced by the location of a workplace. Another factor influencing where particular individuals might be buried is illustrated by the stele at Mutina of C. Petronius Mantes, *aurifex* and *decurio*, who provides a burial space specifically for the town's goldsmiths and their wives.<sup>364</sup>

M. Handley offers an analysis of the significance of epitaphs for our understanding of the culture and society of **Gaul and Spain between A.D. 300 and 750**, working closely from a database of over 4,000 inscriptions from these provinces.<sup>365</sup> His work on late antique and early medieval epigraphic culture is firmly based upon an appreciation of the earlier imperial period, and offers thought-provoking reading for Roman historians as well as for specialists in the later periods. He draws attention to the limitations of inscriptions for analyses of demography, and provides many cogent reasons for resisting the temptation to assume that the epigraphy of the city of Rome was in any significant way representative of the West as a whole. Instead, he demonstrates clearly the need to study regional patterns in epigraphic commemoration. He offers fresh perspectives on the rise and fall of the epigraphic habit during this period, as well as interesting discussions on attitudes to time revealed in epitaphs, and on the limitations of relying too heavily on hagiography, to the exclusion of inscriptions, in exploring the cult of saints. An appendix presenting 147 addenda to *PLRE* is updated in a subsequent article.<sup>366</sup>

**Local patterns in funerary monuments** emerge clearly from the publication of inscribed texts as integral parts of their monuments, within the context of individual sites. Careful cataloguing of funerary monuments from Emerita and Dougga reveals distinctive local trends. At the *colonia* of Emerita (Lusitania) we find a distinctive set of forty-one monuments, mostly dating from *c.* A.D. 120–250, which are inspired by funerary commemoration in Rome of the first century A.D., but which are executed according to local artistic traditions. They consist of funerary altars displaying a portrait bust of the deceased within an architectural framework, accompanied by an inscription.<sup>367</sup> Although this type of monument is not exclusive to a particular social group in the *colonia*, it does seem to have been favoured by people on the fringes of society, such as freedmen, immigrants, slaves, and *alumni*, arguably as a means of integrating themselves into the local community by expressing their sense of being Roman (recalling the conclusions of V. Hope, mentioned above). By contrast, the large corpus of funerary inscriptions from Dougga for the most part consists of unadorned funerary altars and stelae, which display a local style of lettering.<sup>368</sup> The distinctive dual community of *peregrini* alongside *coloni* at Dougga is reflected in the onomastic patterns of the epitaphs. One of only a handful of more elaborate monuments depicts two figures, a male and a female, within a pedimented building. Only the letters D M S are preserved as an inscription, but M. Khanoussi and L. Maurin argue that the character of this monument suggests that it does not belong to locals, but to immigrants, perhaps from Gaul (no. 1517). One of the other rare decorated examples belongs to an army veteran, A. Pompeius Salvius, who chose to emphasize his former occupation by having a spear, shield, helmet, and sword depicted on his tombstone (no. 967). In both of these cases, therefore, we appear to have individuals choosing to import alien

<sup>363</sup> Steinby (2003), 25–8 = *AE* 2003, 188.

<sup>364</sup> Pellegrini and Pulini (2003), 44, no. 14 = *AE* 2003, 654.

<sup>365</sup> Handley (2003) = *AE* 2003, 160.

<sup>366</sup> Handley (2005).

<sup>367</sup> Edmondson *et al.* (2001).

<sup>368</sup> Khanoussi and Maurin (2002) = *AE* 2002, 1683.

monumental habits into the locality. On a somewhat smaller scale, a brief study of funerary monuments from **Pannonia** reveals that the nuclear family is strikingly conspicuous in that region.<sup>369</sup> By contrast, a small group of newly published tombstones from **north-eastern Lydia** are distinguished by their form — pedimented stelae with acroteria, with a laurel wreath carved prominently above the inscription — and content, since each one is dated to the Sullan era, and shares the same funerary formula of honouring the deceased.<sup>370</sup> One of these (no. 9) was set up in A.D. 239 by the *thiasos mousikon* in honour of (presumably) one of their members, Primigenes.

The same sort of approach has been fruitfully applied to the whole region of the **Hawrān** (southern Syria).<sup>371</sup> Two detailed volumes catalogue and analyse over 100 funerary monuments and some 400 epitaphs dating from the first century B.C. to the seventh century A.D., of which about a third are previously unpublished. Although (or perhaps because) inscriptions are not the main focus of the analysis, a rich picture of a culture that combined both regional features and wider Roman ones emerges, with Graeco-Roman influences being much more evident than previously thought. Some metrical inscriptions even echo verses in the Palatine Anthology, and the virtues of the deceased are much the same as those commemorated elsewhere in the Empire (II, pp. 165–75). Similarities with Hellenistic practice also emerge in the case of a handful of benefactors who are granted tombs decreed by the city. Another noteworthy characteristic is that Christian epitaphs of the fourth and fifth centuries sometimes allude to pagan deities. Sartre-Fauriat argues that this does not necessarily indicate a survival of pagan religion, but rather that it represents the desire to align oneself with classical culture, and Greek poetry in particular (II, pp. 217–18).

An examination of **funerary altars from Lower Macedonia**, whose emphasis is on relief sculpture, but which includes consideration of the epitaphs as well, provides another interesting case-study of the possibilities for gauging cultural influences in a particular region.<sup>372</sup> It presents 134 altars (including some *inedita*) from the second and first half of the third centuries A.D. The vast majority of them are inscribed, and all but one of them (bilingual in Greek and Latin) bear inscriptions in Greek. Chapter 7, devoted to inscriptions on the altars, reveals a mixture of cultural influences. Some aspects of the epitaphs are influenced by practice in the Latin-speaking West, such as including the name of the dedicator as well as that of the deceased, specifying the length of the lifetime, and the use of the epithet *γλυκύτατος* as the equivalent of the very common *dulcissimus* in Latin epitaphs. Other aspects, however, are influenced by Hellenistic traditions, notably the honouring of the deceased as a hero, which occurs in a few examples from Beroia. In yet other respects, we see a distinctively local characteristic, namely the use of the formula *μνήμης χάριν*. Given that sixty-one of the altars commemorated *peregrini* and only forty-one Roman citizens, the strong influence of northern Italian epigraphic culture is striking. Overall, this study illustrates nicely how both the relief sculptures and the inscribed epitaphs on the funerary altars reveal a mixture of Roman and Hellenistic influences, reflecting the transitional geographical location of Macedonia between East and West.

The onomastics in epitaphs continue to paint a varied picture of the degree to which local populations adopted Roman naming patterns. A group of sixteen funerary monuments from **Lambaesis** (Numidia), salvaged during a ground-clearing programme beyond the area of the town protected for proper excavation, contains a preponderance of Punic names, suggesting that the population was not completely Romanized.<sup>373</sup> By contrast, of twelve epitaphs published from **Tubusuptu** (Mauretania Sitifensis), only two contain names of African origin, suggesting that the population there was very Romanized

<sup>369</sup> Boatwright (2005).

<sup>370</sup> Petzl (2005), nos 2–9.

<sup>371</sup> Sartre-Fauriat (2001) = *AE* 2001, 1945.

<sup>372</sup> Spiliopoulou-Donderer (2002) = *AE* 2002, 1274.

<sup>373</sup> Benseddik (2001) = *AE* 2001, 2090–2105.



by the second century A.D.<sup>374</sup> Indicative of this too is the mention of a woman being enrolled in a Roman voting-tribe (p. 242 no. 9 = *AE* 2002, 1703). We should, however, perhaps be cautious before assuming that such small samples of evidence should be regarded as representative of these towns as a whole. Further methodological problems in detecting ‘Romanization’ from North African epitaphs are concisely presented by M. Corbier.<sup>375</sup>

A study of the use of  $\Theta$  in funerary inscriptions traces how it was used in two separate ways in different regions.<sup>376</sup> In Rome, Narbonne, and Lugdunum the symbol is used to designate individuals who were already deceased at the time of a multi-user monument being erected. A good example of this is a collective funerary inscription (first century A.D., perhaps from Rome), which reveals that sixteen freedmen and freedwomen of a C. Sergius and his sister Sergia together bought a sizeable plot of land, for their collective tomb.<sup>377</sup> The names of four of them are preceded by the symbol  $\Theta$ , indicating that they were already deceased by that time. In one case at Narbonne (*CIL* XII.4581), however, all the names on an epitaph were preceded by  $\Theta$ , even the woman setting up the tomb; in this case, it seems that the symbol may have been added once the individuals died. It might also be used for gladiators and soldiers killed in action. By contrast, in Noricum, Pannonia, and Arles the symbol appears as a substitute for the word *obitus*, within the regional formula *obitus annorum tot*. An analysis of  $\Theta$  in first-century B.C. epitaphs seems to indicate, however, that a Greek word like  $\Theta$ ( $\text{AN}\Omega\text{N}$ ) underpinned its use, and that it originated as an abbreviation rather than as a symbol.<sup>378</sup>

All of this creates a picture of distinctive local epigraphic cultures emerging in particularly sharp focus in the context of funerary monuments.

The possibilities and constraints involved in using epitaphs to trace **social status and family relationships** are illustrated lucidly by P. Weaver in an article based upon four case-studies from Rome of the first and second centuries A.D.<sup>379</sup> He demonstrates that *tria nomina* are not necessarily an indication of citizenship, but may entail Junian Latin status; that the use of a single name is not necessarily indicative of slave status; and even that the words *verna sua* are not always unambiguous. He also shows the possibilities of tracing complex family relationships, including remarriage, within the *familia Caesaris*.

Among the newly published inscriptions in the Caelian Antiquarian (Rome) three epitaphs are worth mentioning: for L. Iulius Philinus, **doctor to Augustus and Livia**;<sup>380</sup> for C. Sentius Athenodorus, **geometres** (only the second example at Rome of an epitaph for a land surveyor);<sup>381</sup> and a verse lament in hexameters for the **charioteer Sex. Vistilius Helenus**. He died some time in the first half of the first century A.D., aged only thirteen years and eight months, but had already been under the tutelage of trainers in two different chariot teams, the Greens and the Blues.<sup>382</sup> M. Williams offers a new appreciation of the social position of the deceased **bubularus Alexander**, whose unusual funerary plaque (round in shape, upon pink marble), inscribed in Latin but decorated with a menorah, was found in the Jewish Vigna Randanini catacomb.<sup>383</sup> In the past, Alexander has been considered as a humble sausage-seller, but Williams argues that he was rather a prestigious purveyor of high quality kosher meat based in the capital’s *Macellum Magnum*, perhaps supplying ritually pure meat for celebratory feasts held in the synagogue. Alexander would

<sup>374</sup> Idirène (2002) = *AE* 2002, 1675–1706.

<sup>375</sup> Corbier (2005b), especially 268ff.

<sup>376</sup> Mednikarova (2001) = *AE* 2001, 151.

<sup>377</sup> Dondin-Payre (2002) = *AE* 2002, 1720.

<sup>378</sup> Kruschwitz (2002b) = *AE* 2002, 152.

<sup>379</sup> Weaver (2001) = *AE* 2001, 110.

<sup>380</sup> Gregori (2001), 132, no. 43 = *AE* 2001, 259.

<sup>381</sup> Gregori (2001), 137, no. 46 = *AE* 2001, 262.

<sup>382</sup> Gregori (2001), 147–50, no. 52 = *AE* 2001, 268.

<sup>383</sup> Williams (2002), reinterpreting *ILS* 9432/ *CIJ* I.210 = *AE* 2002, 198.

thus have been a suitably significant figure to have been buried alongside important synagogue officials in this ‘up-market’ catacomb.

A new funerary stele from **Puteoli** (second half of the third century A.D.) brings into focus the world of athletics at Rome and in the Greek East.<sup>384</sup> The epitaph in Greek is metrical in character, written in the first person addressing the viewer, and is repeated almost identically on both sides of the stele. In it, Bettinianos from Caesarea describes how he has travelled throughout the East, and to Rome (presumably for the *Capitolia* games), in his enthusiasm for athletics, but that he eventually succumbed to old age whilst at Puteoli, where he had hoped to benefit from the waters at Baiae. Towards the end of his epitaph, he reveals that he has spent his life in the service of athletes, as the *grammateus* for the *xystos*, the first example of this post. The stele is decorated with a laurel wreath and three laurel branches, perhaps in an implicit appropriation of the insignia of victorious athletes.

A monograph on **public slaves** in the Roman Empire includes a catalogue of 397 inscriptions (305 for public slaves, 92 for public freedmen). This database provides the evidential foundation for chapters on the acquisition of public slaves, their activities and position in Roman society, and the development of public slavery.<sup>385</sup>

A brief article publishes the epigraphic finds uncovered by excavations in 1987–89 from the small fourth-century catacomb which underlay the eighth-century church of **Sant Ilario ad bivium, near Valmontone** (Latium).<sup>386</sup> The eighty-three fragmentary inscriptions include a handful of second- and third-century non-Christian inscriptions (including a reused honorific inscription for Caracalla), but otherwise represent Christian burials of the fourth and fifth centuries. One inscription (no. 18 = *AE* 2001, 736) is of particular interest, a graffito upon plaster reading [—]+++ *Simplicia hic/ dormit*, since it indicates an alternative to setting up inscriptions carved in stone, namely the practice of inscribing a graffito identifying the deceased upon the plaster covering the burial *loculus*.

The publication of a **corpus of twenty-seven Christian inscriptions on mosaic from Hispania** (all previously published) complements an earlier catalogue of non-Christian mosaics from the same region published in 1997 (*Edición y comentario de las inscripciones sobre mosaico de Hispania. Inscripciones no cristianas*), and invites debate about the extent to which the two sets of inscriptions are really distinctive from each other.<sup>387</sup> The catalogue is arranged geographically and consists primarily of funerary texts from the third to fifth centuries, particularly from Tarraconensis.

We end by noting a discussion of the differences at **Rome** between **pagan and Christian habits of commemoration in epitaphs**, with the emergence of new morally loaded epithets and a striking emphasis on the deceased’s moral conduct, as new ideas about salvation developed.<sup>388</sup> Another striking change is the shift away from any mention of non-familial relationships. The emergence of a distinctive Christian epigraphic culture occurs only gradually during the third century. Moving eastwards to **Phrygia**, we find an early use of one of the words distinctive to Christian funerary inscriptions — *κοιμητήριον* — in an epitaph dating probably to A.D. 252/3.<sup>389</sup>

## V RELIGIONS

The use of epigraphic evidence for the study of Roman religion(s) and religious personnel has continued to be a flourishing area of activity. The publication of the proceedings of three conferences on broad methodological themes (prosopography and religious history;

<sup>384</sup> Caldelli (2005).

<sup>385</sup> Weiß (2004).

<sup>386</sup> Felle (2001) = *AE* 2001, 731–7.

<sup>387</sup> Gómez Pallarès (2002a) = *AE* 2002, 644.

<sup>388</sup> Sigismund Nielsen (2001) = *AE* 2001, 110.

<sup>389</sup> Petzl (2005), no. 11.

epigraphy and the history of religious history; documentary evidence for ancient sanctuaries) and two on more specific aspects (**local cults** in the Greek and Roman worlds; **Isis in the West**) should be noted.<sup>390</sup> New epigraphic evidence was included in the latest survey of scholarship on Roman religion (covering the years 1999–2002) to appear in the *Archiv für Religionsgeschichte*.<sup>391</sup> Much material of the Roman period also features in A. Chaniotis and J. Mylonopoulos, ‘Epigraphic bulletin for Greek religion’, which has continued to appear annually in *Kernos*.<sup>392</sup> **Repertoria and catalogues** of the evidence in various media, including inscriptions, have been produced or up-dated for Isis, Liber Pater (Bacchus), Jews in Campania, Mithraea in Britain, and pre-Constantinian Christianity.<sup>393</sup> In addition five parts of a new encyclopaedia of ancient cults and rites (*ThesCRA*) have appeared.<sup>394</sup> Rather than being organized around the treatment of individual deities, this is made up of lengthy thematic entries (e.g. vol. I. Processions. Sacrifices. Libations. Fumigations. Dedications; vol. II. Purifications. Initiation. Heroization. Apotheosis. Banquet. Dance. Music. Cult Images) divided between multiple authors. Besides the literary, iconographic, and archaeological evidence, inscriptions are widely used and texts often helpfully quoted *in extenso* rather than simply cited.

Again there is too much to do justice to all the significant individual studies and new finds. Perhaps the most important new texts from the **Latin West** are those from the Jupiter sanctuaries from Carnuntum and Aquincum (see below). Starting with religion in the **city of Rome** itself, the heftiest single work to have appeared in the period of this survey is a prosopography of **religious personnel**.<sup>395</sup> This represents a comprehensive new resource for the study of the religious history of the city of Rome from the mid-Republic to the late Empire. The first of its three volumes provides yearly snapshots from the beginning of the third century B.C. to the end of the fifth century A.D. of the membership of each priestly college of the civic cults (*sacerdotes*), and priests of individual temples and cults (*religiones et templa* and *externi et regionales*), as well as Christian and Jewish officials. This enormously ambitious work is innovative in transcending conventional boundaries that demarcate studies of ‘traditional’ polytheistic cults from ‘oriental’ ones and both those from the study of Judaeo-Christian monotheism. As well as the analysis year-by-year there are lists for each college and, in separate volumes, individual biographies, and indices of sources. In total it includes about 3,590 biographies (including more than 150 Jewish officials and about 750 ordained Christians). The presentation allows the reader to get an overview of the ebb and flow of religious movements. For example, the first Christians given space under the entry for a specific year are the priests Alexandros and Evarestos (A.D. 69; from Irenaeus in Eusebius *HE* 5.6), though a notice placing Anenclotos, Clemens, and Linus in the second half of the first century A.D. is inserted between A.D. 50 and 51. The last pagan priest (*sacerdos*) listed is for A.D. 408 (Fl. Macrobius Longinianus *PVR* 400–2, *PPo Italiae*. 406–8; *PLRE* 2 Longinianus, who mentioned *mea sacerdotia* in an exchange of letters of Neoplatonist tenor with Augustine (*Epp.* 233–5)). Despite these examples, for the most part the underlying source material (especially for the first to fourth centuries A.D.) is epigraphic, though the biographies cite but do not quote the texts of epigraphic testimonia. Being anxious to ascribe individuals to groups, Rüpke may sometimes go too far in tidying the evidence; for example, L. Aradius Valerius Proculus, *pontifex Flavialis* c. A.D. 337/340, is enrolled in the *sodales Flaviales*, as if he were a priest of the (otherwise apparently long defunct) cult of the first Flavians. Better surely to imagine that the priesthood referred to the second Flavian dynasty. The hefty printed

<sup>390</sup> Baslez and Prévot (2005); Xella and Zamora (2003); Cazenove and Scheid (2003) = *AE* 2003, 149; and Labarre (2004); Bricault (2004) respectively.

<sup>391</sup> Bendlin *et al.* (2003).

<sup>392</sup> *Kernos* 14 (2001), 147–231; 15 (2002), 331–414; 16 (2003), 247–306; 17 (2004), 187–249; 18 (2005), 425–74.

<sup>393</sup> Bricault (2005); Turcan (2004); Rossi (2004); Giordano and Kahn (2001); Snyder (2003) respectively.

<sup>394</sup> *ThesCRA* (2004); *ThesCRA* (2005).

<sup>395</sup> Rüpke (2005). Note also a study of the *pontifices*: Van Haepere (2002) = *AE* 2002, 135.

volumes are accompanied by a CD-Rom (*Prosopographie stadtrömischer Priesterschaften* by J. Rüpke, H. Pannke and B. Nüsslein) providing the same material and a searchable database on an HTML platform. At the bottom of the social spectrum of Rüpke's interest are the *magistri* and *ministri*, responsible for the altars at crossroads, whose texts are studied as part of J. B. Lott's work on the city's fourteen subdistricts.<sup>396</sup>

Moving beyond the confines of Rome, we find a **prosopography of *haruspices***, which collects over 120 examples of Roman practitioners of this *Etrusca disciplina*, ranging from the second century B.C. to the fourth century A.D.<sup>397</sup> Of those attested epigraphically, most belong in Italy and date from the early Empire, as might be expected. The individuals are categorized into those who acted in some official role in their community and those who offered their services in a private freelance capacity, though the two are not mutually exclusive as one explicitly describes himself as both a *haruspex publicus* and *privatus*. The prosopography, which is to be read alongside a synthetic monograph on *haruspices* in the Roman world,<sup>398</sup> has itself since appeared in expanded form as a book (at an extortionate price).<sup>399</sup>

H. Flower has scrutinized the content of the epigraphically preserved *Senatus Consultum de Bacchanalibus* of 186 B.C. to explore the gender roles implicit in its provisions.<sup>400</sup> For the purposes of a linguistic analysis, T. Adamik offers a revised text and the first complete English translation of the **temple regulations from Furfo** (*CIL* I<sup>2</sup>.756 = IX.3513 = *ILS* 4906 = *ILLRP* 508).<sup>401</sup> These relate to the temple of Iuppiter Liber and are dated to 13 April 58 B.C. None of the content is unexpected but it is useful to have them laid out nevertheless. Amongst work done on specific cults and festivals, B. Schnegg-Köhler has produced a study of the *Ludi saeculares* held under Augustus' auspices, including a diplomatic transcription, edited text, and (German) translation of the epigraphic record (*CIL* VI.4.32324).<sup>402</sup> W. D. Lebek has provided new supplements to a **verse inscription** recently found at the **Colle Maiorana in Latium** that is damaged at both ends of each line.<sup>403</sup> It is addressed to **Janus** and refers to *vota* made on the 'new kalends' (New Year resolutions?) that the writer wants Janus to forward to Jupiter, the protector of Rome and Latium (by implication *optimus maximus* and *Latiaris*), with the wish that he will guarantee peace and stability: 'Father Janus, you who unlock the temples of the gods when closed with your heavenly key and when unlocked close them, accept the prayers that I entrust to you on the new Kalends and give easy access to Jupiter's throne: "May he, who caused Latium and the Roman state to grow, provide stable and flourishing peace".'<sup>404</sup> From the periphery of Italy but still relating to the Roman religious calendar is the only epigraphic testimony of the **festival of the goddess Carna**. M. Šašel Kos provides a re-edition and full commentary on a second-century A.D. epitaph relating to L. Caesernius Primitivus and his wife (*CIL* III.3893 = *ILS* 7235a), whose family had been settled at Emona from the second half of the first century B.C.<sup>405</sup> Primitivus had a leading position (*quinquevir*) in the local *collegium fabrum*. Most of the commentary deals with the testamentary gift of 200 denarii to the four *decuriae* of the association to obtain roses for use at the festival of Carna (*uti rosas Carnar(iis) ducant* ✕ CC), which is the subject of an extensive part of Ovid, *Fasti* 6 (101–82). Carna was a goddess of many parts: associated

<sup>396</sup> Lott (2004).

<sup>397</sup> Haack (2002) = *AE* 2002, 136.

<sup>398</sup> Haack (2003) = *AE* 2003, 142.

<sup>399</sup> Haack (2006).

<sup>400</sup> Flower (2002) = *AE* 2002, 19.

<sup>401</sup> Adamik (2003) = *AE* 2003, 166, 568.

<sup>402</sup> Schnegg-Köhler (2002) = *AE* 2002, 192.

<sup>403</sup> Lebek (2004b).

<sup>404</sup> [*I]ane pater, qui templa deum caelestia cl[ave] | cl[ausa] tua reseras et reserata ser[as], | accipe] vota novis haec, quae tibi mando, K(alendis) |[et fa]ciles aditus da Iovis ad s[olium]. | [Qui re]m Romanam Latiumq[ue] au[]g[escere] f[ecit] | is] pacem stabilitam et viride[m] faciat].*

<sup>405</sup> Šašel Kos (2002) = *AE* 2002, 531.

with hinges and with the protection of infants from owls (*striges*), and her festival involved feasting on beans and bacon.

The religious proclivities of members of **Roman army units** are examined by M. J. Moreno Pablos.<sup>406</sup> She catalogues 112 inscriptions dedicated by Roman soldiers, units, and commanders throughout the Iberian peninsula, giving full text and commentary in each case. The rationale for the internal organization (partly by deity, partly by type, partly by dedicator) is hard to fathom. Dedications to the standard gods of the Roman pantheon are found to predominate across most categories. Another regional study devoted to the province of **Upper Germany** seeks to examine the totality of its religious history largely through datable epigraphic evidence, which is tabulated in an appendix.<sup>407</sup> Developments seem to fall into four phases: conquest; consolidation (c. A.D. 70–150); intensive Romanization (A.D. 150–c. 260); dissolution/transformation (c. A.D. 260–550). During the first phase, native and Roman cults exist independently side-by-side, the dedications to Roman gods being mostly associated with the army. In the period of consolidation, the establishment of central sanctuaries for individual *civitates* sees a growth in both the number of dedications and in Romano-Celtic syncretism. Although the homogenizing influence of the army is still felt very much along the Rhine, there are also local peculiarities (e.g., the Jupiter columns of the Mainz region). The absolute number of dedications declines after A.D. 260, but paganism remains relatively lively until the fifth century. Taking an opposite course, G. Moitrieux traces one cult (**Hercules**) across a group of provinces (**Gallia Comata and Narbonensis**).<sup>408</sup> He tabulates the content and maps the distribution of 125 inscriptions, which turn out to predominate in north-eastern Gaul (the provinces of Belgica and Germania Inferior). This pattern contrasts with that for the daily objects decorated with images of Hercules. These come predominantly from the South and West (the provinces of Aquitania and Narbonensis). This is a useful check on studies that depend entirely on one category of evidence, be that epigraphic or artifactual. Whether these results reflect different relationships with the deity is one possibility; another is simply that we are witnessing relative epigraphic fecundity v. material poverty and vice versa. The epigraphic testimony for the indigenous deities of the Allobroges, including the recently revealed goddess Coriotana (*ILN* V.565; see above Section 1.iv), has been studied by A. Pelletier.<sup>409</sup>

On the southern side of the western Mediterranean, evidence for cultural-religious interaction is discerned in the variety of contexts for the attestation of *Frugifer*. Illustrated with a useful distribution map, a study of dedications to this god assembles the evidence of thirty-three inscriptions from Roman Africa.<sup>410</sup> The name is found sometimes in combination (with Saturn, Pluto, and once Poseidon) but also frequently stands alone. This complex picture is clarified by analysis of the geographical distribution of the variant versions. The study concludes that where *Frugifer* is found alone (predominantly in the interior) it is to be considered simply a Latin translation of an indigenous Berber divinity. In contrast, the most common of the combinations (with Saturn) represents the Latinization of a pre-Roman syncretism of Berber 'Frugifer' with Punic Baal-Hammon.

Various specific cults along the **Rhine and Danube frontier** have been illuminated by newly published finds, namely 150 or so inscribed altars and other stone artefacts dedicated to Nehalennia found since 1970 and now preserved in the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden in Leiden.<sup>411</sup> These came from a sanctuary of the goddess at Colijnsplaat (?ancient Garventa) at the mouth of the Oosterschelde in Zeeland. Over half are published here for the first time, though many are very fragmentary. Several of the dedicators

<sup>406</sup> Moreno Pablos (2001) = *AE* 2001, 1122.

<sup>407</sup> Spickermann (2003) = *AE* 2003, 1236.

<sup>408</sup> Moitrieux (2002), especially Tableau III.

<sup>409</sup> Pelletier (2004).

<sup>410</sup> Cadotte (2003) = *AE* 2003, 1898; since expanded to cover other Romano-African deities: Cadotte (2006).

<sup>411</sup> Stuart and Bogaers (2001) = *AE* 2001, 1445–1514.

explicitly describe themselves as *negotiatores* (e.g. nos A34, A49), or give thanks for the safety of cargoes (*ob merces recte/bene conservatas*: nos A42, B37), but a couple are certainly state officials (e.g. no. A7: *b(ene)f(iciarius) co(n)s(ularis)*). The sanctuary clearly saw a lot of traffic that was grateful for safe passage to and fro across the Channel. Also from a maritime location (Cassis, just east of Marseille) comes a dedication *Tutelae | Charsitanae | SDDSD*, which the editors resolve as *sive deo sive deae*, the kind of catch-all phraseology one finds in curse tablets.<sup>412</sup> Compared with the happy customers of Nehalennia, a negative outcome was far more likely for those cultivating the shrine at the amphitheatre of Virunum in Noricum, dedicated appropriately to Nemesis, as revealed by three marble altars and two votive reliefs of the goddess.<sup>413</sup>

From slightly further east, I. Piso has published the inscriptions from the excavations of the sanctuary of **Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Karnuntinus**, located on the Pfaffenberg at Bad Deutsch-Altenburg behind Carnuntum.<sup>414</sup> These amount to 387 texts, of which 326 were previously unpublished, many of them fragmentary. They are mostly altar dedications, ranging in date from the later first century A.D. to the Tetrarchic period, most from the later second century onwards. Those to I.O.M. Karnuntinus are made by the *cives Romani consistentes Carnunti intra leugam primam*, headed by a college of four *magistri montis*. This community occupied the *canabae* around the legionary camp at Carnuntum. It is interesting that the circuit is defined here by the Gallic league rather than the Roman mile. The dating of the altars shows that the community celebrated an annual festival on 11 June (the festival of Fortuna in Rome's Augustan religious calendar). Piso suggests that this commemorates the day of the inauguration of this first Capitolium in the province of Pannonia. Whatever the significance of this date, it is now clear that it was shared by the sanctuary of **Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Teutanus** on the Gellérthegy outside Aquincum (Budapest). A comparable series of altars is present amongst the material deriving from Gellérthegy and two sites downstream, Budapest-Nagytétény (Campona) and Adony (Vetus Salina), which were retrieved from the Danube yet further downstream at Bölcske. The forty-nine inscriptions and forty-three sculpted blocks, found reused in a later quayside, have now been fully published.<sup>415</sup> The inscriptions include thirty-nine votive altars and two funerary altars, and range in date from the late second century, after the division of the province, down to the Tetrarchic period. Those altars to I.O.M. Teutanus were dedicated by various magistrates and priests of the *colonia* of Aquincum for the safety of the reigning emperors and the *civitas Eraviscorum*. Here the editors suggest that the 11 June was a date of significance in the local indigenous religious calendar. Whatever the true explanation, the celebrations at Carnuntum and Aquincum must have the same origin and must pre-date the creation of the separate province of Pannonia Inferior. If the festival at Carnuntum had gained significance throughout the undivided province, then perhaps the one at Aquincum was established in imitation of it at the time of the division into Superior and Inferior. That the sacrifice on the Gellérthegy in A.D. 251 (no. 8 = *AE* 2003, 1415) was made for the safety of the **Augusti Trebonianus Gallus and Hostilianus** incidentally provides an earlier *terminus ante quem* for the death of Decius and Herennius Etruscus at the hands of the Goths than previously known (23 June: *CIL* VI.31129). This narrows down the likely date of the battle at Abrittus to 27 May/1 June A.D. 251.

Examples of new **curse tablets** continue to accrue from Britain, Gaul, and Germany.<sup>416</sup> Several useful interpretative essays accompany the publication of the continental texts,

<sup>412</sup> Bérato and Gascou (2001) = *AE* 2001, 1320.

<sup>413</sup> Dolenz (2004).

<sup>414</sup> Piso (2003) = *AE* 2003, 1381–1400.

<sup>415</sup> Szábó and Tóth (2003) = *AE* 2003, 1408–1452.

<sup>416</sup> Tomlin and Hassall (2003), 361–4, nos 1–4 = *AE* 2003, 1017, 1021–2: one from 1 Poultry and three from the site of the amphitheatre (Guildhall Yard) in London, with addenda Tomlin and Hassall (2005), 496d; (2004), 336, no. 3. Brodersen and Kopp (2004), three new tablets from Gaul and Germany.

including a monograph on the use of magical texts to influence the outcome of competitive events, dubbed (misleadingly) sport.<sup>417</sup> This includes a collection of c. 100 Greek and Latin **magical or prayer texts**, relating to the stadium, the circus, and the amphitheatre. These are accompanied by translations (into German) and an index of names. They highlight the seriousness with which the outcome was anticipated, no doubt because of the significant extent of betting. A spectacular individual example is the sixty-one-line lead curse tablet of the late fifth/early sixth century found in the 1934 Princeton excavations of the hippodrome at Antioch but only recently deciphered.<sup>418</sup> Buried near the turning-post of the track, the text invokes thirty-nine deities in order to ‘bind, destroy, and utterly subdue’ thirty-six named horses of the Blue faction. Interestingly no charioteers are cursed.

**Religious phenomena of the Greek East** have been the subject of a number of studies. An analysis of over 1,200 Roman period inscribed votive monuments from Old Greece has noted, amongst many other things, a particular fashion for archaism in the wording of the dedications.<sup>419</sup> A study of the interplay of indigenous and foreign cults in the Roman Cyclades traces the penetration of Isis, Serapis, and Mithras, beside the curious emergence of the cult of the angels at Thera in the third century A.D.<sup>420</sup> The discovery of the first Greek equivalent to the enigmatic dedication to the gods and goddesses ‘according to the interpretation of Clarian Apollo’ (*AE* 2003, 1766) has been discussed above (pp. 225–6). Epigraphic evidence is central to B. Dignas’ study of the financing of the **major sanctuaries of Asia Minor** (e.g. Artemis at Ephesos, Zeus at Aezani and Labraunda) in the Hellenistic and Roman periods.<sup>421</sup> Central to her analysis is a distinction between the cities and these sanctuaries as autonomous institutions, whose resources were at threat from corrupt exploitation. Hellenistic monarchs and then Roman authorities were called upon to police the relationship between the parties. The study as a whole is based on the extensive and rigorous examination of epigraphic texts, including important dossiers of material from Mylasa and Labraunda, Aezani, and Ephesus, including the edict of the proconsul Paullus Fabius Persicus of A.D. 44 concerning the Artemesium (*I.Eph.* Ia.17–19).

P. Talloen and M. Waelkens have published an extensive, two-part study of the imperial cult at **Sagalassos** in Pisidia, which appears to have been closely linked in this context to the worship of Apollo. These articles are notable for the integration of an enormous range of evidence from the current excavations of the site and the survey of its territory.<sup>422</sup> R. Gordon has re-examined the texts of the 120 or so stelae from western Anatolia bearing so-called ‘**confession narratives**’, most of which date c. A.D. 120–250.<sup>423</sup> Having been inscribed primarily at the behest of temple authorities, it is interesting that the individuals are notably vague about the details of their specific transgressions. Evidence for the **Syrian lightning god Hadaranes**, likened to Jupiter Dolichenus, has been found in the reinterpretation of the epitaph on the sarcophagus of M. Antonius Sotericus at Rome (*AE* 1960, 365).<sup>424</sup> The deceased was a *haruspex* and *sacerdos* of Sol Invictus and a cult of Jupiter with the epithet *Ederanisive Dolichenus*. Epigraphic evidence looms large in T. Kaizer’s study of the religious life of **Palmyra**, which lay at the Empire’s eastern fringe and at a cultural intersection between Mesopotamian and Semitic religious traditions.<sup>425</sup> About 200 of the 3,000 inscriptions from the site are bilingual Greek/Aramaic, with the rest solely in Aramaic, a pattern that reflects the fact that the city’s social groupings and religious rituals and institutions seem to have remained only very partially hellenized under Roman

<sup>417</sup> Tremel (2004).

<sup>418</sup> Hollman (2003).

<sup>419</sup> Schörner (2003) = *AE* 2003, 1611, reviewed in *JRS* 95 (2005), 254–5 (M. Pretzler).

<sup>420</sup> Le Dinahet (2004).

<sup>421</sup> Dignas (2002), reviewed in *JRS* 93 (2003), 263–4 (A. Erskine).

<sup>422</sup> Talloen and Waelkens (2004) and (2005).

<sup>423</sup> Gordon (2004).

<sup>424</sup> Haack (2005).

<sup>425</sup> Kaizer (2002), reviewed in *BMCR* 2003.07.09 (T. L. Holm).

hegemony. The central thrust of Kaizer's analysis is to deconstruct the notion that the pagan cults of the Semitic East should be considered as a unity. He argues that the religious activity at Palmyra needs to be interpreted as a reflection of the city's complex cultural history, and not as representative of notional 'oriental' religious ideas or activities. J. Moralee collects Greek and Latin dedications made for the  $\sigma\omega\tau\eta\rho\iota\alpha$ /*salus* (which he translates 'salvation') of private individuals and emperors from across the Roman provinces of Syria, Judaea, and Arabia.<sup>426</sup> As his discussion of the phenomenon suggests, a better English translation of the terminology might be 'safety' or 'security', as Christians carry on employing the formula in a similar fashion to their pagan predecessors (i.e. to refer to physical preservation and not apparently spiritual salvation). The rediscovery at Cornell University of a dedication stele from Upper Egypt (*IGRR* I.1185), dated to April A.D. 210, has permitted improved readings, which reveal the existence of a sanctuary of the 'great gods' **Osiris, Tithoes, and Ammon** midway between Coptos and Shenhur.<sup>427</sup> At Egypt's southern extreme, J. L. Beness and T. Hillard have reprised their interpretation of the signatures left by three early Roman visitors to **Philae** (*CIL* I<sup>2</sup>.2937a, cf. *AE* 2001, 2028), despite the criticisms of J. Bingen (*Bull. ép.* 2002, 527).<sup>428</sup> C. Acutius, M. Claudius Varus, and Sp. Varaeus all dated their presence to 26 August 116 B.C., which coincided with the annual high point of the Nile flood. Whether Acutius was claiming to be the first Roman to reach Philae or the first of the group to visit it three times, depends on one's understanding of TER at the end of the first line: *Acu[ti]us [.] ter* (or *Ter(etina tribu)*) | *hoc venit primus*.

S. R. Llewelyn has produced the latest volume of *New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity* (covering the years 1986–1987), including a dozen inscriptions (nos 1–12) whose language echoes New Testament vocabulary.<sup>429</sup> V. Hirschmann revisits the famous twenty-three-line hexameter **epitaph of Aberkios** from Hierapolis in Phrygia (Pamukkale).<sup>430</sup> She emphasizes that the language used is entirely appropriate to the devotee of a mystery cult, perhaps deliberately avoiding provocation in a predominantly pagan milieu. This quietist stance was in pointed contrast to the more ostentatious activities of the Montanists and strengthens the case for identifying the honorand with the Avircius Marcellus mentioned by Eusebius (*HE* 5.16.1). Vocabulary common to pagan and Christian is also sought in a study of early imperial epitaphs in Greek. This looks for signs of common ground between the hope of salvation and resurrection in the **eschatology of the New Testament** and the references to the future expressed in the contemporary stones, but finds very little.<sup>431</sup> A study of the terminology of enlightenment and baptism, that is of  $\phi\omega\varsigma$  and compounds, has been conducted on explicitly Christian Greek inscriptions.<sup>432</sup>

Several studies have focused on the continued vitality and the surprising degree of imperial sanction given to traditional cults right up to the 380s A.D. P. Amann re-examines **Constantine's rescript** to the Umbrians of A.D. 333/335, inscribed at Hispellum, in which the emperor established their right to a festival (biennially) and permitted a temple and cult of the *gens Flavia*, with the proviso that it was not contaminated by blood sacrifice (*CIL* IX.5265 = *ILS* 705).<sup>433</sup> He argues that the text does not provide evidence for a council of the region of *Tuscia et Umbria*, but rather that the reference to the biennially alternating festival with Volsinii reflects existing and long-standing religious links between the two communities, based on the traditional shrines. H. Niquet re-edits the building inscription from the **temple to Liber Pater at Sabratha** in Tripolitania (*IRT* 55), which dates to some

<sup>426</sup> Moralee (2004), reviewed in *BMCR* 2004.12.25 (J. B. Rives).

<sup>427</sup> Dimitrova and Clinton (2004).

<sup>428</sup> Beness and Hillard (2003) = *AE* 2003, 1862.

<sup>429</sup> Llewelyn (2002) = *AE* 2003, 10, reviewed in *BMCR* 2003.06.46 (A. Serfass).

<sup>430</sup> Hirschmann (2003) = *AE* 2003, 1698.

<sup>431</sup> Peres (2003).

<sup>432</sup> Tiddia (2001) = *AE* 2001, 143.

<sup>433</sup> Amann (2002) = *AE* 2002, 442.



time in the joint reign of Constantius II and Constans (A.D. 340–350).<sup>434</sup> The revised text clearly shows the two Christian emperors giving formal support to the provincial governor (Fl. Victor Calpurnius) and the magistrates of Sabratha in restoring the temple. This raises questions about the extent to which emperors might be aware of what was being done in their name at a provincial level. It is also to be remembered that Constans, in whose portion Tripolitania fell, was far more susceptible to the political lobbying of a still economically powerful pagan aristocracy than his Constantinople-based brother. Similar issues recur in D. Trout's commentary on the so-called *Feriale Campanum*. He comments on the politico-religious background to this religious calendar from the amphitheatre at Capua published as part of the fulfilment of a vow by a certain Felix *iussione dom<i>norum* on 22 November A.D. 387 (CIL X.3792 = ILS 4918 = *Inscr.It.* XIII.2, 46).<sup>435</sup> The calendar lists seven pagan festivals spread across the year and at different locations in the region. Trout emphasizes that the emperors whose instigation (or at least approval) is mentioned ought to be Valentinian II and Theodosius, despite the fact that by late A.D. 387 Magnus Maximus controlled Italy, because the date of the dedication is the anniversary of Valentinian's accession in A.D. 375. This suggests a more conciliatory attitude to traditional cults on the part of Valentinian's court than had been shown in A.D. 384 over the Altar of Victory. If permission for these festivals was granted in the shadow of Maximus' advance, then an attempt to curry favour with the traditional aristocracy is understandable. Intervening political events also help to explain Felix's reticence in naming the identity of the authorities to whom he referred.

Excavation of the episcopal basilica of Halmyris at the mouth of the Danube has revealed a crypt chamber that probably contained relics that were venerated as the remains of the Diocletianic martyrs Epictetus and Astion. A badly damaged fresco roundel appears to contain the text of an acclamation in Greek that certainly names the second of the pair.<sup>436</sup> J. Reynolds has published the post-War survey by John Ward-Perkins and Richard Goodchild of the late antique churches of Cyrenaica, contributing her own work on the inscriptions.<sup>437</sup> This turns the spotlight on a relatively neglected aspect of the history of the province and a set of archaeological remains under increasing threat.

## VI LANGUAGE, LITERATURE, AND ONOMASTICS

### vi.i *Language and Literature*

The remit of this section is to report on the epigraphic contribution to the understanding of language use and literary production in the Roman world. The prime languages under consideration are, of course, Latin and Greek. The interaction of these with each other and with other languages has been an important theme in the period surveyed. Etruscan and the Italic languages, which are attested almost exclusively by epigraphic evidence of one sort or another (including coin legends), are not a primary concern of this survey, except in as much as inscriptions in those languages shed light on Roman affairs and/or the Latin language. Nevertheless it is hard to ignore the continued flurry of scholarly activity in the wake of the publication in 2000 of the *Tabula Cortonensis* (TCO), one of the longest Etruscan texts yet known, and on which there is general agreement on the date (c. 200 B.C.), even if not on its content (conveyance of landed property or funerary ritual).<sup>438</sup> A. Morandi has produced a catalogue of Celtic language inscriptions from north and central

<sup>434</sup> Niquet (2001b).

<sup>435</sup> Trout (2001).

<sup>436</sup> Zahariade and Phelps (2002), 244–5.

<sup>437</sup> Ward-Perkins *et al.* (2003) = *AE* 2003, 1878.

<sup>438</sup> Editio princeps: Agostiniani and Nicosia (2000), reviewed in *CR* 51.2 (2001), 278–9 (F. R. Serra Ridgway). Further discussion: e.g., Pandolfini and Maggiani (2002), reviewed in *BMCR* 2003.11.11 (R. Wallace); Scarano Ussani and Torelli (2003). Note also a new edition of the standard introduction to Etruscan (Bonfante and Bonfante (2002)) and publication of new Etruscan texts from a Swedish collection (Wikander and Wikander (2004)).

Italy, and more closely related to Latin, there has been work on the phonetics of the Italic languages generally, the morphology of Umbrian, and a corpus of Messapic language inscriptions.<sup>439</sup> We look forward also to the further illumination of the context of Rome's initial expansion in the Italian peninsula by the forthcoming publication of an illustrated corpus of the Italic inscriptions of central Italy, with full commentary on the monumental and archaeological aspects of each one.<sup>440</sup>

The *Dizionario epigrafico di antichità romane*, the standard reference work to the vocabulary of Latin as found in inscriptions, seems to have stalled in the letter M. No new fascicules appeared in the quinquennium of this survey.<sup>441</sup> This is partly to be explained, no doubt, by the fact that as a means of locating epigraphically attested examples of a particular word or phrase, it has been overtaken by the appearance of convenient searchable databases of Latin inscriptions. However, what these lack are the thematic organization and scholarly commentary provided by the entries of the *Dizionario epigrafico*. If dead rather than dormant, its passing is to be lamented. One regional work of a similar type, B. Fehér's *Lexicon Epigraphicum* (1997) for Pannonia (excluding personal names) has been provided with an up-date.<sup>442</sup> M. Slavova has produced a replacement for Georgi Mihailov's *La langue des inscriptions grecques en Bulgarie* (1943), concentrating on the phonological development of the Greek of this region as seen by its graphemic representation in inscriptions found in modern Bulgaria, in Roman terms parts of the provinces of Thrace and Lower Moesia.<sup>443</sup> Although she takes into account all Greek texts on stone from the sixth century B.C. to the fourth century A.D. (a corpus now over five times larger than that analysed by Mihailov), a very substantial proportion of these date from the Roman period.

The meanings of a number of epigraphically attested Latin words have received attention. An attempt to associate the enigmatic *tabelarii* (sc. *lapides*) in the so-called Elogium of Polla of the second century B.C. (*CIL* X.6950 = *ILS* 23 = *ILLRP* 454 = *CIL* I<sup>2</sup> 638) with a category of stones listing itineraries has won few adherents.<sup>444</sup> N. Labory draws upon epigraphic and other testimony in her discussions of the terms *clausura*, *brachium*, and *propugnaculum* in military architecture.<sup>445</sup> New light has been shed on the meaning of the word *moritix* by a recent find from Roman London. This term, which was already known from inscriptions from Köln (*CIL* XIII.8164a = *ILS* 7522: in the form *moritex*) and York (*RIB* 678), is used to describe himself by a certain Tiberinius Celerianus *c(ivis) Bell(ovacus)*, i.e. from Beauvais in northern Gaul, in the combination *moritix Londiniensium*.<sup>446</sup> The etymology of the word is Celtic and the word seems to mean 'seafarer'.<sup>447</sup> The context in the Köln example (*negotiator Britannicus moritex*) strongly suggests a commercial function but whether *Londiniensium* should be construed as genitive plural of the masculine/feminine ('of the Londoners') or neuter ('of London goods') is less clear. Although R. Tomlin was undecided as to whether *moritex* should be taken so closely with *Londiniensium*, the two-word phrase is delimited in a quite unambiguous fashion by prominent *hederae*, clearly visible on the published photograph and quite distinct from the leaf decoration used elsewhere in the text for interpunctuation.<sup>448</sup> Whatever the precise connotations of the term *moritex*, it is a striking example of regional Latinity.

<sup>439</sup> Morandi (2004), Stuart-Smith (2004), Pinna (2003) and de Simone and Marchesini (2002).

<sup>440</sup> *Imagines Italicae*, ed. M. H. Crawford *et al.* (see <http://icls.sas.ac.uk/imaginesit/>).

<sup>441</sup> The last part to appear was Vol. V., fasc. 17 (December 1997), which ends part way through the article 'Mamma'.

<sup>442</sup> Fehér (2003).

<sup>443</sup> Slavova (2004).

<sup>444</sup> Salway (2001).

<sup>445</sup> Labory (2003b); (2005a); (2005b).

<sup>446</sup> Tomlin and Hassall (2003), 364–5, no. 5 = *AE* 2002, 882.

<sup>447</sup> Adams (2003c) = *AE* 2003, 1015.

<sup>448</sup> Tomlin and Hassall (2003), 364.

Variants of Latin attested in Britain are the subject of two other studies: firstly, an analysis of deviations from classical norms found in the Latin of the *cohors I Tungrorum* and its associates as revealed in the latest volume of the Vindolanda Tablets;<sup>449</sup> secondly, a study of the ‘vulgar’ Latin of the curse tablets from Bath and Uley, on the basis of which it is concluded that British-spoken Latin, once characterized as ‘archaic’ (A. S. Gratwick, ‘*Latinitas Britannica*: was British Latin archaic?’ in N. Brooks (ed.), *Latin and the Vernacular Languages in Early Medieval Britain* (1982)), in fact had a trend to innovation that makes it stand out from the Continent (e.g. use of verb *levare* as ‘to steal’, as in French *enlever*).<sup>450</sup> However, the view of British distinctiveness might be tempered, were more plentiful comparable material available from the Continent. The stylistic use of **nominal compounds in Latin verse inscriptions** has been scrutinized in an analysis drawing on a total of 233 texts (116 pagan, 117 Christian), most dating from the third to sixth centuries A.D.<sup>451</sup> In contrast, over 22,000 inscriptions have been used in a study of the **syntactical forms of nouns** in Rome’s eastern provinces.<sup>452</sup> The data were derived from *CIL* III and its successors so that the area sampled stretches around in an arc from Raetia to Cyrenaica. Amongst the conclusions are that the nominative is the most commonly misinserted case and that ablative of time is relatively infrequent, being largely displaced by use of the accusative. The scale of the study is impressive but, given the wide diversity of linguistic and cultural backgrounds encompassed within the area studied, greater regional differentiation of the analysis might have produced more nuanced results that would have given insights into the significance of specific external influences on Latin outside Italy.

In fact, the socio-linguistic study of **bilingualism** in inscriptions and of related phenomena, such as language interference, have been a strong feature of the period surveyed. J. Adams has analysed the contact between Latin and a whole host of languages over a wide chronological and geographical spectrum (Italic, Etruscan, Celtic, Iberian, Germanic, Getic-Sarmatian, Thracian, Greek, Aramaic, Hebrew, Egyptian, Libyan, Punic, Berber), carefully considering each interaction separately. Epigraphic evidence is often crucial to his discussion and its attendant problems and potentials are accordingly evaluated.<sup>453</sup> Amongst the questions to be considered in analysing a mixed language or bilingual inscription, is, for example, the relative function or cultural status of the languages used, which may be a symptom of ‘code-switching’, or the structures of grammar and syntax, which reveal the ‘matrix’ language of a given text, which in turn may or may not equate to the predominant spoken language of its author. These aspects of the use of Greek, Latin, and Hebrew appear in bewildering combinations in two studies of the funerary epigraphy of the **Jewish community of late antique Venetia**.<sup>454</sup> Seventy-five texts (*JiWE* I.42–116) mix the three languages in different combinations of language and script. M. Leiwo concludes that, while Greek was important to the community historically and Hebrew (increasingly so?) liturgically, Latin is the predominant matrix language in these texts. Where code-switching takes place it does so when ritual terminology occurs. This suggests that Latin was the everyday language of speech for the Jews of Venetia.

A study of Latin-Greek bilingualism in the inscriptions of the **Italian *negotiatores* on late republican Delos** reveals that the grammar of the Latin on honorific statue bases seems to have been influenced by that of Greek, in that the accusative is used in naming the honorand in place of the dative normally expected.<sup>455</sup> The higher cultural status of Greek as well as its local currency as the spoken language may be the explanation. To study the interaction of Latin and Greek in the **province of Asia**, R. Kearsley has collected (and

<sup>449</sup> Adams (2003b) = *AE* 2003, 167.

<sup>450</sup> Petersmann (2003) = *AE* 2003, 166.

<sup>451</sup> Sblendorio Cugusi (2005).

<sup>452</sup> Galdi (2004).

<sup>453</sup> Adams (2003a), 29–83.

<sup>454</sup> Leiwo (2002) = *AE* 2002, 156; Leiwo (2003).

<sup>455</sup> Adams (2002) = *AE* 2002, 156.

translated) 171 mixed Greek/Latin inscriptions from within the confines of the province of the imperial period.<sup>456</sup> Of these inscriptions, 110 are funerary and as many as 67 are from Ephesos, which is perhaps not too surprising, both because the city's inscriptions are so well documented and because it was frequently host to the governor and his staff. Partly for the purpose of up-dating A. Cameron's venerable article on Latin loanwords in the Greek epigraphy of Asia in *AJPh* 52 (1931), a useful appendix lists loanwords, mostly Latin to Greek. Overall conclusions include observations on the social milieu or 'register' of the text (most commonly resident Romans/Latin speakers and their households), and on patterns of precedence (Latin more often precedes Greek and, when a double shift occurs, Latin-Greek-Latin is more common). However, it is clear that precedence does not always indicate priority in terms of communication because, especially in the case of Latin-Greek-Latin texts, the Latin may serve for the formulaic opening and closing, with real 'meat' sandwiched in the middle in Greek (e.g. no. 36 = *I.Eph.* VI.2266, where the Greek text gives a fuller list of the intended occupants of the tomb and the important warning that the *gerousia* watches over this monument). For the use of Greek κλήρος as a technical translation in the military jargon of the ostraca from Crocodilo in Egypt see above, p. 221.<sup>457</sup>

Another type of mixed language inscription is that involving the writing of one language in a script generally reserved for another. A study of **Etrusco-Latin bilingualism** in Etruria includes a handy repertorium of eighty 'Latinograph' inscriptions from Etruria and an appendix of the thirty-two veritable Etrusco-Latin bilinguals (mostly epitaphs), with transcriptions of both languages and concordances with the major corpora (*CIE*, *CIL* I<sup>2</sup> and XI, etc.).<sup>458</sup> These texts are analysed as symptoms of the Romanization of the region, though one aspect that does not seem to be considered in this regard is the order of the respective languages in the bilinguals. For what it is worth, Latin is first in eighteen of them, but this would have to be cross-referenced with likely dating to reach any historically meaningful conclusions. A particular script (as opposed to language) may be utilised for its ritual or supernatural efficacy. This would seem to be the case on a **gold amulet** found in Norfolk in 2003.<sup>459</sup> This charm is adorned with magical texts in both Latin and Greek scripts, notably *δαθε σαλυθεμ ετ νικθωριαμ* (i.e. *date salutem et victoriam*), in which the aspiration of the Ts is interesting. The author was Ti. Claudius Similis and both he and the amulet may have originally come from Germany, perhaps Köln. Real Greek and nonsense spells in Greek script are common on such objects so that, even if the content of the imprecation was transparent, Greek script was clearly considered most appropriate to the context. The cryptic filiation *IMR f.* in one epitaph and one building inscription from Roman Africa has been explained as an instance of **incomplete transliteration**.<sup>460</sup> With reference to the Libyan/Latin bilingual (*ILAlg.* 147), where the (indeclinable) Libyan male personal name Ihimir (*IMR* in the Libyo-punic script) is so expanded in Latin transliteration, A. Beschtaouch argues that the two instances of *IMR f.* elsewhere are the result of insufficient voicing in the transliteration process.

The style of archaic or **archaizing epigraphic Latin prose** has been the subject of some examination. In her study of the use of **stilus writing-tablets**, E. Meyer discusses the style and vocabulary of the 'legalese' in which their texts were often composed.<sup>461</sup> M. Hartmann applies a holistic (linguistic, archaeological, palaeographical) approach to the dating of a sample of early Latin inscriptions from *CIL* I<sup>2</sup>.<sup>462</sup> To put these in context he begins with a discussion of the Etruscan and Italic alphabets. Even if much of the subsequent technical discussion went over this reader's head, the method and results are admirably clearly

<sup>456</sup> Kearsley (2001) = *AE* 2001, 1865.

<sup>457</sup> Cuvigny (2005).

<sup>458</sup> Hadas-Lebel (2004).

<sup>459</sup> Tomlin (2004).

<sup>460</sup> Beschtaouch (2001) = *AE* 2001, 2084.

<sup>461</sup> Meyer (2004), 44–72.

<sup>462</sup> Hartmann (2005).

explained. The sample taken includes some major historical inscriptions, such as the *Lapis niger* (CIL I<sup>2</sup>.1), the *Lapis Satricanus* (CIL I<sup>2</sup>.2832a), the bronze dedication to Ceres from the altars of Pratica di Mare (CIL I<sup>2</sup>.2833), and the precisely dated decree of L. Aemilius Paulus from Hasta Regia in Spain of 189 B.C. (CIL I<sup>2</sup>.614), which is used as a ‘control’ text. Although the *Lapis niger* and a couple of other minor texts are too dissimilar to be able to relate to the overall sample, statistical similarity according to linguistic, palaeographical, and archaeological criteria is established to produce a likely chronology for the rest. The overall result is generally to narrow down the likely time-window rather than completely overturn existing expectations (see table and diagram of comparisons pp. 433–4). In the case of the Pratica di Mare text, however, the parameters are extended downwards from the fifth to the fourth century B.C. at the lower end. Nevertheless it seems likely that the *Lapis Satricanus* (between the sixth century and some time before 480 B.C.) is still to be considered marginally older than the Pratica di Mare text (mid-sixth to fourth century B.C.), though this does not get us much closer to absolute dating. A study that Hartmann did not take into account is that by E. Lucchesi and E. Magni on the *Lapis Satricanus*, which is particularly significant for Italic linguistics in attesting the (otherwise lost) -osio ending for a masculine singular noun declension.<sup>463</sup> They subject the two-line inscription to a thorough analysis and in a useful appendix collect eighteen different reconstructions of the text proposed since 1987, with suggested classical Latin equivalents and Italian translation. Their conclusion is that the *Lapis Satricanus* ought to be treated as a Faliscan and not an archaic Latin document and, therefore, the name ‘Poblios Valesios’ ought to be disassociated from any of the noble Roman P. Valerii (Publicolae) of the late sixth and early fifth centuries B.C. P. Kruschwitz has focused on c. 3,700 epigraphic texts of the republican period in order to test the applicability of Wackernagel’s law, which argued that the placement of clitics as the second syntactical element in a sentence was once a common characteristic of Indo-European languages.<sup>464</sup> He finds no irresistible evidence for this linguistic theory in early Latin.

As part of the on-going work towards the planned verse inscription volume of *CIL* (XVIII. *Carmina Epigraphica*) Kruschwitz has published commentaries on a number of republican period texts from the corpus of *Carmina Latina Epigraphica*, taking in grammatical, linguistic, orthographic, and metrical aspects (see also p. 190 above).<sup>465</sup> He was also one of the many contributors to a volume celebrating the fiftieth anniversary of the publication of S. Mariner’s *Inscripciones hispanas en verso*, which as well as papers on predictable metrical and linguistic aspects includes one on the layout of Latin verse inscriptions in Spain.<sup>466</sup> A foretaste of *CIL* XVIII has, in fact, recently been revealed as part of the *CIL* team’s on-line *Archivum Corporis Electronicum*. The *Anthologie lateinischer Versinschriften aus dem römischen Afrika* gives access via an interactive map to editions of texts from twelve cities across the provinces of North Africa: Mauretania (Caesarea, Sitifis), Numidia (Cirta, Lambaesis, Thamugadi, Theveste), and Proconsularis (Ammaedara, Bulla Regia, Carthage, Hadrumetum, Lepcis Magna, Thugga).<sup>467</sup> Two major corpora of Greek verse inscriptions, many of them of course Roman or late antique, have been made more accessible by the provision of indices. As well as the completion of V. Citti’s indices to W. Peek’s *Griechische Vers-Inschriften* (1955), the sizeable corpus of verse inscriptions from the Greek East, recently collected by R. Merkelbach and J. Stauber, has been completed by a fifth volume that includes addenda and corrigenda to vols 1–4, a concordance of editions, and indices by *incipit*, of proper names, and of other selected matters.<sup>468</sup>

<sup>463</sup> Lucchesi and Magni (2002).

<sup>464</sup> Kruschwitz (2004).

<sup>465</sup> Kruschwitz (2001); (2002c).

<sup>466</sup> Hoyo and Gómez Pallarès (2002).

<sup>467</sup> <http://cil.bbaw.de/dateien/anthologie.html>.

<sup>468</sup> Citti (1995–2002); Merkelbach and Stauber (2004).

Of publications on individual verse inscriptions, that of the inscription addressing Janus has already been discussed above, p. 234.<sup>469</sup> Christopher Jones has made a number of suggestions as to the authorship and subject of a couple of Greek verse inscriptions.<sup>470</sup> An **epigram for an 'Augusta'** that also makes reference to 'two sceptred gods, the Caesars, twin lights of peace' is to be attributed to Honestus of Corinth, the author of several poems collected in the *Anthologia Palatina*, who is also connected to Thespieae in Boeotia and the festival of the Mouseia there. The dedication is to Livia, whose intelligence is said to have saved the whole world. The whole thing is reminiscent of a Latin dedication from Corinth of the Tiberian period (*Corinth* VIII.2 no. 15 = Ehrenberg and Jones no. 145: [*Dianae et Iuliae*] *Paci luciferae Augustae sacrum, pro salute Ti(beri) Caesaris [Augusti], P(ublius) Licinius P(ubli) l(ibertus)*). Jones also studies a poem from the **Asclepieum at Pergamon** (*I.Askl.* 145), offering some new restorations and strengthening the ascription to Aelius Aristides. At a less elevated social level, O. Raith illuminates the literary culture of one North Italian army officer.<sup>471</sup> He provides a detailed literary commentary for a ten-line **votive verse from Regensburg** (*AE* 1996, 1185), dedicated by the tribune, Marcus Aemilius, from Ateste (Este) to the deities Lar and Larunda of the Vindelici. The metre (alternating catalectic iambic dimeters and aristophanians) is the same as that used by Hadrian in the verse epitaph to his hunting-horse Borysthenes (*CIL* XII.1122) and individual words are reminiscent of Plautus (the verb *rebiterere*, found four times in the *Captivi*) and Vergil (the adjective *turriger*, found twice in the *Aeneid*), both stalwarts of the schoolboy curriculum. A medieval manuscript copy of an inscribed epigram from the tomb of one Bishop Felix is to be added to the oeuvre of **Paulinus of Nola**.<sup>472</sup> In the short poem, preserved in a Beneventan manuscript now in Naples, Paulinus gives thanks to the bishop for having secured his release from capture by Alaric's Goths in A.D. 410. Lastly, for the purpose of exploring how ancient literary texts interacted with the contemporary inscribed environment, P. Liddell and P. Low have launched a web-accessible **database that collects references to inscribed objects** in Greek and Latin authors from the Archaic period to Late Antiquity.<sup>473</sup>

## vi.ii *Onomastics*

The names of persons attested epigraphically in various parts of the Roman world have been catalogued in a variety of onomastic lexica and prosopographies updated or newly issued in the survey period. H. Solin's *Namenbuch of Greek personal names* attested in the population of the **city of Rome**, originally published in 1982, has been completely revised and enlarged.<sup>474</sup> The new edition very usefully provides cross-references to the secular and ecclesiastical prosopographies that have appeared in the meantime (*PLRE* II–III and *Prosopographie chrétienne du Bas Empire, Italie*). It is rare that a second, enlarged edition of a scholarly work actually takes up less shelf-space but that is the case with the revised edition of the first volume of the **onomasticon of the European Latin provinces** (*OPEL* I<sup>2</sup>: *Aba–Bysanus*).<sup>475</sup> This adds 184 more names and about a thousand attestations, as well as addenda to Vols II–IV: *Cabalicius–Zures* (1999–2002), all in a two-column format that matches those other volumes, so that the whole can now be considered complete for the moment. Although *OPEL* enables a basic overview of the distribution of a given name across the relevant area, its utility is reduced by the simple grouping of testimonia according to province, with no greater precision as to location and no indications of dating. A real desideratum is a reference tool that does all this and takes into account the huge body

<sup>469</sup> Lebek (2004b).

<sup>470</sup> Jones (2004c).

<sup>471</sup> Raith (2005).

<sup>472</sup> Gärtner (2001); (2002).

<sup>473</sup> Database of Inscriptions in Greek and Latin Texts (<http://windev.humanities.manchester.ac.uk/litpignew/>).

<sup>474</sup> Solin (2003b) = *AE* 2003, 88.

<sup>475</sup> Lórinč (2005).

of evidence lying in *CIL* VIII and its various successors (over 50,000 inscriptions) to provide a complete overview of naming patterns in the Latin West as a whole. That such an undertaking is possible is demonstrated by the progress of the *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*, the latest volume of which (*LGPN* IV, covering Macedonia, Thrace, and the northern Black Sea coast) appeared in 2005.<sup>476</sup> This volume is of particular significance for students of the Roman period because many of the inland areas covered did not develop a significant epigraphic habit until the arrival of Rome. Although the geographical limits of the volume are explained in the introduction, it would have been helpful to have provided a map to clarify the perimeter graphically. While the southern frontier of the volume is straightforward enough (being contiguous with the northern limit of Vol. IIIA–B), the north-western frontier cuts across the Balkans from south-west to north-east following the line of the Scardus mountains (Stara Planina) and the river Almus (Lom) and then follows the course of the lower Danube eastwards from the western frontier of Moesia Inferior to the coastal cities of the Black Sea round to Colchis. So, in Roman terms, it excludes the provinces of Dacia, Moesia Superior, Pannonia, and inland Dalmatia (the partially Hellenized coastal areas were covered in Vol. IIIA). Over the region as a whole, Greek names are collected down to the sixth century A.D. but there is an acknowledged chronological anomaly within the volume, in that ‘Byzantine’ (i.e. Christian Roman material from the city of Constantinople) is excluded. Only names that can be attributed to Megarian Byzantium are included in this volume, though a degree of fuzziness is allowed so as to include individuals who can only be dated vaguely between the late third and mid-fourth century A.D., which is probably a good thing since the refoundation is dated to A.D. 323 (p. ix). As in Vol. IIIA, which covered southern Italy, Latin names used as single names, where attested in Greek transliteration, are included, as are Greek names attested in Latin script but also, perhaps more controversially, indigenous non-Greek names attested in Latin script if they are also attested in Greek transliteration elsewhere. Aside from the predictable favourites (Dionysius, 660 examples; Apollonius, 390), high counts are scored for some Macedonian and Thracian royal names (Alexandros, 444; Antigonos, 156; Amyntas, 100; Kotys, 82; Lysimachos, 96; but cf. Archelaos, 36). The divergent fortunes of two names of Macedonians made prominent overseas is interesting (Ptolemaios 124; Seleucos 30).

In addition to the printed volumes, the *LGPN* has extended the material available for searching or downloading on-line, most notably with the publication in early 2006 of substantial addenda to Vol. II (Attica) by Michael Osborne and Sean Byrne.<sup>477</sup> An associated work is Byrne’s *prosopography of Athenians* who were also Roman citizens (or rather of all Athenians and residents of Athens who bear *gentilicia*) between the first century B.C. and the third century A.D.<sup>478</sup> Another project focused on the Roman era that has worked in conjunction with the *LGPN* studies the social context of **Roman personal names in the Peloponnese**.<sup>479</sup> Over 2,500 Roman names (or those with a Latin etymology) have been collected, primarily from epigraphic sources, with a view to providing the foundation for an examination of the extent of cultural and political Romanization of Peloponnesian society beneath its very top echelons. An associated study is a *prosopography of the entire communities of Elis and Olympia* in the imperial period, amounting to nearly 900 individuals.<sup>480</sup> Epigraphic evidence also forms the basis of recent studies of **indigenous Lycian personal names** attested in Greek of the Hellenistic and Roman periods.<sup>481</sup>

<sup>476</sup> Fraser and Matthews (2005).

<sup>477</sup> [www.lgpn.ox.ac.uk/online/](http://www.lgpn.ox.ac.uk/online/) (on-line searching of published data and forward and reverse indices to, and bibliographies for, *LGPN* I–IV available for download).

<sup>478</sup> Byrne (2003) = *AE* 2003, 1632, reviewed in *JRS* 95 (2005), 256–7 (G. J. Oliver).

<sup>479</sup> Rizakis and Zoumbaki (2001) = *AE* 2001, 1792; Rizakis, Zoumbaki and Lepenioti (2004).

<sup>480</sup> Zoumbaki (2001) = *AE* 2001, 1811.

<sup>481</sup> Cau (2003); (2005a); (2005b).

There has been similar activity in the study of the personal names of the Latin West, particularly of the **Iberian peninsula**. I. Sastre Prats' work on onomastics and political relations in Roman Asturia is not as comprehensive as the title suggests.<sup>482</sup> It actually comprises four regional studies and one thematic one, which do not together cover the whole *conventus Asturum* (see map p. 173). In fact, one actually straddles the border with the *conventus Cluniensis*. Nevertheless interesting variations in the attestation patterns of Roman citizens compared with *peregrini* (or those with Roman *nomina* compared with those with single names) across the area are revealed. In the west Romans slightly outnumber non-Romans, in the central area the two groups are 50:50, in the east 1:2. As discussed, these differences may partly be explained by the different balances in the epigraphic evidence. In the west the balance between votives and epitaphs is 50:50, in the central area it is nearly 50:50, but in the east it is approximately 1:5. M. Navarro Caballero and J. L. Ramírez Sábada have produced an atlas of the personal names attested within Roman Lusitania.<sup>483</sup> At the heart of this is an alphabetical catalogue of personal names ranging chronologically from the appearance of the first Latin names down to the mid-third century A.D. (thus avoiding the complicating factor of Christianization). Masculine and feminine forms are treated together in single entries and every use is categorized as *nom(en) gentile* or *cog(nomen)/n(omen) u(nicum)* and located geographically. All names that score four or more occurrences are also provided with a distribution map. Starting from a particular body of evidence, E. Haley provides a discursive prosopography of the 'wealthy Baetici' that can certainly or plausibly be identified with the stamps (senatorial and equestrian landowners) and *tituli picti* (municipal *negotiatores*) on amphorae from Spain mostly found in Rome.<sup>484</sup> Numbered entries would have made it easier to navigate this catalogue. With the same sort of agenda as the work of Rizakis, S. Aounallah has assessed onomastic (epigraphic) evidence for the Romanization of society in the north-east corner of **Africa proconsularis**.<sup>485</sup> He counts 128 persons in the towns of Cap Bon (42 *peregrini*, 1 or 4 *liberti*, and 81 or 85 Romans or people with the *tria nomina*). The almost complete absence of imperial *nomina* here is interesting, suggesting that the Romans are Italian emigrés, their descendants, and enfranchisements. Nevertheless, it is apparent that cultural Romanization was preceding political since a considerable degree of Latinization of single names was taking place in the indigenous free population in advance of any enfranchisement.

**Individual personal names** newly attested, usually as a result of epigraphic finds, receive regular commentary in H. Solin's periodic 'Varia onomastica' in *ZPE* and 'Analecta epigraphica' in *Arctos*.<sup>486</sup> Amongst recent studies of name use and naming practice, H. Gallego Franco has studied the distribution of **imperial nomina** along the Danube and O. Salomies has analysed the strategies adopted to represent the nomenclature of **polyonymous Roman aristocrats** as consuls in the often restrictive formats of inscribed consular fasti and the dating formulae of military diplomas.<sup>487</sup> As part of the prolegomena to his study of the **Gallic aristocracy**, Y. Burnand analyses the phenomenon of Roman *gentilicia* formed from *cognomina* as an indication of Gallic origin.<sup>488</sup> When the results are mapped out for a sample of names, the clustering in Gallia Comata comes out very clearly. Although the observation risks taking us beyond the linguistic and chronological limits set for this survey, we cannot resist drawing attention to the publication of two Runic

<sup>482</sup> Sastre Prats (2002) = *AE* 2002, 752.

<sup>483</sup> Navarro Caballero and Ramírez Sábada (2003) = *AE* 2003, 852.

<sup>484</sup> Haley (2003), 135–70 = *AE* 2003, 891.

<sup>485</sup> Aounallah (2001), 201–22 = *AE* 2001, 2075.

<sup>486</sup> Note also Salomies (2001) = *AE* 2001, 91 on the social history that is revealed by newly attested Roman *nomina* in the Greek East.

<sup>487</sup> Gallego Franco (2001) = *AE* 2001, 1549; Salomies (2005b).

<sup>488</sup> Burnand (2005), 395–434.



inscriptions, probably not earlier than the seventh century A.D., inscribed in the Roman catacomb ‘ad duas lauros’, revealing the names Fágchild and Æthelferth.<sup>489</sup>

Aside from the copious new information on the toponymy and topography of Lycia provided by the Claudian monument from Patara (see above Section I.iii), placenames are generally less well attested epigraphically than personal names. A handy guide to the epigraphic (and more plentiful numismatic, geographical, and antiquarian) evidence for the names of Greek cities of the Roman period whose origins went back to the Archaic and Classical periods is provided by the entries in the Copenhagen Polis Project’s *Inventary of Archaic Greek and Classical Poleis*.<sup>490</sup> In the hinterland of Rome, the toponymy of the mid-Tiber valley along both the right (west) and left (east) banks, as revealed by the stamps on bricks produced there, has received some attention.<sup>491</sup> And finally the souvenir enamelled pan found at Ilam in the Staffordshire Moorlands in 2003 may provide us with the contemporary Roman name of Hadrian’s Wall (*Vallum Aelium*), according to one possible interpretation of its inscription.<sup>492</sup>

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<sup>489</sup> Felle (2004).

<sup>490</sup> Hansen and Nielsen (2004).

<sup>491</sup> Filippi and Stanco (2005).

<sup>492</sup> Tomlin and Hassall (2004), 344–5, no. 24: *rigore val(l)i Aeli Draconis Mais Co(n)gabata Uxelodunum Cam(b)og(l)anna*. Of course, as the editor points out, *Aeli* might just as easily, if not more naturally, be understood with *Draconis* (‘of Aelius Draco’).

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