

IMPACT OF EMPIRE (ROMAN EMPIRE, c. 200 B.C. – A.D. 476)

ROMAN RULE AND CIVIC LIFE:
LOCAL AND REGIONAL PERSPECTIVES

PROCEEDINGS OF THE FOURTH WORKSHOP
OF THE INTERNATIONAL NETWORK
IMPACT OF EMPIRE
(ROMAN EMPIRE, c. 200 B.C. - A.D. 476)
LEIDEN, JUNE 25 - 28, 2003

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PREFACE

This volume presents the proceedings of the fourth workshop of the international thematic network 'Impact of Empire', which concentrates on the history of the Roman Empire, c. 200 BC – AD 476, and brings together ancient historians, archaeologists, classicists and specialists on Roman law from some 28 European and North American universities. The proceedings of the first three workshops, held at Leiden, June 28-July 1, 2000, Nottingham, July 4-7, 2001, and Rome, March 20-23, 2002, were published in this series under the following titles: *Administration, Prosopography and Appointment Policies in the Roman Empire* (Gieben, Amsterdam 2001), *The Transformation of Economic Life under the Roman Empire* (Gieben, Amsterdam 2002), and *The Representation and Perception of Roman Imperial Power* (Gieben, Amsterdam 2003). The fourth workshop, on the impact of Roman rule at the local and regional level, was held at Leiden, on June 25-28, 2003. A series of further annual workshops has been planned.

The fourth workshop was funded by the Netherlands Organisation of Scientific Research (NWO), the Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences (KNAW), the Leiden University Fund (Leids Universiteits Fonds), the Leiden Faculty of Arts, and the Research School of Classics in the Netherlands (OIKOS).

On the editorial front special thanks are owed to Marga van Bon, without whose efforts and technical skills this volume could not have been published according to schedule.

The editors,
Leiden / Utrecht, August 2004

INTRODUCTION

By

L. DE LIGT, E.A. HEMELRIJK, AND H.W. SINGOR

The impact of the Roman Empire is a research topic the importance of which can hardly be overestimated. It is an immensely vast subject as well, since the effects of Roman conquest and Roman rule made themselves felt in practically all fields of life, among rulers and ruled alike. Also, the impact of the empire meant change, however slow and drawn-out some changes might have been and notwithstanding the fact that in many fields there was a considerable continuity. The international thematic network *Impact of Empire (3rd century BC to 5th century AD)*, in which historians, classicists, archaeologists, epigraphists, papyrologists and other specialists participate, since 2000 organizes a series of annual workshops on various aspects of the life and the political, social and economic organization of the Empire from the perspective of this imperial impact.

After the first three workshops organized by the 'Impact of Empire' network the fourth conference at Leiden in 2003 tried to come to terms with one of the widest topics possible: *Roman Rule and Civic Life: Local and Regional Perspectives (1st to 4th centuries)*. For many, but not all, of the contributions this meant a focus on the local level, away, so to speak, from the capital. Municipal elites in Italy and in the provinces naturally demand attention both for their own sake and for particular aspects, such as the position of women within these elites. Moreover, these elites are the ones to show most clearly the effects of Romanization, as well as being the bearers of local cultural and historical traditions. On the provincial or regional level similar trends can be observed, *viz.* on the one hand, a willingness to cooperate with Roman imperial organization and to adopt Roman material culture and ideology, and on the other, a desire to preserve, and even to cultivate, certain aspects of their local, non-Roman cultural traditions.

Romanization in its various forms was the result of Roman conquest. Subjugation of peoples, annexation of territories, incorporation of non-Romans as auxiliaries in the Roman army, triumph over and humiliation of dangerous enemy leaders, pride and a bolstered self-image among Roman soldiers – all these can be seen as elements of the same process. Inevitably, there is much overlap among these subjects, from conquest to Romanization and provincial organization – with the local elite participating in Roman rule – to an increased self-awareness among the provincial and municipal elite. An even wider scope

is offered by studies of the language – Latin, Greek or other tongues – used by Rome in dealing with her subjects, and of the geographical visualisation of the world, *i.e.* the development of a world-view in maps, both concrete and conceptual ones.

We have grouped the various papers into four main sections, starting with what may be called *Instruments of imperial rule*. Here, W. Eck tackles the subject of the language of government: *Lateinisch, Griechisch, Germanisch ...? Wie sprach Rom mit seinen Untertanen?* R.J.A. Talbert, in his paper on *Rome's provinces as framework for world-view*, deals with the subject of visualizing the empire on the basis of the provinces as components of a widely shared world-view. The first section also deals with the mechanisms of imperial rule as shaped by a process of continual interaction between various representatives of Roman imperial rule on the one hand and local power constellations on the other. C. Kokkinia argues that the elites in the Greek East of the Empire, while performing all kinds of civic duties in their provinces and cities, did not give up their internal rivalries, thereby forcing the Roman governors to adapt to existing power constellations: *Ruling, inducing, arguing: how to govern (and survive) a Greek province*. D. Slootjes presents a study of the Roman governor as benefactor to provincial communities in the later Roman Empire and of the perception of such a role by the provincials (*The governor as benefactor in Late Antiquity*). Finally, L. de Ligt in his paper on *Direct taxation in western Asia Minor under the early Empire*, offers a fresh look at one of the fundamentals of Roman rule, focusing on Asia Minor and taking his lead from the Neronian *lex portorii* from Ephesus.

Conquest and its effects are the topics of the next section. A.R. Birley presents a military history of northern Britain in the late first and early second century AD discussing the extent of Agricola's penetration to the north, the location of Mons Graupius and the military vicissitudes along the northern frontier (*Britain 71-105: advance and retrenchment*). In his paper on *The end of the Batavian auxiliaries as 'national' units* J.A. van Rossum discusses the Batavian auxiliary units of the Roman army focusing on the question of their 'national' character. He argues for a much earlier date for the loss of the ethnic character of these units than has generally been supposed. Next, J.C.N. Coulston studies the self-image of the Roman soldier as revealed by artefacts and iconography, an identity which was expressed on various levels (military as opposed to civilian, membership of a particular unit, personal achievement and self-definition) in his paper on *Military identity and personal self-identity in the Roman army*. In *The legend of Decebalus* C. Bruun discusses this Dacian king and

feared opponent of the Romans under Domitian and Trajan, to whose armies he finally succumbed. He follows the development of his legend or, rather, the partial absence of such a legend, for unlike Hannibal or other renowned enemies of Rome, Decebalus never acquired the status of an enemy whom the Romans loved to hate and in the course of time even came to respect.

The third section on *Romanization and its limits* explores the extent to which the imposition and continued existence of Roman rule can be said to have set in motion processes of economic or cultural change or to have altered pre-existing religious perceptions. In her paper on *Funerary epigraphy and the impact of Rome in Italy* K. Lomas deals with the process of Romanization in Italy in the late republican and early imperial period as reflected in the adoption of Latin and the use of the *tria nomina* on tombstones. In his paper on *Town and chôra of Thespieae in the imperial age* J.L. Bintliff interprets the survey evidence from various parts of Central Greece as indicating that the 'impact of Rome' in the economic sphere depended on the pre-existing trajectories of newly incorporated areas and also on their place in terms of the functioning of the imperial system as a whole. Next, H. Elton, in his paper on *Romanization and some Cilician cults*, takes us to Cilicia in his study of two cultic sites and stresses the persistence of indigenous traditions under a nominally Roman appearance, thus illustrating the limits of Romanization in this area. Changes in material culture are the subject of the following two papers. H. von Hesberg offers a study of tombstones and funerary monuments in the Rhine provinces as expressions of social mobility among the local elites in his *Grabmonumente als Zeichen des sozialen Aufstiegs der neuen Eliten in den germanischen Provinzen*. N. de Haan turns to private houses in the provinces of North Africa and Britain and argues that, in domestic architecture, we should allow for a greater influence of local traditions and for more subtle interactions with Roman influence than has been hitherto assumed: *Living like the Romans? Some remarks on domestic architecture in North Africa and Britain*.

Urban elites and civic life form the subject of the fourth and last section. It is headed by a paper by T. de Vries and W.J. Zwalf on Ulpian's life expectancy table, which is included here because it attempts to solve a general problem in the field of ancient demographic history by focusing on the epigraphic evidence from Rome. The authors' principal aim is to demonstrate that the life expectancy figures given by Ulpian are reliable and must therefore have been obtained with the help of good empirical data (*Roman actuarial science and Ulpian's life expectancy table*). Taking the Younger Pliny as an example, A. Kriekhaus discusses Roman senators dividing their time, money and at-

tion between the capital, where they had to reside officially, and their home towns, where they could act as local benefactors (*Duae Patriae? C. Plinius Caecilius Secundus zwischen germana patria und urbs*). Focusing on the cities of Asia Minor in the last two centuries BC, J.H.M. Strubbe presents a study of the cultic honours for wealthy citizens who had acted as benefactors of their own cities, a practice that ended with the establishment of Roman imperial rule (*Cultic honours for benefactors in the cities of Asia Minor*). The relationship between local elites and the imperial power is dealt with by M. Horster in her contribution on honorary office-holding by the emperor, or members of his family, in the local towns. She discusses the practice of appointing local substitutes for them in her *Substitutes for emperors and members of the imperial families as local magistrates*. The crucial role of provincial elites in forming a link between the central power and their compatriots is highlighted for the provinces of Gaul by M. Dondin-Payre in her paper on *Notables et élites dans les Trois Gaules*. M. di Branco takes us to 3rd and 4th century Athens and to the defence of the city against, respectively, Heruli and Visigoths by its local elite: the differences in the rhetoric and imagery employed in both cases – philosophical rhetoric in the 3rd and more exalted invocations mixed with magical and theurgical rituals in the 4th – illustrate the development of (neo)-platonist thinking from the time of Porphyrius to the days of Proclus in the wider, Late Roman context of a growing influence of ‘the irrational’ (*Entre Amphion et Achille: réalité et mythologie de la défense d’Athènes du IIIe au IVe siècle après J.-C.*).

Three papers in this final section deal with the position of women among the municipal elites of the empire. M. Navarro Caballero studies the economic roles of wealthy women, some of them acting as public benefactors, in the Spanish provinces in her paper on *L’élite, les femmes et l’argent dans les provinces hispaniques*. V. Hirschmann discusses women as members of corporations, associations and other specimens of Roman *Vereinswesen*, a subject that awaits much needed investigation, for which her paper offers some introductory methodological considerations (*Methodische Überlegungen zu Frauen in antiken Vereinen*). Finally, E.A. Hemelrijk presents a study of the role of women as patronesses of cities in the western provinces in her paper on *Patronage of cities: the role of women*.

The editors,
Leiden / Utrecht, August 2004.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- AE = Année Épigraphique
ANRW = W. Haase & H. Temporini, eds., Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt (Berlin/ New York 1972 -)
CAH = Cambridge Ancient History
CIL = Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum
CILA = Corpus de Inscipciones Latinas de Andalucía
CJ = Codex Iustinianus
CTh = Codex Theodosianus
Dig. = Digesta
Eph. Ep. = Ephemeris Epigraphica
FIRA = S. Riccobono, *et al.*, Fontes Iuris Romani Anteiustiniani (1940-1943)
HEp. = Hispania Epigráfica (1954 -)
ICVR = I.B. de Rossi, Inscriptiones christianae urbis Romae septimo saeculo antiquiores (Roma 1857-1915)
IDR = Inscriptiones Daciae Romanae
I. Didyma = A. Rehm, Didyma II: Die Inschriften (Berlin 1958)
IG = Inscriptiones Graecae
IGBulg = G. Mikailov, Inscriptiones Graecae in Bulgaria repertae (Sofia 1956-1987).
IGLS = Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie
IGR(R) = R. Cagnat *et al.*, Inscriptiones Graecae ad Res Romanas pertinentes
IGUR = Inscriptiones Graecae Urbis Romae
IK = Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien
IL Afr = Inscriptions latines d'Afrique
IL Alg = Inscriptions latines de l'Algérie
IL Bulg = Inscriptiones Latinae in Bulgaria repertae
ILER = J. Vives, Inscipciones latinas de la España romana (Barcelone 1971)
ILGN = E. Espérandieu, Inscriptions latines de Gaule (Narbonnaise) (Paris 1929)
ILPG = M. Pastor Muñoz & A. Mendoza Eguaras, Inscipciones latinas de la provincia de Granada (Granada 1987)
ILS = H. Dessau, Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae
ILTG = Inscriptions latines des Trois Gaules

- Inscr. Ital. = I. It. = Inscriptiones Italiae
 IOSPE = Inscriptiones Antiquae Orae Septentrionalis Ponti Euxini Graecae et Latinae
 I. Priene = F. Hiller von Gaertringen *et al.*, Inschriften von Priene (Berlin 1906)
 IRAI = R. Lázaro Pérez, Inscripciones romanas de Almería (Almería 1980)
 IRB = S. Mariner Bigorra, Inscripciones romanas de Barcelona (Barcelona 1973)
 IRC = Inscriptions romaines de Catalogne
 IRCP = J. d'Encarnaçao, Inscrifções romanas do Conventus Pacensis (Coimbra 1984)
 IRPC = J. González, Inscripciones romanas de la provincia de Cádiz (Cádiz 1982)
 IScM = Inscriptiones Scythiae Minoris graecae et latinae
 MAMA = Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua I- (1928-)
 OGIS = W. Dittenberger, Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae
 P. Lond. = Greek Papyri in the British Museum
 P. Oxy. = B.P. Grenfell & A.S. Hunt *et al.*, The Oxyrhynchus Papyri
 P. Ryl. = C.H. Roberts & E.G. Turner, Catalogue of Greek Papyri in the John Rylands Library (1911-1927)
 PG = Migne, Patrologia Graeca
 PIR² = E. Groag *et al.*, Prosopographia Imperii Romani (1933 -)
 PLRE = Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire (Cambridge 1971-1992)
 PSI = Papiri Greci e Latini. Pubblicazioni della Società Italiana per la Ricerca dei Papiri Greci e Latini in Egitto (Florence 1912 -)
 RAC = Rivista di archeologia cristiana
 RE = Pauly-Wissowa, Realencyklopädie der Klassischen Altertumswissenschaft
 RIB = Roman Inscriptions from Britain
 RIC = The Roman Imperial Coinage. Vols. I-X (London 1923-1994)
 RIT = G. Alföldy, Die römischen Inschriften von Tarraco (Berlin 1975)
 RIU = Die römischen Inschriften Ungarns
 RMD = M. Roxan, Roman Military Diplomas (London 1978-)
 RPC = A. Burnett *et al.*, Roman Provincial Coinage (London 1992-)
 Sardis VII = T. Buttrey *et al.*, Greek, Roman and Islamic Coins from Sardis (Cambridge, Mass. 1981)
 SEG = Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum
 Select Papyri = A.S. Hunt & C.C. Edgar, Select Papyri (London 1932)

SHA = *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*

Syll.³ = W. Dittenberger *et al.*, *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum* (Leipzig 1915-1924³)

TAM = *Tituli Asiae Minoris* (Wien 1901-)

I

INSTRUMENTS OF IMPERIAL RULE

LATEINISCH, GRIECHISCH, GERMANISCH?
WIE SPRACH ROM MIT SEINEN UNTERTANEN?

By
WERNER ECK

Rom hat sein Imperium durch Waffen erworben. Das begann, wenn man von Italien einmal absieht, mit Sizilien im Jahr 241 v. Chr. und endete unter Septimius Severus mit der letzten Provinz, die dem römischen Reich hinzugefügt wurde: Mesopotamia et Osrhoena. Keine einzige der mehr als vierzig Provinzen zu Beginn des 3. Jh. n. Chr. ist ohne militärische Gewalt in römischen Besitz gekommen; selbst die wenigen, die die Römer von hellenistischen Herrschern geerbt hatten, wurden erst nach militärischer Intervention dauerhafter Teil des Imperiums. Rom hat zu allen Bewohnern des Reiches in dem Augenblick, als sie Untertanen der Weltmacht wurden, durch seine militärische Macht gesprochen.

Die Sprache der Gewalt, die als Drohung stets präsent blieb, wurde sehr wohl verstanden. Sieht man von Gallien und insbesondere von Iudaea ab, dann haben alle die Konsequenzen aus diesen ersten Erfahrungen gezogen: Eine Revolte gegen Rom konnte nicht zum Erfolg führen. So ist es auch kein Zufall, daß Rom nach der Eroberungsphase bei der Sicherung der Macht nach Innen insgesamt nur geringe militärische Verluste erlitten hat. Die Vernichtung der legio XXII Deiotariana im Bar-Kochba-Aufstand ist der einzige vollständige Verlust einer Bürgereinheit, der durch Reichsangehörige verursacht wurde; in Gallien-Germanien wurden 69/70 die Legionen nicht im Kampf aufgerieben, sondern später aus Prestige Gründen von Vespasian aufgelöst. Diese große Stabilität der Herrschaft war weithin eine Folge der Machtdemonstration beim Erwerb der jeweiligen Region.¹ Diese Lektion blieb nicht nur abstrakt im Gedächtnis der Unterworfenen; die Erinnerung daran war durchaus bewußter Teil des politischen Denkens und Handelns, nicht nur bei König Agrippa II., der nach Iosephus, *Bellum Iudaicum* 2, 345 ff., seine Landsleute im Jahr 66 an Roms Stärke erinnerte und sie vor einem Aufstand warnte. Er war zwar erfolglos bei seinem Bemühen, die Erinnerung auch damals wirksam werden zu lassen, aber die Beispiele aus anderen Provinzen, die Iosephus dem König in den Mund legt, zeigen die Wirksam-

¹ Was natürlich nicht heißt, daß nicht auch andere Gründe und Umstände zu dieser Stabilität wesentlich beitrugen. Nur wurde die Lektion, die stets am Anfang stand, nicht vergessen und auch der heutige Betrachter darf sie nicht außer acht lassen.

keit der Erinnerung. Dies war eine Realität auch in der Welt der Pax Romana. Bei der Betrachtung und Beurteilung der Stabilität der römischen Welt sollte man dies nicht vergessen.

Doch nicht diese Art der Sprache Roms soll hier interessieren, auch nicht diejenige, die in Monumenten wie Triumphbögen, Siegesdenkmälern, gewaltigen Befestigungsmauern oder eindrucksvollen Grabdenkmälern ihren Ausdruck fand. Manches davon wird morgen im Vortrag von Henner von Hesberg lebendig werden. Vielmehr soll gefragt werden, wie Rom und seine Vertreter sich mit den Untertanen in Worten verständigten, wie diese Vertreter den konkreten Willen Roms, seine Anforderungen, seine Befehle weitergaben und sich dabei verständlich machten und wie sie umgekehrt die Antworten der Untertanen oder deren Anliegen und Wünsche vernahmen und verstehen konnten. Es geht also um die konkrete verbale Kommunikation zwischen beiden in den verschiedenen Formen.

Wenn im Titel des Vortrags neben Lateinisch und Griechisch auch das Germanische als Kommunikationsmittel steht, dann sollte Germanisch natürlich als *pars pro toto* verstanden werden. Das Imperium Romanum war ein Vielvölkerstaat *par excellence*. Wie viele Sprachen innerhalb dieses politischen Raumes etwa im 2. Jh. n. Chr. gesprochen wurden, läßt sich nicht genau sagen. Aber es genügt beispielsweise ein kurzer Blick in den Text eines Militärdiploms, um die Vielfalt allein der im römischen Heer versammelten Ethnien zu erfassen. In dem Diplom, das am 20. Februar 98 für die Auxiliareinheiten von Germania inferior ausgestellt wurde, werden z.B. genannt: Hispani, Vindelici, Norici, Batavi, Afri, Latobici, Varciani, Thracae, Breuci, Brittones, Pannonii, Delmatae, Astures und Lusitani.² Manche dieser Namen sind Sammelbezeichnungen, die tatsächlich eine größere Anzahl von Stämmen umfaßten, die keineswegs alle eine einzige Sprache gesprochen haben. Weit mehr als 50 solcher Ethnien, darunter mindestens 15 im nordgallisch-germanischen Bereich sind bei den römischen Hilfstruppen bekannt;³ viele andere Ethnien treten nie beim Heer auf, waren aber Teil der Reichsbevölkerung. Mit all diesen mußten Rom und seine Amtsträger kom-

² J.K. Haalebos – W.J.H. Willems, 'Recent research on the limes in the Netherlands', *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 12 (1999), 247 f., bes. 254 ff.; J.K. Haalebos, 'Traian und die Hilfstruppen am Niederrhein – Ein Militärdiplom des Jahres 98 n. Chr. aus Elst in der Over-Betuwe', *Saalburg Jahrbuch* 50 (2000), 31 ff.

³ Siehe die Diplome in CIL XVI sowie Roxan, *RMD* I-IV; ferner P. Holder, *Studies in the Auxilia of the Roman Army from Augustus to Trajan* (Oxford 1980); J. Spaul, *Ala*² (Andover 1994); ders., *Cohors*² (Oxford 2000).

munizieren und dies ist auch geschehen. Es hat ganz natürlicherweise – trotz der Vielfalt – konkrete Verständigungsmöglichkeiten gegeben.

Daß ein Weltreich seine eigene Sprache als wichtiges Herrschaftsinstrument, aber auch als Mittel zur Selbstdarstellung benützt, ist eine zeitlose Erscheinung. Auch Rom wußte das und nutzte die Sprache. Berühmt und überall zitiert wird die von Valerius Maximus überlieferte Maxime, die Magistrate der Vergangenheit hätten, um die *maiestas populi Romani* zu betonen und festzuhalten, darauf bestanden, mit Griechen grundsätzlich in lateinischer Sprache zu verhandeln, und zwar nicht nur in Rom, sondern auch in Griechenland und Asia.⁴ Sie hätten damit die Griechen gezwungen, Dolmetscher zu verwenden. Das ist ganz sicher nicht eine Verklärung oder Idealisierung der Vergangenheit, sondern Ausdruck einer Haltung, die einer Weltmacht eigen ist, damals wie heute. Das Selbstwertgefühl findet Ausdruck in der eigenen Sprache. Als L. Aemilius Paullus nach der Schlacht von Pydna den Makedonen die politischen Entscheidungen verkündet, tat er dies auch in Latein und ließ den Prätor Cn. Octavius die Erklärungen auf Griechisch wiederholen.⁵ Auch auf Inschriften kann der Zusammenfall von *maiestas imperii Romani* und Verwendung der lateinischen Sprache beobachtet werden. Octavian/Augustus ließ an der Stelle seines einstigen Lagers bei Actium die Siegesstadt, Nikopolis, errichten, nicht als römische Kolonie, sondern als Polis. Aber unter das Siegesdenkmal für die Schlacht ließ er eine lateinische Inschrift setzen.⁶ Eine griechische Dedikation wäre ihm gar nicht in den Sinn gekommen. Ähnlich wurde, vermutlich von *senatus populusque Romanus*, bei Tel Shalem im südlichen Galiläa für Hadrian nach dem siegreichen Ende des Bar-Kochba-Aufstandes im Jahr 136 ein gewaltiger Siegesbogen errichtet, mit einer lateinischen Inschrift. Tel Shalem liegt auf dem Territorium von Skythopolis; dort waren alle öffentlichen Inschriften in griechischer Sprache abgefaßt. Doch der Bogen trug

⁴ Val. Max. 2,2,2: *Magistratus vero prisci quantopere suam populi que Romani maiestatem retinentes se gesserint hinc cognosci potest, quod inter cetera obtinendae gravitatis indicia illud quoque magna cum perseverantia custodiebant, ne Graecis umquam nisi latine responsa darent. Quin etiam ipsos linguae volubilitate, qua plurimum valent, excussa per interpretem loqui cogeant non in urbe tantum nostra, sed etiam in Graecia et Asia, quo scilicet Latinae vocis honos per omnes gentes venerabilior diffunderetur.*

⁵ Livius 45,29,1ff.

⁶ V. Ehrenburg – A.H.M. Jones, *Documents Illustrating the Reigns of Augustus and Tiberius* (Oxford 1955²), 57, Nr. 12 = W.M. Murray and Ph. M. Petsas, *Octavian's Campsite Memorial for the Actium War* (Philadelphia 1989), 62 ff.

einen lateinischen Text.⁷ Die *Maiestas* des Reiches ließ eine andere Sprache gar nicht zu. Gleiches sieht man auf den Meilensteinen fast aller Provinzen des Ostens: Die Inschriften sind fast stets in lateinischer Sprache abgefaßt, nur die Entfernungsangaben ab der nächsten Stadt sind häufig auf Griechisch geschrieben.⁸

Gerade in dieser Zweiteilung der Sprache erfaßt man ein wesentliches Element der Haltung, in der römische Autoritäten den Bewohnern der Provinzen gegenüber traten. Es gab auf der einen Seite die ganz selbstverständliche herrscherliche Attitüde, die sich in der eigenen Sprache ausdrückte; auf der anderen Seite aber setzte sich genauso die Pragmatik durch, die ein Interesse daran haben mußte, verstanden zu werden. Schon die Meilensteine des Manius Aquilius, des Konsuls von 125 v. Chr., der in Asia den Aufstand des Aristonicus niedergeschlagen und dann in dem neu erworbenen Gebiet ein Straßenbauprogramm hatte durchführen lassen, sind zweisprachig formuliert.⁹ Die Frage ist aber, wie weit diese Pragmatik ging, ob diese dazu führte, daß über Latein und im Osten Griechisch hinaus auch andere Sprachen verwendet wurden oder zur Verwendung zugelassen wurden, um zu dieser allgemeinen Verständlichkeit zu gelangen. Dabei müssen einige wesentliche Differenzierungen vorgenommen und Voraussetzungen klargestellt werden. Denn man kann schon vom Grundsätzlichen her annehmen, daß es wohl kaum allgemein verbindliche Regeln für alle Situationen und vor allem jeden sozialen Kontext gegeben hat. Für römische Bürger beispielsweise können, zumindest teilweise, andere Regeln gegolten haben als für Untertanen peregrinen Rechts.

Allgemeine Anordnungen ergingen nach allem, was wir wissen, nur in lateinischer oder griechischer Sprache. Wenn die Überlieferung nicht täuscht, dann wurde im Westen nie eine andere Sprache für Anordnungen der Kaiser oder der Statthalter verwendet als Latein, während umgekehrt im Osten entsprechende Schreiben in Griechisch der Öffentlichkeit nahegebracht wurden. Aus Ephesus mit seiner außerordentlich reichen inschriftli-

⁷ W. Eck – G. Foerster, 'Ein Triumphbogen für Hadrian im Tal von Beth Shean bei Tel Shalem', *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 12 (1999), 294-313; W. Eck, 'Hadrian, the Bar Kokhba revolt, and the epigraphic transmission', in P. Schäfer, Hg., *The Bar Kokhba War Reconsidered* (Tübingen 2003), 153 ff.

⁸ Siehe ILS 5841: lateinischer Text des Meilensteins, am Ende aber: ἀπὸ κολ. Αἰλίας Καπιτωλ. μίλ. ε΄; AE 1971, 471 = C. H. Lehmann – K. G. Holum, *The Greek and Latin Inscriptions of Caesarea Maritima* (Philadelphia 2000), Nr. 100: Meilenstein des Pertinax in lateinischer Sprache, am Ende: ἀπο Καισα[ρείας] μείλια [γ΄].

⁹ Siehe z.B. ILS 5814.

chen Überlieferung kennen wir mehr als 70 Schreiben von Kaisern oder Statthaltern. Davon sind insgesamt nur 11 in der Sprache Roms abgefaßt und die Mehrzahl davon gehört sicher oder mit großer Wahrscheinlichkeit erst ins 4. Jh.¹⁰ Das einzige sicher aus der früheren Zeit stammende kaiserliche Schreiben in lateinischer Sprache ist der Brief von Septimius Severus und Caracalla aus dem Jahr 204, in dem die beiden Kaiser bekräftigen, daß ein *senator populi Romani* nicht verpflichtet sei, Einquartierungen in sein Haus zu akzeptieren.¹¹ Davon sind mindestens acht Kopien aus verschiedenen Städten der Provinz Asia, aber auch Galatia bekannt.¹² Es gibt von diesen *sacrae litterae* auch eine griechische Version; aber an allen Orten, von denen wir den Brief überliefert haben, ist er in einer lateinischen Version publiziert worden, nur an dreien auch in einer griechischen; das weicht völlig von dem ab, was wir sonst aus dem Osten kennen. Doch ist es bei den *sacrae litterae* gerade die Frage der Verständlichkeit gewesen, die die Publikation in lateinischer Sprache verlangte. Denn diejenigen, die auf Grund ihres sozialen Status, vor allem aber ihrer offiziellen Stellung im Rahmen der römisch-staatlichen Ordnung Einquartierung fordern konnten, waren römische Amtsträger: Statthalter, Prokuratoren, Soldaten oder auch kaiserliche Freigelassene, die in amtlichem Auftrag unterwegs waren. Sie aber sprachen Latein. So mußte man ihnen auch die kaiserliche Privilegierung in lateinischer Sprache entgegen halten. Ähnliches ist bei dem Erlaß des Sex. Sotidius Strabo Libuscidianus mit den Regelungen für die Durchführung des *cursus publicus* auf dem Territorium von Sagalassos zu beobachten; auch in diesem Fall steht die lateinische Version voran, weil die Anordnungen wiederum den eben genannten Personenkreis betrifft; dann aber folgt noch die griechische Version, weil auch die Bewohner der Gemeinde Sagalassos wissen müssen, wer Anspruch worauf hat.¹³ Doch ein Edikt des Prokonsuls von Asia, Vicirius Martialis, in dem er jedem Strafen androhte, der die geschützten Rundstreifen der nach Ephesus führenden Aquädukte landwirtschaftlich nutzte, wurde natürlich in griechischer Sprache der Öffentlichkeit bekannt gemacht und auch nahe an den Aquädukten auf Stein einge-

¹⁰ Siehe I. Ephesos Ia 19a.b (in 16/17 erscheint derselbe Text in griechischer Sprache). 40 (nur die Angabe des Datums verweist noch darauf, daß der Erlaß ursprünglich lateinisch abgefaßt war). 41. 42. 43. 207. 208. 224.

¹¹ I. Ephesos II 207 f.

¹² Th. Drew-Bear – W. Eck – P. Herrmann, 'Sacrae litterae', *Chiron* 7 (1977), 355 ff.; C.P. Jones, 'The sacrae litterae of 204: two colonial copies', *Chiron* 14, 1984, 93 ff.

¹³ St. Mitchell, 'Requisitioned transport in the Roman empire: a new inscription from Pisidia', *Journal of Roman Studies* 66 (1976), 106 ff.

meißelt.¹⁴ Adressaten waren die auf dem Territorium von Ephesus lebenden Menschen, deren Sprache nicht Latein, sondern Griechisch war. Schließlich sollte das Edikt Wirkung erzeugen. Als dieser Erlaß durch einen seiner Nachfolger, Cornelius Priscus, eingeschärft werden mußte, geschah das ebenfalls wieder in der selben Sprache.¹⁵

Man könnte es bei diesem einfachen Tatbestand bewenden lassen, wenn wir nicht noch eine Überlieferung hätten, die vermuten lassen kann, daß – zumindest manchmal – auch Verlautbarungen, Anordnungen oder sogar “Proklamationen” römischer Amtsträger noch in anderer Sprache als Latein und/oder Griechisch veröffentlicht worden sein können. Es ist der *titulus* über dem Kreuz Christi, auf dem der Präfekt Pontius Pilatus die Begründung für die Todesstrafe hatte schreiben lassen; nach dem Johannes-evangelium erfolgte dies in Hebräisch, Latein und Griechisch. Vermutlich war mit Ἑβραῖστί bei Johannes das Aramäische gemeint.¹⁶ In Jerusalem mit seiner in der Mehrheit jüdischen Bevölkerung, bei der, vom Lateinischen völlig abgesehen, generell keineswegs die Kenntnis des Griechischen vorausgesetzt werden darf, ist dies eigentlich nicht verwunderlich. Auf sie zielte die Version in Ἑβραῖστί, sie sollten sehen und erkennen, wer hier aus welchem Grund gekreuzigt wurde. Schließlich waren nach Pontius Pilatus’ Meinung sie diejenigen, auf die solche “Volksverführer” wie Jesus zielen. Strafe sollte abschrecken.

In diesem Fall hat also ein durchschnittlicher römischer Amtsträger eine Ankündigung nicht nur in den beiden Reichssprachen, die im Osten gültig waren, publiziert, sondern in der im lokalen Kontext von der Mehrheit verstandenen Sprache. Warum bei Johannes die drei Sprachen überhaupt benannt werden, ist nicht ersichtlich; bei Matthäus, Markus und Lukas, die ebenfalls von dem *Titulus* berichten, wird von der dreifachen sprachlichen Form nichts gesagt.¹⁷

Der *titulus crucis* scheint das einzige Beispiel für solches Verhalten eines römischen Amtsträgers zu sein, das wir kennen. Denn die dreisprachige Inschrift des ersten *praefectus Aegypti*, Cornelius Gallus, von der Insel Philae¹⁸ gehört einem ganz anderen Genus von Inschriften, den Memorialinschriften, an, über die gleich noch zu sprechen sein wird. Da der Bericht

¹⁴ I. Ephesos VII 1, 3217.

¹⁵ I. Ephesos VII 1, 3217b.

¹⁶ Joh. 19, 19.

¹⁷ Matth. 27, 37; Marc. 15, 26; Luc. 23, 38.

¹⁸ CIL III, 14147,5 = ILS 8995; Abbildung bei T. Stickler, “Gallus amore peribat”? *Cornelius Gallus und die Anfänge der augusteischen Herrschaft in Ägypten* (Rahden 2002), 20.

über den *titulus crucis* zudem literarisch überliefert ist, könnte man das Ganze als eine Ausnahme übergehen. Doch so einfach ist die Angelegenheit nicht; denn der *titulus* am Kopf des Kreuzes war auf eine Holztafel geschrieben. Damit aber wird ein Aspekt berührt, der bei der Bewertung unserer Überlieferung immer noch allzu oft übersehen wird.

Unsere epigraphischen Dokumente, die uns heute noch erhalten sind, repräsentieren keineswegs getreulich das, was einst vorhanden war, vielmehr nur eine äußerst einseitige Auswahl. Erhalten blieb das, was auf einen dauerhaften Schrifträger geschrieben wurde, also vor allem auf Stein oder Bronze. Doch sind Dokumente auf Bronze, einem durchaus dauerhaften Träger, die insbesondere im Westen äußerst zahlreich waren, dennoch zum größeren Teil untergegangen, weil das Metall schon in antiker, noch mehr in späterer Zeit zu begehrt war. Doch alles Geschriebene, was auf vergänglichem Material in der Öffentlichkeit präsentiert worden war, ist verschwunden, und zwar schon bald nach dem Entstehen. Das gilt vor allem für all das, wofür als Inschriftenträger einst Holz Verwendung gefunden hatte.¹⁹ Die Gründe sind unmittelbar klar und müssen nicht näher erläutert werden.

Gerade für den Kontext der sprachlichen Kommunikation aber gilt, daß mehr oder weniger alles, was einst staatliche oder städtische Amtsträger in schriftlicher Form der Öffentlichkeit mitteilen wollten oder mußten, auf Holz geschrieben wurde. Gelegentlich benutzte man dafür auch geweißte Wände. Doch Holz oder die gekalkten Wände einer Porticus sind verloren gegangen und mit ihnen das, was darauf geschrieben wurde. Ein einziges Beispiel möge genügen, um das Ausmaß dessen klar zu machen, was im staatlich-administrativen Bereich einst an epigraphischen Dokumenten auf solchen Schrifträgern vorhanden war. Nach der *lex Irnitana* waren die Magistrate der Stadt verpflichtet, jedes Jahr das Album der in der Stadt tätigen Richter zu publizieren. Das galt nicht nur für Irni, sondern für jede römisch oder latinisch organisierte Stadt in den Provinzen wie auch in Italien. Da diese Veröffentlichung der Namen der Richter im Zusammenhang

¹⁹ Siehe dazu W. Eck, 'Inschriften auf Holz. Ein unterschätztes Phänomen der epigraphischen Kultur Roms', in P. Kneissl und V. Losemann, Hgg., *Imperium Romanum. Studien zu Geschichte und Rezeption, Festschrift für Karl Christ zum 75. Geburtstag* (Stuttgart 1998), 203 ff.; ders., 'Zur Einleitung. Römische Provinzialadministration und die Erkenntnismöglichkeiten der epigraphischen Überlieferung', in W. Eck unter Mitarbeit von E. Müller-Luckner, Hg., *Lokale Autonomie und römische Ordnungsmacht in den kaiserzeitlichen Provinzen vom 1. bis 3. Jahrhundert* (München 1999, 1ff; ders., 'Öffentlichkeit, Monument und Inschrift', in S. Panciera, Hg., *Akten des 11. Intern. Kongresses für Griech. u. Lat. Epigraphik Rom 1997* (Rom 1999), 55 ff.

mit der Jurisdiktion des Statthalters stand, kann man auch nicht davon ausgehen, die Vorschrift sei vielleicht überhaupt nur theoretisch aufgestellt worden. So müssen wir davon ausgehen, daß im Verlauf einiger Jahrhunderte allein in den Provinzen der iberischen Halbinsel bei mehreren hundert von Städten in der Baetica, der Tarraconensis und der Lusitania Tausende solcher *alba iudicum* einst publiziert worden sind. Nicht ein Fragment einer einzigen Holztafel ist aber bis heute gefunden worden. Es wäre auch mehr als überraschend und nur unter außergewöhnlichen Voraussetzungen möglich, wenn dies einmal geschähe.

Was aber für diesen Typus von amtlichen Verlautbarungen gilt, trifft ebenso auf alle anderen publizierten amtlichen Äußerungen zu, die wie der *titulus crucis* in drei Sprachen geschrieben worden sein können. Sie können gar nicht bis heute erhalten geblieben sein, weil das Material, auf das sie geschrieben wurden, dies nicht zuließ. Doch das heißt eben nicht, daß es diese Art von Dokumenten nicht gegeben hat. Im Gegenteil: Gerade weil Johannes keine Erklärung für die Publikation gibt, die auf außergewöhnliche Umstände schließen läßt und weil ferner die anderen Evangelisten es nicht einmal für nötig erachten, den Umstand überhaupt zu erwähnen, darf man annehmen, daß es für sie eher zu den Routinevorgängen gehörte, daß auch Hebräisch/Aramäisch im amtlichen Kontext verwendet wurde.

Ist dieser Schluß aber richtig, dann muß dies nicht unwesentlich unsere Vorstellung darüber verändern, wie Rom und seine Amtsträger mit ihren Untertanen sprachen, jedenfalls dann, wenn man mit aktuellen Mitteilungen möglichst viele erreichen wollte oder mußte. Das kann zumindest für manche Regionen des Reiches zutreffen, ohne daß es für alle zutreffen muß. Denn solche Offenheit für die Verwendung der lokalen Sprache muß man überall dort ausschließen, wo die gesprochene Sprache eines Volkes, eines Stammes nie zur Schriftsprache geworden war. Das aber gilt vor allem für weite Teile der Donauprovinzen und wohl auch für den Westen des Reiches. Ansonsten aber kann oder muß man durchaus in größerem Umfang mit diesem Typus von schriftlicher Publikation rechnen. Daß dreisprachige Inschriften insgesamt sehr wenige bekannt sind, besagt nichts. Denn insbesondere für Latein gab es im Osten nur ein sehr beschränktes Publikum. Die wenigen Texte in Latein, Griechisch und Palmyrenisch auf Stein aus Palmyra sind aus speziellen Umständen zu erklären. Sie hängen auch nicht mit der römischen Provinzialadministration zusammen.²⁰

²⁰ K. As'ad – Chr. Delplace, 'Inscriptions latines de Palmyre', *Revue des Études Anciennes* 104 (2002), 363 ff.

Im kommunikativen Prozeß zwischen Rom und seinen Untertanen ist freilich im Kontext des Sprachenproblems noch ein weiterer struktureller Faktor von entscheidender Bedeutung, jedenfalls soweit die Untertanen insgesamt als Gruppe oder als regionale oder lokale Gruppen angesprochen werden sollen, nicht als Individuen. Denn Rom sprach üblicherweise nicht direkt mit den einzelnen Untertanen, selbst wenn idealiter jeder einzelne erreicht werden sollte, etwa von der Nachricht über die Herrschaftsübernahme durch einen neuen Kaiser oder bei der Ankündigung der Geburt eines Sohnes im Kaiserhaus. Ganz gewiß sollten bei solchen Gelegenheiten alle Untertanen in die *laetitia publica* einstimmen, wie es in einer Verlautbarung des *praefectus Aegypti* bei der Herrschaftsübernahme des Pertinax heißt.²¹ Doch die Nachricht darüber lief vom Zentrum über die Statthalter zu den einzelnen Selbstverwaltungseinheiten, so wie in Ägypten vom Präfekten zu den Strategen der Gaue. Dort aber, bei den Trägern der lokalen Selbstverwaltung, endete die direkte Involvierung der römischen Herrschaftsträger. Verantwortlich waren von da an die Magistrate der Städte unterschiedlichen Rechts, der Stämme oder wie auch immer die Selbstverwaltungseinheiten benannt werden mögen. Das konnten im Fall von Kerniudaea bis zum Jahr 66 das Synhedrion in Jerusalem und möglicherweise die Leiter der zehn Toparchien sein, in die das Land geteilt war,²² oder auch die Häuptlinge der Baquaten, die mit ihren nomadisierenden Stämmen in den Grenzzonen der mauretanischen Provinzen lebten²³ oder in Italien z.B. die *duumviri* der Stadt Tergeste, die nicht nur für ihre eigene Gemeinde zuständig waren, sondern auch für die attribuierten Stämme der Carni und Catali, jedenfalls bis zur Zeit des Antoninus Pius.²⁴ Und die *duumviri* der CCAA waren wohl auch für die Teile der Ubier verantwortlich, die bei der Koloniegründung noch nicht unmittelbar Teil der neuen Gemeinde geworden waren, oder auch die Sunuci, die ihr Zentrum im Westen der fruchtbaren Bördenzone um Korneli-

²¹ Wilcken, *Chrestomathie* 490 = *Select Papyri* II 222.

²² H.M. Cotton, 'Some aspects of the Roman administration of Judaea/Syria-Palaestina', in: *Lokale Autonomie und römische Ordnungsmacht in den kaiserzeitlichen Provinzen*, Kolloquien des Historischen Kollegs (München 1999), 75 ff., bes. 82 ff.

²³ Zu den Baquaten vgl. E. Frézouls, 'Les Baquates et la province romaine de Tingitane', *Bulletin d'Archéologie Marocaine* 2 (1957), 65 ff.; M. Christol, 'Rome et les tribus indigènes en Mauretanie Tingitane', *Africa Romana* 5 (1987), 305 ff.; W. Kuhoff, 'Die Beziehungen des römischen Reiches zum Volksstamm der Baquaten in Mauretanien', *Arctos* 27 (1993), 55 ff.

²⁴ ILS 6680.

münster hatten.²⁵ Gerade bei den führenden Familien dieser lokalen Selbstverwaltungseinheiten wird man am ehesten neben der Kenntnis einer der beiden Reichssprachen auch die Vertrautheit mit lokalen Sprachen, also mit Ubisch, Sunukisch, der Sprache der Alpenstämme oder Aramäisch bzw. Berberisch voraussetzen dürfen, soweit solche Sprachen eben auf dem Territorium der einzelnen Stadt vertreten waren. Und wenn der einzelne Amtsträger die Fähigkeiten nicht hatte, dann gab es stets Leute, die dabei einspringen konnten. Wie jedenfalls die Weitergabe dessen, was von der Reichsebene kam, erfolgte, das kümmerte Rom selbst kaum in irgend einer Weise. Die Angelegenheiten mußten erledigt werden. Und verantwortlich waren dafür die lokalen Magistrate.

Gerade auf dieser lokalen Ebene darf man also voraussetzen, daß die Anordnungen und Bekanntmachungen aus Rom auch in der jeweiligen epichorischen Sprache erfolgten, wohl kaum in schriftlicher Form, sondern mündlich durch Herolde. Davon findet sich in der Überlieferung kaum etwas; doch diese Möglichkeit der Bekanntmachung ist bis in die Zeit nach dem 2. Weltkrieg in vielen Gegenden Europas ganz üblich gewesen. Auf diese Weise wurde auch das Hindernis der Leseunfähigkeit breiter Teile der Bevölkerung umgangen.²⁶

Daß auf dieser lokalen Ebene der Selbstverwaltung auch andere Sprachen als Latein oder Griechisch im mündlichen Verkehr verwendet wurden, darf man deswegen mit einiger Berechtigung behaupten, weil in den Fällen, in denen der individuelle Untertan im römischen Reich mit den Vertretern der römischen Macht zusammentreffen mußte, durchaus, wenn nötig, die jeweils eigene Sprache gebraucht werden konnte. Für nicht wenige aller Bewohner des Reiches, vor allem, soweit sie außerhalb der urbanisierten Zentren lebten, war dies wegen der geringen eigenen Sprachkompetenz für eine der beiden Reichssprachen wohl nötig, da andernfalls die Kommunikation nicht möglich gewesen wäre.

Allerdings beschränkte sich solch unmittelbare Berührung des normalen Untertanen mit staatlichen Repräsentanten auf wenige Gelegenheiten. Denn fast alles wurde ansonsten auf der lokalen Ebene durch die Magistrate der Selbstverwaltungseinheiten erledigt; über deren Sprachkompetenz aber braucht man sich, wie festgestellt, keine weiteren Gedanken

²⁵ Dazu W. Eck, *Köln in römischer Zeit. Geschichte einer Stadt im Rahmen des Imperium Romanum* (Köln 2004), 284 ff.

²⁶ Siehe zu diesem Aspekt u.a. W. Harris, *Ancient Literacy* (Cambridge 1989); ferner *Literacy in the Roman World*, JRA suppl. ser. 3 (Ann Arbor 1991).

zu machen. Doch zumindest bei den in einem gewissen Rhythmus wiederkehrenden Censusmaßnahmen und – individueller – bei allen Gerichtsverfahren, die über die Kompetenz des lokalen Gerichts hinausgingen, traf der einzelne Untertan mit einem Vertreter der römischen Administration auf der Ebene der Provinz bzw. im Rahmen seiner Gemeinde zusammen. Solches kann man etwa in Antiochia in Syrien voraussetzen, wo Q. Aemilius Secundus als *praefectus cohortis II classicae* auf Befehl des Statthalters Sulpicius Quirinius einen Census durchführte, bei dem 117.000 Menschen gezählt wurden.²⁷ In der Germania inferior und in der Belgica trafen viele Bewohner auf Domitius Marsianus, der als *procurator Augusti* einen *census per regiones Tungrorum et Frisavorum et ... Batavorum* durchführte.²⁸ Noch deutlicher wird dies im Fall des *praefectus equitum* Priscus, der im Jahr 127 auf Anordnung des *legatus Augusti pro praetore* L. Aninius Sextius Florentinus in Arabia am ersten Census der Provinz teilnahm. Denn hier kennen wir nicht nur allgemein das Faktum des Census, vielmehr sind zwei Dokumente darüber erhalten, eines datiert vom 25. April 127, das andere vom 4. oder 11. Dezember desselben Jahres.²⁹ Vollständig ist allerdings nur das letzte Dokument, das für die Jüdin Babatha ausgestellt wurde. Wir kennen davon eine beglaubigte Abschrift, dessen Original in der Basilica von Rabbat-Moab in griechischer Sprache ausgehängt worden war. Das Original bestand aus drei Teilen: der eigentlichen Censuserklärung Babathas sowie zweier Subskriptionen: der Erklärung Babathas unter Eid, daß ihre Angaben zuträfen, und der daran anschließenden Erklärung des *praefectus equitum*, er habe das Dokument Babathas mit der detaillierten Darstellung ihres Landbesitzes sowie der darauf liegenden Steuern entgegen genommen. Während die eigentliche Censuserklärung wohl von Anfang an in griechischer Sprache abgefaßt war und zwar durch einen professionellen Schreiber, der die mündlich gegebene Erklärung Babathas ins Griechische umsetzte, war dies bei dem Vermerk über den Eid, den die Frau zu leisten hatte, nicht der Fall. Denn bei dieser Subskription heißt es, dies sei eine Übersetzung: ἐρμηνεία. Die gleiche Bemerkung steht vor der Subskription des Präfecten. Dieser hatte sicherlich in lateinischer Sprache geschrieben,

²⁷ ILS 2683.

²⁸ AE 1962, 183.

²⁹ P. Hev. 61 in: H. M. Cotton – A. Yardeni, *Aramaic, Hebrew and Greek Documentary Texts from Nahal Hever and other Sites. The Seiyâl Collection II* (Oxford 1997); P. Yadin 16 in: N. Lewis, *The Documents from the Bar Kochba Period in the Cave of Letters, I. Greek Papyri* (Jerusalem 1989). Vgl. auch P. Hev. 62, eine weitere Censuserklärung, in der jedoch keine Subskriptionen erhalten sind.

Babathas Eid aber war wohl auf aramäisch geleistet worden. Die aramäische, von Iudah, Sohn des Eleazar niedergeschriebene Version des Eides³⁰ und die lateinische Version der Subskription des Präfekten waren Bestandteil des Originals, das in die Akten einging. Hier hat also die römische Administration in einem Teil eines administrativen Dokuments eine Sprache zugelassen (oder vielleicht sogar gefordert), die sonst in diesem Kontext nicht auftaucht. Möglicherweise wollte man sicher gehen, daß der Inhalt des Eides auch verstanden wurde.³¹

Bei Akten wie dem Census mußte jeder Bewohner des Reiches sich den römischen Amtsträgern mündlich oder schriftlich stellen. Nur in einem einzigen weiteren Bereich ist solches öfter eingetreten: vor Gericht. Denn für alle strafrechtlichen sowie für alle zivilrechtlichen Fälle, die einen gewissen Wert überstiegen, war der Statthalter oder der von ihm ernannte *iudex delegatus* auch der *iudex competens*, nicht die Magistrate der Selbstverwaltungseinheiten. Doch auch andere Fälle konnten an *den praeses provinciae* herangetragen werden, wenn die Parteien das wollten. Die Verhandlungen vor dem Richter aber erfolgten in mündlicher Rede und Gegenrede, auch wenn Urkunden eine Rolle spielen konnten. So wurde, um nochmals auf eine Urkunde des Babathaarchivs zurückzugreifen, Oktober des Jahres 125 zwischen Babatha und einem der Tutoren ihres minderjährigen Sohnes vereinbart, an einem bestimmten Tag in Petra vor dem *eparchos* Iulianus zu erscheinen.³² Dieser Iulianus ist nicht, wie das vom Herausgeber N. Lewis angenommen wurde, der damals amtierende Statthalter Iulius Iulianus, sondern, wie auch die Amtsbezeichnung *eparchos* = *praefectus* zeigt, ein Kommandeur einer Auxiliarabteilung, nicht anders als der schon genannte Priscus, der beim Census tätig gewesen ist.³³ Der kaiserliche Legat hatte ihn für die Entscheidung in dem Fall eingesetzt. Der Präfekt Iulianus war sicher der lateinischen Sprache mächtig, da er eine Ala oder Cohors ohne diese Kenntnisse nicht kommandieren konnte. Ob er Griechisch beherrschte, ist nicht sicher, aber sehr wahrscheinlich, da ja auch die Urkunde über die Einbestellung vor das Gericht in Griechisch geschrieben war. Wie auch immer: Babatha verstand jedenfalls weder Latein noch Griechisch. Ihre Mut-

³⁰ Das gilt freilich nur, wenn man nicht annehmen darf, daß der Eid von Babatha nur mündlich in Aramäisch geleistet und dann sogleich in Griechisch protokolliert wurde.

³¹ Siehe dazu H.M. Cotton, 'Subscriptions and signatures in the papyri from the Judaeen desert: the XEIPOXPHTHE', *Journal of Juristic Papyrology* 25 (1996), 29 ff.

³² P. Yadin 14, Zeile 10-14.

³³ H.M. Cotton – W. Eck, 'Roman officials in Judaea and Arabia and civil jurisdiction', in R. Katzoff – D. Schaps, Hgg., *Law in the Documents of the Judaeen Desert* (in Druck).

tersprache war jüdisches Aramäisch. Daß viele ihrer Urkunden auf Griechisch abgefaßt sind, war wesentlich durch die veränderte politisch-administrative Situation bedingt, besagt aber nichts über ihre Sprachkenntnisse.³⁴ Urkunden in griechischer Sprache konnten weit leichter vor einem römischen Gericht vorgelegt werden. Vielleicht haben die römischen Amtsträger sogar weitgehend darauf bestanden, ähnlich wie das auch in Ägypten seit augusteischer Zeit gewesen zu sein scheint.³⁵ Doch bei der mündlichen Verhandlung vor einem *iudex* galten andere Regeln, mußten auch andere Regeln gelten. Denn sonst wäre eine Kommunikation zwischen dem Richter Iulianus und den Parteien, zumindest mit Babatha, nicht möglich geworden. So ergibt sich zwingend, daß in diesem Fall ein Dolmetscher eingeschaltet worden sein muß, wenn es zu der Verhandlung kam. Solche Fälle sind auch durchaus in ägyptischen Papyri bezeugt, nicht sehr häufig, aber doch über die Jahrhunderte der römischen Herrschaft verteilt. Angeführt werden hier nur zwei Beispiele: Im langen Bericht über den Fall der Dionysia aus dem Jahr 186 n. Chr. wird ein juristischer Parallelfall zitiert, der im Jahr 134 vor dem Epistrategen Paconius Felix, also einem römischen Amtsträger in Ägypten, verhandelt worden war. Es ging dabei um die nach ägyptischem Recht zulässige Möglichkeit, daß ein Vater seine Tochter dem Ehemann wieder wegnahm. Der Epistratege spricht ganz klar aus, daß dies rechtlich nicht zu beanstanden sei, doch da eine Entscheidung eines *praefectus Aegypti* vorgelegt wurde, die sechs Jahre vorher ergangen war und die, gegen das ägyptische Recht, der Tochter erlaubt hatte, auch wider den Wunsch des Vaters bei ihrem Ehemann zu bleiben, sah sich der Epistratege durch das Urteil gezwungen, sich nach dem Willen der Tochter Taeichakis zu richten. Sie war vor seinem Richterstuhl anwesend und er befahl deshalb, sie δι' ἐρμηνέως αὐτῆν ἐνεχθῆναι, wie sie sich entscheiden wolle. Der Epistratege befragte also Taeichakis durch einen Dolmetscher, offensichtlich, weil sie nur die ägyptische Sprache beherrschte, die umgekehrt ihm fremd war. Als sie durch den Dolmetscher geantwortet hatte, sie wolle bei ihrem Ehemann

³⁴ H.M. Cotton, 'Die Papyrusdokumente aus der jüdischen Wüste und ihr Beitrag zur Erforschung der jüdischen Geschichte des 1. und 2. Jh. n. Chr.', *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins* 115 (1999), 228 ff.; dies., 'The languages of the legal and administrative documents from the Judaean desert', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 125 (1999), 219 ff.; dies., 'Survival, adaptation and extinction: Nabataean and Jewish Aramaic versus Greek in the legal documents from the Cave of Letters in Nahal Hever', in L. Schumacher – O. Stoll, Hgg., *Sprache und Kultur in der kaiserzeitlichen Provinz Arabia* (St. Katharinen 2003), 133 ff.

³⁵ Freundlicher Hinweis von Dieter Hagedorn.

bleiben, ließ der Epistratege dies in die Akten als Entscheidung eintragen.³⁶ Ähnlich steht in einem Protokoll über ein Verhör vor dem Präfekten D. Veturius Macrinus aus dem Jahr 181/83, daß einer der Prozeßbeteiligten durch einen Dolmetscher eine Aussage gemacht habe.³⁷ In einem anderen Verfahren wird deutlich, daß ein Stratege für ein Verhör einen Dolmetscher benutzte, in einem weiteren Gerichtsverfahren wurde sogar das Urteil durch den Dolmetscher übersetzt.³⁸ In Ägypten scheinen diese Dolmetscher bei Gericht nicht unüblich gewesen zu sein und sie werden in verschiedenen Funktionszusammenhängen benutzt.³⁹ Außerhalb der Provinz am Nil sind die Zeugnisse über Dolmetscher insgesamt freilich sehr gering.⁴⁰ Sie sind, wenn man von diplomatischen Verhandlungen der Kaiser und ihrer Beauftragten absieht, nur in wenigen Fällen dokumentiert; diese wenigen gehören, wie es scheint, ohne Ausnahme in den Zusammenhang des Heeres bzw. der Provinzialverwaltung der senatorischen Statthalter an Rhein und Donau. Ein Q. Atilius Primus wird als *inter(p)rex leg(ionis) XV* bezeichnet; er hatte den Rang eines *centurio* erreicht.⁴¹ Er war somit am ehesten für Fälle zuständig, in denen der Legion Probleme mit Leuten entstanden, die nicht Latein sprachen. Vermutlich richtete sich das mehr auf Fälle, die von außen her die Legion betrafen, weniger innerhalb der Einheit. Ein M. Aurelius Flavius, dessen Grabinschrift in Aquincum in Pannonia inferior gefunden wurde, war wohl *miles* der *legio II Adiutrix* und wurde *interpres Ge[rmanor]um off(ici) co(n)sularis* genannt.⁴² Das dürfte sich in der Funktion vor allem auf den Verkehr mit germanischen Stämmen außerhalb des Reiches bezogen haben; er gehörte zum Statthalterofficium. Ein weiterer Soldat, diesmal in der *legio*

³⁶ P. Oxy. 232 col. VII Zeile 37 f.

³⁷ PSI 13, 1326, 4.

³⁸ P. Ant. 2, 87, 12; P. Sakaon 32 = P. Thead 14, 23.

³⁹ Vgl. R. Taubenschlag, 'The interpreters in the papyri', in: *Opera Minora* (Warschau 1959), 167 ff.; vgl. auch die Liste mit dem Auftreten des Wortes ἐρμηνεύς in den Papyri in CPR XIII, S. 79-82.

⁴⁰ Zuletzt zur Thematik C. Wiotte-Franz, *Hermeneus und Interpres. Zum Dolmetscherwesen in der Antike* (Saarbrücken 2001), wo man das Material weitgehend findet; die Interpretationen sind oft mehr als problematisch. Der Fall der Dionysia wird angeblich 189 in Oxyrhynchos vor dem Präfekten durchgeführt; daß dort nur der Fall vor dem Epistrategen Paconius Felix aus dem Jahr 134 zitiert wird, entgeht ihr. Aus dem Präfekten Macrinus wird ein Epistratege usw.

⁴¹ T. Kolnik, 'Q. Atilius Primus – interpres centurio und negotiator. Eine bedeutende Grabinschrift aus dem 1. Jh. u. Z. im quadischen Limes-Vorland', *Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 30 (1978), 61 ff. = AE 1978, 635.

⁴² CIL III, 10505.

I Adiutrix in Brigetio, war *interpres Dacorum*.⁴³ Auch dies dürfte sich eher auf die Kommunikation mit Dakern außerhalb der Reichsgrenzen bezogen haben. Schließlich könnte in einer Grabinschrift aus Aquincum ein Legionssoldat als *interpres S(armatarum) e[*x*] offici(o) co(n)s(ularis)* erwähnt sein.⁴⁴ Wiederum finden wir hier also die Anbindung an das *officium* des Statthalters. Lediglich bei einem C. Ianuarin(i)us Sextus, der in der Nähe von Rummel am Niederrhein in *Germania inferior* bestattet wurde und der sich auf seiner Grabinschrift *interpres* nennt,⁴⁵ steht die Funktion als Dolmetscher nicht in unmittelbar erkennbarem Zusammenhang mit der statthalterlichen Verwaltung oder dem Heer. Doch wäre es überraschend, wenn ein Bewohner von *Germania inferior* sich in der Grabinschrift als sozusagen "freier Dolmetscher" bezeichnet hätte. Da ist es wahrscheinlicher, auch hier einen Bezug zur administrativen Routine im Büro des jeweiligen Gouverneurs der Provinz vorauszusetzen.

Die Beispiele zeigen allerdings einen wichtigen Faktor, der generell in allen Provinzen und für alle Bereiche der römischen Administration gilt. Soldaten stellten bei allen Typen von Statthaltern den Großteil des administrativen Unterpersonals; dies gilt, wenn auch nur partiell, ebenso für alle anderen Bereiche der Verwaltung, etwa bei den Fiskalprokuratoren. Die Rekrutierung der Soldaten verlagerte sich auch für die Legionen schon im Verlauf der 1. Hälfte des 1. Jahrhunderts n. Chr. mehr und mehr in die Provinzen, die Auxiliarsoldaten kamen per definitionem von dort. Viele vor allem der Auxiliare dürften bei ihrem Eintritt ins Heer des Lateinischen nicht mächtig gewesen sein, jedenfalls soweit sie in den Stammesgebieten selbst ihre Jugend verbracht hatten; bei den Legionären war die lateinische Sprache wohl weiter verbreitet, da sie römische Bürger sein mußten; doch nicht selten wurde ihnen auch erst bei der Rekrutierung das Bürgerrecht verliehen. Vor allem im Osten haben aber auch zahllose römische Bürger gelebt, die nur Griechisch verstanden, die aber dennoch ins Heer eintraten. Damit ergab sich auf der einen Seite das Problem, daß die Rekruten in ihren Einheiten zumindest zu Beginn auch in ihrer Heimatsprache angesprochen werden mußten, es sei denn, man wollte annehmen, man habe bei der Musterung

⁴³ AE 1947, 35 = RIU 2, 590.

⁴⁴ CIL III, 14349, 5. Allerdings ist in dem Text doch auffallend, daß der Name des Stammes, dessen Sprache der Dolmetscher angeblich übersetzt hat, nur mit S abgekürzt worden sein soll, während die anderen Teile der Bezeichnung entweder gar nicht oder kaum abgekürzt war. Möglicherweise war *interpres e[*x*] offici(o) cos.* geschrieben, also ohne Spezifizierung der Sprache.

⁴⁵ CIL XIII, 8773.

darauf geachtet, daß alle bereits Latein zumindest in rudimentärer Form beherrschten. Das ist wenig wahrscheinlich. So muß man in den Einheiten darauf vorbereitet gewesen sein. Das dürfte aber kein allzu großes Problem geworden sein, vor allem wenn die Rekruten aus nicht zu vielen und allzu weit entfernt gelegenen Gebieten kamen. Dann hatte man wohl schon Landsleute in der Einheit, die vor längerer Zeit aufgenommen worden waren und inzwischen Latein gelernt hatten. So griff ein Rekrutenjahrgang nach dem anderen bei der sprachlichen Integration ineinander. Auf diese Weise aber entstand dann ein gewaltiger Pool von Leuten, die alle zweisprachig waren: Sie kannten ihre Muttersprache, die sie kaum mehr verlernten, weil sie erst in einem Alter ins Heer aufgenommen wurden, in der die erst erlernte Sprache nicht mehr verlernt wird, selbst wenn man über Jahrzehnte in einem anderssprachigen Milieu lebt. Einige von ihnen, die es dann auch bald zum Aufstieg in die Schreibstube brachten, erlernten schnell und perfekt die Sprache Roms. Sie waren damit auch die naturgegebenen Dolmetscher, wenn es für den Statthalter, den Provinzprokurator oder die Auxiliarpräfekten nötig war, in Verhandlungen jeder Art, vor allem aber den Gerichtsverhandlungen, auf solche Fähigkeiten zurückzugreifen. Auch der Präfekt Iulianus, der in Petra im Jahr 125 über die Beschwerde Babathas gegen einen der Tutoren ihres Sohnes verhandeln mußte, hatte wohl, wenn nötig, einen solchen Dolmetscher aus seiner Truppe zur Hand, wenn es nicht ohnehin in Petra, wo die Verhandlung stattfinden sollte, mit seiner wegen des Handelsaustausches polyglotten Bevölkerung genügend geeignete *interpretes* oder *hermeneis* gab.

Macht man sich diese ganz selbstverständlichen Gegebenheiten gerade in den Grenzprovinzen mit ihrer außerhalb des Heeres oft weniger romanisierten Bevölkerung klar, dann ist es auch nicht verwunderlich, daß wir so wenig über Dolmetscher im Umfeld der Statthalter und der anderen Träger der Administration erfahren. Sie konnten aus dem militärischen Chargon genommen werden, deren zentrale Funktion im allgemeinen aber eben nicht das Dolmetschen war, sondern die normale militärische Tätigkeit. Dann gab es aber auch keinen Grund solches in den Inschriften zu erwähnen. Zu viele der Soldaten waren in der einen oder anderen Form zweisprachig. Aus solchen Fähigkeiten erwuchs aber dann auch kein Prestige, das in einer Grabinschrift zu erwähnen sich lohnte.

Somit waren in allen Provinzen zumindest die strukturellen Voraussetzungen gegeben, um wie in Ägypten Provinzialen, die nur ihre eigene Sprache beherrschten, den Zugang zur römischen Ordnungsmacht nicht zu

versperren. Viele waren freilich so klug, auch ihrerseits Voraussetzungen zu schaffen, die Geschäfte und Verhandlungen mit den römischen Autoritäten leichter zu machen. Vielleicht ist auch dafür Babatha wiederum typisch, die in ihrem Familienarchiv auch eine römische Prozeßformel vorbereitet hatte, falls sich eine solche im Verlauf der Verhandlungen gegen einen der Tutoren als notwendig erweisen sollte. Es war eine griechische Übersetzung einer Formel, wie sie der *praetor* nach den Institutionen des Gaius zu gewähren pflegte.⁴⁶ Durch solche Flexibilität wurde die Kommunikation erleichtert. Latein – und Griechisch – waren die beiden Reichssprachen. Doch wenn nötig hat Rom auch andere Sprachen zu Wort kommen lassen. Denn Prestige und Ansehen der herrschenden Macht, ausgedrückt durch ihre eigene Sprache, war wichtig; doch in der Realität der römischen Provinzen war die Ruhe der Provinzbevölkerung nicht weniger wichtig.

Köln, März 2004

⁴⁶ Gaius 4, 47.

ROME'S PROVINCES AS FRAMEWORK FOR WORLD-VIEW*

By

R.J.A. TALBERT

The year 2004 will be the twentieth anniversary of the publication of P. Janni's seminal book *La Mappa e il Periplo: Cartografia Antica e Spazio Odologico*.¹ Its main thesis has convinced many scholars who seek to understand how Romans visualized their wider surroundings beyond the immediate vicinity of home, myself included. Among the strongest and most recent affirmations of support must surely be that of C.R. Whittaker.² Four brief passages may serve as illustration: "When it came down to mental mapping on the ground...Romans viewed their localities and environment ... as 'hodological space,' the term adopted by Janni" (102); "Space itself was defined by itineraries, since it was through itineraries that Romans actually experienced space, that is, by lines and not by shapes" (102); "I believe... itineraries dominated and infiltrated all the other categories of ancient representations and perceptions of space" (83); "a Roman's sense of space and visual perspectives were shaped by the horizontal, linear movement of itineraries over land and sea" (87). Finally, Whittaker goes on to urge, "The conversion of Constantine to Christianity...radically transformed the world view of Romans. Travel made the world a smaller place. There was a new emphasis on the heroic journeys, both physical and spiritual, which were fused into one by the pilgrimage to Jerusalem" (98).

I do not quote Whittaker to dismiss his, and Janni's, view. I believe that it contains much truth: the use of itineraries *was* unquestionably *one* means by which Romans organized space in their minds. Rather, my concern in this paper is to argue that Whittaker makes 'hodological space', or the 'itinerary model', too comprehensive and too exclusive an explanation. One way or other, all else is subsumed to it. Thus, in particular, Ptolemy's work is set aside as esoteric and unnoticed by Romans (92), and the Peutinger Map

* My thanks to all those at the Workshop and subsequently (Tom Elliott in particular) who contributed insights which have improved this revision of the address delivered in Leiden. *BAtlas* throughout refers to my *Barrington Atlas of the Greek and Roman World and Map-by-Map Directory* (Princeton, 2000):

¹ Rome 1984.

² C.R. Whittaker, 'Mental maps: seeing like a Roman,' in P. McKechnie, ed., *Thinking Like a Lawyer: Essays on Legal History and General History for John Crook on his Eightieth Birthday* (Leiden 2002), 81-112.

is regarded – in the traditional way – as no more than a set of route itineraries in diagrammatic, pictorial form (83, 93).

My view, however, is that both Ptolemy and the maker of the Peutinger Map tapped the same Hellenistic cartographic tradition to create the base elements for their maps, namely the shorelines, principal rivers, and principal mountain ranges.³ These elements by definition create shapes; they are not merely lines as itineraries are. It is a serious misconception to see the Peutinger Map as first and foremost a set of itinerary lines to which all other landscape elements have subsequently been added as no more than superfluous ‘decoration’. To create such a map in this way is a virtual impossibility, and any attempt would be most unlikely to result in the well-known cities of the empire appearing in correct relation to the shorelines and principal rivers. In fact, from a cartographic perspective, one of the Peutinger Map’s most impressive features is that the placement of principal cities does cohere with the physical landscape, distorted though it is. This landscape, which underpins the entire map, could not have been derived just from itinerary data.

A view of the Peutinger Map as a work in which outstanding features of the physical landscape are important, even fundamental, inevitably casts doubt upon the validity of the ‘itinerary model’ as a fully satisfying explanation for how Romans visualized their wider surroundings. Itineraries alone can hardly create much sense of spatial relativity. In order to conceptualize their world (however imperfectly), most Romans would surely need some set of images (however sketchy) for the purpose, beyond the type of information that one-dimensional lists could supply. The rough equations of landmasses with well-known shapes could conceivably have been of assistance: Italy like an oak-leaf, Britain like a shield, and so forth.⁴ Even so, individual shapes still need placement relative to one another. Whatever representations were made on globes could perhaps foster a grasp of relativity, but as Whittaker himself observes (83), any such ‘cosmic maps’ were likely to be too small to show much in the way of physical or topographic features.

No, if there was some set of images that were commonly related to one another to create a vision of the Roman world, in all likelihood we have to

³ For further outline of this argument, see my ‘Cartography and taste in Peutinger’s Roman map,’ in R.J.A. Talbert and K. Brodersen, eds., *Space in the Roman World: its Perception and Presentation* (Münster 2004), 113-141, at 124-125. Fuller discussion will appear in my forthcoming new edition of Peutinger’s map.

⁴ Whittaker 2002, op. cit. (n. 2), 84.

look for it elsewhere. The set proposed by this paper first caught my attention when reading the *Antonine Itinerary* – not the standard place-by-place, distance-by-distance pattern of the presentation, but headings such as:

Item de Pannoniis in Gallias per mediterranea loca, id est a Sirmi per Sopianas Treveros usque (231.8-10);
Iter quod ducit a Durrachio per Macedoniam et Trachiam Bizantium usque (317.3-4);
Inde per loca maritima in Epirum et Thessaliam et in Macedoniam, sic (324.1-2).

References of this type to provinces or principal regions (including the Alps) can only be meaningful to readers who have some vision of the placement of such entities relative to one another, however hazy it may be. Otherwise, a formulation like *de Pannoniis in Gallias* will merely be redundant. Conceivably, some or all the headings in the Antonine Itinerary collection as we have it are additions made by a post-Roman editor.⁵ Most, however, seem an integral part of the work,⁶ together with the summary total of the distance for the entire journey that follows in each instance. It is no doubt these headings that gave rise to the title bestowed (at whatever stage) on the land part of the work: *Itinerarium Provinciarum*.

The notion of provinces as ready-made, well established components for creating a vision of the Roman world hardly seems likely to predate Augustus' rule.⁷ Only from that date is the empire a single cohesive entity from the Iberian peninsula to Egypt, subdivided into provinces that are each defined units adjoining one another (or large islands).⁸ From then onwards,

⁵ For the manuscript tradition, note the observations by B. Salway, 'Sea and river travel in the Roman itinerary literature,' in Talbert and Brodersen 2004, op. cit. (n. 3), 43-96, at 68-69.

⁶ The repeated concern to clarify the province within which a landing-place was situated that characterizes the beginning of the *Itinerarium Maritimum* likewise seems an integral, and thus original, feature of that work. I am at a loss to account both for the writer's purpose in offering this information up to 493.1, and for the abrupt exclusion of it thereafter.

⁷ Compare, however, the earlier attempt by Eratosthenes to divide his map into "seals" (*sphragides*, regions marked by distinctive lines and landmarks), so that its representation of the *oikoumene* should be "readily drawn, copied and memorized"; see K. Geus, 'Measuring the earth and the *oikoumene*: zones, meridians, *sphragides* and some other geographical terms used by Eratosthenes of Cyrene', in Talbert and Brodersen 2004, op. cit. (n. 3), 11-26, at 20-26.

⁸ Profs. W. Eck, H. Meyer and H. von Hesberg have all kindly drawn my attention to the volume edited by the latter *Was ist eigentlich Provinz? Zur Beschreibung eines*

however, a comprehensive framework is established, and a web of main land routes develops. Strictly speaking, ‘holes’ persist within the framework for several decades, although even in Augustus’ time these areas are all Roman ‘client kingdoms’, which gradually are absorbed into provinces. Meantime, such later significant additions to the empire as occur – Britain, Dacia, and a few others – are easy to graft on to this framework conceptually. The same applies to principal areas or peoples that remain beyond the empire, such as Ireland, Germany, Nubia, Parthia.

For written descriptions, provinces are the units into which the empire can most readily be divided. It is to them that Strabo (17.3.25) gives pride of place in the brief outline that closes his *Geography*, with its enumeration from west to east of the twelve provinces assigned to ‘the people’ by Augustus. Cassius Dio offers a comparable list of all the provinces as divided by Augustus.⁹ The provinces are the basis for the detailed record of the empire in Pliny’s *Natural History* Books 3 to 6; likewise in the fourth century for the records of the *Expositio Totius Mundi et Gentium*,¹⁰ and of Festus, *Breviarium*.¹¹ The opening sentence of the Preface to Appian’s *Roman Histories* states bluntly that he considers it necessary to begin by setting out the boundaries (*horoi*) of the *ethne* ruled by the Romans. Here it is surely correct to translate the Greek noun by its original meaning “peoples”, rather than as the common Greek equivalent for the Latin *provincia*.¹² Even so, from the description that follows there can be little question that Appian is thinking in terms of Roman provinces, and he makes repeated reference to the *horoi* of each or of a group of them. Moreover he sums up his account (*praef.* 7) by stating how the Romans “establish a ring of great garrisons around the empire and guard all this land and sea just as one would an estate (*chorion*).” Thus in Appian’s vision the empire as a

Bewusstseins (Cologne 1995): its stimulating contributions range widely (over administration, art, language, religion, etc), but do not address the subject of the present paper. The same is true of the entry ‘Provincia. Diritto romano’ by G.I. Luzzatto in *Novissimo Digesto Italiano* 14 (1967) 377-382.

⁹ 53.12.4-7; as his remarks immediately following demonstrate (53.12.8-9), Dio does not consider the framework of his description to be undermined either by the subsequent division of some of the provinces listed or by Rome’s annexation of further territory.

¹⁰ See especially 21 to the end (ed. J. Rougé, *Sources chrétiennes*, Paris 1966).

¹¹ 4.1-14.5, ed. M.-P. Arnaud-Lindet (Budé, 1994).

¹² On the use of Greek *ethnos* and *eparcheia* for Latin *provincia*, note the comments of S. Mitchell, ‘Ethnicity, acculturation and empire in Roman and late Roman Asia Minor,’ in id. and G. Greatrex, eds., *Ethnicity and Culture in Late Antiquity* (London 2000) 117-150, at 125-126.

whole is a well demarcated entity, and so too is each of the provinces within it that form its individual components.¹³

The great increase in the number of provinces from the time of Diocletian's reorganization onwards hardly acts to cloud the type of vision reflected by Appian. The increase stemmed, after all, from a splitting of the long-established principal components, and for broad descriptive purposes those larger components remained clearly in focus. This is certainly the vision maintained by the composer of the list of maximum fees for cargoes on 49 and more voyages in the Tetrarchs' Price Edict. The list is headed "*ex quibus locis ad quas provincias quantum nav<a>li excedere minime sit licitum*", but it gives no hint of the new division of provinces. Rather, the list (with its chosen starting-points for trans-Mediterranean voyages primarily situated in the East) is entirely comprehensible to anyone who can distinguish East from West, and is familiar with the empire's main territorial components as well as with some of its most notable ports.¹⁴ To name only two late fourth century authors, Festus¹⁵ and Optatus of Milevis¹⁶ both demonstrate awareness of the increased number of provinces in their own day, but for clarity both still outline the empire to their readers in larger, traditional units.

¹³ Compare the allusions in Claudius' 'Lugdunum Table' speech (delivered to the senate during his censorship) which, while no more than figurative, still reflect comparable alertness to the *finis* or *termini* between provinces (ILS 212 col. 2 lines 21-22, 26-28, 30-31). A passage preserved from Ulpian, *De Officio Consulis* indicates that there were circumstances in which a magistrate would need to be aware of which provinces adjoined Italy: '*Continentes provincias*' *accipere debemus eas, quae Italiae iunctae sunt, ut puta Galliam: sed et provinciam Siciliam magis inter continentes accipere nos oportet, quae modico freto Italia dividitur* (Dig. 50.1.99; cf. 5.1.9). In the same vein, note the distinctions made by an unidentified emperor's edict (preserved on papyrus, third century ?) between Italy, *provinciae transalpinae* and *provinciae transmarinae* (FIRA² I.91 col. 1 line 10, col. 2, lines 4-5).

¹⁴ See chapter 35 (pp. 184-186) in M.H. Crawford and J.M. Reynolds, 'The Aezani copy of the Prices edict,' *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 34 (1979) 163-210.

¹⁵ Note 4.6, 5.3, 6.3, for example.

¹⁶ Note *Traité contre les donatistes* 2.1.3-4 (ed. M. Labrousse, Sources chrétiennes 412, Paris, 1995): *Ergo ut in particula Africae, in angulo parvae regionis apud vos esse possit [sc. ecclesia], apud nos in alia parte Africae non erit? Si apud vos tantummodo esse vultis, in tribus Pannoniis, in Dacia, Mysia, Thracia, Achaia, Macedonia et in tota Graecia, ubi vos non estis, non erit? Ut apud vos esse possit, in Ponto, Galatia, Cappadocia, Pamphilia, Phrygia, Cilicia et in tribus Syriis et in duabus Armeniis et in tota Aegypto et in Mesopotamia, ubi non estis, non erit? Et per tot innumerabiles insulas et ceteras provincias quae numerari vix possunt, ubi vos non estis, non erit?*

By the first century AD, if not earlier in many instances, I imagine that the point at which travelers by a main land route crossed from one province to another would normally be marked. Recent scholarship has chosen to focus so much on the varied character and significance of the empire's external frontiers (with all the associated difficulties of defining these satisfactorily) that the abundance of internal frontiers has attracted little attention by comparison. But there can be no question that these internal ones existed, and that they were lines dividing the territories of neighboring communities, and by extension of provinces. With his Greek perspective, Strabo described the erection of conspicuous markers (*horoi*) as "ancient custom" (*ethos palaion*). Thus, for example, Alexander was credited with having built altars at the furthest point of his expedition, and Theseus with having erected a pillar on the border between Megarian and Athenian territory, inscribed on one side "This is not the Peloponnese, but Ionia", and the reverse on the other.¹⁷ Just such pillars were erected by Romans, among them those inscribed on one side *F(ines) terr(ae) Thrac(iae)* and on the other *F(ines) terr(ae) Odess(itanorum)* that marked the boundary between the province of Thrace and the city of Odessus in Moesia Inferior.¹⁸ Moreover, even under Roman rule boundary disputes between communities remained common occurrences, and frequently long-lasting. Indeed, one possible means for a community to attract the attention of the imperial authorities to itself was to engage in a fierce boundary dispute with a neighbor.

The itinerary with the fullest record of where a traveler crosses from one province to another is that of the Bordeaux pilgrim dated to 333.¹⁹ In a recent article on this work, J. Elsner draws attention to the pilgrim author's "acute awareness of provincial boundaries", and comments: "This care both to notice and to delineate boundaries is more than a taxonomic fetish. It shows implicit awareness of administrative, ethnic, even cultural differences across the terrain which the linear thrust of the text so relentlessly traverses".²⁰ Quite so; and, as Elsner himself proceeds to stress, this awareness reflects a sense of administrative and spatial geography which is more than

¹⁷ Strabo 3.5.5, with 9.1.6 and Plutarch, *Theseus* 25, for the pillar. For Alexander, Diodorus 17.95.1; Curtius 9.3.19; Plutarch, *Alexander* 62; Arrian 5.29.1; Peutinger Map 11A3.

¹⁸ B. Gerov, 'Die Grenzen der römischen Provinz Thracia bis zur Gründung des Aurelianschen Dakien,' *ANRW* II.7.1 (1979) 212-240, at 226 (with discussion of date) and Tafel II.3.

¹⁹ P. Geyer and O. Cuntz, eds., *Itinerarium Burdigalense*, in *Itineraria et Alia Geographica*, Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina 175 (Turnholt 1965), 1-26.

²⁰ J. Elsner, 'The *Itinerarium Burdigalense*: politics and salvation in the geography of Constantine's empire', *Journal of Roman Studies* 90 (2000), 181-195, at 187-188.

merely linear. At the same time the references to crossing from one province to the next helpfully subdivide for the reader what might otherwise seem a long, disorienting succession of quite unfamiliar stopping-place names.

Whether this means of subdividing the stages of a lengthy journey was an exceptional choice on the Bordeaux pilgrim's part seems open to question. To be sure, among our few surviving materials of comparably detailed type, his record of provincial border-points is an unusually full one, but the same may be said of his entire itinerary. Egeria, who probably traveled during the 380s, is likewise alert to provincial border-points.²¹ Altogether, however, the Bordeaux pilgrim stands out for his considerateness to the traveler who seeks to reduce risks and surprises to a minimum. In this important respect, the Antonine Itinerary and above all the Peutinger Map both prove cavalier and inconsiderate. They are often content with intervals of 30 or 40 miles, or even more, between stopping-places, in other words well beyond the distance that the typical traveler will be able to cover in day.²² The Bordeaux pilgrim, by contrast, offers reassurance by consistently taking pains to mention a *mansio* or *mutatio* every few miles.

Under normal circumstances most free individuals,²³ it would seem, could move about within the Roman empire, as well as in and out of it, just as they wished.²⁴ If they chose to cross a provincial border, that was a routine matter, seldom of concern to a traveler or to the authorities, therefore.²⁵

²¹ See E.D. Hunt, 'Holy Land itineraries: mapping the Bible in Late Roman Palestine,' in Talbert and Brodersen 2004, op. cit. (n. 3), 97-110, at 99-102 and 106. Note also how Egeria summarizes her return journey through Asia Minor to Constantinople by reference to provinces (23.7, *Et inde alia die subiens montem Taurum et faciens iter iam notum per singulas provincias, quas eundo transiveram, id est Cappadociam, Galatiam et Bithiniam, perveni Calcedona*); and how she remarks in the course of describing the Christian year at Jerusalem, *Et quoniam in ea provincia pars populi et grece et siriste novit...* (47.3).

²² See Talbert 2004, op. cit. (n. 3), 127-128, with B. Salway, 'Travel, *itineraria* and *tabellaria*', in C. Adams and R. Laurence, *Travel and Geography in the Roman Empire* (London and New York 2001), 22-66, at 32.

²³ But not necessarily senators and exiles, for instance, nor everyone within and from Egypt; and certainly not slaves. For restrictions in Egypt, see C. Adams, "'There and back again": getting around in Roman Egypt', in id. and Laurence 2001, op. cit. (n. 22), 138-166, at 157-158. For governors, note Marcianus' observation, *ne qui provinciam regit fines eius excedat nisi voti solvendi causa, dum tamen abnoctare ei non liceat* (*Dig.* 1.18.15).

²⁴ Payment of *portoria* might impose a check (hence stations named *Ad Publicanos*); see further below.

²⁵ Pliny's argument (*Epistulae* 10.77) that Iuliopolis (*BAtlas* 86B3) needs the assistance of a centurion in part because of its location *in capite Bithyniae* hardly seems compelling. In principle, a border location ought not to have placed it under greater strain from passing

Consequently, we do not hear of efforts by the latter to mark or control provincial boundaries for policing or security purposes, and it is understandable that the land part of the Antonine Itinerary does not go to the trouble of indicating where the traveler will cross from one province to the next.²⁶ Yet in at least one instance – whatever the reasons – Rome did evidently feel the need to mark an entire border along its length, as documented by the work of M. Antius Rufinus late in Hadrian's reign, who *inter Moesos et Thracas fines posuit*.²⁷

Even if it remained exceptional to mark an entire provincial border in this way, on main land routes a variety of means is attested that served to alert travelers to the point at which they crossed from one province to another. Although Ammianus Marcellinus (21.15.2) does not mention how he knew Mobsucrenae²⁸ to be the last *statio* in Cilicia for travelers proceeding north from Tarsus, it is striking that this is how he identifies the place where Constantius II died. Equally, he identifies Dadastana,²⁹ where Jovian died, as *qui locus Bithyniam distinguit et Galatas*.³⁰ The itineraries preserve plenty of names in the style of “*Fines*”, “*Ad Finem*”, “*Ad Fines*”: often these will signify only the boundary between communities or great estates, but in some cases it is unquestionably one between provinces.³¹ That point is not made explicit when *Ad Fines* makes its surprising appearance in

travelers than any other town along a main route: this indeed seems to be Trajan's reaction in response (10.78).

²⁶ The papyrus record of Theophanes' return journey from Antinoopolis in Egypt to Antioch in Syria, probably during the early 320s, does not record such crossings either: see P. Ryl. IV.627-628, 638. Why the first part (only) of the *Itinerarium Maritimum* should trouble to do so is puzzling, as observed above (n. 6).

²⁷ See ILBulg. 184, 357, 358, 386, 390 and 429, with B. Gerov, op. cit. (n. 18); for Antius, *PIR*² A784 with <http://www.bbaw.de/forschung/pir/addenda/A/0784.html>

²⁸ *BAtlas* 66F2 Ma(m)psoukrenai.

²⁹ *BAtlas* 86B3.

³⁰ 25.10.12, phrased notably in this order (rather than *Galatas et Bithyniam*) even though Jovian, too, had been traveling westwards. Compare Ammianus' identification of the Cilician Gates (Pylae) as *qui locus Cappadocas discernit et Cilicas* (22.9.13).

³¹ For example, the *mutatio Fines* (*BAtlas* 86B3) at the border of Bithynia and Galatia in *Itinerarium Burdigalense* 574.3-4 (strictly speaking, no doubt more accurate than Ammianus' Dadastana above). *Ad Fines* on the route westwards from Augusta Taurinorum marked the border between Italy and Cottius' kingdom: see *BAtlas* 39A3 with J. France, *Quadragesima Galliarum: l'organisation douanière des provinces alpestres, gauloises et germaniques de l'empire romain (Ier siècle avant J.-C. – IIIe siècle après J.-C.)* (Rome 2001), 326.

the Antonine Itinerary's summary of the main stages of the long journey Sirmium-Lauriacum-Augusta Vindelicum-Ad Fines-Treveri, but the distance totals elucidate the reason for its inclusion: hereafter to Treveri, *leugas, non m.p.* (232.3). This Ad Fines³² is therefore the boundary-point between Raetia and Germania Superior.

Herodian's mention³³ of the *methorioi bomoi* at the border of Pannonia and Italy – where the emperor Maximinus sacrificed in 238 as he marched south to overcome rivals – seems to be unique; but from its sheer casualness we might infer that other borders, too, were marked by altars.³⁴ It is natural to infer that the altars erected near the Rhine between Rigomagus and Antunacum (*BAtlas* 11H2), with a dedication *finibus et genio loci et IOM* (CIL 13.2, 7732), marked the boundary between Upper and Lower Germany.

On roads where a provincial boundary was stated by milestones to be the endpoint from which distances were measured, a traveler proceeding in the appropriate direction as far as that boundary would readily recognize when it was reached. It is clear enough that a provincial boundary was not a common choice for endpoint when milestones were erected. But it is also quite evident that there was no consistent code of practice for making these choices,³⁵ and we do find several instances where a provincial boundary was settled upon. Most notable perhaps are the milestones marking Trajan's work after his establishment of the new province of Arabia in 106: *redacta in formam provinciae Arabia viam novam a finibus Syriae usque ad mare Rubrum aperuit et stravit...* (ILS 5834). It is likewise a Trajanic milestone that records repairs to the *Via Egnatia a Dyrrac(hio) usq(ue) Acontisma per provinciam Macedoniam*.³⁶ Two Hadrianic milestones have been found southwest of Amaseia (*BAtlas* 87A4) – at that date in the province of Cappadocia

³² *BAtlas* 19A2. On Gallic leagues and their use, see now M. Rathmann, *Untersuchungen zu den Reichsstrassen in den westlichen Provinzen des Imperium Romanum*, Beihefte der Bonner Jahrbücher 55 (Mainz 2003), 115-120.

³³ 7.12.8; cf. 8.1.1.

³⁴ A feature of this particular border which by contrast seems exceptional was the *praetentura Italiae et Alpium* maintained under M. Aurelius. What form the *praetentura* took (military zone ?) is uncertain: see ILS 8977 with *BAtlas* 20B3 and J. Sasel, 'Über Umfang und Dauer der Militärzone Praetentura Italiae et Alpium zur Zeit Mark Aurels,' *Museum Helveticum* 31 (1974) 225-233.

³⁵ See most recently Rathmann 2003, op. cit. (n. 32), 112-115.

³⁶ AE 1936, 51; for Acontisma/Hercontroma (*BAtlas* 51D3) as border-station, see *Itinerarium Burdigalense* 603.8. Another milestone (AE 1936, 52) from the *Via Egnatia* has identical wording, except that it defines the extent of Trajan's repair work less precisely as *a Dyrrac(hio) usq(ue) Neapoli per provinciam Macedoniam*.

– on a route *ab Amaseia ad fines Galatorum*.³⁷ At the end of the second century Septimius Severus and his sons used milestones to commemorate roadwork in their new province of Osrhoene: *viam ab Euphrate usque ad fines regni Sept(imi) Ab(g)ari a novo munierunt per L(ucium) Aelium Ianuarium proc(uratorem) Aug(usti) prov(inciae) Osrhoenam (!) ...*³⁸ Maximinus and his son recorded the scope of their repair work to a road in Africa specifically as: *viam a Karthagine usque ad fines Numidiae provinciae longa incuria corruptam adque dilapsam restituerunt*.³⁹

At some border-points, we may be sure, monuments were erected which left travelers in no doubt that they were crossing from one province to another. That was plainly the intention of an arch, the *Ianus Augustus*, erected in Augustus' time at the Baetis river (perhaps in connection with a bridge) to mark Baetica's eastern boundary. Milestones measured distances from the arch, and its function was evidently remembered long after the province's eastern boundary had in fact been shifted elsewhere.⁴⁰ On a desert route about 70 km north-west of Palmyra a single great column was erected – probably around AD 100 – to show quite unmistakably where Palmyrene territory began.⁴¹ At the traditional frontier point of Arae Philaenorum, we know that around the end of the third century four freestanding columns were erected, surmounted by statues of the four Tetrarchs, to mark the border between the new provinces of Tripolitana and Libya Superior and also the new dioceses of Africa and Oriens.⁴²

It remains unclear whether the statues of the emperor in a four-horse chariot, which Claudius permitted the Alexandrians to set up to him in 41, were ever erected. The request, at least, was to place these at three 'entrances' to Egypt (*eisbolai tes choras*), at Taposiris, near the Pharos in

³⁷ D.H. French, *Roman Roads and Milestones of Asia Minor*, 2.1, BAR International Series 392 (Oxford 1988), nos. 060, 339.

³⁸ AE 1984, 920; for the installation of boundary markers *inter provinciam Osrhoenam et regnum Abgari fines*, see AE 1984, 919.

³⁹ ILS 488; Rathmann 2003, op. cit. (n. 32), 207.

⁴⁰ *RE Suppl.* 6, s.v. *Ianus Augustus*; T. Pekáry, *Untersuchungen zu den römischen Reichsstrassen* (Bonn 1968), 107-108; E.W. Haley, *Baetica Felix: People and Prosperity in Southern Spain from Caesar to Septimius Severus* (Texas 2003), 34-35; CIL 2, 4697 = CIL² 2/5.1280.

⁴¹ *BAtlas* 68E4 *Khirbet el-Bilaas*, with publications cited s.v. in *Map-by-Map Directory*, 1045. The border dispute, which apparently continued nonetheless, must have been with either Apamea or Emesa, or conceivably even both.

⁴² *BAtlas* 37D2 Arae Philaenorum and Fines Africae et Cyrenensium, with publications cited in *Map-by-Map Directory* ss. vv., 553-554.

Alexandria, and at Pelusium.⁴³ An associated puzzle is whether the statues were intended to carry any statement to the effect that they marked an 'entrance' to Egypt. There must be the same uncertainty about the bridge across the Dravus river at Poetovio. When the Bordeaux Pilgrim crossed it,⁴⁴ he knew that he was leaving Noricum and entering Pannonia Inferior: what, if anything, on the bridge itself drew attention to the existence of the provincial boundary?

In certain instances the presence of a *statio* for the payment of *portoria* might alert travelers to the fact they were crossing a border. There was evidently such a *statio*, for example, on the border between Italy and Cottius' kingdom (later the province of Alpes Cottiae).⁴⁵ It must be recognized, however, that the 'zones' into which the empire was divided for payment of *portoria* were large – often spanning several provinces – and few; consequently, at most provincial borders such dues were not levied.⁴⁶ Even where they were payable, the surviving evidence is too random and meager to claim that a *statio* was situated, say, on every main route or at every landing-place. A *statio* might indeed be situated at such locations but also, it is clear, in a major center such as Lugdunum Convenarum;⁴⁷ equally, it seems that payment of dues might be made at Ostia.⁴⁸ It is quite understandable that the so-called customs law of AD 62 from Ephesus retains the clause⁴⁹ dating back to 75 BC, which requires anyone entering the Asian customs zone at a location without a *statio* to proceed promptly to the nearest one in order to pay the expected dues.

For Ptolemy's mapmaking, Rome's provinces (and, further east, Parthia's satrapies) are entities of fundamental importance to his procedure and purpose. As he explains in 1.19:⁵⁰

⁴³ P. Lond. 1912 col. 3 lines 44-48, with *BAtlas* 74B3, B2, H2.

⁴⁴ *Itinerarium Burdigalense* 561.5, with *BAtlas* 20C3.

⁴⁵ See n. 31 above. Compare the incident where Apollonius of Tyana in Philostratus' *Life* (1.20) is questioned by a customs collector as he leaves Zeugma (*BAtlas* 67F2) for Mesopotamia – crossing an external border of the empire, therefore.

⁴⁶ See *NPauly*, s.v. Zoll IV.

⁴⁷ *BAtlas* 25F2; France 2001, op. cit. (n. 31), 65-68, 316.

⁴⁸ France 2001, op. cit. (n. 31), 135-138, 322-323.

⁴⁹ SEG 1989, 1180 lines 40-42.

⁵⁰ Here, and further below, I draw upon the invaluable work of J.L. Berggren and A. Jones, *Ptolemy's Geography: an Annotated Translation of the Theoretical Chapters* (Princeton 2000).

“We have written down for all the provinces (*eparchiai*) the details of their boundaries (*perigraphai*) – that is, their positions in longitude and latitude – , the relative situations of the more important peoples in them, and the accurate locations of the more noteworthy cities, rivers, bays, mountains, and other things that ought to be in a map (*pinax*) of the *oikoumene*. . . . In this way we will be able to establish the position of each place, and through accuracy in particulars we will be able to establish the positions of the provinces themselves with respect to each other and to the whole *oikoumene*.”

He continues in the same vein in 2.1.7-9:

“We will keep to the same principles also in each continent with respect to its parts as we do for the whole world and the entire *oikoumene* with respect to the continents, that is, we will again begin by recording the more northern and western countries and the adjacent seas and islands and the more noteworthy things of each kind. We will distinguish these parts of the continents by the boundaries of the satrapies or provinces, making the guide, as we originally promised, only as detailed as will be useful for recognizing and including places on the map, while leaving out the great mass of reports about the characteristics of the peoples (unless perhaps some bit of current knowledge calls for a brief and worthwhile note).

Moreover this method of exposition will also make it possible, for anyone who wishes, to draw the parts of the *oikoumene* on planar surfaces, individually, or in groups of provinces or satrapies, in whatever way they might fit the proportions of the maps. The localities contained by each chart will then be inscribed at the appropriate scale and relative placement.”

Not only does Ptolemy then proceed to present his data, as promised, by province or satrapy or region, but in his last book (Eight) he also provides captions for 26 regional maps. A great advantage of making regional maps, he explains, is that the scales can be varied according to the extent of territory and density of data to be marked; each such map does not need to be at the same scale. His 26 comprise 10 of Europe, 4 of “Libya” (Africa), and 12 of Asia. Predictably enough, provincial boundaries are one of the main determinants for settling what the scope of each of these regional maps shall be, and some of the captions state this explicitly – those for Spain and

Gaul, for example. The results are rendered most effectively in the expert reconstructions by Carl Müller, published posthumously.⁵¹

It is seemingly an interest in the dimensions of provinces or regions which is the distinctive purpose behind the compilation of the two Late Antique Latin lists that are preserved with the titles *Dimensuratio Provinciarum* and *Divisio Orbis Terrarum*.⁵² Apart from a broad definition of the location of each province or region by reference to major physical features (typically mountains, rivers, seas), the only further information offered is figures for the length and breadth of each in Roman miles.

It is true that neither the Peutinger Map nor the Madaba mosaic map marks any boundary lines, but their absence need not mean that the makers in either case were ignorant or unconcerned about boundaries. Both makers are to be seen as 'professionals', who were deliberately selective in determining what they wanted to show and how their map might most effectively convey their aims. Since the Peutinger mapmaker gives special prominence to land routes, he might reasonably prefer not to introduce a large amount of further linework of a different type, especially when his extreme format already so distorts the landscape. In all likelihood, too, the inclusion of borders would act directly counter to his vivid demonstration that Rome's sway stretches unbroken across the entire *oikoumene* from west to east, allowing ease of communication everywhere. This said, the Peutinger mapmaker does not hesitate to name provinces, regions and peoples very conspicuously; his placement of them confirms that he has a sound sense of their spatial relationships.⁵³

The Madaba mapmaker chooses to mark neither borders nor any routes linking places,⁵⁴ but the wording of his didactic legends testifies time and again to his awareness of boundaries, both traditional ones that hark back to the biblical world which is so central to his purpose, and ones in his own contemporary world. Thus attention is drawn to the *horoi* of Egypt and Palestine,⁵⁵ and to the eastern boundary (*horion*) of Judaea (§ 32). To Beer-sheba, "today Berossaba", is not only appended the information that it marks

⁵¹ *Claudii Ptolemaei Geographia: Tabulae XXXVI* (Paris 1901).

⁵² A. Riese, *Geographi Latini Minores* (Heilbronn 1878), 9-19.

⁵³ On the Peutinger mapmaker, see further Talbert 2004, op. cit. (n. 3), 118-141.

⁵⁴ Whittaker's understanding (2002, op. cit. [n. 2], 87) that routes are shown seems a misperception.

⁵⁵ § 129 in the presentation edited by M. Piccirillo and E. Alliata, *The Madaba Map Centenary, 1897-1997: Travelling through the Byzantine Umayyad Period* (Jerusalem 1999).

the southern boundary of Judaea, but the chance is also taken to repeat from *Second Samuel*: “The boundary of Judaea to the south reaches down to it from Dan near Paneas, which marks the northern boundary” (§104). Asemona is described as a “city by the desert bordering (*diorizousa*) Egypt and the crossing to the sea” (§106), while the legend for Gerara reads “once a royal city of the Philistines and boundary (*horion*) of the Canaanites to the south, where is the Saltos Geraritikos” (§107).

The Madaba map could fairly be cited in support of Whittaker’s traditional claim that Constantine’s conversion “radically transformed the world view of the Romans.”⁵⁶ One manifestation of this shift was Christian pilgrimage: it may well have boosted the number of long-distance travelers, and they certainly went in a changed spirit to novel destinations. At the same time, however, we should not omit to appreciate how one fundamental way in which non-Christians had been visualizing the world remained unaffected by the triumph of Christianity; rather, it was reinforced by it. I refer to the notion of Roman provinces as an organizational framework.

As the Christian church expanded, it evidently founded its organization as a matter of course on cities and provinces.⁵⁷ The result of this slow, shadowy growth at last becomes clearly visible under Constantine, when the Canons of the Councils of Nicaea in 325, and of Antioch two years later, formalize previous haphazard practice. It is now established that a new bishop should if possible be consecrated by all the existing bishops of cities in the province, once his appointment has been confirmed by the ‘metropolitan’, the bishop of the chief city of the province. Moreover, in order to address various concerns, each metropolitan should summon and preside over a synod of all his province’s bishops twice yearly.⁵⁸ The substantial authority placed in the hands of a metropolitan was justified at Antioch: “The bishop in the metropolis undertakes responsibility for the whole province, because it is in the metropolis that all those with business to settle assemble from everywhere.”⁵⁹

Evidently it was not at all the intention of ecclesiastical authority to position itself in an alternative location of its own choice, away from the

⁵⁶ 2002, op. cit. (n. 2), 98.

⁵⁷ My sketch of this large theme derives from *CAH*, 2nd ed., vol. XIII, 240-250 (by E.D. Hunt).

⁵⁸ *Concilium Nicaenum*, Canon 5, in E.J. Jonkers, *Acta et Symbola Conciliorum Quae Saeculo Quarto Habita Sunt* (Leiden 1954), 41; *ibid*, *Concilium Antiochenum*, Canon 20, p. 54.

⁵⁹ *Concilium Antiochenum* Canon 9, in Jonkers, 50.

center of secular authority. In the East, the church came to match the pattern of secular authority even more closely by 381, when a council at Constantinople confirmed that when a dispute could not be resolved within a province of one of the five secular dioceses (Egypt, Oriens, Asiana, Pontica, Thrace), then the matter might be referred to other provinces of that diocese.⁶⁰ Meantime, predictably, alterations by the secular power to the boundaries of its provinces for whatever reason were liable to have serious repercussions for the authority of individual bishops – fuel for any number of disputes and rivalries. Some church leaders eventually concluded that there was no value in always seeking to keep in step with the secular authorities. As bishop Innocent of Rome declared early in the fifth century: “It is not right that the church of God should be changed to suit the flexibility of worldly requirements, nor should it be subject to the promotions and divisions which the emperor may presume to make for his own reasons.”⁶¹

Broadly speaking, the fact is that in territorial terms the organization of the Christian church within the Roman empire replicated that of the existing secular administration. The church, too, was organized on a provincial basis: to conceive its sway spatially would be to think of it encompassing a set of provinces.⁶² In this important respect, therefore, the otherwise radically different outlooks of Christian and non-Christian coincided and reinforced one another. Later, in the West, Rome’s provinces evidently remained the standard framework by which educated people organized their view of the world far into the Middle Ages.⁶³

In short, then, I suggest we would be right to perceive a sense of the empire’s provinces as spatial entities, and of the geographical relationship between them, developing from the early first century AD. This sense – *alongside* the linear sense gained from itineraries, together with represen-

⁶⁰ *Concilium Constantinopolitanum* Canons 2 and 6, in Jonkers, 107, 110.

⁶¹ *Epistulae* 24.2 (PL 20. 548-549), quoted by Hunt 1998, op. cit. (n. 57), 244.

⁶² Compare the passage from Optatus of Milevis quoted in n. 16 above.

⁶³ Note the recent generalization in a discussion of a work where, exceptionally, this framework would seem to have been absent: “Alors que les provinces romaines furent, durant presque tout le Moyen Âge, le cadre le plus fréquent dans lequel la géographie, même d’inspiration contemporaine et moderne, se plut à classer et à situer les êtres et les phénomènes, alors même que les mappemondes de grande taille montrent parfois des lignes qui semblent être des restes des limites tracées sur les modèles antiques, l’*Expositio* ne s’intéresse que de façon sporadique aux provinces...” (P. Gautier Dalché, ‘Décrire le monde et situer les lieux au XIIe siècle: l’*Expositio Mappae Mundi* et la généalogie de la mappemonde de Hereford’, *Mélanges de l’École Française de Rome, Moyen Age* 113 [2001] 343-409 at 370).

tations in a variety of art forms⁶⁴ – becomes a further recognized means by which Romans envision their wider surroundings. By chance, in time it turns out to be one notably reinforced by Christianity. It did not need to be at all a sophisticated perspective, and it was well able to accommodate boundary shifts, additions to the empire, and the subdivision of large provinces into smaller units.⁶⁵

Once this is said, however, one limitation to such a sense of the empire's provinces demands to be recognized: typically it was, so to speak, an outsider's perspective. It reflected the viewpoint of the Roman authorities, or of individuals seeking to grasp their surroundings well beyond home. It was seldom a vision that altered those individuals' self-identity. Rather, this remained rooted in their *origo*, the community of their birth and family. In some cases, it is true, a region demarcated by Rome as a province already had an ethnic identity that predated the annexation. Galatia, Lycia and Judaea seem indisputable instances,⁶⁶ and it was no doubt precisely in order to counter Jewish identity that Hadrian renamed the latter province Syria Palaestina after the suppression of the Bar Cochba revolt in the mid 130s.⁶⁷ At the opposite end of the range – to summarize a persuasive argument by S. Mitchell⁶⁸ – Pompey's annexation of the area newly termed 'Pontus' by Rome bestowed upon its inhabitants a shared sense of identity as Pontici which they had not had previously, and which (over time) they adopted with pride. This set of circumstances in Pontus seems to find no parallel elsewhere.

More typically, the creation of a Roman province either divided existing ethnic identities, or brought into one administrative framework various disparate communities which had never identified with one another; or it did both these things, all in the interests of Rome. As a result, the old ethnic identities might well disappear, but the preferred substitute was identity by

⁶⁴ Forms very familiar to us through the magnificent sculpture from the mid-first century Sebasteion at Aphrodisias, and through Hadrian's coin series, to cite only two examples.

⁶⁵ Note the reliance upon it by commemorative inscriptions which summarize extensive travel experience, for example AE 1975, 815; 1981, 777. Likewise striking is Ammianus' image of Rome's *lavacra in modum provinciarum exstructa* (16.10.14).

⁶⁶ For Galatia and Lycia, see Mitchell 2002, op. cit. (n. 12), 122-124.

⁶⁷ See E.M. Smallwood, *The Jews under Roman Rule from Pompey to Diocletian: a Study in Political Relations* (Leiden 1976), 463.

⁶⁸ S. Mitchell, 'In search of the Pontic community in antiquity,' in A.K. Bowman et al., eds., *Representations of Empire: Rome and the Mediterranean World* (Proceedings of the British Academy 114, 2002), 35-64, esp. 48-50.

city, not by province nor even a subdivision of one such as a *conventus*.⁶⁹ Rome on purpose offered most of its subjects little cause to identify closely with their province. The only body representing one or more whole provinces which Rome encouraged was the *concilium* or *koinon*, and its limited agenda was the preserve of no more than a very select group of top-class delegates.⁷⁰ Most provincials' lives remained centered around their own community, and their normal tendency was to regard neighboring communities as rivals. Only when seeking to grasp their world well beyond home were they likely to think in terms of their own province, the provinces contiguous to their own, and the others that comprised the whole empire.

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⁶⁹ For Asia Minor, this shift is demonstrated by Mitchell 2000, op. cit. (n. 12), 126-127.

⁷⁰ On these bodies, see J. Deininger, *Die Provinziallandtage der römischen Kaiserzeit*, Vestigia 6 (Munich 1964).

RULING, INDUCING, ARGUING: HOW TO GOVERN
(AND SURVIVE) A GREEK PROVINCE

By
C. KOKKINIA

“What about the 500 cities of Asia? Are they not all unguarded, yet obey one governor and the consular fasces?”¹ This famous statement of Josephus has been greeted with disbelief by many scholars, some of whom simply cannot believe it to be true, and others of whom attempt to preserve the historian’s veracity by interpreting Josephus to refer only to the lack of legions in Asia: the provincial guard consisted, then, of auxiliary forces.² But Josephus probably never intended the statement to be parsed so closely. It is, after all, part of a speech, and a rather desperate and emotional speech at that. At most, it should be taken to convey Josephus’ belief that the Greeks living in the province of Asia were not ruled by Roman military force chiefly. But this is no less interesting.

This is a paper about the style of Roman provincial government, about governors’ rhetorical tactics and their diplomacy when dealing with inferiors who did not always see themselves as inferiors; a paper about how representatives of a superpower used language to deal with the pride and quarrels of a provincial society with an old and greatly respected political culture. In this paper I will present four cases illustrating how provincial governors in the East, that is, the Roman officials dealing directly with the Greeks of the Roman empire, went about ruling this proud and quarrelsome folk.

The governor as leader (Beroia, Macedonia)

A recently discovered and exceptionally interesting epigraphical document preserves a Roman governor’s decisions in a controversy concerning the

¹ Josephus, *Bellum Judaicum* 2.366. I am indebted to J. E. Lendon for valuable corrections and suggestions. I should also like to thank M. Chatzopoulos, A. Chaniotis and P. Paschidis for discussing various aspects of this paper.

² M.P. Speidel, *The Roman Army in Asia Minor*, in: S. Mitchell, ed., *Armies and Frontiers in Roman and Byzantine Anatolia. Proceedings of a Colloquium Held at University College, Swansea, in April 1981*, *BAR Intern. Ser. 156* (Oxford 1984), 7-34; cf. W. Eck, ‘Prokonsuln und militärisches Kommando. Folgerungen aus Diplomen für prokonsulare Provinzen’, in: R. Frei-Stolba and M.A. Speidel, eds., *Die Verwaltung des römischen Reiches in der hohen Kaiserzeit*, vol. 2 (Basel 1998), 187-202, n. 5. Cf. *infra*, n. 54.

gymnasium of Macedonian Beroia in the second century A.D.³ The city had been forced to close its gymnasium due to lack of funds and a shortage of men prepared to undertake the costly office of gymnasiarch.⁴ Now the proconsul of Macedonia made detailed provisions aimed at insuring the continuous operation of the gymnasium in the future, after which a local man named [J]ulianus⁵ apparently spared no cost to provide his city with a *stele* making public and eternal the governor's rulings in over 130 neatly inscribed lines.⁶

Unfortunately, the inscription is only partly preserved, leaving us with the left half of each line and some guesswork to do. There are four pieces, of which A and B belong together, as do C and D. An unknown number of lines is missing between those these pairs of fragments, but such as they are, the remains are substantial, making it possible to infer the general context, at least in the introduction.

In addressing the matter of the gymnasium, the proconsul Lucius Memmius Rufus⁷ seems to have produced a remarkable piece of rhetoric. He begins by declaring his continuous interest, ever since he assumed office, in enhancing the prestige of the cities of his province, whether small or large.⁸

³ Α. Γουναροπούλου / M.B. Χατζόπουλος, *Επιγραφές Κάτω Μακεδονίας. Τεύχος Α. Επιγραφές Βέροιας* (Athens 1998), no. 7 = SEG 48, 742. This inscription has been edited by P. Nigdelis and G. Souris (henceforth: I. Beroia 7).

⁴ I. Beroia 7, line 6: ἔσθ' ὅτε λειτουργῶν ἐνδεία συνβέβηκεν τὸ γυμνάσιον κεκλεισ[θαί] the gymnasium has occasionally been closed down for dearth of liturgists; l. 8: ἐπειδὴν γυμνασιάρχος ἐλλίπη when there is no gymnasiarch; l. 74: εὐρεθῆ γυμνασιάρχος that a gymnasiarch be found.

⁵ Ibid., lines 33-35: Τῆ πόλει [---- ca. 10-11 ----] Ἰουλιανὸς διὰ τῆς Γ(αῖου) Π[---- ca. 11-12 ----] ΠΑ [----- ca. 8-9 ---- ἐπι]μελείας τὴν στήλλην χα[ράξας ἀνέθηκεν ἐ]κ τῶν ἰδίων.

⁶ Though Roman officials often prescribe that a document be publicly displayed, their demands never concern publication on stone. Cf. Eck 1998, op. cit. (n. 2), 359-381. We might expect that the purposes of preserving and displaying an important document would have been served just as well by an abridged version of the text, or even a listing of the provisions contained in it. Instead, the entire documentation, including an extensive introduction, was carved in stone.

⁷ This proconsul was until now unknown. The inscription has been dated to the first half of the second century AD based on the lettering. The editors promise more on this subject in a monograph in preparation.

⁸ Ibid. L. A+B 1-2: ἀφ' ἧς μόνον ἐπέβην τῆς τοῦ ἔθ[νους] ἡγεμονίας]. Although ἐπιβαίνω usually requires a geographic term in the genitive, and thus one would expect τῆς ἐπαρχίας, an abstract noun such as ἡγεμονίας is also possible. Given the fact that ΕΘ... must be the beginning of ἔθνος, and that ἡγεμονία τοῦ ἔθνος is a common expression, Nigdelis and

He mentions Beroia's title as *metropolis* of Macedonia and confirms that the city deserves this honorific title, and then uses strong words to express his indignation over the fact that such an important community had to close its gymnasium for lack of citizens willing to support it.⁹ The solution, he says, will be to gather adequate resources for the city to fall back upon when none of its prominent citizens offer to carry the costs, and to guarantee that these resources will be available in the future.¹⁰ There follows a relatively extended section describing how the governor's plan was supported by the *protoi tes patriδος*, the most prominent citizens. We can infer from repeated mentions (l. 20, 71, 78?) that one of these *protoi*, the priest of the imperial cult, a man named Flavius Paramonos, was involved, not only in the implementation, but very likely also in the conception of this plan. Apparently with line 13 the introductory part of the document ends, and the actual provisions begin. Of these, most concern the rededication of sums donated for various other purposes to the purpose of financing the gymnasium. This must have been a delicate matter, to say the least, because many donors went to lengths to prevent exactly this sort of misappropriation of their endowments. No doubt the governor needed strong support within the city to overcome the resistance such encroachments were bound to evoke. Many prominent citizens may have endorsed the plan because lacking a functioning gymnasium was indeed αἴσχιστον, as the governor put it.¹¹ Some will have gone along because the influential Flavius Paramonos had asked them to; others because they lacked enough clout to oppose Paramonos and his party when they sided with the governor; finally, some of those who had their own or their ancestor's endowments hijacked and put at the disposal of future gym-

Souris' restoration seems secure. For a parallel to the governor's stated concern for the prestige of cities, cf. ILS 705, translated by J.E. Lendon, *Empire of Honour. The Art of Government in the Roman World* (Oxford 1997), 125.

⁹ The title *metropolis* is supplied in a plausible restoration in line A+B 4: ἡ πρωτεύουσα τῆς Μακεδονίας καὶ κατὰ ἀξίωμα [μητρόπολις --] the first city of Macedonia and [metropolis] in accordance with its rank (or reputation). L. A+B 6: αἴσχιστον most shameful.

¹⁰ Ebd., lines A+B 7-9. Only the general sense can be inferred: ἐπεμελήθη καὶ [-----] ἰον τῆ πόλει μεῖναι, ὥστε ἐπειδὴν γυμνασίαρχος ἐλλίπη, μ[.]νο[---- ca. 36 -----] ὑπαρξιν διηκεκίαν χ[- -----] ὡς ἀφθαρτον φυλάσσεσθαι. The [---]ιον in line A+B 7 possibly belonged to ἀρχαίον or κεφάλαιον (in both cases capital) or ἀργύριον (money).

¹¹ L. A+B 6.

nasiarchs may have felt compensated by a honourable mention of their family's name on this ornate monument.¹²

Just as the inscription will have been pleasing and honourable to some, it will have been displeasing and dishonourable to others – a quality of major public inscriptions which is often neglected. The tight-fisted who had refused to become gymnasiarch are not listed, but everyone will have known who they were, given the “face-to-face” quality of life in ancient cities, and how small the ruling class was.¹³ The monument made permanent and spectacular the governor's reproach to them, and was posted in or near the gymnasium,¹⁴ where their sons would spend hours every day, and visitors of the city and future Roman officials would read it in years to come.

Yet Rufus' actions, however contentious locally, would have met the approval of another, better known governor, Pliny the Younger. In his letters to Trajan, Pliny presents himself standing well above the local elite, but always willing to lead various campaigns in worthy causes. Pliny's activism will have produced situations similar to that in Beroia.¹⁵ He too was always eager to marshal local support for ambitious projects, such as connecting a river to a lake, or turning sad architectural ruins into an elegant bath. On these occasions, Pliny assures Trajan that funding could be secured from local resources. Some provincials may have indeed applauded Pliny's zeal, but others would no doubt have preferred to govern their cities without his interference and his yearning to change everything for the better, which will have left the cities of Bithynia at sixes and sevens, at least at the outset.

In his introduction to the edict, Memmius Rufus strives to make the need for his reform as compelling as possible to the proud and patriotic leadership of Beroia. The governor contrasts cities that are “smaller”

¹² So perhaps Neoptolemos Neoptoleμου, I. A+B 24, Philippos, I. A+B 26, Plautianus Alexander, I. A+B 28, Tharsunon, I. A+B 31, Eulaios, I. A+B 33, Menander, I. A+B 35 and the young men Appius und Severus, I. A+B 72.

¹³ Beroia was the second most important city in Macedonia at that time, and is called πόλις μεγάλη καὶ πολυάνθρωπος by Lucian almost a century later (*Lucius, or the Ass*, 34). Nevertheless, all but the largest ancient cities were small by any modern standard. See A. Tataki, *Ancient Beroea. Prosopography and society* (Athens 1988). R. MacMullen, *Roman Social Relations* (New Haven 1974), 64-65, on how one's doings and reputation were “a matter of common report” in such a city. Pages 57-87 of this book offer a most valuable and vivid description of life in an ancient city.

¹⁴ Fragment A, the biggest of the four, was excavated at the site of the ancient gymnasium; I. Beroia p. 101.

¹⁵ See R. Talbert, ‘Pliny the Younger as governor of Bithynia-Pontus’, in: C. Deroux, ed., *Studies in Latin Literature and Roman History*, vol. 2 (Brussels 1980), 412-435.

(μεικρότεραι) and “remote” (ἀνακεχωρηκυῖαι) with the city addressed, which he names the “first” (πρωτεύουσα) city of the province and “deserving” (κατὰ ἀξίωμα) holder of the title “*metropolis*”.¹⁶ There is more to some of these expressions than immediately meets the eye of the modern reader. Ἀνακεχωρηκῶς of places meant remote in a geographical sense. In association with things and words, it could mean unfamiliar, obscure. In literary sources of Roman date, and referring to people, the term meant isolated, detached from society, having abandoned civic life.¹⁷ Of course the word *polis* denotes a body of citizens at least as much as it denotes an urban settlement. And by speaking of small and ἀνακεχωρηκυῖαι *poleis*, the governor seems to have chosen his words to allude as much to the culture of the inhabitants as to the physical remoteness of their cities, and so to arouse associations of cultural and political insignificance. Citizenship of a proper *polis* was a prerogative of Hellenism, as was the education provided in the *polis*, in particular in its gymnasium. In this context therefore, ‘small and remote’ could well be read as ‘mean’ and, as it were, ‘ungreek’. Failing to maintain a functioning gymnasium, Beroia did not deserve a role in the life of the Greco-Roman empire: this must have been the force of the Roman’s allusion and the Beroians will have sensed it.

¹⁶ L. 3-4. On use of the city’s titles as a way of manipulating the inhabitants cf. Lendon 1997, op. cit. (n. 8), 136-7.

¹⁷ The latter meaning may be traced back to one of the most famous texts of classical philosophy dealing with the duty of citizens to respect the laws and serve one’s country at all events, Plato’s *Crito* (51 B): τὸ δίκαιον οὕτως ἔχει, καὶ οὐχ ὑπεικτέον οὐδ’ ἀναχωρητέον οὐδὲ λειπτέον τὴν τάξιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν πολέμῳ καὶ ἐν δικαστηρίῳ καὶ πανταχοῦ ποιητέον ἂν κελύη ἢ πόλις καὶ ἢ πατρίς (...shouldn’t give way or *withdraw* or desert...). Socrates’ elegant rhetoric is repeated in Stobaeus’ anthology in the chapter περὶ πατρίδος. Later, Plutarch sees in the political quietism endorsed by the Epicureans an attitude ‘indifferent to humanity’ (βίος ἀνέξοδος καὶ ἀπολίτευτος καὶ ἀφιλόανθρωπος, Mor. 1098 d). In the second century AD ἀνακεχωρηκῶς could have such negative connotations, that we find it among a host of undesirable dispositions fostered by a hazardous stellar constellation (Claudius Ptolemaeus’ astrological work *Apotelesmatica* is a rich source on moralizing vocabulary of Roman era Greek): Claud. Ptol. 3.14.11: ἐναντίως δὲ καὶ ἀδόξως κείμενος (ὁ Κρόνος) ῥυπαροῦς, μικρολόγος, ἀδιαφόρος, κακογνώμονας, βασκάνους, δειλοῦς, ἀνακεχωρηκότητας, κακολόγους, φιλερήμους, φιλοθρήνους, ἀναιδεῖς, δεισιδαίμονας, φιλομόχθους, ἀστόργους, ἐπιβουλευτικούς τῶν οἰκείων, ἀνευφράντους, μισοσωμάτων (ποιεῖ). Ἀναχωρῶ and related words were used in a positive sense by Christian authors as meaning ‘to abstain from earthly matters’. In a medical work of the seventh cent. AD, by contrast, it is, again, applied as a synonym for ‘unsocial’: Paulus Medicus 7.9 (ed. J.L. Heiberg, *Corpus Medicorum Graecorum* 9): χρηστέον προηγουμένως ἐπὶ μελαγχολικῶν, εὐπαροξύντων, ὀργίλων, μισανθρωπούντων ἢ ἀναχωρητικῶν.

In fact, Beroia had been an important civic centre for centuries and its role as such had not diminished at all during the high empire.¹⁸ There are no traces of neglect in the urban landscape of Roman imperial Beroia, quite the contrary: so far as its architecture is concerned, the city was thriving. In that sense, it was *κατὰ ἀξίωμα μητρόπολις*. So why had the gymnasium found so little support? Maladministration and civic discord could well be responsible. Alternatively or additionally, part of the citizenry may not have been interested in the gymnasium at all, for Beroia had a considerable Jewish population. Paul had found it worthwhile to preach in the synagogue there and, if we may trust *Acts*, his teaching was received with eagerness. He managed during his stay in Beroia to convert many Jews, along with a number of prominent Greek men and women, to his new faith.¹⁹ Some Jews did receive education in the gymnasium,²⁰ and in the days of Memmius Rufus, adherents of Greek traditions almost certainly remained the largest and strongest group in cities like Beroia. But it is important to keep in mind that their pre-eminence was no longer uncontested, and this will have made the Beroians even more sensitive to the nuance of some further observations of the governor. For following another reference to the size of Beroia, this time explicitly mentioning its *demos*,²¹ Rufus seems to have said that it was ‘one of the most shameful things’ for any city to close its gymnasium, ‘all the more so for you, who have been proud of your diligence in such matters’. This, apparently, is uttered as a subordinate clause in the course of saying how he, the governor, has now decided to take the matter in hand.²² This mix of praise and criticism emphasized to the local Greek elite the importance of their traditions and the need to uphold them. The governor deplors the present situation, points to the right course of action, and reserves for himself

¹⁸ See Gounaropoulou and Chatzopoulos 1998, *op. cit.* (n. 3), 37-52 and Laurence Brocas-Deflassieux, *Ἡ Βέροια κατὰ τὴν Ἀρχαιότητα: μελέτη τοπογραφίας* (Beroia 1998).

¹⁹ *Acta Apost.* 17.10, see now F.Ó. Fearghail, ‘The Jews in the Hellenistic cities of Acts’, in: J.R. Bartlett, ed., *Jews in the Hellenistic and Roman Cities* (London 2002), 39-54, 45f. on Beroia.

²⁰ See T. Brady, *The Gymnasium in Ptolemaic Egypt* (Missouri 1936), 9-20, cf. L. H. Feldman, *Jew and Gentile in the Ancient World* (Princeton 1993), 57-61. On Jews in Beroia see now ‘A. Κουκουβοῦ, ‘Ἡ Ἐβραϊκὴ κοινότητα τῆς Βέροιας στὴν Ἀρχαιότητα. Νέες ἐπιτύμβιες ἐπιγραφές’, *Τεκμήρια* 4 (1998-9), 13-28.

²¹ L. A+B 5: τοιοῦτο δήμο.

²² See προενό[ησα?] in line A+B 4 and ἐπεμελήθη in line 7.

the leading role in the undertaking. Truly a Roman champion of Greek *paideia*.²³

The governor as partner (Patara, Lycia)

In the year AD 42, a Lycian ambassador stood before a Roman emperor who had an exceptionally good education, but also a bad temper, a stammer, and hardly any public experience at all. The emperor addressed the Lycian with a question in Latin. The Lycian didn't understand the question, and so the Lycian lost his Roman citizenship: one should know Latin to be a Roman, grumbled the emperor Claudius.²⁴ The poor man's disgrace took place during an investigation, conducted by the emperor, of a *stasis* that had

²³ Despite the similarity of the letter forms, we are not necessarily dealing with a single document here, or in fact with a single stele. Though unusual for a stele, a height of more than 2,61 m is not unthinkable – the Lindian Chronicle was inscribed on a stele 2,35 m in height. But if this was indeed a single document, it would be at least four times longer than the longest proconsular edict known (*IK Ephesos* Ia 27 C, lines 333-369; cf. C. Kokkinia, 'Letters of Roman authorities on local dignitaries. The case of Vedius Antoninus', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 142 (2003), 197-213, Appendix no. 39). More likely, the fragments A+B and C+D belonged to two stones, possibly standing next to each other and, most importantly, carrying two separate documents concerning the gymnasium of Beroia. Apart from a gap of unknown length between parts A+B and C+D, there is also a marked difference of style between the two sections. The difference becomes apparent if we isolate those utterances directly relevant to the governor's handling of the situation, more precisely, to the particular way his solutions to the problems at hand are expressed: A+B 7: ἐπεμελήθην I took care that...; 53: καλῶς ἔχον εἶναι μοι δοκεῖ I regard as a good thing...; 55: κατ' ἐμὴν εὐχὴν as I wish...; 58: ἐλπίζω I hope...; 74: εὐχομαι καὶ ἐλπίζω I wish and hope...; 91: γεινέσθω be it... by contrast, C-D 6: ἔνοχος ἔσται will be guilty of..., 10: τῷ διατάγματι διορθῶσαι to correct through this edict..., 11: κελεύω I command..., 18: οὐκ ἐφείμην γείνεσθαι· εἰ γὰρ τολμήσειεν τ[ις] I don't want to happen. And if someone dares to..., 23: [συ?]ναρπάζεται τῇ ἐπειξεί μοι, κελεύω is seized through my pressure (urging), I order..., 24: μηδὲ διὰ ταύτης τῆς ἀυθαδίας either through such obstinacy... 29: τοὺς τοῦτο τολμῶντας ποιεῖν those who dare do this... It can be reasonably deduced from the remnants of fragments C+D that the document they once belonged to addressed violations of existing laws, or of a previous ruling, possibly – but not necessarily – directly in connection with the case presented in A+B. Whatever grievances lay at the core of the second ruling, they are addressed by the issuing authority in a very different style. The problems at hand concern the gymnasium and seem to be of a fiscal nature no less than those dealt with in the first edict, but here threats are held out, there is talk of perpetrators and punishments. In short, C+D must belong to a second document that, together with A+B, was part of a dossier concerning the gymnasium. The second edict is interesting both with regard to the means of deterrence and prosecution available to provincial governors, and as a contrast to the diplomatic approach of the first ruling.

²⁴ Cassius Dio 60.17.3-4.

troubled Lycia and resulted in their proud ἔθνος coming under direct Roman rule. Any doubts that may have existed as to the historicity of this state of faction, as reported by literary sources, have recently been put aside by an extraordinary find, the Claudian monument at Patara.²⁵

On what was originally a column over five meters tall, consisting of nearly sixty blocks, we find a long list of roads built under Claudius and a honorific inscription dedicating the monument to the emperor. “To the emperor” Claudius (with complete titulature), by “the Lycians, friends of the Romans and of the emperor, faithful allies, freed from faction, lawlessness and brigandage through his divine foresight, having recovered concord, the fair administration of justice and the ancestral (?) laws”²⁶ ... “the conduct of affairs having been entrusted to the distinguished councillors, set apart from the promiscuous crowd”.²⁷

²⁵ *Editio princeps*: F. Isik, H. Iskan and N. Cevik, ‘Miliarium Lyciae: Das Wegweisermonument von Patara: Vorbericht’, *Lykia* 4 (2001), 107-109. See now C.P. Jones, ‘The Claudian monument at Patara’, *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 137 (2001) 161-68.

²⁶ As translated by Jones 2001, op. cit. (n. 25), 163, with minor deviations. I prefer ‘friends of the Romans and of the emperor’ instead of ‘Rome- and Caesar-loving’ as a translation of φιλορώμαιοι καὶ φιλοκαίσαρες, and I am translating πιστοὶ σύμμαχοι as ‘faithful allies’ instead of Jones’ ‘faithful, allied’. On *philosebastos* applied to cities see L. Robert’s comments in: J. des Gagniers, ed., *Laodicée du Lycos. Le Nymphée* (Québec 1969), 281 f., esp. 288-89; cf. the discussion of φιλοσέβαστος, φιλοκαίσαρ and φιλορώμαιοις by K. Buraselis, *Kos between Hellenism and Rome. Studies on the political, institutional and social history of Kos from ca. the middle second century B.C. until late Antiquity* (Philadelphia 2000), 101-108.

²⁷ τῆς πολιτείας τοῖς | ἐξ ἀρίστων ἐ[πι]λελεγμένοις βουλευταῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀκρίτου | πλήθους π[ι]στευ[θ]εί[σ]ης is an intriguing sentence. The difficulty lies in the interpretation of ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀκρίτου πλήθους. Ἄκριτος can have various meanings, all of them clearly negative: whether the crowd is here characterized as “undistinguishable, confused, undecided, doubtful, unpredictable, reckless, indiscreet, not exercising judgement or indiscriminating” (*LSJ*), it is clearly being spoken of badly. And if, as it has been recently suggested by Jones 2001, op. cit. (n. 25), ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀκρίτου πλήθους means that this crowd entrusted the government to the *aristoi*, the phrase is nearly nonsense. Best to begin again by assuming that ἀπὸ is not, as it seems at first, a substitute for ὑπό, but instead that this phrase involves somewhat unusual, maybe forced or affected, syntax. But its ancient audience would nevertheless know what to make of it, because they had heard enough aristocratic/aristotelian rhetoric immediately to recognize the connotations of words such as πολιτεία, ἐξ ἀρίστων ἐπιλεγμένοι and ἄκριτον πλήθος (on words indicating the attitude of the upper classes towards the lower in Greek and Roman authors, see Z. Yavetz, ‘*Plebs sordida*’, *Athenaeum* 43 (1965), 295-311, and MacMullen 1974, op. cit. (n. 13), 138-141. A passage by Plutarch on Thucydides of Alopece, the aristocratic opponent of Pericles, is

The emperor had united, reconstituted and saved the state by entrusting it to its distinguished citizens. The dedicants call themselves “the Lycians”. There is no mention of a decree, or a body that might issue one. Nevertheless, it is reasonable to assume that no one would use this name in such a context, unless they spoke on behalf of the provincial *koinon*.²⁸ More precisely, the dedicants will be the faction that prevailed in the preceding strife, most likely with Roman support, those now in a position to pass decrees in the governing body of the Lycian confederation.

The triumphal rhetoric of this document presents the contest as having been between good and noble citizens and the mean and lawless. But we may want to apply some scepticism to this picture, for the inscription does not offer much insight into the nature of the events in Lycia. Was this in fact a clash of *aristoi* against the ἄκριτον πλῆθος, as the inscription wants us to believe, or the rich against the poor, as a modern scholar supposes?²⁹ The associations and clubs often blamed for upheavals in the East had rich patrons, and factions had leaders that were likely to come from the higher

characteristic: “For he would not suffer those who were called the honest and good (persons of worth and distinction) to be scattered up and down and mix themselves and be lost among the populace, as formerly, diminishing and obscuring their superiority amongst the masses; but taking them apart by themselves and uniting them in one body, by their combined weight he was able, as it were upon the balance, to make a counter-poise to the other party” (*Pericles* 11.2, transl. J. Dryden, 1932). Here is how Plutarch describes Theseus’ activity immediately after the synoicisms of Athens (*Theseus*, 25.1-2): οὐ μὴν ἄτακτον οὐδὲ μεμειγμένην περιεῖδεν ὑπὸ πλῆθος ἐπιχυθέντος ἀκριτοῦ γενομένην τὴν δημοκρατίαν, ἀλλὰ πρῶτος ἀποκρίνας χωρὶς Εὐπατρίδας καὶ Γεωμόρους καὶ Δημιουργούς, ... δόξῃ μὲν Εὐπατριδῶν, χρεῖα δὲ Γεωμόρων, πλήθει δὲ Δημιουργῶν ὑπερέχειν δοκούντων. The parallels in the vocabulary of this passage with that in our inscription are striking. The ἄκριτον πλῆθος is no acceptable supporter of a new πολιτεία. To begin with, the εὐπατρίδες or ἄριστοι are to be set apart. Plutarch’s source here appears to be Aristotle, whom he names immediately after this passage. I suggest that ἄκριτον πλῆθος has the sense ‘promiscuous’, in its old, non-sexual sense in contrast to the ἐξ ἀρίστων ἐπιλελεγμένοι, and that ἀπό here denotes separation, distance, a meaning much less common than ἀπό for ὑπό but more fitting in this context. J. Thornton, independently, interprets this passage in a way similar to the one proposed here; see J. Thornton, ‘Gli aristoi, l’ akriton plethos e la provincializzazione della Licia nel monumento di Patara’, *Mediterraneo Antico* 4, (2001) 427-446.

²⁸ Cf. *Fouilles de Xanthos* (henceforth; FdX) VII 38, where “the Lycians” honor an ancestor of the same provincial governor involved here. See also the Opramoas monument, TAM 2, 905 and C. Kokkinia, *Die Opramoas-Inschrift von Rhodiapolis* (Bonn 2000), XI G 14: here Antoninus Pius apparently refers to a provincial honorific decree in this manner (partly restored). Also individual cities sometimes use the collective noun instead of naming particular civic bodies; see *Fouilles de Xanthos* VII, 40 (Ξάνθιοι).

²⁹ Thornton 2001, op. cit. (n. 27).

classes of society.³⁰ Στάσις, ἀνομία and ληστεῖαι could very well mirror the sequence of events in Lycia: violent conflict may have resulted in anarchy and the breakdown of law and order. But calling your enemies brigands and pirates, especially, but not necessarily, when they included criminal elements or slaves in their alliance, was very common practice throughout the ancient world and a conventional trick of propaganda, a trick which can be paralleled, for example, in the *Res Gestae Divi Augusti*.³¹

We cannot be sure what the losers in the conflict would have called themselves, but they – or at least the leading figures among them – probably did not call themselves bandits. Defeating bandits before installing a new glorious state is a *topos* of literary tradition. Theseus did it too, before founding the city of Athens.³² As for the evidence of Suetonius and Cassius Dio, it does not necessarily point to an uprising either. These authors use *discordia* (Suetonius, *Claudius* 25.3) and στάσις (Dio 60.17.3) to describe the events in Lycia, words that could denote social unrest of any sort, therefore also a revolt, but more commonly refer to factional strife.

This is not to call into question that the Lycian people may have had reasons and the means to stage an insurgency against their aristocracy; it is only to emphasize that *latro*, ληστής, is to be taken with caution. The leading figures of an opposing party could be called brigands or worse if they were

³⁰ O. van Nijf, *The Civic World of Professional Associations in the Roman East* (Amsterdam 1997), 110 f.

³¹ R. MacMullen, 'The Roman concept robber-pretender', *RIDA* sér. 3, 10 (1963), 221-225; cf. A. J. L. van Hooff, 'Ancient robbers: reflections behind the facts', *Ancient Society* 19 (1988) 105-124, esp. 114: "there is a strong rhetorical tradition in which *latro* etc. is used in the very wide sense of a person who lacks humanity and rightfulness. He who harms people without discretion is a robber, the person who hurts his friends is a parricide". Cf. *Dig.* 49.15.24 (Ulpian): "Enemies (*hostes*) are those against whom the Roman people has formally declared war, or who themselves have declared war against the Roman people; others are called robbers or bandits". See also B.C. McGing, 'Bandits, real and imagined, in Greco-Roman Egypt', *Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists* 35 (1998), 159-183. Interesting on evidence of ties between local elite members and bandits: K. Hopwood, 'Bandits, elites and rural order', in: A. Wallace-Hadrill, ed., *Patronage in Ancient Society* (London 1989), 171-187. On 'pirates' as a term of political abuse, see P. de Souza, *Piracy in the Graeco-Roman World* (Cambridge 2000), esp. 1-9 and 193-200. Nevertheless, bandit groups could apparently form the nucleus of a rebellion, as Dio Cassius' account of AD 6 seems to indicate (55.28.3): "they began from banditry and then moved on to a very dreadful war" (cited in Hopwood, *ibid.*, 174); and they often enjoyed local support; see *CJ* 9.39.2.3.

³² Plutarch, *Theseus* 6.4; 10.2.

already in exile.³³ As for their lowly followers, those that may have actually behaved as ληστές and ἄνομοι during the unrest, they were perhaps rotting in chains, if they were lucky enough to be alive.

The triumphant party in this conflict raised a monument to the emperor. At the end of the inscription appears the name of the governor Quintus Veranius. This governor Quintus Veranius is well known, and his governorship of the new province Lycia falls in the years 43 through 47.³⁴ But what exactly did he do in connection with this monument or the events which precipitated it? The text grows more fragmentary towards the end, but there is hardly room for an extensive catalogue of the governor's contributions. In line 32 C.P. Jones, I believe rightly, proposes to restore "*dia*" – that either the acts of the emperor or the putting up of the monument were done "through" the governor. In other inscriptions too, emperor or provincials appear to act similarly "through" the governor without much indication to help us pinpoint the governor's exact role in the process.³⁵ But whatever the precise reading of the text, the inscription presents the governor's role as secondary, not as the central point of interest (as the Beroia inscription does). The text of this honorary inscription is – or, if the governor's staff had anything to do with its formulation, pretends to be – penned by members of the Lycian elite. Quintus Veranius, a very important man, who held the first governorship of the province for years, appears on an equal, or even inferior footing with the political coalition that emerged victorious from a period of unrest. The governor is presented as a mere partner in glorifying the emperor for ridding the province of discord, bandits – and the dedicants' rivals.

The governor as the emperor's servant (Aizanoi, Phrygia)

Over 90 governors' letters and edicts survive on stone from the Eastern part of the empire. Of those well enough preserved to allow a glimpse at the circumstances under which they were produced, most suggest that the governor was acting upon the request of the provincials themselves. Even in an edict such as the one from Beroia already discussed, where the proconsul

³³ Unlike real brigands, such exiles are known to have enjoyed the hospitality of an aristocratic lady; on Junia Theodora D. Pallas et al., 'Inscriptions Lyciennes trouvées à Solomos près de Corinthe', *BCH* 83 (1959), 496-508 = SEG 18 (1962), 143.

³⁴ See A. E. Gordon, *Quintus Veranius consul A.D. 49: a study based upon his recently identified sepulchral inscription* (Berkeley 1952) and the titles cited in Jones 2001, op. cit. (n. 25), 4.

³⁵ Cf. e.g. TAM 2, 270, 275, 396, 557, 1188, I. Eph. 1499.

goes to lengths to advertise his own initiative, there are clear indications that local notables had played a major role, usually inviting Roman intervention. Our evidence, then, seems to suggest that governors usually acted on request – or, when they did not, they produced communications that were seen by locals as unattractive for inscription upon stone.³⁶ Let me now discuss a possible exception.

On the *pronaos* of the temple of Zeus at Aizanoi in Phrygia, there is an inscription reproducing four documents.³⁷ Numbers two, three and four of this dossier are among the rare examples of documents inscribed in Latin in this part of the world. In these, the emperor (Hadrian), a governor and a procurator exchange rather short communications concerning the temple lands of the sanctuary. Curiously, the last Latin letter, a letter of the procurator Hesperos to the governor, was left unfinished on the inscription. Heading the dossier is a much more generously worded document in Greek, preserving the governor Avidius Quietus' letter to the city of Aizanoi. We are in the year 126 AD. Some 300 years earlier, two Hellenistic kings had given to Zeus of Aizanoi land divided into *kleroi*, the revenue from which was payable to the temple. Over time, the original pattern of land ownership shifted, the size of the original *kleroi* was forgotten, and the levies ceased to be paid.³⁸ This, apparently, meant substantial loss of public revenue to the city.³⁹ The city therefore called upon the Roman authorities for help in establishing a mean size for the *kleroi* and dealing with tenants unwilling to pay their dues.

I have oversimplified a complex affair, in order to move on to what interests me most about these rich documents: Avidius Quietus' Greek letter to the city, which displays another Roman governor's rhetorical tactics for dealing with another case of civic discord. For this matter had divided Aizanoi's citizens, as Quietus says in lines 5-7 and implies again in lines 16-

³⁶ Cf. F. Millar, *The Emperor in the Roman World* (London 1977), 320 f. and Eck 1998, op. cit (n. 6), 359-381.

³⁷ U. Laffi, 'I terreni del tempio di Zeus ad Aizanoi' *Athenaeum* 49, NS (1971), 3-53; B. Levick, S. Mitchell et al., *Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua IX. Monuments from the Aezanitis* (London 1988), p. xxxvi-xliii; henceforth: MAMA 9, xxxvi-xliii.

³⁸ MAMA 9, xxxix-xlii.

³⁹ This document speaks clearly of a strong interdependency, if not identity, of interests between sacred and civic authorities in Aizanoi. I do not find B. Dignas' arguments to the contrary conclusive; see *Economy of the Sacred in Hellenistic and Roman Asia Minor* (Oxford 2002), 178-186.

18.⁴⁰ To understand the governor's rhetoric, it is necessary to investigate the possible reasons for inscribing these documents on the temple.

At first blush it might appear that this inscription served a purely utilitarian function, the documents simply demonstrating the right of the temple to receive dues from its lands. The letters, after all, were inscribed at a height to be read easily from the ground. But as these documents stand, they do not in fact make up a clear and unambiguous definition of the temple's rights. What size *was* established for the *kleroi* and how much *was* to be paid for them? The reader is not told. This information may have been provided in the last part of the procurator's letter to the governor, but that part of the letter was not inscribed. So it is not obvious why the officials of the temple or the city would inscribe the letters: rather than clearly documenting the outcome of the dispute, these letters seem rather to document the process by which this problem was attended to.

What, then, was the motivation behind inscribing the dossier, and who arranged for it to be done? In this case we cannot be confident that the governor acted at the request of interested parties. No particular citizens are mentioned or even alluded to in the documents, apart from the losers, those *τινές* (l. 16) who had long deprived the city of its revenues and were about to be deprived of this privilege. *They* certainly did not want the letter on the wall. Perhaps the procurator Hesperus had a personal interest in seeing these documents inscribed: but if so, he would hardly have truncated his own letter. Very likely, communications from such high persons were valued simply because they increased the sanctuary's prestige,⁴¹ and that would explain, at least in part, why they were inscribed on the temple. But it was

⁴⁰ L. 5-6: δύο τὰ μάλιστα τὴν διαφορὰν ἕμεῖν κεινοῦντα, two things which especially stir up the dispute among you; L. 16-17: ἵνα μὴ πάλιν τινές ἀμφισβητοῦντες περὶ τοῦ τέλους τοῦ βράδειον ἀπολαῦσαι τὴν πόλιν τῆς [προσηκούσης προσόδου παραίτιοι] γένωνται, 'in order that certain persons may not again dispute about the sum, and become responsible for delaying the city's enjoying the benefit of the revenues due to it' (transl. Levick and Mitchell). The restorations were proposed by Laffi 1971, *op. cit.* (n. 37). They were accepted on good grounds by Levick and Mitchell, despite their details being "obviously open to question" (MAMA IX, xxxviii). They fit well into the general sense of the passage and, it must be added, they are well in agreement with the length of the lacuna; see the photograph provided by Laffi, Tav. II. "Some people" (*τινές*, l. 16) are mentioned as responsible for depriving the city from its revenues. These, the governor says in a critical tone, have profited long enough from the situation. He is obviously referring to the owners of the *kleroi*.

⁴¹ Cf. Lendon 1997, *op. cit.* (n. 8), 132; 215-6.

especially letters from the emperor which were so highly valued, and in this case the emperor did not write.

Yet the problem *had* been dealt with by the emperor – as the governor Avidius Quietus puts it, “by the forethought of the greatest emperor, who combined justice with humanity and concern for judicial matters” – and the emperor had been invited to intervene by the author of the letter, the governor. The governor’s letter to Aizanoi centres around his relationship with the emperor. Right from the start, with his opening sentence, Quietus points to Hadrian: the good news the governor is about to announce, that is, the resolution of their long standing ἀμφισβήτησις, is a benefaction from the emperor. Then the proconsul explains *in extenso* how this desirable intervention came about: “I wrote to him and explained the whole situation, and asked what to do, and said that two things are mainly responsible for the discord among you, and for the intractable and obscure nature of the matter”.⁴² And so the emperor took action.

Quietus’ letter belongs to a group of governors’ communications the main theme of which could be paraphrased as: ‘behold, behind me stands the emperor’. Some governors obviously sought to reinforce their own position by evoking the emperor. To various degrees, they represented themselves as appendages to him, their actions as effects of his awesome power. In their letters to cities, such governors tend to make excessive use of the adjective ‘sacred’ to denote everything imperial. This characteristic, of course, is not exclusive to documents deriving from governors, but we are more used to

⁴² The phrase δύο τὰ μάλιστα...παρεχόμενα seems confusing at first. Levick and Mitchell write that “the Greek, as it stands, is not syntactically cogent” (MAMA 9, xxxvii). I should like to suggest that the syntax here may be deliberately sophisticated rather than wrong. The participles κεινούντα and παρεχόμενα depend on δηλῶν, the verb denoting the governor’s main contribution to the city’s cause: the fact that he explained the whole situation (τὸ πρᾶγμα ὅλον) to the emperor. Following that, he asked for advice (ἠρόμην τε ὅ τι χρὴ ποιεῖν). The phrase δύο τὰ μάλιστα ... παρεχόμενα gives an indication of exactly how the governor formulated his report, and is therefore a clarification to “δηλῶν τὸ πρᾶγμα ὅλον”. He did not simply state the facts, rather, in his letter to the emperor he offered an analysis of the problem at hand. In his letter to Aizanoi, the governor inserted the sentence ἠρόμην τε ὅ τι χρὴ ποιεῖν between the phrase δηλῶν τὸ πρᾶγμα ὅλον and its clarification, δύο τὰ μάλιστα ... παρεχόμενα, probably in order to present the two main purposes of his correspondence with the emperor, his report on the situation and his request for advice, together. The result is a rather artificial or affected style that may not have been entirely unwelcome to the author of this letter.

this ‘imperial theology’ – as De Ste Croix⁴³ once called it – coming from the subjects, not the rulers. Obviously, some governors saw a gain in assimilating themselves to their subjects and using a language that pointed to the central authority as the source of power. They were ‘borrowing honour’, as J.E. Lendon would put it.⁴⁴

One of the interested parties who arranged for this inscription, then, was perhaps the governor, and at least one purpose of the inscription was to advertise the governor’s connection to the emperor, the supreme font of power.

The governor as loser (Rhodiapolis)

But the governor’s reliance upon the emperor could backfire. Provincials could get accustomed to referring directly to the highest authority, and there are many indications that they often did. They simply dropped the middleman; sometimes provincials did not refer a matter to the governor at all, or they applied to the emperor to overcome a governor’s objections. This, apparently, is what happened when the Lycian league’s decision to bestow a particular set of honours upon Opramoas met the resistance of the governor. In a unique document, the governor Cornelius Proculus appears to openly admit his defeat.⁴⁵ The crucial restoration [ἀντέτα]ρτον (“I opposed it”) in line 3 is that of R. Heberdey. Having failed repeatedly in my efforts to find an alternative reading of this unusual document, I suspect that Heberdey’s restoration is to be accepted, and that this letter may therefore pose a historical, rather than an epigraphical ‘problem’: for it seems to reveal an aspect of the relations between the Roman governor and his subjects that we do not expect to find in epigraphical record.⁴⁶ Proculus’ letter reads:

⁴³ *The Class Struggle in the Ancient Greek World* (London 1981), 394: “the theology of Roman imperial rule”.

⁴⁴ Lendon 1997, op. cit. (n. 8), 146-9.

⁴⁵ Kokkinia 2000, op. cit. (n. 28), doc. n. 29 = TAM II, 905, doc. n. 28 (VII F 13-VII H 11).

⁴⁶ E. Petersen and R. Heberdey read five letters at the end of line VII G 3 (cf. the drawings reproduced at the end of this article). E. Petersen’s reading in his sketchbook from the year 1882 seemed uncertain, particularly concerning the fourth letter from the right. Heberdey therefore inspected the stone again in 1894, and put down his own reading. Without copying the entire inscription on block VII G, he examined the third line. The intensity and thickness of his pencil stroke suggest strongly that he paid particular attention to the fourth letter from the end, that turned out to be another T. According to R. Heberdey’s drawing, the end of line VII G 3 reads clearly ATTON. Preceding this is a short lacuna. Its approximate length is securely provided by the certain restoration of the preceding line, as well as the fully

“Being present myself, I learned that the honours you were most eager to decree for Opramoas, even as I objected (*antetatton*), you wish to be able to bestow now and in the future, after the greatest emperor has granted the request of the Xanthians on the matter and has conceded to this. Also I consider Opramoas worthy of praise and honour from you, for everything; for his generosity, for caring for every city as he does for his own and for treating his private property as if it were a common good, and I praise you too that give the honours” [9 more lines then follow of which only fragments remain].

Why would a governor object to honours for a local dignitary? Perhaps because they were too expensive. But Opramoas apparently bore the expenses of such honours himself.⁴⁷ More likely, as another known case attests,⁴⁸ it was because other local luminaries opposed them. But how was a Roman who had just come to the province to decide which side was right in such ongoing, overlapping, entangled, local issues? Proculus was probably sucked into a dispute over a matter that he may have seen as trivial and,

preserved text of the following line; ca. 5-7 letters are missing in line 3. They belonged to the ending of one word and the beginning of another which concluded with the letters ATTON. There are very few words ending with these letters, and the Opramoas dossier provides clear indications that someone had objected to a set of honours intended for Opramoas by the Lycian league; cf. Kokkinia 2000, op. cit. (n. 20). Taking this into consideration, Heberdey's restoration ἀντέταττον seems secure. What seems doubtful however, is whether the last letter before the lacuna in line VII G 3 was in fact an O. Neither a photograph nor a squeeze, or a confirmation of this reading by another epigrapher is available, and judging by his sketch, Petersen seems to have been unable to discern this letter clearly. We may therefore be dealing with καί[περ], ‘although’, instead of καὶ ὅ[τε], which sounds somewhat awkward (literally: ‘also when’). Nevertheless, its meaning is clear in this context: ‘even as’. Having accepted the restoration of the verb as ἀντέταττον, there remain a few questions. It is an active form, apparently without an object. This is an unusual construction, for, failing an object, one would expect a middle form of ἀντιτάσσω. Finally, ἀντέταττον can be a third person plural as well as a first person singular form of the verb. If we assume that we are dealing with a third person plural form, then a τινές would be indispensable, and would have to be supplied in the lacuna. But this restoration seems highly improbable, because Heberdey's revised reading shows the relation of the remaining letters in line 3 to those of line 2 above it. The last letters of the two lines, Y and N respectively, are nearly aligned. This should exclude the possibility that one line had 29 letters (line 2) and the other 36, as would be required to add a τινές in the lacuna of line 3. I therefore see no other possibility than to suppose that the governor speaks, as usual, in the first person.

⁴⁷ Kokkinia 2000, op. cit. (n. 28), II G 2-4, IX D 4-9.

⁴⁸ Iason of Kyaneai, cf. C. Kokkinia, ‘Verdiente Ehren. Zu den Inschriften für Opramoas von Rhodiapolis und Iason von Kyaneai’, *Antike Welt* 32 (2001), 17-23.

perhaps carelessly, he chose the wrong side. And the other side had better luck with the emperor. Now he glossed over the matter with an overzealous praise of both honourers and honorand. His embarrassed epistle is by far the longest of the 38 letters in the Opramoas dossier.

Conclusion: a balancing act

This is how, according to Cassius Dio, the emperor Caracalla concluded a letter to the senators of Antioch⁴⁹: “I know my behaviour does not please you; that is why I have weapons and soldiers, so that I do not have to pay attention to what people are saying about me”. Some one and a half centuries later, the Antiochians apparently hadn’t lost their talent for irritating emperors, as Julian’s *Misopogon* clearly demonstrates. That extraordinary piece of literature is the best known documentation of a non-violent clash between Roman authority and Greek subjects. Julian responded to the Antiochians’ mockery of his person with an angry, sarcastic monologue, inserted between the usual epistolary formulas and posted outside the governor’s *praesidium* like any other imperial response.⁵⁰

If two emperors had been obliged to resort to abusive language to counter the insolence of the quarrelsome citizenry of Antioch, one may guess that a governorship of the province of Syria would not be an obvious choice for a Roman grandee looking for a quiet post. On the other hand, supposing he had a choice, which Eastern province would he opt for? The *Pax Romana* of the Principate was a fertile ground for rivalries in and among Greek cities. Almost all of the Eastern provinces are known to have gone through considerable unrest at some point during the Principate, either from inner- or from inter-community disputes⁵¹. Judging from Dio Chrysostom’s works,

⁴⁹ 78.20

⁵⁰ M. Gleason, ‘Festive satire. Julian’s “Misopogon” and the new year at Antioch’, *Journal of Roman Studies* 76 (1986) 106-119.

⁵¹ See i.e. Plutarch, *Moralia* 815 D: under Augustus the Athenians burned a prominent citizen alive. For a quick overview of numerous internal disputes in the Greek East see R. MacMullen, *Enemies of the Roman Order* (Cambridge Mass. 1966), 346 n. 23: cf. Th. Pekáry, ‘Seditio. Unruhen und Revolten im Römischen Reich von Augustus bis Commodus’, in: *Ancient Society* 18 (1987), 133-150; P.A. Brunt, ‘Charges of provincial maladministration under the early Principate’, *Historia* 10 (1961), 189-223, esp. 213f.; C. P. Jones, *The Roman World of Dio Chrysostom* (Cambridge 1978), 83-94; on Asia, R. Merkelbach, ‘Der Rangstreit der Städte Asiens und die Rede des Aelius Aristides über die Eintracht’, *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 32 (1978), 287-296; Bithynia, L. Robert, ‘La titulature de Nicée et de Nicomédie. La gloire et la haine’, *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 81 (1977), 1-39.

almost every major Bithynian city had an on-going feud with one or more neighbouring communities and Pliny's occasional helplessness while governing that province often appears at least indirectly connected to the province's internal rivalries. Asia was permanently rent by strife over status and titles between its ancient and proud cities. A proconsul failing to secure the alliance of an exceptionally powerful magnate like Herodes Atticus would have a hard task governing Achaia under Pius. The feuds between Greeks and Jews will have given the prefect of Egypt enough to worry about – and the people of Alexandria were famously even more insolent than the folk of Antioch. Lycia perhaps, in view of the common traditions and ethnic conscience that the Lycians shared? Might that be a quiet destination? But Lycia became part of the empire under Claudius after the unrest discussed above.

In theory, a governor had unlimited powers in his province.⁵² Jurists such as Ulpian *recommended* that a provincial governor have regard for the decisions of his predecessors, respect local traditions, and uphold statutes of earlier emperors. But following such advice was optional. Providing he did not provoke imperial intervention, the governor was free to decide as he wished. And, as we now know, all governors, not only legates but also proconsuls, had at least one or two military units under their command.⁵³ Does this mean that the governor possessed sufficient means to enforce controversial decisions regardless of opposition? Quite to the contrary.

First, in a proconsular province of the size and with the population of Asia, the military presence was so absurdly small that it could be perceived as virtually non-existent, as the passage from Josephus cited at the beginning of this paper indicates.⁵⁴ Secondly, even if he had the means to repress

⁵² Dig. 1.16.8 (Ulpian): *et ideo maius imperium in ea provincia habet omnibus post principem*; 1.16.9: *nec quicquam est in provincia, quod non per ipsum expediatur*; 1.18.4: *Praeses provinciae maius imperium in ea provincia habet omnibus post principem*. The details are amusing: the governor can adopt and emancipate before himself (1.18.2), but he cannot be his own tutor or appoint himself to pass a judgement on himself (1.18.5)!

⁵³ Eck 1998, op. cit. (n. 2), 187-202.

⁵⁴ It is a speech by the king Julius Marcus Agrippa. Speidel 1984, op. cit. (n. 2), 12 and 26, following E. Ritterling, *Legio, RE XII* (1924), col. 1261-3., has put forward that this passage is to be understood as referring only to Roman legions. In fact, neither elsewhere in the *Bellum Judaicum* nor in his other works does Josephus use *φρουρά* to denote exclusively legions as opposed to *auxilia*. Tacitus does speak of *inermiae provinciae* in that sense (*Historiae* 1.11; 1.16; 2.81; 3.5), but does so in a very different context. Eck 1998, op. cit. (n. 2), 187 n. 5, contends that auxiliaries would be irrelevant to Josephus' argument, but I do not see why this should be so. Such troops were used as garrisons and would serve the same

resistance by force, a Roman governor would be seen as having failed his duty if he were to resort to such means to rule a 'pacified' province. Armed conflict, as it occurred in Judea, was to be avoided.⁵⁵ It killed both soldiers and taxpayers.

It is common knowledge that Roman rule in the East was based on the cooperation of the local elites. But since Roman provincial authorities were not in a position to demand or impose such cooperation by force, we must conclude that the limits of governmental power were set by local realities. And these realities were not the idyll that Plutarch, for example, might have wished or imagined. The elite of a Greek province was far from constituting a group of enlightened leaders harmoniously cooperating to promote the common good. Local magnates formed alliances and carried on their bitter rivalries, they had followers and exerted influence through *hetaireiai*, the associations banned by Trajan for causing considerable unrest in Bithynia.

Arriving in his province, a Roman governor was not in a position either to disarm or to ignore such constellations of power, and, unlike the emperor, he was well advised to avoid confrontation through communications that abused his subjects, like those of Caracalla and Julian to the Antiochians. Even if he did succeed in enforcing unpopular decisions, a city united in discontent against a governor was likely to seek his prosecution through the provincial council after his departure. A governor had to win powerful allies among the locals without making powerful enemies. Moral authority, or the appearance of moral authority, cultural qualifications, public, social and, not least, communication skills must have been indispensable. Most of the governors known to have been prosecuted *de repetundis* had served in Hellenised areas. Some of them may have not been

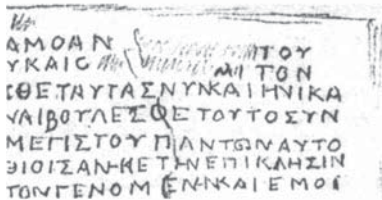
purpose in the province as legionary troops. It may therefore be better to credit the argument made by king Agrippa in his speech: the Romans manage to keep great numbers of people, such famous for their culture, others for their prowess and love of freedom, by means of just a few thousand troops, because those people are less subjected by military force than by their admiration for the Romans' *tyche* (Josephus, *Bellum Judaicum* 2.373). Cf. Aelius Aristides, *Roman Oration* 67a: "The cities are free from garrisons, but if anywhere a city because of its excessive size cannot maintain order by itself you did not begrudge these the men to stand by and guard them carefully."

⁵⁵ On internal unrest and the role of the Roman army in the Eastern provinces see B. Isaac, *The limits of empire* (Oxford 1992), esp. chs 2 and 6. M. Goodman, *The ruling class of Judea: The origins of the Jewish revolt against Rome, A.D. 66-70* (Cambridge 1987), traces the outbreak of the Jewish revolt back to the local ruling class's inability to exercise enough control over its people to ensure stability.

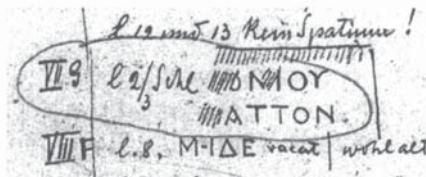
spectacularly corrupt; they may merely have failed to survive the social and political environment of a Greek province.

Heidelberg, November 2003

Sketchbook E. Petersen, 1882 *



Sketchbook R. Heberdey, 1894



* I have been able to inspect and obtain copies of the sketchbooks with kind permission from G. Rehrenböck, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Wien.

THE GOVERNOR AS BENEFACTOR IN LATE ANTIQUITY*

By
D. SLOOTJES

Upon his arrival in Edessa as the new governor of Osrhoene in the year 497, Alexander (*PLRE* II, Alexander 14) launched his term of office with a series of benefactions, as Joshua the Stylite tells us in his *Syriac Chronicle*.¹ Alexander cleaned up the mess in the streets of the city. He put up a wooden ‘suggestion’ box in front of his residence in which people could drop him a note with a request in case they did not feel comfortable expressing their wish in public.² Every Friday he would settle lawsuits free of charge, and even uninvestigated cases going back more than fifty years would be brought before him and settled. In addition, he built a walkway at one of the city’s gates, and began the construction of a public hall, which apparently had already been in the planning for many years. These measures give the impression that Alexander took his office as governor very seriously and cared a great deal for his subjects. What did they think of all of this? Did Alexander do more than they hoped for? Were his efforts beyond their expectations? And, from Alexander’s point of view, what did he gain from his endeavors?

In this paper I take a closer look at the relationship between governors and provincials: more precisely, I concentrate on the responsibility of governors as ‘benefactors’ in the Later Roman Empire, in particular in the

* I would like to thank Richard Talbert and Richard Lim for their constructive comments and suggestions.

¹ Pseudo-Joshua the Stylite, *Chronicle* 29.

² See comments by F.R. Trombley and J.W. Watt, *The Chronicle of Pseudo-Joshua the Stylite* (Liverpool 2000), 27: “Alexander may have been reviving an old north Syrian custom in soliciting anonymous complaints and adjudicating them on Fridays without a fee”. The commentators suspect that this custom even continued into the Islamic period at Aleppo. In the *Chronicle of Qirtay al-‘Izzi Khaznadari* (d. AD 1333) an identical custom is found; Trombley and Watt argue that the Mongols might have taken this practice from the locals during their occupation of Syria in AD 1258-1260: “When Hulegu camped before Aleppo ... I sought [his] camp. It was part of the justice of the Mongols that when they made camp, they set up a pole near the king’s encampment. From the top of the pole a small box was hung with a string, and around the pole was a guard of the most trusted Mongols. If a man had a complaint or had suffered an injustice, he would write his grievance in a petition, seal it, and place it in this box. When Friday came, the king would have the box brought to him and would open it with a key and thus discover the injustices suffered by people”.

period between 284 and 500, with a focus on the eastern provinces of the empire.

Benefactions, perhaps in essence a phenomenon of ‘voluntary gift-giving,’ played a prominent role in the socio-political organization of the ancient world. People were accustomed to emperors, Roman officials, and wealthy private citizens bestowing favors upon individuals and communities, be it the construction of public buildings, the organization of lavish games, or the writing of letters of recommendation.³ A governor, as one of the more prominent Roman officials in provincial communities, was expected to grant benefactions as well, though as will be demonstrated, certain benefactions were prescribed by law and can almost be regarded as part of governors’ official duties, while others were voluntary and it depended on an individual governor if he chose to grant them.

Provincials had certain expectations of what kind of benefactions governors would and should bestow upon them, while at the same time governors also had expectations of how provincials would and should act as a result of their benefactions. Though governors had the more formal responsibility of benefactors, I argue that provincials also took on the role of benefactors for governors. A benefaction never occurred in isolation, but was part of a chain of benefactions. As a result, the reciprocity of benefactions became crucial for a rewarding relationship between provincials and governors. Provincials were aware of this reciprocal element in the relationship, as Libanius noted when he praised a governor for benefactions which were gratefully received by a provincial family: “How can one not grant as many favors as possible, like seeds on the rich earth, to the sort of man who takes care to recall a favor?”⁴

In this paper I use the following two categories of benefactions of governors: material benefactions which led to tangible objects such as Alexander’s construction of a public hall or the restoration of walls; and non-material benefactions such as the use of a governor’s personal and political

³ See R. MacMullen, *Corruption and the Decline of Rome* (New Haven-London 1988), especially 96-118, chapter 2.4: “How power worked: through favor”, for an extensive discussion of the use of favors and power in relationships between people of equal and different status.

⁴ Libanius, *Epistula* 651 [=Bradbury 100] of 361, addressed to the governor of Galatia, Acacius (*PLRE* I, Acacius 8); ὅτω μέλει τοῦ μεμνηῆσθαι χάριτος, πῶς οὐχ ὅτι πλείστας τῷ τοιοῦτῳ δοτέον, ὥσπερ πείρα γῆ σπέρματα. Where indicated translations are by S. Bradbury, *Selected Letters of Libanius from the Age of Constantius and Julian* (Liverpool 2003).

influence to help provincials; either individuals, whole communities, or a province in its entirety.

In respect to material benefactions, provincials could expect their governor to carry out so-called ‘public works’ (*opera publica*), which were projects serving the general public, for instance the restoration of walls and gates, the improvement of bad roads, or the construction of new public buildings. Many regulations in the 15th book of the Theodosian Code demonstrate that a governor by law was expected to play a key role in the undertaking of many of these civic projects, and to do so voluntarily.⁵ First of all, he decided on which projects he wanted to complete. This step presents the interesting issue of how a governor would pick the projects he wanted to pursue. Would a city council give him advice? Was a governor, upon his arrival in the province – after a pleasant reception with the appropriate welcome speeches – updated on the state of public buildings, roads and other projects, and was he then presented with a wish list of what the province or a particular city would like to see accomplished?⁶ As a rule, a

⁵ *CTh* 15.1.18 of 374, “If governors (*rectores*) of provinces should see that any public works should necessarily be commenced in any municipality, they shall not hesitate to undertake such works immediately”. *Rectores provinciarum quodcumque opus inchoandum esse necessario viderint in aliqua civitate, id arripere not dubitent.* See also 15.1.28 of 390, “If any person, more audaciously than wisely, should undertake to erect any new public works in any municipality, he shall know that he must furnish the expense from his own property and that he must complete what he commenced. We shall not credit to paymasters any sum that is so used. On the other hand, the office staff and the judge himself shall be obliged to pay ten pounds of gold each, so that they will at least through fear, as they should have done voluntarily, devote their efforts to the repair of the older works”. *Si quis novum opus in qualibet civitate sustollere audacius quam consultius molietur, de proprio se conlaturum sumptus et perfecturum quod coeperit noscat. Nihil quippe dispensatoribus ex hoc usu feremus accepto, et contra officium adque ipsum iudicem auri pondo dena constringent, ut saltem metu, quod facere sponte debuerant, reficiendis vestustioribus impendant laborem.* Text by T. Mommsen, P.M. Meyer, *Theodosiani libri XVI* (Berlin 1905), translation by C. Pharr, *The Theodosian Code and Novels* (Princeton 1952).

⁶ Cf. *Dig.* 1.16.7 (Ulpian), “He (proconsul) should go on a tour of inspection of sacred buildings and public works to check whether they are sound in walls and roofs or are in need of any rebuilding. He should see to it that whatever works have been started, they are finished as fully as the resources of that municipality permit, he should with full formality appoint attentive people as overseers of the works, and he should also in case of need provide military attachés for the assistance of the overseers”. *Aedes sacras et opera publica circumire inspiciendi gratia, an sarta tectaque sint vel an aliqua refectio indigeant, et si qua coepta sunt ut consummentur, prout vires eius rei publicae permittunt, curare debet curatoresque operum diligentes sollemniter praeponere, ministeria quoque militaria, si opus fuerit, ad curatores adiuvandos dare.*

governor did not come from the province he governed, so he would not be aware of the (current) state of affairs. One can only speculate on these arrangements in the Later Roman Empire, but it is likely that provincials made their wishes known as soon as a governor arrived, either in the province or in a particular community.⁷

Several laws indicate that emperors were involved as well in the decision-making of which projects to undertake, because they wanted to be consulted about the most important projects in a province, and ultimately they were the ones in whose name governors as their representatives carried out these projects.⁸

⁷ An example from the Early Empire can possibly shed some light on this issue. When C. Terentius Tullius Geminus, imperial legate of the emperor Claudius arrived in the province of Moesia Inferior for a term of three years in AD 50, a provincial delegation met him with a welcome and a request from the people and city council of Histria which demonstrates that governors upon arrival could be presented with requests: “Your representatives Demetrios, Eschrion, Ota[...], Meidias, Dionysodorus, Hegesagoras, Aristagoras and Metrodorus met me in Tomis, and delivered your decree; after they demonstrated their goodwill toward the emperor, they rejoiced together for our health and arrival, holding the most serious possible conversation about those things you ordered them to discuss. Acknowledging therefore the attitude your city demonstrated toward us, I shall always try to become the creator of a benefaction to you” (IScM 1, 68, ll. 52-60). οἱ πρέσβεις ὑμῶν Δημήτριος, Ἐσχρῖων, Ὠτα. 3, [Μειδίας] / Διονυσόδωρος, Ἠγησαγόρας, Ἀρισταγόρας, [Μητροδόωρος ἐν]τυχόν-τες μοι ἐν Τόμει τὸ ψήφισμα ὑμῶν ἐπέδωσαν κα[ὶ τὴν εἰς τὸν Σεβασ]τὸν ἡμῶν ἐπιδειξάμενοι εὐνοίαν συνήσθησαν ἐ[πὶ τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ ὑγεί]ᾳ καὶ παρουσίᾳ σπουδαστάτην <π>οιησάμενοι τ[ὴν περὶ ὧν ἐνετείλασ]θε αὐτοῖς ὀμειλίαν· ἐπιγνούς οὖν ἦν καὶ πρὸς [ἡμᾶς ἐνεφάνισαν τῆς] πόλεως ὑμῶν διάθεσιν πειράσομαι ἀεὶ τινος ὑ[μεῖν ἀγαθοῦ]/ γενέσθαι παραίτιος. With thanks to Tom Elliott who generously shared this material with me.

⁸ *CTh* 15.1.2 of 321, “Judges, moreover, who must restore public works, shall be admonished to report to Our knowledge works that have been completed rather than those that have been commenced, unless, perhaps, upon just ground, a petition must be presented that provision should be made for the accounts of certain expenditures, if perchance the funds for such expenditures should be lacking. Furthermore, the judges must call on Our advice in connection with the most important and largest works, not in connection with every trivial work”. *monendi autem iudices sunt, qui instaurare publica opera debent, ut de effectis eis potius quam inchoatis ad nostram scientiam referant, nisi forte iusta ratione petendum sit aliquos, si forte defuerint, inpensarum titulos provideri. De rebus autem praecipuis maximisque, non de quibuscumque vilissimis nostrum debent interpellare consilium.* See also 15.1.37 of 398, “No judge shall burst forth into such rash lawlessness as to suppose that he should begin any public work without consulting Our Piety, or that he should dare to tear from any structure any ornament of bronze or marble or any other material, which can be proved to have been in serviceable use or to constitute an ornamentation in any municipality, or that he should dare to transfer such material to some

A governor's relatively short term of office, perhaps on average less than two years, seriously limited how much he could do, and must have influenced the decisions he made about projects he wanted to endorse.⁹ If, however, a project was not finished under a certain governor, his successor was expected to finish the old project first, before starting something anew.¹⁰ Though a time frame needed to be set up for the completion of a project, there could be several reasons why a project would not be finished during one governor's term.¹¹ Perhaps his departure was premature, perhaps a natural disaster such as an earthquake had done so much damage to a city that the restoration took many years, or perhaps the project he had started was simply too large. In addition, governors were not allowed to start a new building if there were old buildings that needed restoration.¹² The frequency with which

other place without the order of Your Sublimity. If any person should violate this regulation, he shall be punished by a fine of three pounds of gold". *Nemo iudicem in id temeritatis erumpat, ut inconsulta pietate nostra aliquid operas existimet inchoandum vel ex diversis operibus 'aeramen' aut marmora vel quamlibet speciem, quae fuisse in usu vel ornatu probabitur civitatis, eripere vel alio transferre sine iussu tuae sublimitatis audeat. Etenim si quis contra fecerit, 'tribus' libris auri multabitur.*

⁹ See A.H.M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire 284-602* (Baltimore 1964), 381. For Africa (in the period between 357-417) the average was little more than a year, and for Egypt (328-73, when the prefects of Egypt were mere provincial governors) well under two years, perhaps even 18 months. See also J.H.W.G. Liebeschuetz, *Antioch. City and Imperial Administration in the Later Roman Empire* (Oxford 1972), 111-112.

¹⁰ *CTh* 15.1.3 of 326/362, "We direct that judges (=governors) of the provinces shall be admonished that they must know that they shall not arrange for any new work until they have completed those works which were commenced by their predecessors, excepting only the construction of temples". *Provinciarum iudices commoneri praecipimus, ut nihil se novi operas ordinare ante debere cognoscant, quam ea conpleverint, quae a decessoribus inchoata sunt, exceptis dumtaxat templorum aedificationibus.*

¹¹ *CTh* 9.17.2 of 349 to the Praetorian Prefect, "The following rule must be observed in the future, that in the provinces the judges of the respective districts and in the City of Rome Your Eminence, together with the pontiffs, shall inspect to see whether any monument should be restored by repairs, provided that, if permission should be finally granted, a time shall also be fixed for the completion of the work". *Hoc in posterum observando, ut in provinciis locorum iudices, in urbe Roma cum pontificibus tua celsitudo inspiciat, si per sarturas succurrendum sit alicui monumento, ut ita demum data licentia tempus etiam consummando operi statuatur.*

¹² *CTh* 15.1.15 of 365, "By Our sanction a law has been promulgated, which, by its edict and authority, restrains all judges and governors (*rectores*) of provinces from hastily undertaking any new works before they repair those which have been overcome by old age and have fallen apart". *Lex sanctibus nobis rogata est, quae iudices omnes et rectores provinciarum edicto suo adque auctoritate cohibet aliquid novi operas adripere, priusquam*

laws forbidding this practice appear, seems to indicate, though, that in practice governors started new buildings without consideration for the restoration of old buildings. Of course, from a governor's point of view, restoration seemed less prestigious than the initiation of a brand new building project.

One could argue then that it did not matter if a governor took on a project, which could not possibly be completed during his term of office, but of course, if a governor did not finish a project, he could not put it on his 'record' as an accomplishment either, or even be publicly praised for it. Emperors did realize that new works would bring fame and glory to governors, and by law they permitted governors to take on certain projects of their own, as long as they had done a certain amount of restoration first.¹³

Second, a governor needed to allocate money for public works, because he himself would not finance a project, although some exceptional examples exist of governors who used some of their own money.¹⁴ Money came from three potential sources. Civic revenues like taxes were the first source to turn to, and it was decreed by law that one third of them needed to be put aside for financing the repair of public works.¹⁵ Second, wealthy locals were expected to pay for or be involved in certain undertakings, if necessary in the form of one of the compulsory services, which the upper

ea, quae victa senio fatiscerent, repararent. Quae nunc etiam credidimus repetenda. See also 15.1.14; 15.1.16; 15.1.17; 15.1.21; 15.1.29.

¹³ *CTh* 15.1.20 of 380, "If a judge (=governor) should be sent to a province, he shall restore to their former state of splendor two thirds of the works which have crumbled through neglect or old age, and he shall construct as new a third thereof, if he wishes to provide for his own fame and glory". *Iudex, qui ad provinciam destinatus, duas partes vel incuria vel vetustate conlapsas ad statum pristinum nitoris adducat adque tertiam construat novitatis, si tamen famae et propriis cupit laudibus providere.*

¹⁴ See for instance, Libanius, *Oratio* 46.44, in which he denounces the governor Florentius (*PLRE* I, Florentius 9) for extravagant building, though paid for by himself. Cf. *CTh* 15.1.35 of 396, "We direct that if any palace, official residence of a judge, State storehouse, or stable and sheltering place for public animals should fall into ruin, such structure shall be repaired out of the resources of the governors (*rectores*) who have administered the judicial power from the time of the first consulship of Our sainted father to the present time". *Quidquid de palatiis aut praetoriis iudicum aut horreis aut stabulis et receptaculis animalium publicorum ruina labsum fuerit, id rectorum facultatibus reparari praecipimus, qui a primo consultatu divi genitoris nostri usque praesens tempus gesserunt iudiciariam potestatem.*

¹⁵ *CTh* 15.1.32, 15.1.33, both of 395.

classes were supposed to fulfill for their community.¹⁶ People always tried to avoid this burden by obtaining exemption from governors. When too many people were granted these exemptions, especially when they were obtained illicitly from a governor who wanted to exempt powerful individuals by way of benefaction, fewer resources were available for the completion of these projects. Emperors tried to stop this development with strict regulations.¹⁷ On the other hand, emperors also showed understanding for rich locals who were pressured into unlawful compulsory services by governors.¹⁸ Third, if local communities were not able to finance projects completely, governors could appeal to the emperor for some special imperial funds.¹⁹

One could argue that a governor was not really a ‘benefactor’ in respect to public works, because he was simply fulfilling his duty as

¹⁶ Libanius, *Epistula* 1392 (=Bradbury 97), “So work on his greatness, not by making Auxentius a syndikos (think of the tears at Daphne), but by promoting the rebuilding of the temples or some similar project through him, for which you will find that the man raises up greater things at less expense”. Ἐργάζου δὴ τὸ ὕψος σύνδικον μὲν τὸν Αὐξεντιοῦ μὴ ποιῶν μεμνημένος τῶν ἐν Δάφνῃ δακρῶν, ἱερῶν δὲ ἀνάστασιν ἢ τι τοιοῦτον δι’ αὐτοῦ θεραπεύων, οὗ τὸν ἄνδρα εὐρήσεις μείζονα ἀπ’ ἐλάττονος ἐγείροντα δαπάνης.

¹⁷ *CTh* 15.1.5 of 361, “Very many persons, by the concessions of judges, have received exemption in connection with the construction of public works. We therefore order that inquiry shall be made as to all such persons, so that Our Clemency may know their names, and also such private grants of exemption. [...] We now order, however, that if it should be learned that exemptions have been elicited contrary to justice and to the detriment of the public, the recipients shall cease to have such exemptions as gain. Hereafter access shall be denied to those persons who seek similar privileges”. *Plurimi immunitates operum publicorum concessione iudicum adepti sunt. Itaque omnes iubemus inquiri, ut eorum nomina adque etiam privatas indulgentias lenitudo nostra cognoscat. [...] Iam nunc tamen iussimus, ut adversus fas elicatas immunitates per detrimenta conperissent et in lucro habere desistant. In posterum aditus similia cupientibus obstruatur.*

¹⁸ *CTh* 15.1.7 of 361, “Since various judges (governors) deem it proper to have some buildings erected in certain cities, they shall not call on the property of Senators for this compulsory service. It is fitting that those Senators to whom such responsibility has been entrusted in the different provinces shall rely on Our sanction and steadfastly resist such attempt so that Senatorial property may not be harassed in consideration of such matters”. *Quoniam diversi iudices nonnulla opera in quibusdam aestimant urbibus extruanda, ad huiusmodi necessitatem senatorum substantia non vocetur. Eos quoque senatores, quibus per diversas provincias fuerit sollicitudo commissa, fretos sanctione nostra huiuscemodi temptamentis decet constanter obsistere, ne senatoriae facultates harum rerum contemplatione vexentur.*

¹⁹ *CTh* 15.1.2 of 321, “... unless, perhaps, upon just ground, a petition must be presented that provision should be made for the accounts of certain expenditures, if perchance the funds for such expenditures should be lacking”. *...nisi forte iusta ratione petendum sit aliquos, si forte defuerint, inpensarum titulos provideri.*

governor, prescribed by law, and with money from the provincials themselves. I would argue that this perception is justified from a formal point of view, but that a governor's benefaction consisted in how he pleased provincials in his choice of the projects, and how he used his sense of justice to allocate the money for these projects.²⁰ It was particularly important when the governor chose to finance a civic project with the assistance of wealthy provincials that he was able to convince the provincials that he made the right choice of project and was in fact bestowing a benefaction upon the citizens as a whole.

Once a public work was finished, a governor was not allowed to attach his own name to it and could even be punished if he did, because officially he acted in the emperor's name: "If any of the governors (=judges) should inscribe their own names, rather than the name of Our Eternity, on any completed public work, they shall be held guilty of high treason".²¹

Provincials, on the other hand, were not restricted by the imperial regulations, and could publicly praise governors for the accomplishment of these projects. Flavius Areianus Alypius (*PLRE* I, Alypius 12) governor of Pamphylia in the late third or early fourth century was praised for repairing the harbour and city of Side.²² In the mid-fifth century, the people of Cyprus honored their governor Claudius Leontichus (*PLRE* II, Leontichus 2) with an inscription for rebuilding the walls of the city of Lapethus.²³

Apart from his anticipated involvement in public works, a governor could also initiate projects, especially in the case of natural disasters. In times of need, when famine broke out, an earthquake occurred, or war had caused destruction, provincials could expect a governor to step in and help,

²⁰ According to Menander Rhetor (416), governors' encouragement of city development (τὸ πόλεις ἐγείρειν) was part of their virtue of justice, D.A. Russell, and N.G. Wilson, eds., *Menander Rhetor* (Oxford 1981). See also C. Roueché, 'The functions of the Roman governor in late Antiquity: some observations', *Antiquité Tardive* 6 (1998), 33.

²¹ *CTh* 15.1.31 of 394: *si qui iudices perfecto operi suum potius nomen quam nostrae perennitatis scriberint, maiestatis teneantur obnoxii.*

²² AE 1958, 201: Φλ. Ἀρηιανὸν Ἀλύπιον τὸν διασημ(ότατον) ἡγεμόνα τὸν κτίστην τοῦ λιμένος καὶ τῆς πόλεως Εὐρηκλῆς ὁ καὶ Καύστριος τὸν ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τῆς πατρίδος εὐεργέτην.

²³ T.B. Mitford, 'New inscriptions from early Christian Cyprus', *Byzantion* 20 (1953), no 10, 136: ἐκτίσθη τὰ τεῖχην/ ἐπὶ Κλαυδίου Λεοντίχου/ τοῦ λαμπροτάτου/ ὑπατικοῦ ἀπὸ θε/μελίων τῆ λαμπρᾶ/Λαπηθίων πόλει./ Εὐτύχει, Ἰλλύρι. See for changes in epigraphic practice in the Later Roman Empire, C. Roueché, 'Benefactors in the late Roman period: the eastern empire', in M. Christol, O. Masson, eds., *Actes du Xe Congrès International d'Épigraphie Grecque et Latine* (Paris 1997), 357.

though, again, he would not necessarily spend his own money, but the expectation was that he as an official with authority would try to solve the problems. To return again to Edessa in Oshroene, when famine ravaged the city, the governor Demosthenes (*PLRE* II, Demosthenes 3) went to the emperor to ask for help, and got a considerable sum of money to divide among the poor.²⁴ He also put down mattresses in the bathhouses so that people could use them as shelters, and the nobles of the city played a role in the relief efforts as well.

A few years later, in 505, after a plague, destruction of war and more famine in Edessa, the new governor Eulogius (*PLRE* II, Eulogius 7) “was diligent in rebuilding it, [and the emperor gave] him two hundred pounds for the expenses of reconstruction. He rebuilt and renewed the [entire] outer wall encircling the city, and also renewed and restored the two aqueducts coming into (it) and completed the public hall which had collapsed, renewed his own residence (*praetorium*), and did a great deal of restoration throughout the city.”²⁵ It is important to bear in mind that the governor then would be praised for trying to solve the problems. This suggests that his involvement can be regarded as a benefaction. It is equally important to bear in mind that these ‘extra’ projects were not unique to governors, but were often carried out by members of the elite or bishops as well. This is illustrated by the case of Demosthenes in Edessa where nobles followed Demosthenes’s example by setting up sick-rooms for the poor to bring some relief. In the case of Eulogius, the emperor gave him money for restoration, but the “emperor also gave twenty pounds to the bishop for expenses and the renewal of the wall”.²⁶

²⁴ Pseudo-Joshua the Stylite, *Chronicle* 42-43, “(42) When Demosthenes the governor went up to the emperor, he told him about this distress, and the emperor gave him a considerable sum of money to divide among the poor. When he got (back) from him to Edessa, he marked many of them on their necks with seals and gave each of them a pound of bread per day. However, they could not live (on this), for they had been debilitated by the distress of hunger that consumed them. [...] (43) The governor blocked the gates of the porticoes (*basilikai*) at the winter bathhouse (*demosion*) and put down straw and matting in it. (People) slept there, but it was not enough for them. When the nobles of the city saw this, they also set up <sick-rooms>, and many went in and found shelter in them”. For *demosion* see Trombley and Watt 2000, op. cit. (n. 2), glossary, p. 138.

²⁵ Pseudo-Joshua the Stylite, *Chronicle* 87. Two hundred pounds in gold or 14,400 solidi. This public hall is the same as the one Alexander started to build only a few years earlier. See Trombley and Watt 2000, op. cit. (n. 2), 106, n.494.

²⁶ Pseudo-Joshua the Stylite, *Chronicle* 87.

The second type of governors' benefactions was non-material: these benefactions were all those actions that could assist provincials in ways that did not manifest themselves in a material sense and that were not laid down by law. In general, non-material benefactions can be defined as 'favors' that were granted to individuals, groups or communities as a result of an appeal.

Because non-material benefactions were not laid down by law, the successful outcome of a request for them depended strongly on the individual willingness of governors. These benefactions had a more personal character than material ones, because one needed some type of personal contact with a governor if he were to bestow a favor. If one did not know him, then one would look for a patron who would have easier access to him, as the correspondence of Libanius, Basil of Caesarea and Gregory of Nazianzus illustrates. Two categories of non-material benefactions can be identified. First, governors received many letters of introduction and recommendation, although the presentation of such letters was not confined to governors, but was part of the traditions of the Roman upper classes and the system of patronage. During his governorship of Armenia in 361, Maximus (*PLRE* I, Maximus 19) received a letter from Libanius: "Proaresius, who with his eloquence blessed the whole world, has a relative in Cucucus, Philastrius a city councilor. I would be pleased for him to enjoy your goodwill as being a man of worth".²⁷ Then, when Maximus became governor of Galatia, Libanius sent him another letter in 363, this time asking an audience for Encratus whom Libanius knew well and who, "seems to me an excellent fellow, the sort of man who could be trusted and befriended", and expressing the wish that he would "become great through the favor".²⁸ These letters of introduction and recommendation did not need to include more than a few words, and could be fairly standard in expression.

Second, provincials requested help for specific problems in situations in which governors alone could solve the problems. Gregory, for instance, corresponded with several governors to ask for help for provincials. He

²⁷ Libanius, *Epistula* 275 [= Norman 73], τοῦ τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐκ λόγων εὖ ποιούντος Προαιρεσίου συγγενῆς ἐν Κουκουσῶ Φιλάστριος πολιτεύεται. Τοῦτον καὶ ὡς ἄνδρα ἀγαθὸν βουλοίμην ἂν τῆς παρὰ σοῦ τυγχάνειν εὐνοίας. See A.F. Norman, *Libanius. Autobiography and selected letters* (Cambridge Ma. 1992).

²⁸ Libanius, *Epistula* 1381 [= Bradbury 111] μοι ἔδοξε εἶναι χρηστὸς καὶ οἶος εἰκότως ἂν πιστεύεσθαι καὶ φιλεῖσθαι, and γενέσθω διὰ τῆς χάριτος μέγας. Apart from the two letters discussed here briefly, Libanius wrote many other letters of introduction and recommendation. See also *Epistula* 298, 696, 772, and 779. See also Gregory of Nazianzus, *Epistula* 106.

wrote Olympius (*PLRE* I, Olympius 10), the governor of Cappadocia Secunda, to ask for assistance for the widow Philomena in a court case. He wrote to the same governor making another request: to give a different job to the husband of his niece Alypiana, Nicobulus, who could no longer take the loneliness at a remote station of the postal service.²⁹

Governors needed to be cautious about the perception of their benefactions. They would not want to appear to give preference to one provincial town over the other, for instance in assigning building projects, or to favor one particular group of provincials more than another. Emperors were aware of this potential problem, and a law from 365 addressed this specific issue, prohibiting governors from seizing building material from ‘obscure’ towns in the province to use it for the adornment of the metropolis or other major cities.³⁰

Tisamenes (*PLRE* I, 916-917), governor of Syria in 386, infuriated Libanius when he offended the city of Antioch, proud metropolis of the province.³¹ When it came to filling the voluntary position of Syriarch, whose duty, among other things, it was to organize beast shows, Tisamenes failed to find a decurion in Antioch, although as governor he should have enlisted someone in Antioch, either voluntarily or by force.³² He then turned to an ‘outsider’ from the neighboring city of Beroea; a slap in the face for the confident metropolis. As its spokesman, Libanius lashed out against Tisamenes and appealed to the emperor:

²⁹ Gregory of Nazianzus, *Epistula* 104 (Philomena), 126 (Nicobulus); both written in 382.

³⁰ *CTh* 15.1.14 of 365, “We forbid further progress of the presumptuous conduct of judges who, to the ruin of the obscure towns, pretend that they are adorning the metropolitan or other very splendid cities, and thus seek the material of statues, marble works, or columns that they may transfer them. It shall not be allowable to commit such deeds with impunity after the issuance of Our law, especially since We have ordered that no new structures shall be begun before the old ones are restored. If, indeed, any work should be commenced, other municipalities must be spared”. *Praesumptionem iudicum ulterius prohibemus, qui in eversionem abditorum oppidorum metropoles vel splendidissimas civitates ornare se fingunt transferendorum signorum vel marmorum vel columnarum materiam requirentes. Quod post legem nostram sine poena admittere non licebit, praesertim cum neque novam constitui fabricam iusserimus, antequam vetera reformentur, et, si adeo aliquid fuerit inchoandum, ab aliis civitatibus conveniat temperari.*

³¹ One of Antioch’s unique features was the permanent presence of three important Roman officials, the *Comes Orientis*, the *Magister Militum* and the *Consularis Syriae*.

³² *CTh* 12.1.10 of 383, in which the Syriarchate was made a voluntary position. See also A.F. Norman, ed., *Libanius. Selected works*, volume 2 (Cambridge-London 1977), 212-13, and J.H.W.G. Liebeschuetz, ‘The Syriarch in the fourth century’, *Historia* 8 (1959) 113-26.

So if anyone brings the foremost city to ruin and exalts one that is not even second-rate and allows it to insult its better, is he not also thereby injuring Your household? Yes! The injury is the greatest, if the case is carefully considered. He (Tisamenes) was not sent, Sire, to disturb the order of precedence among the cities, nor yet to debase the prestige which some possessed and to set the lesser upon the greater: he was sent to maintain the existing order, and to supervise each in a fitting manner and by his administration to increase their prosperity. Tisamenes, however, in bringing here that fellow from Beroea for the purpose he did, proclaimed it aloud to all that our city must be subordinated to that other, that it must renounce its title of metropolis, that our council must yield precedence to theirs, our citizens to theirs, and that we must recognize our betters. You could see the insult in this from the pain felt by our well-wishers and the pleasure felt by those who are not.³³

Benefactions, therefore, clearly played an important role in a good relationship between provincials and governors. I have discussed the perspective of the provincials and what they could expect from their governor, but to turn to that of a governor, what could he expect as a reward for being a benefactor to provincials? Communication between provincials and governors was not a one-way street, in which governors were at the giving end, and provincials at the receiving end. Rather, the relationship was reciprocal. If governors bestowed benefactions on provincials, they could expect benefactions in return. Just like the benefactions of governors, the expression of provincials' benefactions could take either a material or a non-material form. Though much can be said about provincials' material benefactions – for example, statues and inscriptions set up to honor governors –, I want to focus on the non-material benefits for governors.

³³ Libanius, *Oratio* 33. 22-23, ὅστις οὖν τὴν μὲν πρώτην καθαιρεῖ, τὴν δὲ οὐδὲ δευτέραν ἐπαίρει καὶ παρέχει προπηλακίζει τὴν ἑαυτῆς βελτίω, τὸν σὸν οὐδὲν οὕτως οἶκον ἀδικεῖ; τὰ μέγιστα μὲν οὖν, εἴ τις ἀκριβῶς λογίζοιτο. Ἐπέμθη γὰρ οὐ συνταράξων, ὦ βασιλεῦ, τὸν περὶ τὰς πόλεις κόσμον οὐδὲ ταῖς μὲν τὸ ὄν σφισιν ἀξίωμα λυμανούμενος, τὰς δὲ ἐλάττους ἐπάξων ταῖς μείζουσιν, ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν ὡς εἶχε διατηρήσων, ἐκάστης δὲ ἢ προσήκεν ἐπιμελησόμενος καὶ ποιήσων εὐδαιμονεστέραν προνοία. ὁ δ' ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ τὸν ἐκ Βεροίας ἐφ' οἷσπερ ἤγαγεν ἄγειν ἐβόα πρὸς ἅπαντας ὅτι τήνδε τὴν πόλιν ὑπ' ἐκείνη κεῖσθαι δεῖ καὶ τοῦ τῆς μητροπόλεως ὀνόματος ἀποστατέον αὐτῇ καὶ τῇ βουλῇ τὴν βουλήν ὑπεικτέον καὶ ἄνδρα ἀνδρὶ καὶ γνωστέον τοὺς ἀμείνονας. Γνοιῆς δ' ἂν ὅτι ταῦθ' ὕβρις ἦν ἐκ τε ἡδονῆς καὶ λύπης, ὧν ἡ μὲν ἦν τῶν πρὸς ἡμᾶς εὐνοικῶς ἐχόντων, ἡ δὲ ἡδονὴ τῶν οὐχ οὕτως. Translation based on Norman 1977, op.cit. (n. 32) with changes where appropriate.

Non-material benefactions of provincials take a variety of forms, some more tangible than others. First, if benefactions of governors were well received, provincials would cooperate with their rule. Of special interest to governors was their relationship with local elites, since they would be in a position to make the temporary stay of governors in their community either much easier, or more difficult.³⁴ It was important for governors to keep them on their side, because governors worked most effectively through alliances with local factions. As stated above, governors did not come from the province they governed, and they might be unfamiliar with the territory, the people and the language of their province.³⁵ Most new governors could use some help upon arrival in a province.

Because of their relatively short term, it was vital for governors' survival to be in touch with the elite, who most likely knew enough Greek to converse with them and be in their company, if only for dinner on cold dark winter nights.³⁶ In a province like Cappadocia, heavy snow would be falling for several months during the winter and one could feel disconnected from the world in this rugged area of the empire.³⁷ If a governor had angered the

³⁴ P. Brown, *Power and Persuasion in Late Antiquity* (Madison 1992), 29.

³⁵ *CJ* 1.41 of 610, *ut nulli patriae suae administratio sine speciali permisso principis permittatur*. "No man was allowed to become governor of his province of his birth without special permission of the emperor".

³⁶ See the example of the governor of Syria, Celsus (*PLRE* I, Celsus 3) in Libanius, *Epistula* 1113 (= Bradbury 47) 'I was sitting and conversing in the evening with Celsus, the governor of Syria'. Παρὰ Κέλσῳ τῷ τῆς Συρίας ἄρχοντι καθήμενος διελεγόμενῃν ἑσπέρας. Cf. Libanius, *Epistula* 732 (=Bradbury 101) in which Libanius thanks the governor Maximus (*PLRE* I, Maximus 19) the governor of Galatia for frequent dinner invitations for Hyperechius (*PLRE* I, 449-50): "Although they (=Hyperechius and his father) wrote me about those things, Philocles has described all your goodwill toward them, announcing as well that he shared a table with the young man at your house. He claimed that this was a frequent thing and that Hyperechius had recounted it to him. When I heard about the dinners, both after the honor and before the honor, I contemplated that Hyperechius is improving intellectually by your company, for intelligence flows from your mind to those who consort with you, as sleep flows to the onlookers from people yawning". ὑπὲρ ὧν ἔγραψαν μὲν ἐκεῖνοι, μεμῆνυκε δὲ Φιλοκλῆς τὴν τε ὄλην σου πρόνοιαν εἰς αὐτοὺς ἀπαγγέλλων καὶ ὡς κοινωνήσῃε τῷ νεανίσκῳ παρὰ σοὶ τραπέζης. Πυκνὸν δὲ ἔφασκε τοῦτ' εἶναι, φράσαι δὲ ἐκεῖνον πρὸς αὐτόν. Ἐγὼ δὲ ἀκούων τὰ δεῖπνα καὶ μετὰ τὴν τιμὴν καὶ πρὸ τῆς τιμῆς ἐνενόουν ὡς βελτίων τὴν διάνοιαν ὑπὸ τῆς <σῆς> συνουσίας Ὑπερέχιος ἐγένετο. Ῥεῖ γὰρ ἐκ τῶν σῶν φρενῶν ἐπὶ τοὺς ὀμιλοῦντας σύνεσις ὥσπερ ἀπὸ τῶν χασμωνένων ἐπὶ τοὺς ὀρῶντας ὕπνος.

³⁷ R. Van Dam, *Kingdom of Snow. Roman Rule and Greek Culture in Cappadocia* (Philadelphia 2002), 14.

elite to the extent that they would retreat to their own villas for the winter, he would be isolated and left on his own.³⁸

Second, after their term of office, governors could also expect benefactions from their former subjects if they had been content with their performance. Provincials could help their former governors spontaneously or upon request, and different types of aid emerge. For instance, provincials could write letters of recommendation for a governor at the end of his term when he was about to embark upon another governorship or other official post. When Maximus (*PLRE* I, Maximus 19) left for his new appointment as the prefect of Egypt after having been governor of Armenia and of Galatia³⁹, Libanius gave him a letter of recommendation to present to Castricius (*PLRE* I, Castricius 2), a teacher of rhetoric in Egypt. Libanius encouraged the people of Egypt to treat the new governor well:

An opportunity has arrived for you with respect to both honor and rhetoric, to demonstrate the latter and obtain the former! For the noble Maximus is the sort of man who races to an oratorical performance and honors good speakers. He demonstrated both these qualities in the great and noble city of Midas (i.e. Ancyra), which might also be justly called the city of Maximus. For in addition to buildings, springs and fountains, he also enhanced it in the area of wisdom by an addition of teachers, rhetorical competitions, and by honoring the victors as well as encouraging the defeated. So employ your tongue for ears that know how to pass judgment, and if any hesitation grips you, put it aside and do not hide your ability. I can also promise peace concerning the matters now bothering you. Such is the ally Serapis has led to you!⁴⁰

³⁸ Basil of Caesarea, *Epistula* 48, 88, 94; Libanius, *Oratio* 28.5, 42.15-16. See also Brown 1992, op. cit. (n. 34), 23.

³⁹ Maximus was governor of Armenia (361), of Galatia (362-64), of Egypt (364).

⁴⁰ Libanius, *Epistula* 1230 (= Bradbury 112), καιρός ἤκει σοι καὶ τιμῶν καὶ λόγων, τοὺς μὲν δεικνύειν, τῶν δ' τυγχάνειν. Τοιοῦτους γὰρ ὁ γενναῖος, Μάξιμος, οἷος τρέχειν τε ἐπ' ἀκρόασιν λόγων καὶ κοσμεῖν ἀγαθοὺς ῥήτορας. Ἐδειξε δὲ ἀμφοτέρω ταῦτα ἐν τῇ δι' αὐτὸν μεγάλῃ τε καὶ καλῇ τοῦ Μίδου πόλει, δικαίως δ' ἂν κληθεῖσθαι καὶ Μαξίμου. Πρὸς γὰρ ταῖς οἰκοδομίαις καὶ κρήναις καὶ νύμφαις καὶ περὶ τὴν σοφίαν ἠϋξήσεν αὐτὴν διδασκάλων τε προσθήκαις καὶ τοῖς τούτων πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀγῶσι καὶ τῷ τοὺς μὲν νικῶντας τιμῶν, τοὺς δ' ἡττηθέντας παρακαλεῖν. Χρῆσαι οὖν τῇ γλώττῃ πρὸς ὅσα ἐπιστάμενα κρίνειν, καὶ εἴ τις ὄκνος κατέχει, τοῦτον ἐκδύς μὴ κρύπτει τὴν δύναμιν· ὑπισχνούμαι δὲ σοι καὶ τῶν νῦν ταραττόντων εἰρήνην· τοιοῦτόν σοι σύμμαχον ὁ Σάραπις ἤγαγεν.

For these letters of recommendation to accompany the arrival of a new governor personal connections were crucial. Not every governor will have been so lucky to count among his supporters someone like Libanius, who had many friends and acquaintances in other parts of the empire.⁴¹ It is noteworthy, though, that Libanius' letter, which can be regarded as an introduction for Maximus upon the start of his governorship in Egypt, also illustrates the reciprocity of the relationship between governors and provincials. While Libanius praised Maximus for his building activities, his sense of justice, and his appreciation for oratory, he simultaneously put pressure on Maximus, for the Egyptians now knew what they could expect, and hope for. Maximus somehow had to live up to these expectations.

If a governor after his term, or even during his term⁴², got in trouble because he was accused of embezzlement or other offences, provincials could also try to help if they believed he was innocent. The correspondence of both Libanius and Basil illustrate this type of 'benefaction'.⁴³ In a letter written in defense of a governor, Libanius pondered the pay off for governors if they were to be accused after their term of office: "it is a fine reward for our governors if, after expending their energies and reducing their private fortunes in the performance of their public duties, they get in exchange outrage, condemnation, disgrace and danger".⁴⁴ Basil emphasized

⁴¹ Cf. Liebeschuetz 1972, op.cit. (n. 9), 18: "Furthermore, if a man had business in a strange town, it was useful to have support from local residents and if possible from an imperial official. For such a man Libanius was a godsend. As soon as it was known that a friend of his had obtained a post Libanius was overwhelmed by demands for letters of recommendation.

⁴² Governors could even be removed from office during their term; note the example of the *consularis Syriae* in 358, Nicentius (*PLRE* I, Nicentius 1), who was removed from office by Hermogenes, the Praetorian Prefect of the Oriens, because he had not fulfilled his duty of supplying a group of soldiers at a post somewhere on the Euphrates.

⁴³ Libanius wrote *Epistula* 83 [= Bradbury 121] for Sabinus (*PLRE* I, Sabinus 5) to take with him to court in Constantinople, in which he asked the officials there, "to stand firm for justice's sake and for my own against these difficult circumstances and to instruct men that it is not for them to tear governors apart when they leave office" (καὶ βουλοίμην ἂν σε τοῦ τε δικαίου καὶ ἡμῶν χάριν ἀντισχεῖν πρὸς τὴν τοῦ καιροῦ δυσκολίαν καὶ διδάξει τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, ὡς οὐκ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἐστί τοὺς ἄρχοντας, ὅταν λήξωσι τῆς ἀρχῆς, σπαράττειν). See also Libanius, *Epistula* 1350 for Maximus (*PLRE* I, Maximus 19), and 1354 for Ecdicius (*PLRE* I, 276).

⁴⁴ Libanius, *Epistula* 163 [= Norman 63], καλὰ γε περιμένει τοὺς ἄρχοντας τὰ ἄθλα, εἶγε ταλαιπωρήσονται μὲν καὶ τὰ αὐτῶν χεῖρω ποιήσουσι τῶν κοινῶν ἐπιμελούμενοι, λήψονται δὲ ἀμοιβὰς ὕβριν καὶ καταδίκην καὶ ἀτιμίαν καὶ κινδύνους. The governor involved was Thyryphonianus (*PLRE* I, Thyryphonianus 2).

the outrage of a whole provincial community, when he wrote to the *Magister Officiorum* of the East, Sophronius (*PLRE* I, Sophronius 3), to defend Helias (*PLRE* I, 411), former governor of Cappadocia, after his ‘unjust’ removal from office in 372:

Therefore we are one and all, the entire people, dejected at having been deprived of a governor who alone is able to raise again our city, which had already been brought to its knees, who is a true guardian of justice, easy of access for the victims of injustice, terrible to lawbreakers, fair to both poor and rich, and, greatest of all, who was restoring Christianity to its ancient honor. For the fact that he was the most incorruptible man we know, and that he never granted a favor in violation of justice, we have passed over as of less significance than the man’s other virtues. [...] It will be a sufficient favor to us, and a consolation for our afflictions, if you will recommend him to the Emperor, and will do away with the slanders that have been brought against him.⁴⁵

These accusations, however, were often highly controversial, since different parties in a province might have different opinions about a governor’s conduct, while governors might also have political enemies who were all too happy to accuse someone falsely to get them off the political stage. Several cases are known of governors who were accused, but who were cleared once they appeared in court in Constantinople.⁴⁶ Equally, governors might have

⁴⁵ Basil of Caesarea, *Epistula* 96, διὸ πανδημεὶ πάντες σκυθρωπάζομεν, ζημιωθέντες ἄρχοντα μόνον δυνάμενον εἰς γόνυ κλιθεῖσαν ἤδη τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν ἀνορθῶσαι, ἀληθῆ φύλακα τοῦ δικαίου, εὐπρόσιτον τοῖς ἀδικουμένοις, φοβερὸν τοῖς παρανομοῦσιν, ἴσον καὶ πένησι καὶ πλουσίοις, καὶ τὸ μέγιστον, τὰ τῶν Χριστιανῶν πράγματα πρὸς τὴν ἀρχαίαν ἐπανάγοντα τιμῆν. Τὸ γὰρ, ὅτι ἀδαρότατος ὢν ἴσμεν ἀνθρώπων, καὶ οὐδενὶ παρὰ τὸ δίκαιον χαριζόμενος, ὡς μικρότερα τῆς λοιπῆς ἀρετῆς τοῦ ἀνδρὸς παρελίπομεν. [...] ἄρκοῦσα δ’ ἡμῖν χάρις καὶ τῶν συμβάντων παραμυθία, ἐὰν καὶ βασιλεῖ συστήσης αὐτόν, καὶ τὰς ἐπενεχθείσας αὐτῷ διαβολὰς ἀποσκευάσῃ. Ταῦτά σοι πᾶσαν οἴου τὴν πατρίδα διὰ μιᾶς τῆς ἡμετέρας φωνῆς διαλέγεσθαι, καὶ κοινὴν εἶναι πάντων εὐχὴν, γενέσθαι τι τῷ ἀνδρὶ διὰ τῆς σῆς τελειότητος δεξιόν. Translation based on R.J. Deferrari and M.R.P. McGuire, *The Letters. Saint Basil* (Cambridge Ma. 1961), 70. See also *Epistula* 147-149 for Basil’s support of Maximus (*PLRE* I, Maximus 23) who after an accusation of embezzlement was stripped of his office and property, and forced to flee to Caesarea.

⁴⁶ See the example of Maximus (*PLRE* I, Maximus 19), who in 363 was accused while being the governor of Galatia (362-64), but was acquitted; Libanius, *Epistula* 1350 (=Bradbury 109): “the slander has been cleared away and no longer obscures, like a cloud before the sun’s ray, the report of your fine deeds, instead, from all sides the report is the

powerful friends at the imperial court that could help them to go free, rightly or wrongly, of the accusations.

In the end, be it in the form of an honorary inscription, a statue, a wonderful banquet, or a letter of recommendation upon departure from office, it paid off for the governor to act as benefactor, since benefactions played an important role in the complex relationship between a governor and provincials. Ultimately, though, governors and provincials were part of the same system, depending on each other's support.

To return to Edessa and Alexander one last time, perhaps most noteworthy and exceptional in this situation was that several of his benefactions helped lower class people, who were not in a position to return the favor, pay for an honorary statue, or write a letter of recommendation for him. That did not stop Alexander from being a benefactor for them, so perhaps, unique though he might be, he was a true benefactor purely for the reason that as governor he could be.

Chapel Hill, November 2003

same, that the noble Maximus is the pupil of Rhadamanthus and that neither by safeguarding the laws is he harming his subjects nor by his kindness toward his subjects is he transgressing the laws". Ἐκκεκάθαρται γὰρ ἡ φήμη οὐδὲν τοῖς καλοῖς, ὥσπερ ἀκτῖνι νέφος, ἔτ' ἐνοχλεῖ, ἀλλὰ πανταχοῦ μία φωνὴ Μάξιμον τὸν καλὸν Ῥαδαμάνθου εἶναι μαθητὴν οὔτε τῆ φυλακῆ τῶν νόμων λυποῦντα τοὺς ἀρχομένους οὔτε τῆ πρὸς ἐκείνους προτότητι παραβαίνοντα τοὺς νόμους. Maximus continued to be the governor of Galatia until 364, when he stepped down to become the prefect of Egypt (for which Libanius wrote *Epistula* 1230 as an introduction for the people of Egypt). In that same year 363, Libanius thanked Maximus for caring about Ecdicius (*PLRE* I, 276), governor of Galatia in 360, who was accused simultaneously with Maximus, and cleared of the accusations as well. Maximus, understanding the situation Ecdicius found himself in, had treated him as "not guilty until proven guilty," which Libanius greatly appreciated.

DIRECT TAXATION IN WESTERN ASIA MINOR
UNDER THE EARLY EMPIRE

By
LUUK DE LIGT

Among the most notable events of the past two decades in Greek epigraphy was the publication of the so-called *Monumentum Ephesenum*, the Neronian *lex portorii* of the tax district of Asia, which was inscribed in AD 62.¹ It is, of course, a well-known fact that more than half of the provisions in this set of regulations were copied from a republican *lex locationis* that can be dated to 75 BC.² The new customs law thus enables us to reconstruct at least some aspects of the history of the Asian *portoria* over quite a long period. Since a dearth of relevant evidence renders many conclusions drawn by ancient historians uncertain or even speculative, it is rather comforting to find that much of the information contained in the Neronian text either confirms or supplements information that earlier generations culled from a variety of literary and epigraphic sources.

At the same time the law contains at least some provisions whose contents seem to undermine earlier inferences concerning the development of Roman taxation practices, especially under the early empire. One example of this is lines 72-74 of the *lex*, which its first editors, the German/Austrian epigraphists Engelmann and Knibbe, reconstructed as follows:

¹ H. Engelmann & D. Knibbe, *Das Zollgesetz der Provinz Asia. Eine neue Inschrift aus Ephesos* (= *Epigraphica Anatolica* 14) (Bonn 1989), re-edited with corrections in SEG 39, 1180 and by G.D. Merola, *Autonomia locale, governo imperiale. Fiscalità e amministrazione nelle province asiatiche* (Bari 2001), 221-231. A new edition, with introduction, English and Latin translations, commentary, and six essays is being prepared by Barbara Levick and Michel Cottier. On the question as to whether or not the tax-district of Asia had the same boundaries as the province see M. Heil, 'Einige Bemerkungen zum Zollgesetz aus Ephesos', *Epigraphica Anatolica* 17 (1991) 9-18; and C. Nicolet, 'Le Monumentum Ephesenum et la delimitation du portorium d'Asie' (orig. 1993), repr. in id., *Censeurs et publicains. Économie et fiscalité dans la Rome antique* (Paris 2000), 367-384; G.D. Merola, *Autonomia locale, governo imperiale. Fiscalità e amministrazione nelle province asiatiche* (Bari 2001) 166-168.

² M. Cottier, 'La ferme des douanes en Orient et la *lex portorii Asiae*', in J.-J. Aubert, ed., *Tâches publiques et entreprise privée dans le monde romain* (Genève 2003), 222-224.

οὐ πράγματος δεκάτας καρπῶν ἀροτῆρσι [leg. ἀρότρῳ Cottier and Crowther]³ ποριζομένων ἢ ἕ μέρος οἴνου καὶ ἐλαίου τῷ δημοσιῶνῃ δίδοσθαι [δεῖ δήμου Ῥωμαίων ἔνεκεν, τούτων δημοσιῶνῃν καρπευέσθαι τὸ τέλος ὡς ἐξεμίσθωσαν Λούκιος Ὀκτάουιος, Γάιος Αὐρήλιος Κόττας ὕπατοι. ἐξ Ἀσίας εἰς Ἀσίαν [ὃ ἂν ἐξαγῆται, εἰσάγῆται, ἐφ' ᾧ μὴ ἐπὶ ἀποστερέσει μᾶλλον τοῦ τέλους τούτου γένηται τῇ μετακομιδῇ τῇ ἡλιαρίῳ [leg. ἢ δι' αὐτὸ Nicolet]⁴ τὸ πρᾶγμα, ὑπέρ τούτου τέλους μὴ διδύσθω.

The extensive commentary accompanying the *editio princeps* explains the interpretation that Engelmann and Knibbe had in mind. According to them lines 72-74 should be read as containing two separate provisions. Building on this idea, they interpreted lines 72-73 as referring to crops on which a *decuma* was due and as prescribing that the tax-farmer was to levy the τέλος, which they identified with the *decuma*, in accordance with the rules laid down by the consuls of 75 BC. Finally, they went on to explore what this reconstructed passage implies for the traditional view that Julius Caesar put an end to the farming-out of all direct taxes, including the *decuma*, in the territories of the cities of Asia. Their startling answer was that the three texts on which this theory was based⁵ have been misinterpreted. For example, when Appian has Mark Antony claim that Caesar ended the malpractices of the publicans by 'allowing [the cities of Asia] to collect the direct taxes from the farmers' (*Bella Civilia* 5.4), these words may mean no more than that it became mandatory for the publicans to enter into *pactiones* that gave the cities of Asia the right to collect the direct taxes due from their rural territories.⁶ According to this interpretation the direct taxes of Asia continued to be farmed out to tax-farming companies at least until AD 62. Needless to say, an important argument in favour of this theory is that the reference to 'the tax-farmer' (τῷ δημοσιῶνῃ) in line 73 of the Neronian text seems in direct conflict with the theory that Caesar transferred the collection of *tributum* to the cities of the province.

³ Cf. Merola 2001, op. cit., 226 n. 6.

⁴ C. Nicolet, 'Le Monumentum Ephesenum et les dimes d'Asie', *Bulletin de Correspondence Hellénique* 65 (1991) 465-480, repr. in id., *Censeurs et publicains. Économie et fiscalité dans la Rome antique* (Paris 2000) 353-365, at 358, followed by SEG 39, 1180 and Merola, op. cit., 226.

⁵ Appianus, *Bella Civilia* 5.4; Cassius Dio 42.6; Plutarchus, *Caesar* 48. Cf. also Strabo 10.485 and 14.657.

⁶ Engelmann and Knibbe 1989, op. cit. (n. 1), 94.

Only two years after Engelmann and Knibbe's edition of the *Monumentum Ephesenum* had appeared Claude Nicolet offered a totally different reading of lines 72-74.⁷ Nicolet began by observing that a provision concerning the collection of the *decuma* seemed out of place in a set of regulations dealing with the collection of customs duties. As we have just seen, the first editors' theory that lines 72-74 contains such a provision rested on the assumption that the expression τὸ τέλος should be taken as referring to δεκάτη in the first part of the sentence. Against this Nicolet argued that τὸ τέλος must refer to the *portorium* levied on goods leaving or entering the tax district of Asia. In view of the fact that this is the normal meaning of τέλος in the customs law, there can be little doubt that this interpretation is correct.⁸

In addition to this Nicolet called attention to the fact that the correct reading in line 73 was τοῦτον δημοσιώνην rather than τούτων δημοσιώνην.⁹ If this reading is accepted, it is tempting to take the expression τοῦτον δημοσιώνην, 'that tax-farmer', as referring back to τῷ δημοσιώνῃ in line 72. A potential weakness of this new reading is that the elimination of τούτων seems to leave the expression οὗ πράγματος hanging in the air. Nicolet's solution to this problem was to assume that, contrary to the view underlying the *editio princeps*, the provision starting with οὗ πράγματος did not end with ὕπατοι in line 73 but ran on all the way to the end of line 74.

Since the short main sentence in line 74 ends with the words μὴ δίδοσθω, the alternative punctuation proposed by Nicolet raises the question of the nature of the connection between the reference to the *decuma* in line 72 and the subsequent passage that declares some goods to be exempt from customs duties. During the 1990s Nicolet came up with two different answers. According to the first theory, formulated in 1991, the passage about *decumae* being 'given' to a tax-farmer refers not to tithes being paid by the rural population, but to a second stage in which those who collected the *decuma* had to hand over some of their revenues to those who farmed the customs duties of Asia. The guiding idea behind this interpretation was that the farmers of the *portorium* possessed store-rooms (*custodiae*) in which grain and other food products could be stored as a kind of strategic supplies

⁷ Nicolet, 1991 [2000], op. cit. (n. 3).

⁸ Cf. Heil 1991, op. cit. (n. 1), 17; U. Malmendier, *Societas publicanorum. Staatliche Wirtschaftsaktivitäten in den Händen privater Unternehmer* (Köln 2002), 47.

⁹ Nicolet's reading (accepted by SEG 39, 1180) is by Merola, 2001, op. cit. (n. 1) 226, and by Malmendier 2002, op. cit., 226.

upon which the central Roman government could draw for a variety of purposes (e.g. for the monthly distributions in Rome). The τέλος referred to in line 73 would then be a *vectigal* levied by the farmers of the *portorium* as a charge for the use of their storage facilities.

In a recent article Nicolet offers a different interpretation.¹⁰ He now seems to think that lines 72-74 refer to the second tithe (*altera decuma*) imposed by the *lex Terentia Cassia* of 73 BC. Since the aim of this law was to alleviate food shortages in the city of Rome, Nicolet suggests that we should read either [... ἀπορ]ίωv ἔνεκεν or [... σιτοδε]ίωv ἔνεκεν at the beginning of line 73. According to Nicolet the law of 73 BC must also have contained a provision that declared all tithes to be exempt from customs duties, if they were exported from the province in which they had been collected, or if they entered another customs district. This hypothetical provision was then alluded to in lines 73-74, which seem to prescribe that all food items collected as 'second tithes' are to be exempt of customs duties, just like all products of the normal tithe.

For our purposes the most interesting aspect of these two theories is that they are both based on the assumption that the *decumae* of Asia were levied in kind and that Roman tax-farmers exported large amounts of tax-grain from the province.¹¹ In view of the fact that the *publicani* of Asia do not figure as major grain-traders in any other source this may be called surprising. At the same time lines 72-74 of the *Monumentum Ephesenum* call into question the received view that Caesar dispensed with the use of tax-farming companies for the collection of direct taxes in Asia by allowing the cities of the province to collect the *tributum capitis* and the *decuma* within their own territories. How can this view be reconciled with line 73 of the customs law, which explicitly refers to an obligation to hand over *decumae* to a tax-farmer? As has already been noted, this passage led the first editors to suppose that the literary sources concerning Caesar's tax-reforms have been misinterpreted. In his second article on the Asian *decuma* Nicolet not only subscribes to this view, but also marshals two interesting texts that seem to refer to the farming-out of direct taxes in the early Principate.¹² One of these texts is an inscription recording a dedication made by a group of

¹⁰ C. Nicolet, 'Le Monumentum Ephesenum, la loi Terentia-Cassia et les dimes d'Asie', *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome* 111 (1999) 191-215.

¹¹ The same assumption in H.W. Pleket, 'Models and inscriptions: export of textiles in the Roman empire', *Epigraphica Anatolica* 30 (1998) 122.

¹² Nicolet 1999, op. cit., 212-215.

publicani in the province of Asia and paid for with [*pecunia?*] *phorica*.¹³ The dedication was made between AD 5 and 7. The second item adduced by Nicolet is a well-known passage from Tacitus' *Annales* according to which *societates equitum Romanorum* were still handling *tributa et pecuniae vectigales* during the first ten years of Tiberius' reign.¹⁴ According to Nicolet, these texts prove that the direct taxes of some provinces, including Asia, continued to be farmed out for much longer than the literary sources concerning Caesar's tax-reforms have led many to believe.

It should be clear by now that lines 72-73 of the *Monumentum Ephesenum* have called into question many received ideas about the way in which direct taxes were collected during the early empire. At the same time, despite the efforts made by Engelmann, Knibbe and Nicolet, the exact meaning of these lines remains obscure. There is therefore a possibility that the implications of the passage concerning the *decuma* would be less revolutionary if a more convincing interpretation could be achieved. In what follows an attempt will be made to make the enigma less enigmatic by relating the new information provided by the *Monumentum Ephesenum* to other texts concerning Roman taxation in early-imperial Asia Minor. One of the questions that will concern us is whether lines 72-73 of the new customs law support the theory that the Asian *decumae* were normally levied in kind. Another is whether the literary and epigraphic evidence supports Nicolet's view that the Asian tithe was still being farmed out to tax-farming companies during the third quarter of the first century AD. My overall aim will be not only to offer a new interpretation of the provision concerning the *decuma*, but to show that its contents are completely in line with the literary sources.

In view of the fact that the *Monumentum Ephesenum* has been interpreted as referring to *decumae* being collected in kind, it is surely important that we look at such other evidence as we have for the form in which the land tax of Asia was collected. Although the inscriptional evidence from Asia may be less forthcoming than might be expected, there is at least one epigraphic text that has a direct bearing on this issue. I here refer to the well-known *Will of Epikrates*, which has variously been assigned to the first or early second century AD.¹⁵ The principal topic dealt with in the 116 lines

¹³ AE 1968, 483 (= I. Ephesos 706).

¹⁴ Tacitus, *Annales* 4.6.3, on which see P. Brunt, *Roman Imperial Themes* (Oxford 1990) 391-393.

¹⁵ P. Herrmann & K.Z. Polatkan, Das Testament des Epikrates und andere neue Inschriften aus dem Museum von Manisa, *Sitzungsberichte der Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Klasse*, 265.1 (Wien 1969) 7-36. For a full bibliography see J.

that have been preserved is the regulations governing a number of vineyards, olive-groves and treeless plots (*chorai psilae*), the revenues from which were to be used to maintain the tomb of the deceased and the cult of the hero Diophantes, whom the inscription reveals to have been Epikrates' heroized father. From the limited perspective of the history of Roman taxation the most interesting part of this epigraphic will is a passage concerning the land tax due from future occupants of the plots of agricultural land belonging to this funerary foundation. The provision in question runs as follows: 'For these plots, that is the treeless ones and those with trees and vineyards on them, and for everything else that has been mentioned as having been dedicated alongside the tomb, the person who holds and possesses them and receives the revenue accruing from them is to pay Nakrason (εἰς Νάκρασον) the annual sum of 12 drachms for each *uncia* for the provincial treasury (εἰς φύσκον)¹⁶ in such a way, that he starts paying as soon as he has gathered in the harvest'.

As far as I am aware, so far no epigraphist or ancient historian has succeeded in offering a satisfactory interpretation of this seemingly straightforward instruction. The main difficulty is that the meaning of *uncia* is unclear. The first editors argued, quite plausibly in my view, that the *uncia* of Nakrason must have been a land-measure, but went on to suggest that the unit in question may have been one twelfth of a *iugerum*, that is one forty-eighth of a hectare.¹⁷ A simple calculation is enough to reveal that the latter suggestion cannot be correct. If the landholders of Nakrason had to pay an annual sum representing approximately 10 per cent of the value of their crops, the total crop gathered in from one *uncia* of land must have been worth roughly 120 *denarii* or 480 sesterces. Since in the province of Asia the normal price of wheat was about 2 sesterces per *modius* of 6.6 kilograms,¹⁸ it seems reasonable to suppose that one *uncia* of arable land must have brought

Strubbe, *ΑΠΑΙ ΕΠΙΘΥΜΒΙΟΙ. Imprecations against desecrators of the grave in the Greek epitaphs of Asia Minor* (= *Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien* 52) (Bonn 1997) 38. For the date see M. Alpers, *Das nachrepublikanische Finanzsystem. Fiscus und fisci in der frühen Kaiserzeit* (Berlin 1995), 276 n. 952, and Strubbe, *op. cit.*, 38.

¹⁶ Cf. Alpers, *op. cit.*, 277 and *passim* for the plausible suggestion that the term *fiscus* here denotes the provincial treasury of Asia that was administered as part of the *aerarium*.

¹⁷ Herrmann & Polatkan 1969, *op. cit.*, 26, followed by Alpers, *op. cit.*, 277 n. 954, but criticized by L. Neesen, *Untersuchungen zu den direkten Staatsabgaben der römischen Kaiserzeit* (Bonn 1980) 233-234.

¹⁸ R. Duncan Jones, *The Economy of the Roman Empire. Quantitative Studies* (Cambridge 1982²) 145.

in some 240 *modii* of wheat. Now if the seed yield/seed sown ratio was 4:1 and if wheat was sown according to the standard rate of 5 *modii* per *iugerum*,¹⁹ it follows that the *uncia* referred to in the Epikrates will must have comprised some 12 *iugera* or 3 hectares if grain was the only crop. Even though this calculation may be open to modifications,²⁰ we can surely rule out the possibility that the size of the *uncia* was 144 times smaller than this estimate.

More recently, Duncan-Jones has suggested that the text refers to a money tax being due 'on a small portion of vineyard'.²¹ There are at least two reasons why this reading must be rejected. Firstly, if the outcome of my calculations is roughly correct, the word *uncia* cannot possibly denote 'a small portion'. Secondly, the first part of Epikrates' will leaves no doubt that the provision concerning the obligation to pay 12 drachms per *uncia* refers not only to vineyards, but also to olive-groves and *chorai psilai*. In view of the fact that this latter category of land is contrasted with land covered with trees, there is every reason to follow the first editors' suggestion that the expression *chorai psilai* denotes all treeless plots, including plots of arable land for the cultivation of grain. As the first editors pointed out in their commentary, this interpretation is supported by several other epigraphic references to *chorai psilai* or *ge psile*.²²

It would appear, then, that the landholders of Nakrason had to pay tax at a fixed rate per unit area, regardless of the very conspicuous differences in land use to which the text explicitly refers. At first sight this is surprising, if only because different types of land are known to have been taxed at different rates in other parts of the empire. One thinks not only of Egypt,²³ but also of Pannonia, where a distinction was made between as many as seven types of land, varying from first-class arable land to pasture land, each of which was taxed 'in relation to the degree of fertility' (*ad modum ubertatis*).²⁴ There is, however, also reliable evidence for the application of a totally different system of taxation, in which variations in land use and fer-

¹⁹ Ibid. 49.

²⁰ If the seed: yield ratio was 1:5 and if none of the land was fallowed, the *uncia* would have comprised some 10 *iugera*.

²¹ R. Duncan Jones, *Structure and Scale in the Roman Economy* (Cambridge 1990), 192.

²² Herrmann and Polatkan, 1969, op. cit., 25.

²³ For a convenient synopsis see R. Duncan-Jones, *Money and Government in the Roman Empire* (Cambridge 1994), 47-59.

²⁴ Hyginus in *Corpus Agrimensorum Romanorum*, p. 168 Thulin (= p. 205 Lachmann); cf. Duncan-Jones 1990, op. cit., 188.

tility were ignored. One example comes from fourth-century AD Italy, where landowners had to pay a fixed amount of tax for each *millena*, a land unit equivalent to 12 ½ *iugera*. In addition to this, there is the case of late-Roman Africa, where taxes were levied at a fixed rate per *centuria*, a unit comprising 200 *iugera*.²⁵ In my view the last-mentioned example may well be the key to the enigmatic *uncia* of Nakrason. As we have just seen, the *uncia* referred to in the Epikrates inscription must have comprised some 12 *iugera*, if the entire surface area was used to grow grain. In reality, of course, as much as 50 per cent of all arable land may have been fallowed every year. The effective size of the *uncia* then becomes 24 *iugera*, or 20 *iugera* if the seed:yield ratio is put at 1:5. We must, however, also take account of the possibility that a certain proportion of the land was covered with fruit-bearing trees, as was certainly the case with the plots referred to in Epikrates' will. Since vineyards and olive-groves are likely to have brought in higher revenues (in terms of money) than arable land,²⁶ the estimated size of the *uncia* must be lowered to well below 20 *iugera*. On this admittedly flimsy basis I would suggest that the *uncia* of Nakrason may well have comprised 16 2/3 *iugera* or one twelfth of a *centuria*.

Regardless of the merits of this speculative suggestion, there can be no doubt that all productive land within the territory of Nakrason, including all arable land, was taxed in money. Unfortunately, there are no further texts from Asia that might help us to determine whether it was normal for the land tax of this particular province to be collected in coin. Thanks to the discovery of a new inscription in the countryside of South-West Turkey it has, however, become possible to compare the system alluded to in the Epikrates text with the method by which one important tax, the grain tax, was collected in an anonymous village in the neighbouring province of Lycia.²⁷ The text in question, which can be dated to ca. AD 138, refers to this tax variously as the *seitikê*, the *seitikê apomoira* and the *seitikê dekatê*. These names suggest that there must have been a time when it was collected in kind. The new inscription makes it clear, however, that in the early decades of the second century the village discharged its obligations in respect of the grain tax in money, using the revenue (*poros*) that flowed into a collective village treas-

²⁵ A.H.M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire* (Oxford 1964), 820.

²⁶ According to Duncan-Jones 1994, op. cit. (n. 23) 50, the tax-rate for Egyptian vineland was roughly four times higher than that for wheat.

²⁷ SEG 47, 1806, based on M. Wörrle and W. Wurster, 'Dereköy: eine befestigte Siedlung im nordwestlichen Lykien und die Reform ihres dörflichen Zeuskultus', *Chiron* 27 (1997) 393-469.

ury.²⁸ An interesting difference from Nakrason is that there is nothing to suggest that the villagers had to pay a fixed sum per unit area, irrespective of the crops grown. In fact, the existence of a separate *seitikê dekatê* points to a more complex system in which tax rates varied according to the type of land. At the same time the arrangements recorded in the Epikrates will and in the Lycian document are similar in at least one important respect: in both cases the urban magistrates responsible for the collection of the land tax received money rather than agricultural produce.

With the possible exception of lines 72-73 of the *Monumentum Ephesenum* (see below) there is only one piece of evidence that has been interpreted by some as indicating that at least some cities in Asia Minor were in the habit of collecting direct taxes in kind. This is the well-known inscription that the Asian²⁹ city of Cibyra erected in honour of one of its citizens, Quintus Veranius Philagrus.³⁰ For our purpose the most interesting part of the inscription is lines 11-15, which refer to Philagrus' role as an ambassador to the emperor Claudius. It appears that he successfully asked the emperor to recall (and presumably punish) a certain Tiberius Nicephorus, who had illegally exacted 3000 *denarii* annually from the city, and that he was equally successful in eliciting an imperial decision by virtue of which 'the sale (πρᾶσιν) of grain had to take place in the market-place κατὰ ζεῦχος μοδίων ἐβδομήκοντα πέντε from the entire territory'.

In his *Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire* Rostovtzeff interpreted this passage as referring to a measure designed to facilitate the city's food-supply. According to this reading the imperial ruling obtained by Philagrus put all holders of grain-producing land within the territory of Cibyra under the obligation to sell a certain amount of grain, determined by the size of their holdings, at the town market.³¹ The first to challenge this

²⁸ Ibid. 447-448. The fact that the inscription refers to 'surpluses' suggests that the village community as a whole had to pay a fixed sum to the tax-officials of the city to which it belonged.

²⁹ D. Erkelenz, 'Zur Provinzzugehörigkeit Kibyras in der römischen Kaiserzeit', *Epigraphica Anatolica* 30 (1998) 81-95, has argued that Cibyra was detached from Asia and incorporated in the newly created province of Lycia in 43 AD. But T. Corsten, *Die Inschriften von Kibyra*, vol. I (= *Inschriften griechischer Städten aus Kleinasien* 60) (Bonn 2002) 49-50, adduces powerful arguments for the view that such a transfer never took place.

³⁰ IGRR 4, 914, re-edited by J. Nollé, 'Epigraphica varia', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 48 (1982), 267-273 (= SEG 32, 1306) and most recently by Corsten, op. cit., no. 41.

³¹ M. Rostovtzeff, *The Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire* (Oxford 1957²) 700 n. 21. Cf. T.R.S. Broughton, 'Roman Asia Minor', in T. Frank, *An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome*, vol. IV (Baltimore 1938), 726.

interpretation was Magie, who suggested that $\pi\rho\tilde{\alpha}\sigma\iota\nu$ ('sale') in line 14 should be emended to $\pi\rho\tilde{\alpha}\xi\iota\nu$ ('exaction') on the ground that the former reading might well be due to 'an error – either of the stonemason or of the copier'. Lines 13-15, in his view, refer not to any obligation to sell grain at the town market, but to a newly introduced obligation to pay the grain tax 'at a rate of 75 *modii* per *iugum*'.³² Magie went on to argue that the two successes achieved by Philagrus must have been connected in the sense that the exaction of grain referred to in lines 13-14 replaced the annual exaction of 3000 *denarii* with which Nicephorus had been harassing the city before Philagrus' embassy. The inscription would then refer to a kind of *adaeratio* in reverse, as a result of which a money payment was replaced by a levy in kind.³³

Fourteen years ago Duncan-Jones formulated a modified version of Magie's interpretation. According to him, lines 13-15 should be interpreted as referring not to any obligation to pay 75 *modii* of grain per *iugum*, but to a grain-tax being collected 'on the basis of a *iugum* of 75 *modii*'. The idea underlying this alternative reading was that the landowners of Cibyra paid the grain-tax at a fixed rate per *iugum* and that Claudius' ruling increased the size of this unit by redefining it as the amount of land on which 75 *modii* had to be sown. On this assumption the approximate size of the *iugum* must have been 15 *iugera*, which was also the size of the second-class *iugum* under the Diocletianic tax system. The startling implication of all this is that Diocletian's system of *iugatio* was less novel than is usually thought.³⁴

Although Magie's and Duncan-Jones' interpretations were both constructed with great ingenuity, they suffer from many weaknesses. To begin with, a re-inspection of the stone has revealed the reading $\pi\rho\tilde{\alpha}\sigma\iota\nu$ to be correct.³⁵ Moreover, the fact that none of the fifteen lines of the inscription contains any scribal error makes it difficult to challenge this reading. In any case, it is easier to envisage sales of grain taking place in the *agora* than to understand why an 'exaction of grain' should have been carried out at the

³² D. Magie, 'A reform in the exaction of grain at Cibyra under Claudius', in P.R. Coleman-Norton, ed., *Studies in Roman Economic and Social History in Honour of A.C. Johnson* (Princeton 1951), 152-154. Cf. also F. Millar, *The Emperor in the Roman World* (London 1977) 428-429; Nollé 1982, op. cit., 273; and H.W. Pleket, ad SEG 32, 1306, all of whom accept Magie's theory that the inscription refers to a grain-tax being collected in kind.

³³ Magie, op. cit., 154.

³⁴ Duncan Jones 1990, op. cit. (n. 21), 200-201.

³⁵ Corsten 2002, op. cit., 57. Cf. Alpers, 1995, op. cit., 269 n. 921, who underlines the arbitrary nature of Magie's emendation.

town market rather than in Cibyra's rural territory. Finally, as Corsten points out in the commentary accompanying his recent re-edition of the text, the fact that the phrases referring to Philagrus' two successes are separated by a *vacat* tells against Magie's theory that the two rulings obtained by him were connected.³⁶ Therefore it seems best to return to Rostovtzeff's theory that the inscription refers to a new arrangement that made it easier for the city's inhabitants to procure grain by putting local landowners under the obligation to sell fixed amounts of grain in the *agora*. In short, the text from Cibyra does not refer to taxes being collected in kind.

This brief discussion of taxation practices in western Asia Minor has prepared the way for a renewed examination of lines 72-73 of the *Monumentum Ephesenum*. Before suggesting a new interpretation of the provision concerning the *decuma*, however, I would like to make it clear that I do not share Nicolet's view that lines 72-74 should be read as belonging to a single provision. One reason for rejecting this theory is that it creates more syntactical problems than it solves. It is, for instance, difficult to subscribe to Nicolet's suggestion that οὐ πράγματος in line 72 is picked up by δι' αὐτὸ τὸ πρᾶγμα in the second half of line 74, if only because these four words do not belong to the main clause, which starts with ὑπὲρ τούτου towards the end of the line. On the other hand, Nicolet was surely right to insist that the new reading τούτων δημοσιώνην, which I accept, eliminates the only word in line 73 that might have taken up the initial words οὐ πράγματος. In my view, the solution to this problem is that, instead of Nicolet's τούτων <τὸν> δημοσιώνην, we should read τού<του> τὸν δημοσιώνην. If this idea is accepted, lines 72-73 may be translated as follows:

‘The (food) item from which a tithe of the crops brought in by the farmers or a tenth part of the wine or olive-oil is due to the tax-farmer for the benefit of the Roman people,³⁷ from that item (τούτου) the tax-

³⁶ Corsten, 2002, op. cit., 61, anticipated by Alpers 1995, op. cit., 269 n. 921.

³⁷ Note that my translation is based on the restoration suggested by Engelmann and Knibbe. In my view their reading of the text is preferable to the alternative restorations suggested by Nicolet. Of course Nicolet 1991 [2000], op. cit. (n. 3), 357, is right to point out the awkwardness of the phrase δημοσιώνη δίδοσθαι [δεῖ δῆμου Ῥωμαίων ἔνεκεν. But this objection can be countered with the argument that the customs law contains many other awkward phrases such as φόβου πολεμίων χάριν in line 66. Secondly, if the person responsible for translating the Latin original wanted to convey the notion that the *decuma* was paid ‘to a tax-farmer for the Roman people’, he may have opted for δῆμου Ῥωμαίων ἔνεκεν in order to avoid a double dative. Note that the person who drafted the will of Epikrates (above at notes 15-16) faced a very similar problem when he wanted to make it

farmer is to enjoy the customs revenue in accordance with the lease regulations issued by the consuls Lucius Octavius and Gaius Aurelius Cotta’.

One implication of this reconstruction is that, contrary to Nicolet’s theories, the provision that starts in line 72 does not refer to any food items being declared exempt of customs duties. Secondly, there can be no doubt that lines 72-73 refer to the exportation of those categories of agricultural produce on which *decumae* were due, rather than to *decumae* being exported from the province of Asia. In other words, the text refers not to a τέλος being levied on tithes leaving the tax district of Asia, but merely to an arrangement concerning the collection of customs duties on shipments of grain, wine, olive-oil and similar products. Unfortunately, the stipulation that the tax-farmer must levy his τέλος ‘in accordance with the lease regulations issued by the consuls Lucius Octavius and Gaius Aurelius Cotta’ leaves us in the dark as to which special rules governed the collection of customs duties in respect of these food items. There is, however, nothing to suggest that the consuls of 75 BC declared such products to be exempt as far the *portorium* was concerned.³⁸

A third point concerns Nicolet’s view that lines 72-73 refer to *decumae* being collected in kind. At first sight the reference to tithes ‘being due’ (δίδοσθαι δεῖ) to tax-farmers appears to support the theory that the Asian *decuma* was collected in this form. On the other hand, it is surely possible to interpret the expressions used in these lines as referring merely to the primary obligation of all landowners to hand over a tenth part of their crops. On this interpretation the passage does not reveal very much about the form in which the *decuma* was collected. It should be remembered that the tax-farmers of several eastern provinces were in the habit of concluding *pactiones* with the cities in their tax-districts. In an earlier publication I have argued that many of the cities that entered into such agreements must have

clear that the land-tax due in respect of certain plots of agricultural land were to be paid ‘to the town of Nakrason for the imperial treasury’. His solution (εις φίσκον ... εις Νάκρασον) is hardly more elegant than δημοσιώνη δήμου Ρωμαίων ἔνεκεν.

³⁸ Cf. my remarks in L. de Ligt, ‘Tax transfers in the Roman empire’, in L. de Blois and J. Rich, eds., *The Transformation of Economic Life under the Roman Empire* (Amsterdam 2002), 55-56, and the similar conclusion reached by Malmendier 2002, op. cit., (n. 8), 48: ‘Die Frage nach der Zulässigkeit einer Doppeltbesteuerung ... wird in § 31 der *lex portorii Asiae* bejaht: Auch wenn zuvor schon die *decuma* abgegeben wurde, entfällt das *portorium* beim Export der betroffenen Ware nicht’.

undertaken to pay fixed sums of money that discharged their duty to pay the *decuma* (and other taxes).³⁹ We cannot, therefore, be sure that the tax-farmers of Asia always received grain, wine and olive-oil from those who had to 'hand over the tenth part of their crops'.

It appears, therefore, that the reference to tithes being due to tax-farmers does not contradict the view that most of the land taxes of Asia were collected through cities that were in the habit of discharging their tax obligations in cash. There is, however, another and perhaps more important problem that needs to be addressed. As has already been noted, line 73 of the Neronian customs law refers to *decumae* being collected by tax-farmers. Of course this reference is entirely unproblematic as far as the original *lex locationis* of 75 BC is concerned. But if Caesar allowed the cities of Asia to collect the *decuma* in their own territories, why did those responsible for drawing up the Neronian version of the customs law consider it necessary to retain the provision of lines 72-73 without eliminating the reference to the *dêmosiônês*?

Before we take a closer look at the specific case of Asia, it should be pointed out that the Neronian customs law is not the only piece of evidence to suggest that at least some direct taxes continued to be farmed out to tax-farmers after the reform of 48 BC. A well-known example of a tax that continued to be collected in this way is the *frumentum mancipale* of the imperial period. From a handful of inscriptions it appears that this fiscal category existed in Baetica, in Africa Proconsularis and in Sicily. At least during the second century AD, its collection was supervised by imperial slaves.⁴⁰ The most interesting item in this epigraphic dossier is a well-known bilingual text from Ephesus that documents the career of Gaius Vibius Salutaris. From the Latin version it appears that Salutaris had been *promagister frumenti mancipalis*. The Greek equivalent of this turns out to be ἀρχώνης σείτου δήμου Ῥωμαίων, 'head-farmer of the grain of the Roman people'. From another inscription we learn that Salutaris performed this function in Sicily.⁴¹ The crucial question is what type of revenue is denoted by the expression *frumentum mancipale*. From the Greek equivalent σῆτος δήμου Ῥωμαίων it may be gathered that the tax-company represented by Salutaris

³⁹ De Ligt, *op. cit.*, 57. Cf. Merola 2001, *op. cit.* (n. 1) 105, and G. Klingenberg, 'Autonomia locale e governo imperiale: le province asiatiche', *Index* 30 (2002) 341.

⁴⁰ Brunt, 1990, *op. cit.* (n. 14), 391; C. Nicolet, 'Frumentum mancipale: en Sicile et ailleurs' (orig. 1991), repr. in *id.*, *Censeurs et publicains. Économie et fiscalité dans la Rome antique* (Paris 2000), 231-234.

⁴¹ I. Ephesos 28 and 29.

had farmed a public impost collected in kind. It is, however, unclear to what type of Sicilian land this arrangement applied. When Cicero wrote his Verrine orations the *decumae* of most Sicilian towns were farmed out locally and to individual tax-farmers rather than to tax-farming companies. The only exception to this rule was a group of six Sicilian towns whose entire territory consisted of *ager publicus populi Romani*. The revenues due from the territories of these cities were farmed out by the censors in Rome, almost certainly to a tax-farming company.⁴² If this is correct, the company in question must have farmed the right to collect both the charge (*vectigal*) due from occupants of *agri publici* and the *decuma* representing the obligations of these occupants in respect of the land-tax.⁴³ In view of this republican arrangement it may be hypothesized that the *frumentum mancipale* of imperial times was collected from Sicilian holders of *ager publicus*.

All other texts referring to *frumentum mancipale* are open to a similar interpretation. This means that most, or all, *vectigalia* and direct taxes due on *agri publici* continued to be farmed out to *mancipes* at least until the second half of the second century AD. This theory provides us with a convincing explanation of all post-republican references to *vectigalia* and direct taxes being collected by *publicani* or *mancipes*, without requiring us to offer contrived interpretations of the sources concerning Caesar's tax-reforms. An illustration of this is Tacitus' reference to *societates equitum Romanorum* farming *frumenta et pecuniae vectigales* under Tiberius (above, at n. 14). In my view it is entirely possible that the adjective *vectigales* qualifies both *frumenta* and *pecuniae* and that the former word denotes revenues in kind that were collected from public land and perhaps also from private holdings outside city territories. The latter possibility may be the key to a difficult text from the Digest in which the Antonine jurist Cervidius Scaevola refers to a *conductor saltus*, who has sold a *fundus* on the ground that the *tributa* due to him has not been paid.⁴⁴ It has been supposed that Scaevola used the term

⁴² Brunt 1990, op. cit., 391; Nicolet, 1991 [2000], op. cit. (n. 40), 238-239.

⁴³ Although it seems most natural to suppose that occupants of *ager publicus* owed both a *vectigal* and a *decuma*, there are some grounds for thinking that some of these people owed a single impost (*vectigal*) that took the form of a *decuma*. Cf. Brunt, 1990, op. cit., 391; Nicolet, op. cit., 240, on the enigmatic *decumani* who belonged to the company that had farmed the *portoria* and *scriptura* of Sicily; and Appianus, *Bella Civilia* 7 (admittedly referring to Italy). In the case of provincial land this would make the rent component effectively zero.

⁴⁴ *Dig.* 19.1.52 pr. (Scaevola)

tributa to refer to rents on land held on emphyteutic tenure.⁴⁵ It seems, however, more likely that the text refers to a tax-farmer⁴⁶ who had farmed the right to collect direct taxes in some extra-territorial district⁴⁷ and that the *tributa* were due in respect of land held as private property.

Similarly, the theory that the right to collect *tributa* in extra-territorial districts continued to be farmed out to *mancipes* during the first two centuries AD explains why a group of publicans in the province of Asia should have been able to pay for a dedication with [*pecunia*] *phorica*. Interestingly, this interpretation ties in with Merola's recent refutation of the theory that the extra-territorial *chôra basilikê* of Asia became private property when the Romans took over the Pergamene kingdom in 133 BC.⁴⁸ Although the existence of private holdings in the extra-territorial districts of Asia cannot be denied,⁴⁹ Merola's re-examination of the evidence leaves no doubt that there was much more *ager publicus* in early-imperial Asia Minor than is usually thought.

Before we take leave of the *frumentum mancipale*, a few words must be said about the form in which it was collected. As we have seen, the few sources on the collection of the land-tax within city territories point to taxation in cash. The very expression *frumentum mancipale*, however, points to an impost that was collected in kind. How do we explain this? The answer may be that the grain in question was collected in areas that lacked the administrative and commercial infrastructure that was necessary to convert revenues in kind into ready money. For one thing, extra-territorial districts were by definition characterized by the absence of self-governing urban communities. This is likely to have reduced the scope for the conclusion of

⁴⁵ T. Mommsen, 'Decret des Commodus für den Saltus Burunitanus' (orig. 1880), repr. in id., *Gesammelte Schriften*, vol. III (Berlin 1907) 172, followed by Brunt 1990, op. cit., 339.

⁴⁶ For this interpretation of the expression *conductor saltus* cf. G. Klingenberg, 'Die venditio ob tributorum cessationem facta', *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, romanistische Abteilung* 109 (1992), 362.

⁴⁷ For examples of *saltus* being used to denote extra-territorial districts see A. Schulten, *Die römischen Gutsherrschaften* (Weimar 1896), 41-43.

⁴⁸ Merola 2001, op. cit. (n. 1), 183-186, arguing against T.R.S. Broughton, 'Roman landholding in Asia Minor', *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 65 (1934) (cf. Brunt 1990, op. cit., 391 n. 122).

⁴⁹ Cf. R.J. van der Spek, *Grondbezit in het Seleucidische rijk* (Amsterdam 1986), 144-150, for the view that there were private holdings in the *chôra basilikê* of Asia Minor in the Hellenistic period.

pactiones that defined an entire community's tax-obligations in cash.⁵⁰ At the same time farmers in less urbanized areas may well have experienced serious difficulties in converting a substantial proportion of their crops into cash. Thus there are some grounds for thinking that outside city territories the land tax was more commonly collected in kind. It must, however, be admitted that there is no evidence from Asia that might help us to determine how many holders of extra-territorial land were in the habit of paying their direct taxes in kind.

Viewed in this light, the epigraphic evidence for [*pecunia*] *phorica* in early-imperial Asia does not contradict the traditional view that Caesar made the cities of this particular province responsible for the collection of the land-tax in their territories and that most Asian cities discharged their tax-obligations vis-à-vis the central Roman government in cash. What, though, are we to make of lines 72-73 of the Neronian customs law, which unambiguously refer to *decumae* being collected by a tax-farmer? In my view, the simplest explanation for this anomalous text is that those who drafted the text of AD 62 copied the version of 75 BC rather carelessly, without taking the trouble to rephrase the passage referring to the collection of the *decuma*. Given the tralatician nature of the first 36 paragraphs of the customs law this is surely a satisfactory explanation.⁵¹ If my thoughts on the probable origin of the imperial *frumentum mancipale* are correct, those drafting the text of the Neronian law may also have been influenced by the fact that the right to collect the *decuma* in extra-territorial districts was still being farmed out to *mancipes*. For both reasons, lines 72-73 of the customs law do not permit the conclusion that tax-farming companies continued to play a part in the collection of such direct taxes as were due in respect of the territories of the cities of Asia.

As we saw in the introductory part of this contribution, the publication of the Neronian *lex portorii* has led Nicolet and others to formulate two radically new theories concerning the history of direct taxation in early-imperial Asia Minor. The first was that the *decuma* was collected in kind and that tax-farmers exported large amounts of tax-grain from the province. The other was that the Asian land-tax continued to be farmed out for much of the first century AD. Against this I have argued that lines 72-73 of the *Monu-*

⁵⁰ In some cases it may have been possible to reach an agreement with village communities or even with the central governing bodies of tribes.

⁵¹ Cf. above at note 2, and E. Lo Cascio, *Il princeps e il suo impero. Studi di storia amministrativa e finanziaria romana* (Bari 2000), 38 n. 2, noting 'il carattere composito del testo e la possibilità che esso non sia stato, per questa parte, rivisto'.

mentum Ephesenum do not prove that it was normal for the cities of Asia to pay direct taxes in kind. At the same time, all pieces of evidence on the farming out of direct taxes during the Principate can be explained as referring to *agri publici*, to imperial land or to other holdings outside city territories. If my counterarguments along these lines are accepted, there are no good reasons for questioning the traditional view that the cities of early-imperial Asia Minor were responsible for the collection of all direct taxes due in respect of their territories and that these cities discharged their duties towards the public or imperial treasury in cash.

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II

CONQUEST AND ITS EFFECTS

BRITAIN 71-105: ADVANCE AND RETRENCHMENT¹

By

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There was long a consensus about British history from 71, when Petilius Cerialis launched a new expansion to the north. After Vespasian took power, 'there came great generals and outstanding armies, and the enemies' hopes dwindled. Petilius Cerialis at once struck them with terror by attacking the state of the Brigantes, said to be the most populous in the whole province. There were many battles, some not without bloodshed; and he embraced a great part of the Brigantes within the range of either victory or of war. ... Julius Frontinus ... took up and sustained the burden; and he subjugated the strong and warlike people of the Silures ...' (Tacitus, *Agricola* 17.1-2). *Agricola* was thought to have completed the conquest of Brigantian territory, i.e. northern England, in his second season.²

But dendrochronology now shows that the first fort at Carlisle (*Luguvalium*), in the extreme north-west of England, was built 72-3.³ Petilius, and Frontinus, must have penetrated southern Scotland before *Agricola*.⁴ New interpretation is also possible for *Agricola*'s last two seasons; and

¹ It is impossible to give a complete bibliography for *Agricola* in the context of this paper. See e.g. A.R. Birley, *Tacitus, Agricola and Germany* (Oxford 1999). See also id., 'The life and death of Cornelius Tacitus', *Historia* 49 (2000), 230-247, at 237 f., for the conjecture that Tacitus served as military tribune under *Agricola*, perhaps from 77-79. Whether or not this conjecture is valid, the observations offered below are based on the premise that Tacitus' account – including the speeches – is basically authentic. He had plenty of opportunity, during the years 84-90, to hear *Agricola*'s version of events. This paper is based partly on a revised version of A.R. Birley, *The Fasti of Roman Britain* (Oxford 1981), in preparation.

² Thus e.g. R.M. Ogilvie and I.A. Richmond, eds., *Cornelii Taciti de Vita Agricolae* (Oxford 1967), 53 ff., 217 ff.

³ I. Caruana, 'Carlisle: excavation of a section of the annexe ditch of the first Flavian fort, 1990', *Britannia* 23 (1992), 45-109, at 104f.; id., 'Maryport and the Flavian conquest of North Britain', in R.J.A. Wilson, ed., *Roman Maryport and its Setting. Essays in Memory of M.G. Jarrett* (Kendal 1997), 40-51, at 40 f., with further references.

⁴ As argued long ago: E. Birley, *Roman Britain and the Roman Army* (Kendal 1953), 40f. See now D.C.A. Shotter, 'Petilius Cerialis in Northern Britain', *Northern History* 36 (2000) 186-198.

convincing textual emendation has clarified what followed the battle of Mons Graupius.⁵

The short first season, 77,⁶ was spent reconquering North Wales and Anglesey (18.1-6). Agricola had participated in the original conquest, abandoned because of the rebellion of Boudica (14.3 ff., cf. 5.5; *Annales* 14.29.1 ff.): he turned his attention first to unfinished business. In 78 he harried the enemy 'by sudden plundering raids'. There was no serious fighting: 'no new part of Britain ever came over with so little damage', and he covered a large area with forts (20.2-3). It can be inferred that he was in southern Scotland, encountering peoples that his two predecessors had engaged but not subdued: 'many states which had previously held their own [*ex aequo egerant*, sc. against Rome] put aside their anger and handed over hostages'.⁷

In 79, 'he opened up new peoples with the ravaging of territories up to the Tay (*Taus*)' (22.1-4). Dio-Xiphilinus (66.20) concentrates on this season, as shown by the reference to Titus' fifteenth imperatorial acclamation, datable after 8 September 79.⁸ It was presumably in this year that Britain's true shape was discovered. Tacitus contrasts its shape reported by Livy and Fabius Rusticus, 'this side of Caledonia', with what 'those who have gone past this point' found (10.3-4).⁹ A Caledonian boar killed in the Colosseum in summer 80 (Martialis, *De spectaculis* 7.3) was probably supplied by Agricola.

⁵ A.A.R. Henderson, 'Agricola in Caledonia: the sixth and seventh campaigns', *Classical Views* 29 (1985), 318-335; S. Wolfson, 'Tacitus, Thule and Caledonia: a critical re-interpretation of the textual problems', myweb.tiscali.co.uk/fartherlands.

⁶ The earlier chronology, 77-84, is here followed, as argued in A.R. Birley 1981, op. cit. (n. 1), 77 ff.; supported by D.B. Campbell, 'The consulship of Agricola', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 63 (1986), 197-200, and M.-Th. Raepsaet-Charlier, 'Cn. Iulius Agricola: Mise au point prosopographique', in H. Temporini and W. Haase, eds., *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* II 33.3 (Berlin-New York 1991), 1808-1857, at 1824 f., 1842 ff.

⁷ On *ex aequo egerant* see A.R. Birley, 'Petillius Cerialis and the conquest of Brigantia', *Britannia* 4 (1973), 179-190, at 190, criticizing the interpretation of Ogilvie and Richmond 1967, op. cit. (n. 2), 219.

⁸ In CIL 16, 24, 8 September 79, Titus was still *imp. XIII*; he was *imp. XV* in ILS 98 and 262, both datable to 79. Dio-Xiphilinus also writes that Agricola was awarded triumphal honours by Titus, which conflicts with *Agricola* 40.1, which seems to attribute the grant to Domitian. Perhaps the text is corrupt, *παρὰ τοῦ Τίτου* instead of e.g. *παρὰ τοῦτου*.

⁹ Perhaps Tacitus was among those 'who have gone past this point'—on the hypothesis of Birley 2000, op. cit. (n. 1).

Agricola's report evidently led not only to Titus' acclamation but also to a decision to stop: his fourth season, 80, was devoted to securing the Forth-Clyde line as a frontier (23). In his fifth, 81, he turned west: his 'crossing in the first ship' must have been across the Clyde,¹⁰ mentioned in the previous chapter along with the Forth: it took him to face Ireland, presumably from the Mull of Kintyre (24-1-3). Titus died on 13 September 81.¹¹ Domitian, anxious for military glory and planning his own German campaign, reversed Titus' decision. It was Domitian, not the 'glory of the Roman name' (23), that did not permit a halt at the Forth-Clyde line.

Agricola, resuming the advance in his sixth season, 82, went beyond the Forth (25.1-27.2). His marching camps have been identified as far north as Bellie (Fochabers) on the flood-plain of the Spey, near the Moray Firth.¹² Since he had already reached the Tay in 79, there is much to be said for the view that he penetrated at least this far in 82. His soldiers' eagerness, after repulsing an attack on the Ninth legion, to 'go deep into Caledonia and ... find the end of Britain at last' (27.1), surely indicates that the real *Britanniae terminus* was within reach. As Henderson comments, 'no Roman commander on reaching the mouth of the Spey (where the [known] camps end) ... could long remain under the impression that this was the veritable end of Britain. He would soon learn of, if he could not already perceive, another wedge of land waiting for him on the other side.'¹³ As an intermezzo between the sixth and seventh seasons Tacitus reports the mutiny of the Usipi and their voyage round Britain (28).¹⁴ Then comes the final season, with the long account of the battle at Mons Graupius (29.2-38.4).

No details are given in chapter 29, but it can be inferred from Agricola's speech that the army had crossed 'marshes or mountains and rivers' (33.4) in 'a long march ... through forests ... and across estuaries' (33.5). As to the debated location of Mons Graupius, remarks in the Caledonian leader Calgacus' speech surely indicate that it was within sight of the north coast: *nullae ultra terrae ac ne mare quidem securum imminente nobis classe Romana ...*, 'There is no land beyond us and even the sea is no safe refuge when we are threatened by the Roman fleet' (30.1) and *nos*

¹⁰ N. Reed, 'The fifth year of Agricola's campaigns', *Britannia* 2 (1972), 143-8.

¹¹ *PIR*² F, no. 399.

¹² B. Jones and D. Mattingly, *An Atlas of Roman Britain* (Oxford 1990), 76 ff.

¹³ Henderson 1985, op. cit. (n. 5), at 320 ff. (quotation from p. 327).

¹⁴ The mutiny and voyage of the Usipi is placed by Dio-Xiphilinus 66.20.1-3 in 79: Raepsaet-Charlier 1991, op. cit. (n. 6), 1853 f., discusses varying solutions.

terrarum ac libertatis extremos recessus ipse ac sinus famae in hunc diem defendit: nunc terminus Britanniae patet, atque omne ignotum pro magnifico est, sed nulla iam ultra gens, nihil nisi fluctus ac saxa, ‘We are the last people on earth and the last to be free: our very remoteness in a land known only to rumour has protected us up till this day. Today the furthest bounds of Britain lie open – and everything unknown is given an inflated worth. But now there is no people beyond us, nothing but tides and rocks’ (30.3). This theme recurs in Agricola’s speech (33.3) ‘the end of Britain’, and (33.6) ‘the very place where the world and nature end’.

The currently favoured location is the Mither Tap of Bennachie in Aberdeenshire, close to the exceptionally large Roman camp at Durno.¹⁵ This is hard to reconcile with the passages quoted, stressing that the battle was at the very end of the island, with nothing beyond except sea and rocks. As Henderson comments, ‘[t]he very lateness of the season when the battle was fought constitutes a strong argument for its very high latitude’.¹⁶ An ideal site might be between Ben Loyal (the ‘Queen of Highland peaks’, 764 m. high) and the sea.¹⁷

The account of what happened next has been clarified by Wolfson’s convincing textual emendations.¹⁸ The *Boresti*, not attested by any other source, can be dispensed with: *Borestorum* dissolves into *bore<o>s toꝓum* (*exercitum*). *Trucculensem*, also unattested and frequently emended, *trutulensem* in the version of *E*^{2m}, refers to the demeanour of the fleet, *trux*, and the harbour of *T(h)ule*, Shetland (Mainland), *Tulensem portum*:

38.2-4: *proximus dies faciem victoriae latius aperuit: vastum ubique silentium, secreti colles, fumantia procul tecta, nemo exploratoribus obuius. quibus in omnem partem dimissis, ubi incerta fugae vestigia neque usquam conglobari hostes compertum et exacta iam aestate spargi bellum nequibat,*

¹⁵ G. Maxwell, *A Battle Lost. Romans & Caledonians at Mons Graupius* (Edinburgh 1990), discusses possible sites, as do Jones and Mattingly 1990, op.cit. (n.12), 76 f. (with map 4:14).

¹⁶ Henderson 1985, op. cit. (n. 5), 330.

¹⁷ A.L.F.Rivet and C. Smith, *The Place-Names of Roman Britain* (London 1979), 370f., summarise theories about the name *Graupius*, noting that many believe that the true form was *Craupius*, comparing *crup*, Old Welsh, modern Welsh *crwb*, ‘hump’, and a postulated Pictish form **crub*, pronounced *crüb*. One might diffidently note the hill (310 m.) on the north side of Ben Loyal, now called by the Gaelic name *Meall Leathad na Craoibhe*, ‘sloping hump of the trees’. *Craoibhe* has at any rate a close resemblance to **crub*.

¹⁸ Wolfson, op. cit. (n. 5), esp. at his nn. 108-251 and his Appendix on the ‘Boresti’, at nn. 364-413.

in finis bore<o>s totum exercitum deducit. 3 ibi acceptis obsidibus praefecto classis circumvehi Britanniam praecepit. datae ad id vires, et praecesserat terror. ipse peditem atque equites lento itinere, quo novarum gentium animi ipsa transitus mora terrerentur, in hibernis locavit. 4 et simul classis secunda tempestate ac fama tru<x> Tulensem portum tenuit; {un}de proximo Britanniae latere praevecta omnis re<s a>dierat.

E, Teubner, Oxford, etc: *in finis Borestorum exercitum deducit.*

Wolfson: *in finis bore<o>s totum exercitum deducit.*

E, A: *classis secunda tempestate ac fama Trucculensem portum tenuit* (as in all edd.)

E^{2m}: *trutulensem*

Smith: *truxelensem* (corr. of *fl(umen) Uxelum*)

Hind: *Tunocelensem* (citing *Itunocelum* in Rav.)

Hübner, Furneaux, Reed: *Ugrulentum* (citing *Ugrulentum* in Rav.)

Lips., Ogilvie-Richm., Borzsák, Murgia: *Rutup(i)ensem* (=Richborough)

Wolfson: *tru<x> Tulensem*

MS (E): *unde proximo Britanniae latere prelecta omnis redierat.*

(*Britanniae* E²; *lecto* E^{2m}; *omni* ABE²)

editions: *unde proximo Britanniae latere praelecto omnis redierat.*

Wolfson: *{un}de proximo Britanniae latere pr(a)evecta omnis re<s a>dierat*

(*un* by dittography from end of preceding word, *tenuit*: in codex *un* is very similar to *uit* here).

Translation of Agicola 38.2-4 as emended by Wolfson:

At dawn next day the scale of the victory was more apparent: the silence of desolation on all sides, homesteads smouldering in the distance, not a man to encounter the scouts. They were sent out in every direction and reported that the fugitives' tracks were random and that the enemy were not massing at any point. And as the summer was already over and the war could not be extended further, he led **the entire army down into the northern extremities**. 3. There he took hostages and instructed the prefect of the fleet to sail round Britain: forces were allocated for the purpose and panic had gone before. He himself, marching slowly, to intimidate new peoples by the very delay with which he traversed their territory, settled the infantry and cavalry in winter quarters. 4. And at the same time the fleet, **its ruthlessness enhanced by rumour** and by favourable weather, held **the Thule harbour; having sailed on from the nearest side of Britain, it had tackled all eventualities**.

Cf. 10.4: *hanc oram novissimi maris tunc primum Romana classis circum-
vecta insulam esse Britanniam affirmavit, ac simul incognitas ad id tempus
insulas, quas Orcadas vocant, invenit domuitque. dispecta est Thule, quia
hactenus iussum et hiems appetebat.* ‘It was then that a Roman fleet for the
first time sailed around this coast of the remotest sea and established that
Britain is in fact an island. Then too it discovered the islands, hitherto
unknown, which are called the Orcades, and subjugated them. Thule was
thoroughly examined because its order had been to go this far; and winter
was approaching.’

The emphasis given to Thule by Tacitus, as can now be seen, helps to
explain its prominence in the Flavian poets, also interpreted convincingly by
Wolfson.¹⁹ First Silius Italicus, *Punica* 3.594-598: *exin se Curibus virtus
caelestis ad astra/ efferet et sacris augebit nomen Iulis/ bellatrix gens baci-
fero nutrita Sabino;/ huic pater ignotam donabit vincere Thylen/ inque Cale-
donios primus trahet agmina lucos,* ‘Thereafter shall godlike excellence rise
up from Cures to the stars, and the warrior family reared on the Sabine berry
shall enhance the name of the deified Julii; to this family the father shall
present unknown Thule to conquer’;²⁰ 17.417 f.: *caerulus haud aliter cum
dimicat incola Thylen/ agmina falcigero circumvenit arta covinno,* ‘just so
the blue-painted native of Thule, when he fights, drives round the close-
packed ranks in his scythe-bearing chariot’. Then Statius, *Silvae* 5. 88-89, on
the duties of the *ab epistulis* Abascantus, among them to learn *quantum
ultimus orbis/ cesserit et refugo circumsonat gurgite Thule,* ‘how far the
furthest limit of the world has surrendered, and Thule, around which the
ebbing floodtide roars’. One may also note Juvenal, not naming Thule but
clearly alluding to it with *minima nocte*, *Saturae* 2.159-61: *arma quidem
ultra/ litora Iuvernæ promovimus et modo captas/ Orcadas ac minima
contentos nocte Britannos,* ‘To be sure, we have moved forward our arms
beyond the shores of Ireland and the recently captured Orkneys and the
Britons content with a minimal night’. Then, in 15.112-13: *Gallia causidicos
docuit facunda Britannos,/ de conducendo loquitur iam rhetore Thyle,*
‘Eloquent Gaul has been teaching British lawyers, Thule now talks of hiring

¹⁹ These remarks are based on Wolfson, op. cit. (n. 5), at his nn. 252-363.

²⁰ As pointed out by Wolfson, op. cit. (n. 5), at his n. 305, no MS of Silius is earlier than the fifteenth century. At 3.597 all editors follow those that read *hinc*; but F G Z (cf. ed. of J. Delz 1987) have *huic*, favoured by Wolfson: meaning ‘to this (sc. *bellatrix gens=gens Flavia*) family’.

a rhetor'.²¹ Apart from the implication of *Agricola* 21.2, *Agricola* fostering liberal studies for the sons of the British *principes*, he surely had with him in the far north, if not a rhetor, a Greek grammarian, Demetrius of Tarsus. As portrayed by Plutarch, in his dialogue on the decline of oracles, dramatic date 83-84 (*Moralia* 410A, 419E), Demetrius had just returned from Britain, where he had sailed around the islands. Two silvered bronze plaques found at York (*Eburacum*) were dedicated, in Greek, surely by this man: 'To Ocean and Tethys, Demetrius' and 'To the gods of the governor's headquarters, Scrib(onium) Demetrius'.²²

Wolfson notes that 'Agricola's expedition to Shetland may have taken its origin from his earlier years, when ... as a young student at Massilia (*Agricola* 4.2) ... he would have imbibed not only traditional philosophy, but also the seafaring aura of the town, the four hundred years of Pytheas' legacy and the works of Pytheas, the "Massaliot philosopher" [Cleomedes, *De motu circulari* 1.7, p. 68, 21 Ziegler].' Agricola had completed the conquest of Britain, *Agricola* 10.1. This conquest was the more impressive because it included the outermost limit of the world, *ultima Thule*. The vast victory monument at Richborough was probably erected under his supervision to commemorate this. The archaeological evidence fits a date early in Domitian's reign.²³

From a modern, politically correct point of view, Agricola was an oppressive colonialist general. *Terror* and related terms crop up repeatedly – 'shock and awe' one might say nowadays. Agricola followed the example of

²¹ One should add here Statius, *Silvae* 5.2.54 ff., seeming to claim that Vettius Bolanus, governor of Britain from 69 to 71, had reached Thule: *quantusque negantem/ fluctibus occidiuis fesso usque Hyperione Thulen/ intrarit mandata gerens*, 'how great he was, as, bearing his orders, he entered Thule that bars the western waves, where Hyperion is ever weary', cf. ib. 142, *quanta Caledonios attollet gloria campos*, 'what glory will excite the Caledonian plains'. This contrasts, of course, with Tacitus' very negative portrayal of Bolanus' *inertia* as governor, *Agricola* 8.1, 16.5; cf. *Historiae* 3.45, where the Roman rescue of the friendly Queen of the Brigantes, Cartimandua, is described, without naming Bolanus, with *Silvae* 5.2.149, where he is said to have 'seized a breastplate from a British king'. Cf. E. Birley 1953, op. cit. (n. 4), 13 f. Bolanus may have done more than he is credited with by Tacitus, but to claim that he had reached Thule was a case of a poet exploiting a name that was much in vogue when he wrote.

²² RIB 662.

²³ Wolfson, op.cit. (n. 5), at his nn. 133 ff. Richborough: S.S. Frere, *Britannia* (London 1987³), 104 n. 21; cf. J.P. Bushe-Fox, *Fourth Report on the Excavations of the Roman Fort at Richborough* (London 1949), 38 ff.; fragments of the inscription, RIB 46.

Petillius Cerialis, who began by striking *terror* into the Brigantes (*Agricola* 17.1). At the start of his own governorship, after 'wiping out almost the entire people' of the Ordovices in N. Wales, Agricola attacked *Mona* 'to inspire terror among the rest' (18.3). In the next year, 'when he had inspired enough fear', *ubi satis terruerat*, 'he showed them the attractions of peace' (20.2). His third campaign, sweeping up to the Tay, 'terrified the enemy', *qua formidine territi hostes* (22.1). Three years later, the Britons were terrified, *territi*, at the Roman response to their attack on the Ninth legion (26.2), and the Roman army became 'ferocious', *ferox*, after this success (27.1). The last season began with the despatch of the fleet to induce *magnum et incertum terrorem* (29.2). At Mons Graupius, Calgacus is made to denounce *metus ac terror* (32.2). After the great battle, '*terror* had preceded' the fleet on its final mission, and the infantry, led by Agricola, was to 'terrorise new peoples' by its slow and deliberate traversing of their territory (38.3).

The Britons against whom Agricola fought in 79 and 82-83 were Caledonians (Tacitus avoids the word, preferring 'inhabitants of Caledonia', *Agricola* 11.2, 25.3), the builders of the 'brochs' and the ancestors of the Picts. The brochs are concentrated in Caithness and the islands, especially Orkney and Shetland.²⁴ The northern isles shared a common culture with mainland Scotland, explaining why the fleet was so important to Agricola and why he was determined to crown his conquest by sending it to take Orkney and Shetland.

It was evidently after the last campaign that the construction of a new legionary fortress was inaugurated, at Inchtuthil on the Tay, 'the key site from which the penetration and pacification of the Highlands would have

²⁴ See S.M. Foster, *Picts, Gaels and Scots* (London 1996), 13: 'we can be confident that [the Picts] were simply the descendants of the native Iron Age tribes of Scotland'; 15: 'brochs ("Pictish towers"; but in fact built by the inhabitants of north and west Scotland from whom the historical Picts were descended)'. For a distribution map of brochs and other fortifications, see Jones and Mattingly 1990, op. cit. (n. 12), 62, Map 3:19, omitting Orkney and Shetland, for which see I. Armit, *Celtic Scotland* (London 1997), 39 ff. One of the best preserved brochs, some 7 m. high, is Dun Dornadilla in Strathmore, not far from Ben Loyal. See further D. Harding, 'The classification of brochs and duns', in R. Miket and C. Burgess, eds., *Between and Beyond the Walls. Essays on the Prehistory of North Britain in Honour of George Jobey* (Edinburgh 1984), 206-220; B. Cunliffe, *Iron Age Communities in Britain* (London and New York 1991³), 297 ff.; I. Armit, 'The Iron Age', in K.J. Edwards and I.B.M. Ralston, eds., *Scotland: Environment and Archaeology, 8000 BC-AD 1000* (Chichester 1997), 170 ff., 183 ff.

taken place ... if Agricola's victory ... had been followed up'. It is generally supposed that it was for legion XX Valeria Victrix, but this is only a guess. It could well have been II Adiutrix.²⁵ For one thing, men of the Twentieth were at Carlisle on 7 November 83, as shown by a writing-tablet; this could have been Agricola's winter-quarters – another writing-tablet there reveals the presence of one of his horse-guardsmen.²⁶

Agricola's conquest was not followed up. In the introduction to the *Histories*, 1.2.1, Tacitus repeats the claim in *Agricola* 10.1, *perdomita Britannia* – with the angry addition, *et statim missa*, 'and at once let go'. It was probably in 87 that the Inchtuthil fortress, not quite complete, was abandoned, and northern Scotland evacuated, followed before long by much of the rest of Scotland.²⁷ In effect, the territory overrun by Agricola was given up. Troops were withdrawn on a considerable scale to reinforce the threatened Danube frontier, including II Adiutrix and two (I and II) of the four crack Batavian cohorts that had played an important part at Mons Graupius, *Agricola* 36.1.²⁸

Agricola's successor is not named by Tacitus (*Agricola* 40.3). The only other Domitianic governor known is Sallustius Lucullus, named in Suetonius' list of Domitian's victims: *complures senatores, in iis aliquot consulares, interemit; ex quibus ... 3 Sallustum Lucillum Britanniae legatum, quod lanceas novae formae appellari Luculleas passus esset*, 'He put a

²⁵ II Adiutrix is favoured by M. Hassall, 'Pre-Hadrianic legionary dispositions in Britain', in R.J. Brewer, ed., *Roman Fortresses and their Legions* (Cardiff 2000), 51-67, at 62 f., and id., 'The location of legionary fortresses as a response to changes in military strategy: the case of Roman Britain AD 43-84', in Y. le Bohec, ed., *Les Légions de Rome sous le Haut-Empire* (Paris 2000), II, 441-457, at 446 f., with reference to earlier theories. The quotation above is from p. 446. L.F. Pitts and J.K. St. Joseph, *Inchtuthil. The Roman Legionary Fortress* (London 1985), 267, date the establishment of the fortress to autumn 83.

²⁶ AE 1992.1139; 1998.852, [*eq(uiti) al]ae Sebosianae, sing(ulari) Agricolae*.

²⁷ For the date, A.S. Hobbey, 'The numismatic evidence for the post-Agricolan abandonment of the Roman frontier in northern Scotland', *Britannia* 20 (1989), 69-74. See for further details Frere 1987, op.cit. (n. 23), 106f.; W.S. Hanson, *Agricola and the Conquest of the North* (London 1987), 158 ff.; D.J. Breeze, 'The frontier in Britain, 1989-1997', in N. Gudea, ed., *Roman Frontier Studies. Proceedings of the XVIIth International Congress of Roman Frontier Studies* (Zalău 1999), 37-44, at 38 f.

²⁸ II Adiutrix: K. Strobel, *Die Donaukriege Domitians* (Bonn 1989), 57, puts the withdrawal of II Adiutrix from Britain in summer 86; similarly B. Lörincz, 'Legio II Adiutrix', in Y. le Bohec 2000, op. cit. (n. 25), I, 159-167, at 161f. Cohh. I-II Batavorum: K. Strobel, 'Anmerkungen zur Geschichte der Batavkohorten in der hohen Kaiserzeit', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 70 (1987), 271-292, at 276 f., 282.

number of senators to death, including several former consuls, among them ... Sallustius Lucullus, legate of Britain, on the grounds that he had allowed spears of a new shape to be called "Lucullean" (Suetonius, *Domitianus* 10.2-3). Ingenious attempts have been made to identify this man. Syme conjectured that he 'may be identical with P. Sallustius Blaesus', *cos. suff.* 89 ..., perhaps 'polyonymous, with (e.g.) "Velleius" for his second *gentilicium*', because of 'the rich consular', Velleius Blaesus, preyed on shortly before his death by Aquillius Regulus (Pliny, *Epistulae* 2.20.7 f.). Champlin enlarged and adapted this idea, producing a composite figure, P. Velleius Lucullus Sallustius Blaesus.²⁹

Conole and Jones offered an alternative. The Elder Pliny (*Historia Naturalis* 9.89-93) reports 'information learned about octopuses when L. Lucullus was proconsul of Baetica ... made known by Trebius Niger, one of his *comites*'. He adds tall stories about a giant octopus at Carteia, and elsewhere cites Trebius on the *murex* (9.80), on swordfish and flying fish (32.15). The proconsul has generally been supposed to be Republican and Trebius to have written in the second century BC. But the name 'Baetica' did not exist until Augustan times. The proconsulship must have been held between Augustus and 77, when Pliny published. L. Lucullus could then be the future governor of Britain, as already suggested by Cichorius. A dating to the mid-70s is supported by Cichorius' observations about Pliny's use of Trebius.³⁰ Further, the *cognomen* was extremely rare among the senatorial order and the higher échelons of the equestrians in the principate.³¹ The

²⁹ R. Syme, *Tacitus* (Oxford 1958), 648, no. 34 (and elsewhere); E. Champlin, 'Hadrian's heir', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 21 (1976), 78-89, at 79 ff.

³⁰ P. Conole and B.W. Jones, 'Sallustius Lucullus', *Latomus* 42 (1983), 629-633. They overlooked C. Cichorius, 'Die Zeit des Schriftstellers Trebius Niger', *Römische Studien* (Leipzig 1922), 96 ff., also commenting that a proconsul of Baetica should belong to the imperial period, 98 f., and identifying L. Lucullus with Sallustius Lucullus, 99f. Cichorius eliminated a fourth ostensible citation of Trebius, on woodpeckers (10.40), 97 f.; but identified, 100 ff., as deriving from Trebius other passages on amazing sea-creatures off SW Spain, 9. 10-11, including one for which Pliny had 'distinguished members of the equestrian order as authorities'. Cichorius concluded that Trebius was a contemporary of Pliny, who inserted recent items from him just before publishing the *Natural History*.

³¹ Cichorius 1922, op. cit. (n. 30), made this point, 99, although his information was slightly defective. See *PIR*² L, p. 108: apart from our governor, a procurator of Belgica, and the proconsul of Baetica, there are only two senatorial women, second and third century, and one equestrian, an *epistrategus* from the year 173 (*PIR*² J, no. 387).

proconsul of Baetica and the governor of Britain can plausibly be amalgamated as L. Sallustius Lucullus.

The date and circumstances of his death can likewise only be conjectured. Presumably he had indeed named a new spear after himself, but was also suspected of treason. There is a choice of crises with which this might be connected. Sacrifices were made by the Arvals on 22 September 87 'because of the detection of the crimes of nefarious men'.³² This was the same year as Inchtuthil and other northern bases were abandoned. Had Lucullus objected? Another possibility is soon after January 89, when Antonius Saturninus attempted a *coup* in Upper Germany. His colleague in Britain might have been accused of involvement.³³ A third possibility is after late summer 93: 'the slaughter of so many men of consular rank' began after Agricola's death on 23 August that year (*Agricola* 44.1, 5, 45).³⁴

The latest date can perhaps be eliminated in the light of a writing-tablet from Vindolanda, a strength report of the First Cohort of Tungrians, from the innermost western ditch of the first known fort, datable by pottery to c. 85-92. On 18 May in an unnamed year 456 men were absent, only 296 present: among the absentees, 46 were 'guards (*singulares*) of the legate, on the staff (*officio*) of Ferox'.³⁵ Since other tablets call the governor *consularis* not *legatus*,³⁶ Ferox was surely legate of a legion – but also acting-governor: normal legionary legates had guards from their own legion, not from auxiliary units.³⁷ In view of the dating of Vindolanda's period I, the end of 93 is too late for Ferox to have been acting-governor.³⁸ The fairly rare name³⁹ is at-

³² J. Scheid et al., *Commentarii Fratrum Arvalium qui supersunt* (Rome 1998), no. 55.

³³ *PIR*² A, no. 874.

³⁴ B.W. Jones, *The Emperor Domitian* (London 1993), 133 ff., 141f., 144 ff., 182.

³⁵ A.K. Bowman and J.D. Thomas, *The Vindolanda Writing Tablets. Tabulae Vindolandesenses* II (London 1994)=TV II, no. 154.

³⁶ TV II (op. cit., n.35), nos. 223, 225, 248, 295, 404(?); A.K. Bowman and J.D. Thomas, *The Vindolanda Writing Tablets. Tabulae Vindolandesenses* III (London 2003)=TV III, no. 581.

³⁷ Convincingly argued by M.A. Speidel, 'Ferox: legionary commander of governor? A note on Tab. Vindol. 154', in R. Frei-Stolba and M.A. Speidel, eds., *Römische Inschriften—Neufunde, Neulesungen und Neuinterpretationen. Festschrift für Hans Lieb* (Basel 1995), 43-54. However, he follows the editors' dating of TV II (op. cit., n.35), no. 154, c. 92-97, which is incorrect, see next note.

³⁸ See for the date of period I A.R. Birley, *Garrison Life at Vindolanda* (Stroud 2002), 60 f., 168 f. n. 9, pointing out that the editors of TV II (op. cit., n.35), no. 154 are mistaken in writing that '[i]t now appears much more likely that the material in this [Period 1] ditch was produced by the occupants of Period 2 [sc. c. 92-97]'. The discovery of a further, frag-

tested for only two senators. Either could have commanded a legion under Domitian. Nothing is known about Cn. Pompeius Ferox Licinianus (*cos.* 98) apart from his consulship. Ti. Julius Ferox (*cos.* 99), a correspondent of Pliny (*Epistulae* 7.13), could be the legate in the strength report: Pliny refers to him *c.* 112 as a former governor of a military province (*Epistulae* 10.87.3).⁴⁰

At any rate, the appointment of an acting-governor suggests the sudden elimination of the governor, for which September 87 seems a plausible date. If Lucullus were Agricola's successor, he could have had four seasons in Britain. In 84-86 he might have been taking further the construction of the Inchtuthil fortress and modifying the line of signalling posts along the Gask Ridge, between the Forth and Tay.⁴¹ He could also be responsible for new forts being built at Vindolanda and at Corbridge (*Coria*), both dated to the mid-80s.⁴² Then, in 87, came the order to retrench.

A possible consequence of the governor's downfall is revealed by an auxiliary unit with a surprising name, *pedites singulares Britannici*, 'infantry guardsmen from Britain', i.e. ex-guards of a governor of Britain, in Upper Moesia in 103. The removal of the British governor's personal guards to another province is best explained in connection with the Lucullus affair.⁴³

mentary strength report of *coh. I Tungrorum* (with the same prefect in command) in an outer ditch of the period I fort confirms the dating of TV II, no. 154 to period I, *c.* 85-92: Anthony and Robin Birley, in Andrew Birley, *The Excavations of 2001-2002* (Greenhead 2003), 90ff., on T 01-15; on the newly found outer ditches of the period I fort see *ibid.* 3 ff.

³⁹ I. Kajanto, *The Latin Cognomina* (Helsinki 1965), 267, found just over fifty men called Ferox. B. Lörincz, *Onomasticon Provinciarum Europae Latinarum II* (Vienna 1999), 139, lists twenty in the Latin European provinces and Cisalpinga.

⁴⁰ *PIR*² P, no. 606 (mentioning the Vindolanda legate); J 306: W. Eck, 'Jahres- und Provinzialfasten der senatorischen Statthalter von 69/70 bis 138/139', *Chiron* 13 (1983), at 210, suggests that he might have been governor of Germania superior, Moesia superior, or Britain in the period between 104 and 110.

⁴¹ Opinions differ on the precise dating within the Flavian period of the Gask line: D.J. Woolliscroft, *The Roman Frontier on the Gask Ridge, Perth and Kinross* (Oxford 2002). On the hypothesis here put forward the date of the Vindolanda tablet, TV II (*op. cit.* n. 35), no. 154, should be 18 May 88; six soldiers listed as wounded might, but need not, have been involved in recent fighting.

⁴² R. Birley, *Vindolanda: The Early Wooden Forts* (Bardon Mill 1994), 15 ff.; M.C. Bishop and J.N. Dore, *Corbridge: Excavations of the Roman Fort and Town, 1947-80* (London 1988), 140 f.

⁴³ CIL 16, 54: see E. Birley 1953, *op. cit.* (n. 4), 22; M.P. Speidel, *Guards of the Roman Armies* (Bonn 1978), 127; B.W. Jones 1993, *op. cit.* (n. 34), 134.

It is also conceivable that the procurator of Britain Cn. Pompeius Homullus served here at this time and gained accelerated promotion as a reward for loyalty.⁴⁴

After the Lucullus affair, apart from references in the poets and in Tacitus, there is no further mention of Britain in the surviving literary sources until the accession of Hadrian – except for a poem of Martial. In 98 he greeted his elderly friend, Q. Ovidius: *Quinte Caledonios Ovidi visure Britannos/ et viridem Tethyn Oceanumque patrem*, ‘Quintus Ovidius, about to see the Caledonian Britons and green Tethys and Father Ocean’ (10.44.1-2). Ovidius, who was to ‘accompany a dear friend’ to Britain (ib. 8), had gone into exile long before in the aftermath of the Pisonian conspiracy and was probably a Stoic (7.44-5).⁴⁵ It seems likely that his friend was the governor of Britain, T. Avidius Quietus (*cos.* 93), another elderly Stoic, newly in office in 98.⁴⁶ The ‘Caledonian Britons’ were topical when Martial wrote: Tacitus had just published his *Agricola*. It seems unlikely that Avidius went anywhere near Caledonia, or had any fighting to do. But he had at least been a legionary legate about fifteen years earlier. That is more than can be said for the next known governor, L. Neratius Marcellus (*cos.* 95), whose only military experience had been as a military tribune in the east in the 70s. At this time tried military men were needed for the Dacian Wars. A senatorial career, which must be that of Marcellus, includes the governorship of Britain as legate of Trajan on two acephalous inscriptions at Saepinum in Samnium, his family’s home.⁴⁷ A diploma show him in office in January 103,⁴⁸ and he is named on a Vindolanda writing-tablet, a draft letter evidently composed by the prefect of the Ninth Batavians, Flavius Cerialis. Cerialis asks his correspondent to ‘greet [Neratiu]s Marcellus, the Right Honourable man (*clarissim[um] virum*), my consular’.⁴⁹

⁴⁴ CIL 6, 1626= ILS 1385, Rome. See H.-G. Pflaum, *Les carrières procuratoriennes équestres sous le Haut-Empire romain* (Paris 1960-61) (CP), no. 86+add.: he was promoted straight from Britain to Lugdunensis and Aquitania; *PIR*² P, no. 617.

⁴⁵ *PIR*² O, no. 178, lists the passages in Martial referring to Q. Ovidius.

⁴⁶ CIL 16, 43. See A.R. Birley 1981, op. cit. (n. 1), 85f. for Avidius. He had been an intimate of Thrasea Paetus, Pliny, *Epistulae* 6.29.1.

⁴⁷ *PIR*² N, nos. 55 (Marcellus), 51-4, 56-68.

⁴⁸ CIL 16, 48=RIB 2.1, 2401.1, Malpas (Cheshire).

⁴⁹ TV II (op. cit., n. 35), no. 225; see also A.R. Birley, ‘The commissioning of equestrian officers’, in J.J. Wilkes, ed., *Documenting the Roman Army. Essays in honour of Margaret Roxan* (London 2003), 1-18, at 9 f., 16 ff.

Another equestrian officer who probably served under Marcellus was T. Haterius Nepos.⁵⁰ Haterius began with posts in each of the equestrian *tres militiae*, units not specified. The third, as prefect of cavalry, was probably coupled with the role of census-officer, *censitor*, ‘of the Anavion[ensian] Britons’. Thereafter he became procurator of Greater Armenia, only a Roman province between 114, when annexed by Trajan, and 117, when Hadrian abandoned it.⁵¹ He went on to several posts at Rome and became prefect of Egypt, attested 120-124.⁵² The British census has been dated c. 110-112, on the assumption that Haterius went to Armenia straight after it.⁵³ But Pflaum postulated an interruption before what became ‘une très belle carrière’.⁵⁴ Evidence from Vindolanda indicates that his inference was correct: Haterius was in Britain over a dozen years before Greater Armenia was annexed. A letter from him to Flavius Genialis reads: *tanto magis venturum Coris sicut constituisti spero. scripsi isdem verbis et Proc[ulo?...]’,* ‘the more so do I hope that you will come to Coria, as you decided; I have written in the same words to Proc[ulus?]’. It is addressed *FLAVIO GENIALI PRAEF COH ab Haterio Nepot[ae]*.⁵⁵ Haterius was no doubt prefect of the *ala Petriana*, based at Corbridge (*Coria*) at this time.⁵⁶ Genialis, evidently the predecessor of Flavius Cerialis, is datable c. 100. The name *Anavion[enses]* clearly derives from the River Annan, *Anava*, in Dumfriesshire; it is also attested in another Vindolanda tablet. It seems probable that this people, after Haterius had counted heads in his census, had to supply conscripts, who, after training, were sent in *numeri Brittonum* to serve in southern Germany. A fragmentary letter at Vindolanda contains derogatory remarks about the weapons skills of the Britons, labelled *Brittunculi*.⁵⁷

⁵⁰ ILS 1338, Fulginiae; *PIR*² H, no. 29.

⁵¹ A.R. Birley, *Hadrian the Restless Emperor* (London 1997), 68f., 78.

⁵² B.E. Thomasson, *Laterculi Praesidium I* (Gothenburg 1984), 348.

⁵³ E.g. by Rivet and Smith 1979, op. cit. (n. 17), 249; Birley 1981, op. cit. (n. 1), 302; A.L.F. Rivet, ‘The Brittones Anavionenses’, *Britannia* 13 (1982), 321-2.

⁵⁴ Pflaum, *CP* (op. cit., n. 44), no. 95, cf. no. 79.

⁵⁵ Inv. 93/1379=TV III, op. cit. (n. 35), no. 611.

⁵⁶ E. Birley, *Research on Hadrian’s Wall* (Kendal 1961), 149 f., an inference from the tombstone of its *signifer*, RIB 1172, taken from Corbridge to Hexham Abbey.

⁵⁷ On the location of this people see Rivet and Smith 1979, op. cit. (n. 17), 249, and Rivet 1982, op. cit. (n. 53); and A.R. Birley, ‘The Anavionenses’, in N.J. Higham, ed., *Archaeology of the Roman Empire. A tribute to the life and works of Professor Barri Jones* (BAR International Series 940, Oxford 2001), 15-24, at 20 ff., comparing Inv. 93/1475=TV III, op. cit. (n. 35), no. 594, an account mentioning the *Anavion[enses]* and TV II, no. 164,

As well as the letter in which the writer calls Marcellus ‘my consular’, other texts from Vindolanda’s third period refer to an unnamed governor, *consularis*. In a letter to Cerialis his colleagues Niger and Brocchus wrote *consulari n(ostro) utique maturius occures*, ‘you will certainly meet our consular quite soon’. A letter from Cerialis’ *praetorium* was from a man called Chrauttius to Veldedeius, *equisioni co(n)sularis*, ‘consular’s groom’. In a list of *expensa* from the *praetorium*, one entry, probably from 105, refers to ‘lunch on the arrival of the consular’, *adventu consu[laris] in prandio*. This is followed by *item Coris*, ‘likewise at Coria (Corbridge)’, which hints that the prefect then accompanied the governor for the fifteen miles journey east. Perhaps the governor was reorganizing the garrisons and had summoned a meeting. At all events, the Ninth Batavians left Vindolanda at this time, never to return. The fort was reconstructed for a new garrison, the First Cohort of Tungrians, which had already been there under Domitian.⁵⁸

The Batavians were sent to reinforce Trajan’s army in the Second Dacian War. Other regiments left Britain for the same destination, including the Third Batavians, who had been based somewhere near Vindolanda.⁵⁹ As well as Vindolanda, the forts at Corbridge and Carlisle were rebuilt at this time;⁶⁰ new forts were added along the Stanegate line; and the remaining garrisons in Scotland were withdrawn, notably Newstead (*Trimontium*).⁶¹ There is no reason to suppose that there had been serious warfare. This was once inferred, not least, from the remarkably generous *dona* awarded *bello Brittannico*, to C. Julius Karus, prefect of *cohors II Asturum equitata* – in the belief that this cohort could not have been in Britain before 89, when it was

Brittunculi, identifiable with the Anavionenses, under training. Note also TV II, no. 304, a fragment with the words [...] *census administret...*

⁵⁸ TV II, op. cit. (n. 35), nos. 248 (Niger and Brocchus), 310 (the *equisio*), III 581 (*expensa*). The date of III no. 581 is given as 1 May, *k. Maiarum*, perhaps a slip for 1 June; the year is probably 105, see Birley 2002, op. cit. (n. 38), 128 ff., 172 f. nn. 13-14. Evacuation of forts in Scotland, departure of the Batavians from Vindolanda and return of the Tungrians there: *ibid.* 51, 69 f. and next two notes.

⁵⁹ Strobel 1989, op. cit. (n. 28), 275 f. (whose dating requires slight modification).

⁶⁰ See the convenient table in P. Bidwell, *Hadrian's Wall 1989-1999. A Summary of Recent Excavations and Research prepared for the Twelfth Pilgrimage of Hadrian's Wall, 14-21 August 1999* (Carlisle 1999), 13, with further references.

⁶¹ Frere 1987, op. cit. (n. 23), 107 ff.; Hanson 1987, op. cit. (n. 27), 163 ff.

apparently still in Germany. It can now be seen that there were two Second Cohorts of Asturians: Karus was probably decorated for Mons Graupius.⁶²

It is not known whether Marcellus was still in office in 105, when two British diplomas were issued: neither preserves the governor's name.⁶³ It is *a priori* likely that he was replaced at latest in this year; but he might have stayed on into 106, when the Second Dacian War ended. One other Trajanic governor is known, M. Atilius Metilius Bradua (*cos. ord.* 108), his governorship recorded only on an inscription at Olympia. Bradua had previously governed one of the Germanies and can hardly have moved to Britain until *c.* 111.⁶⁴ He had probably left before Trajan's death, when trouble flared up at once, with heavy Roman losses. To discuss this and what followed would require much more space than is allowed here: Hadrian's visit and the building of his Wall, reoccupation of southern Scotland and withdrawal again under Antoninus, 'barbarian' invasion and army mutinies under Commodus, civil war between the British army and the rest, 196-7, the Severan expedition and the division of Britain.

Vindolanda, December 2003

⁶² AE 1951, 88, Cyrene. Birley 1953, *op. cit.* (n. 4), 20 ff., who first published the inscription, and others, e.g. Frere 1987, *op. cit.* (n. 23), 109, took Karus to have commanded this cohort later, because it was thought that it was still based in Germany when Agricola was governor of Britain. Hence the inference that there was a serious British war under Trajan. But it is now clear that there were two *cohortes II Asturum* all the time, one in Germany (CIL 16, 158, AD 80; AD 98, RMD 4, 216; RMD 4, 239, 20 August, AD 127) and one in Britain (CIL 16, 51, AD 105; 69, AD 122; RMD 4, 240, 20 August AD 127), as already conjectured by M.M. Roxan, 'Pre-Severan *auxilia* named in the *Notitia Dignitatum*', in R. Goodburn and P. Bartholomew, eds., *Aspects of the Notitia Dignitatum* (Oxford 1976), 59-82, at 63 f. M.G. Jarrett, 'Non-legionary troops in Roman Britain: Part one, The units', *Britannia* 25 (1994), 35-77, at 53, convincingly concluded that Karus won his *dona* at Mons Graupius.

⁶³ CIL 16, 51=RIB 2.1, 2402.2; RMD 8=RIB 2.1, 2401.3.

⁶⁴ ILS 8824a, Olympia. His provincial governorships are often assigned to the reign of Hadrian, who is mentioned in the genitive immediately before them on the stone; but there is a gap before Hadrian's name, and it is virtually certain that this must have recorded something else, e.g. Bradua's role as *comes* of that emperor: see A.R. Birley 1981, *op. cit.* (n. 1), 92 ff. There is, in any case, no space for him in Britain in Hadrian's reign.

THE END OF THE BATAVIAN AUXILIARIES
AS 'NATIONAL' UNITS

By
J.A. VAN ROSSUM

The history of the Batavian auxiliary regiments of the Roman imperial army is comparatively well documented. The written evidence on such units usually consists of a few inscriptions and military diplomas, documents containing limited information that is very often difficult to interpret. As a consequence, we can at best reconstruct their development in a very broad outline only. In the case of the Batavian units, however, some valuable information is to be found in the literary sources, especially in Tacitus. Without his description of the Batavian revolt in the *Histories* and several references in his other writings we would not even know of their existence until the end of the first century when the first documentary sources on these units begin to appear. By then they had existed for more than half a century without leaving any trace in the epigraphic record. It is mainly through the testimony of Tacitus that we are informed about their reputation as an elite force and about their special status which implied that they were commanded, and probably also levied, by their native leaders. As a result of this arrangement their specific ethnic composition was preserved long after they had been first raised.¹

Despite this – admittedly relative – abundance of information there is much that remains problematic and open to debate. The discovery of only a few new texts during the last two decades of the twentieth century has undermined earlier reconstructions of the history of these units. It used to be thought, for instance, that the Batavian Revolt marked a clear break in their development. After this event their distinctive ‘tribal’ character was sup-

¹ Whether or not this implied that these troops maintained their native character in a cultural sense is a different question that will not concern us here. The Vindolanda tablets clearly show that by the end of first century these units were thoroughly influenced by Roman culture. Perhaps the situation in the pre-Flavian period was different: see e.g. N. Roymans, ‘The sword or the plough. Regional dynamics in the romanisation of Belgic Gaul and the Rhineland area’ in: *From the Sword to the Plough* (Amsterdam 1998), 27-28. See however the remarks by T. Derks, *Gods, Temples and Ritual Practices. The Transformation of Religious Ideas and Values in Roman Gaul* (Amsterdam 1998), 54, on the cultural differences between the Roman army and German warriors that must have influenced the soldiers even in the pre-Flavian period.

posed to have disappeared and they were thought to have become much like other auxiliary regiments, ethnically mixed and commanded by Roman equestrians whose origins could be from anywhere in the empire. After the discovery of new military diplomas, a new inscription and the writing tablets from Vindolanda, this view has become untenable. In fact, the newly discovered evidence has led some to suppose that the regiments in question remained literally 'Batavian' well into the second century. In my view, this new theory is as unfounded as its predecessor.² It will be argued below that the change in character of these troops that was traditionally associated with the revolt did occur, but at the end of the first century.

In a sense the tribe of the Batavians was as a Roman creation. Its origin can be dated to somewhere in the second half of the first century BC, when a subgroup of the German Chatti settled in the Rhine delta with Roman permission. The archaeological evidence indicates that the river area was not totally deserted at that moment, so that the settlement of the Chatti meant a mixing of different groups. Reinforcing thinly populated areas by settling allied tribes is a characteristic element of the frontier policy in this period.³

The relations between Rome and the newly established tribe were defined in a treaty that gave the Batavians immunity from taxation and regulated *inter alia* the military obligations they had to fulfil. They supplied soldiers to the imperial bodyguard until the emperor Galba cashiered this unit. Furthermore, it seems that initially the Batavians operated as a client army with its own military organisation under the command of one of their nobles in certain military campaigns.⁴

In the course of the first half of the first century this obligation was organised on a more permanent basis by the raising of auxiliary regiments.

² K. Dietz, 'Das älteste Militärdiplom für die Provinz Pannonia Superior', *Berichte der römisch-germanische Kommission* 64 (1984), 159-268, esp. 205-206, on continued national recruitment; K. Strobel, 'Anmerkungen zur Geschichte der Batavikohorten in der hohen Kaiserzeit', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 70 (1987), 271-292, with a discussion on the continuity in command structure.

³ W.J.H. Willems, 'Romans and Batavians: a regional study in the Dutch eastern river area', *Berichten van de Rijksdienst voor Oudheidkundig Bodemonderzoek* 32 (1984), 206-213. N. Roymans, 'The lower Rhine *triquetrum* coinages and the ethnogenesis of the Batavians', in Th. Grünwald, ed., *Germania Inferior. Besiedlung, Gesellschaft und Wirtschaft an der Grenze der römisch-germanischen Welt* (Berlin 2001), 93-145.

⁴ Treaty: Tacitus, *Historiae* 4.12 and *Germania* 29; bodyguard: H. Bellen, *Die germanische Leibwache der römischen Kaiser des julisch-claudischen Hauses* (Wiesbaden 1981), M. Speidel, *Riding for Caesar. The Roman Emperors' Horse Guard* (London 1994), 12-31; client army: Tacitus, *Annales* 2.8 and 2.11.

By the year 69, when the revolt broke out, there were ten such units. One *cohors equitata* served in the Batavian homeland in AD 69, under its commander Julius Civilis who was to become the leader of the revolt. The most prestigious unit, the *ala Batavorum*, served in the immediate vicinity, at some unknown base of the lower Rhine army. When these units were first raised remains unknown.⁵

We are better informed about the series of eight *cohortes equitatae* that were raised in or shortly before AD 43 in order to take part in the conquest of Britain.⁶ A remarkable feature of these eight cohorts is that they operated in close cooperation for a considerable period of time. They were deployed en bloc as an elite force in major military operations almost as if they were a single force, as a short overview of their known movements until the revolt clearly demonstrates.

Their whereabouts immediately after the conquest of Britain are disputed. In my view, they are likely to have remained in the island, but it is often thought that they were part of the Rhine army for a certain period. The evidence for this is, however, not very convincing.⁷ In any case it is commonly agreed that they returned to Britain (if they had ever left the island) during the revolt of Boudicca to stay there until AD 66, when all eight cohorts were summoned to take part in an expedition to the Caucasus that was planned by the emperor Nero but never carried out because of his deposition and subsequent suicide in 68.

At the time of Nero's death the cohorts were in Northern Italy,⁸ from where they were sent back to Britain. However, when passing through central Gaul they were incorporated into the Vitellian army that was about to invade Italy. During this campaign there were growing tensions between these auxiliaries and the legionary soldiers, which led to open riots when they had crossed the Alps. When the Vitellian general Fabius Valens tried to restore order by splitting up the eight cohorts and took the step of sending some of them on campaign to Southern France, this was considered a very unusual measure. Even the legionary soldiers protested that their army would

⁵ The cohort of Civilis: Tacitus, *Historiae* 4.16. The *ala*: *Historiae* 4.18.

⁶ M.W.C. Hassall, 'Batavians and the Roman conquest of Britain', *Britannia* 1 (1970), 131-136.

⁷ This theory is based on Tacitus, *Annales* 14.38, where we read that during the revolt of Boudicca a reinforcement of eight auxiliary cohorts was brought in from Germany. But Tacitus does not state that these were the Batavian cohorts, although he mentions them specifically in many other passages.

⁸ Tacitus, *Historiae* 1.6, 2.27.

be considerably weakened by the sending away of some of the Batavian units and Valens had to revoke his decision. Finally, when the conflicts flared up again after the battle of Bedriacum, all eight cohorts were sent back north, where they subsequently became involved in the Batavian revolt.⁹

What happened to the Batavian regiments after the revolt? The answer to this question cannot be read in Tacitus' *Historiae*. Our only manuscript ends in the middle of his description of the peace negotiations that were conducted between the Batavian leader Julius Civilis and the Roman general Petillius Cerialis. Until two decades ago common opinion held that the participation in the revolt of all these units meant the end of their special status. Tacitus described the revolt as a dangerous native uprising against Roman rule, although the real intentions of the rebels in their struggle against the pro-Vitellian Rhine army were initially veiled by their posture as partisans of Vespasian. Modern authors assumed that their conduct during the revolt alerted the imperial government to the political risks posed by the national character of these troops that had sided with their tribe against the empire. It seemed to follow from this that the Batavian privileges must have been withdrawn: they were no longer commanded by their own native leaders and were sent to serve far away from home. New recruits were no longer levied in the Batavian homeland, but in the region where they happened to be stationed, as was the normal practice in regard to auxiliary units.¹⁰

The discovery of new documents in the last two decades of the twentieth century has led to a reconsideration of these opinions. Two military diplomas show that national recruitment did continue after the revolt. The first of these, which was found near Regensburg, was issued to a Batavian soldier of the milliary *cohors I* in AD 113. It shows that recruitment among the Batavians for this unit went on at least until the late 80s of the first century.¹¹ The second diploma, which was found in Elst, in what once was Batavian territory, was published in 2000. It was issued in AD 98 to a Batavian horseman of the *ala Batavorum*, who must have been recruited shortly after the revolt.¹² A new inscription from Pannonia records the burial of a Batavian veteran of *cohors I*, M. Ulpus Inamn[us?]. This text can be

⁹ Tacitus, *Historiae* 1.59, 64; 2.27-28, 66, 69.

¹⁰ G. Alföldy, *Die Hilfstruppen der römischen Provinz Germania Inferior* (Düsseldorf 1968), 101-102; Willems 1984, op. cit. (n. 3), 243.

¹¹ Dietz 1984, op. cit. (n. 2).

¹² J.K. Haalebos, 'Traian und die Hilfstruppen am Niederrhein. Ein Militärdiplom des Jahren 98 n. Chr. aus Elst in der Overbetuwe (Niederlande)', *Saalburg Jahrbuch* 50 (2000), 31-72.

dated between 102 and 118. Since the age of the deceased has not been preserved, we do not know exactly when he was enlisted. He is likely to have received the citizenship when the entire cohort was honoured with citizenship by Trajan during the Dacian wars.¹³

New evidence on prefects of the units after the revolt was provided by the writing tablets from Vindolanda where the ninth Batavian cohort was stationed between 90 and 105. The names of one of its commanders, Flavius Cerialis, who was at Vindolanda from 101 to perhaps 105, strongly suggest a Batavian origin: his cognomen seems to have been borrowed from Petillius Cerialis, the Roman general who played an important role in the pacification of the Batavians in 70.¹⁴

It would seem therefore that the basic conditions of Batavian military service had not changed after the revolt. Although the new evidence is not very abundant, it is important that it neatly fits the contemporary testimony of Tacitus' *Germania*, according to which the ancient treaty between Batavians and Romans was still in force when this treatise was published, that is in AD 98.¹⁵ In the absence of any further concrete evidence on the situation of these troops around that date, twentieth-century scholarship has generally discarded this passage as an anachronism, but this no longer seems a tenable position now that the new evidence seems to corroborate Tacitus' statement.

We can find further circumstantial evidence for continuity if we take into account where and, in the case of their main force, how the Batavian regiments were deployed after the revolt. It has often been asserted that the disciplinary measures that were supposedly taken against the auxiliary units originating from the lower Rhine area after AD 70 took brought about not only a change in command structure and recruitment methods, but also their transfer to provinces far away from home. In the case of the Batavian regiments this contention is in part wrong and in part inaccurate.

¹³ G. Alföldy and B. Lörincz, 'Die Cohors I Batavorum Milliaria Civium Romanorum Pia Fidelis im pannonischen Solva (Esztergom)', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 145 (2003), 259-262.

¹⁴ For the literature on this man see A. Birley: *Garrison Life at Vindolanda. A Band of Brothers* (Stroud, Gloucestershire 2002), 45, esp. note 12 (on p. 167). If Flavius Cerialis was a Batavian, we can assume that other commanders who are named in the tablets, such as Flavius Cerialis' predecessor Flavius Genialis, were Batavians as well, although their names have a more common occurrence and cannot as such be used to identify the origin of those who bear them. Cf. A. Birley, 'The names of the Batavians and Tungrians in the Tabulae Vindolandenses' in Grünewald 2001, op. cit. (n. 3).

¹⁵ Tacitus, *Germania* 29.

The *ala Batavorum* that deserted to the rebels just after the beginning of the revolt, was at that time stationed somewhere on the military frontier of the Lower Rhine. Before the publication of the diploma from Elst it used to be thought that after the revolt it was transferred to Pannonia, where it is first recorded in a diploma issued in 112. The diploma from Elst, however, shows that the *ala* was still in Germania Inferior in 98. The obvious conclusion seems to be that the unit was not transferred after the revolt, but remained in the same province.¹⁶

The case of the eight *cohortes equitatae* is somewhat more complicated. Instead of eight we find four *cohortes* after the revolt, numbered I, II, III and IX. They are attested as milliary cohorts by the end of the first century. When they first became units of double strength is debatable. It seems that *cohortes* I, II, III and IX are a continuation of the earlier eight cohorts rather than a new series. This can be deduced from the number IX of one them, since it is as good as certain that after the revolt there were no *cohortes* bearing the numbers IV-VIII. This strongly suggests that the number IX refers to the pre-revolt situation and that the four new units were created by combining several of the former eight.¹⁷

The reason for this may have been that heavy casualties suffered during the revolt had reduced some of the old Batavian units to far below their original strength. One or more cohorts may have become so small that they were no longer able to function properly. It must have been difficult to find enough new recruits to fill the ranks immediately. This problem was solved by combining different cohorts that were perhaps initially under the full strength of a milliary cohort, but could be built up gradually. In other words, although the number of units was reduced to four, their total strength may well have remained approximately the same, at least in the long run.

After the revolt these four cohorts were sent to Britain, but this was certainly not a new policy, but a return to the situation that had existed

¹⁶ The only difficulty in this assumption is that the unit is not mentioned in earlier diplomas from Germania. It has been suggested that the *ala* was in fact sent elsewhere, but subsequently returned to Germania Inferior: Haalebos 2000, op. cit. (n. 12), 43. But there is no evidence for this, while it is also dangerous to draw conclusions from the absence of a particular unit on a given diploma. Its absence on earlier diplomas has long been the main argument used by those holding either that the *ala* was sent to Pannonia immediately after the revolt or even that the Romans took the step of disbanding the old regiment and raising an entirely new *ala*. See the summary in J. Spaul, *ALA²: The Auxiliary Cavalry Units of the Pre-Diocletianic Imperial Roman Army* (Andover 1994), 63.

¹⁷ Alföldy 1968, op. cit. (n. 10), 47-48.

before 66. They just went back to their old base, although they were organised in a slightly different manner. We may note that they were soon deployed in major military conflicts and again as if they formed a single force, as had been the case before the revolt. At Mons Graupius (AD 83) the four milliary cohorts bore the brunt of the famous battle against the Caledonians, which is described in the *Agricola*.¹⁸ This suggests that the revolt brought no substantial change in the conditions of service of these cohorts. It is true that they were sent to serve away from home after the events of AD 70, but that had already been the practice before.

Only in regard to the cohort that had served in the Batavian homeland under Julius Civilis a strong case for discontinuity can be made. It is most unlikely that this unit stayed in Batavian territory after the establishment of the legionary base at Nijmegen in AD 70. It may have to be identified with a quingenary *cohors I*, not to be confused with the milliary *cohors I* referred to above, that is well attested in Britain in the second century. The earliest evidence for its presence in that province is found in a military diploma of AD 122. There is no evidence concerning the whereabouts of this unit between 70 and 122. It is possible that the cohort of Civilis was disbanded after the revolt or that its soldiers were enlisted in the four milliary units. If that theory is correct, the British quingenary *cohors I* may have been newly raised in the second century.¹⁹ Regardless of the merits of these speculative suggestions, however, there can be no doubt that, with the exception of one cohort, all other units were restored to their pre-revolt situation. All ideas to the contrary are based on second-century documents that refer to a different situation to which we will shortly return, and on the assumption that a withdrawal of privileges was in line with the general policy towards rebels who were always harshly dealt with.²⁰

The story of how the revolt was ended has not been preserved. There is only one clue: the founding of a legionary base near Nijmegen directly after the revolt. This measure was obviously meant to bring the region under closer surveillance. On the other hand, the prosopographical evidence re-

¹⁸ Tacitus, *Agricola* 36.

¹⁹ First attested CIL 16, 69. It is sometimes identified as one of the cohorts that fought at Mons Graupius: M. Jarret, 'Non-legionary troops in Roman Britain: part one, the units', *Britannia* 25 (1994), 56, but see Hassall 1970, op. cit. (n. 6), 135-136.

²⁰ See e.g. most recently S. Demougin, 'Les vétérans dans la Gaule Belgique et la Germanie inférieure' in: M. Dondin-Payre and M-Th. Raepsaet-Charlier, eds., *Cités, municipes, colonies. Les processus de municipalisation en Gaule et en Germanie sous le Haut Empire romain* (Paris 1999), 363-366, who is unduly sceptical on the origins of Flavius Cerialis.

ferred to above and the passage from Tacitus' *Germania* suggest that the negotiations may have ended in some form of compromise that allowed that Batavians to retain some of their privileges.

The character of the revolt itself is subject to debate. Was it a native uprising against Roman rule or rather a military mutiny aimed at obtaining better conditions of service and fuelled by resentment over the Vitellian levy – a clear violation of the treaty – and the treatment of the eight cohorts? At the start of the revolt the Batavian leader Julius Civilis proclaimed that he supported the cause of Vespasian against the pro-Vitellian Rhine army. A false pretence to cloak his aim for independence or his real intention, at least initially?

Some ancient historians have questioned Tacitus' interpretation of the revolt as a native uprising. It could be re-interpreted as a conflict in the context of the civil war between Vitellius and Vespasian, in which the Batavian military had taken sides with the latter. This would mean that the events of AD 69 did not begin to take a native turn until the conflicts between the Batavians and the Vitellian Rhine army escalated into the unforeseen collapse of all legitimate authority in the entire region of North-Western Europe. It can certainly be argued that Tacitus' description is coloured by hindsight, bias and possibly the political interests of his pro-Flavian sources, but since his version cannot be checked against other traditions, it is difficult to come up with decisive arguments. The core of the problem lies both in the highly complex situation that developed after Nero's death and in the fact that Tacitus is our only source for the revolt.²¹

Around the end of the first century the 'denationalisation' traditionally associated with the Batavian revolt did take place, when the Batavian regiments were transferred to the Danubian region, with the exception of the

²¹ See for revisionistic interpretations of the revolt: G. Walser, *Rom, das Reich und die fremde Völker in der Geschichtschreibung der frühen Kaiserzeit* (Baden Baden 1951); R. Urban, *Der "Bataveraufstand" und die Erhebung des Iulius Classicus* (Trier 1985). Both studies have not met with much approval. Although they show convincingly that Tacitus' interpretation of the revolt is not consistent with many facts the historian himself adduces, both authors went too far in building reconstructions of their own that cannot be substantiated (Urban) or by suggesting that Tacitus was deliberately misleading (Walser), thus giving ammunition to critics who found it impossible to accept that Tacitus might have been wrong. See for an intermediate position: E. Flaig, 'Römer werden um jeden Preis? Integrationskapazität und Integrationswilligkeit am Beispiel des Bataveraufstandes', in: M. Weinmann-Walser, ed., *Historische Interpretationen: Gerold Walser zum 75. Geburtstag, dargebracht von Freunden, Kollegen, Schülern* (Stuttgart 1995), 45-60, who argues that the revolt started as a military mutiny in favour of Vespasian, but developed into a native revolt.

quingenary *cohors I* that served in Britain from at least 122 until well into the third century. As we have seen, however, this unit may not have been in existence at the time when the other cohorts left this province.

The *ala Batavorum* is first attested in the Danubian region in a Pannonian diploma issued in 112.²² In 98 it was still in Germania Inferior, as the diploma from Elst demonstrates. Exactly when between these dates this unit was transferred is not known. One of the possibilities that come to mind is that it participated in Trajan's Dacian Wars.²³

The way in which the four milliary cohorts were transferred from Britain to the European mainland can be seen as a symptom of a change in policy regarding these units. It is to be noted that this time they were not transferred en bloc as had been the rule before. *Cohortes I* and *II* first appear in a Pannonian diploma issued in AD 98.²⁴ When their transfer had occurred is not clear. It is commonly thought that they had left Britain around AD 85, although it is debated whether they were stationed in Pannonia immediately or after spending some time in Germania Inferior. There is no good evidence for either of these assumptions. The new documents relating to the Batavian regiments discussed in this paper serve as a warning that modern reconstructions of the gaps in the history of such units are very uncertain. In my view, there is little point in engaging in speculative discussions concerning either the exact moment when these cohorts were transferred or the area to which they were initially moved until new evidence is discovered. What we do know is that these two units remained under the same provincial command for some time after their transfer. Around 130, however, *cohors I* was in Dacia and *cohors II* in Noricum.²⁵

Cohortes III and *IX* left Britain at a later date. The Vindolanda Tablets show that in the 90s AD cohort III was still in Britain. When it left is not clear. It is first seen again in a Raetian diploma of AD 107.²⁶ The evidence from Vindolanda suggests that *cohors IX* was still in Britain in July 104.²⁷ It is attested in Raetian diplomas from 116 onwards, but while *cohors IX*

²² B. Lörincz, *Die römischen Hilfstruppen in Pannonien während der Prinzipatszeit. Teil I: Die Inschriften* (Wien 2001), 306, nr. 510.

²³ K. Strobel, *Untersuchungen zu den Dakerkriegen Trajans* (Bonn 1984), 106.

²⁴ CIL 16, 42.

²⁵ Earliest diplomas: *Cohors I* in Dacia: P. Weiss, 'Neue Diplome für Soldaten der Exercitus Dacicus.' *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 141 (2002), 249 (dated 130-131); *cohors II* in Noricum CIL 16, 174 (AD 131-133).

²⁶ CIL 16, 55.

²⁷ A. Bowman and J. Thomas, 'New writing-tablets from Vindolanda', *Britannia* 27 (1996), 311.

remained there throughout the second century, *cohors III* had left Raetia for Pannonia Inferior by AD 135.²⁸

It emerges therefore that the policy of keeping the main force of eight quingenary or – after the revolt – four milliary cohorts together as a group of cooperating units was gradually abandoned. Their deployment as a single force in major battles that was characteristic of their military performance in the first century, came to an end. As a first step they were divided into two groups consisting of *cohortes I* and *II* and of *cohortes III* and *IX* respectively. Around AD 130 the four cohorts were stationed in four different provinces.

If we look at the evidence on soldiers and commanders in the second century, it becomes clear that, following their transfer to the Danubian region, it was no longer the rule for the Batavian regiments to be commanded by Batavians. At the same time there is evidence to suggest that they no longer recruited their soldiers from among the Batavians. It is true that there are three examples of commanders of Batavian auxiliary regiments postdating Flavius Cerialis who are possibly of Batavian origin. But two of these instances have no bearing on question as to whether it was still normal for these units to be commanded by Batavian nobles after the end of the first century. They date from the early third century, when this was certainly no longer the case, as is recognized even by those authors who claim that the tradition still persisted during the second century. So even if the identification of their origins is correct, these examples merely show that Batavians were not explicitly excluded from these posts in the third century.²⁹

There is only one example from the second century. An epitaph for a prefect's wife mentions the Batavian capital *Ulpia Noviomagus* as her hometown. This might suggest that her husband *Seve[rus]* or *Seve[rrianus]*, prefect

²⁸ Lörincz 2001, op. cit. (n. 22), 305 Kat. Nr. 507.

²⁹ M. Simplicius Simplex *praefectus* of *cohors I* in Britain. Of his more or less contemporary colleagues three were probably Spaniards and two Italians; see E. Birley, 'The prefects at Carrawburgh and their altars', *The Roman army: papers 1929-1986* (Amsterdam 1988), 172-178. M. Simplicius Quietus, *tribunus* of *cohors III* between 212 and 222, cited by Strobel 1987, op. cit. (n. 2), 288. It is remarkable that he cites this example to prove his point, while the fact that commanders of milliary cohorts and the milliary *ala* still had the rank of *praefectus* instead of *tribunus* during the second century is one of his arguments for the continuity of native command. His explanation for this phenomenon is that it allowed Batavians to assume command of these units as a first step in their career, the function of *tribunus* normally being the third of the *tres militiae*. This would be an attractive explanation, if the traditional command structure was still in force during the second century, but since this was clearly not the case it cannot be right. Besides, the onomastic evidence for the Batavian origin of these two men is tempting, but not conclusive.

of *cohors III* (only his cognomen is partly preserved), was a Batavian as well.³⁰ But it will become clear that the other evidence on second-century commanders rules out the possibility that this was a general rule.

Three known prefects of the Batavian units were certainly not of Batavian descent. Galeo Bellicus, commander of the milliary *cohors I* in AD 164 was without any doubt Italian. Attius Tutor, prefect of the *ala Batavorum* during the reign of Marcus Aurelius originated from Flavia Solva in Noricum. C. Julius Corinthianus, who probably commanded the same unit around 165, was Numidian. The Italian descent of two other prefects, Tullius Secundus, prefect of *cohors I* in AD 113, and of L. Vittetius, prefect of *cohors II* around 130, cannot be proven with absolute certainty, but is highly likely.³¹ It can be safely concluded that in the second century it was no longer the rule that the Batavian regiments were led by Batavians.

Evidence on the soldiers is not very abundant, but shows clearly that the units no longer consisted exclusively of Batavians in the second century. In AD 164 a soldier of *cohors I*, called Sextus, son of Busturio, received his diploma. His origin is recorded as Pannonian. He was recruited around 140. From Dacia comes the tombstone of Dasatus Scenobarbi, horseman of the *ala Batavorum*. His names are Illyrian, just as the *gentilicium* of Bersius Ingenuus, a decurion of the same unit, who is mentioned in the same inscription. He is thought to have been enrolled in this unit around 120. An inscription from Potaissa, perhaps from the beginning of the third century, mentions a soldier, Aurelius Reatinus, who was probably an oriental.³² These

³⁰ H. Devijver, *Prosopographia Militiarum Equestrum quae fuerunt ab Augusto ad Gallienum* (henceforth *PME*), S 101.

³¹ Galeo (Tettienus) Bellicus: *PME* 4,5 T15; Attius Tutor: *PME* 1,4,5 A 191; C. Julius Corinthianus: *PME* 1,4,5 I 49; Tullius Secundus: *PME* 4,5 T 42 bis; L. Vittetius: *PME* 5 V 121. Perhaps Claudius Tyrannus, *tribunus* of *cohors III* (*PME* 1,4,5 C 190), possibly originating from Ephesos, should be added as another example, but the inscription that refers to him cannot be dated. As to other commanders, we know only their names such as Flavius Miles (of *cohors IX* in 157), Victorius Provincialis (who led the same unit somewhere between 160 and 182). These names are all very common and can only be said 'to betray a Western origin'.

³² Sextus: CIL 16, 185; Dasatus: CIL 3, 7800. For the names see I. Russu, 'L'onomastique de la Dacie', in *L'onomastique Latine. Colloque international du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique* (Paris 1977), 359; Aurelius Reatinus: *Österreichische Jahreshfte* 5 (1902) Bbl. 107. On his origins: K. Kraft, *Zur Rekrutierung der Alen und Kohorten an Rhein und Donau* (Bern 1951), 169 nr. 1144. The name of one of his sisters Tavius is attested in Smyrna: Ignatius, *Epistula ad Smyrnaeos* 12.

examples suffice to show that the ethnic composition of these units gradually changed.

It is not easy to give an explanation for this change in policy. There are no grounds for assuming that it was due to a disciplinary measure or to a drop in the performance of these troops. From a Roman point of view the main advantage of the old arrangement will have been that they got value for their money: the Batavian soldiers were considered to be elite troops. It is hard to assess what made them good soldiers. Their reputation rested in part on the ability of their horseman to cross rivers in formation, but that cannot have been the only reason for the continued existence of such a large force: after all most of the soldiers were infantry men. Maybe it was precisely the ethnically homogeneous composition of these troops that improved their effectiveness on the battlefield.³³ However that may be, there is nothing to suggest that the units were reorganised because they had become less effective. As we have seen, they performed according to their reputation in the battle of Mons Graupius and the honorific titles bestowed on them show that were decorated for valour in the decades that followed, for instance in the Dacian wars.³⁴

Perhaps the best starting point for a discussion of this problem is the sheer size of the Batavian military effort. The ten regiments attested in Tacitus' narrative constituted a force of approximately 6000 men, at least on paper. After the revolt the paper strength of the regiments was reduced only slightly, to 5600 men. This is by far the largest number of soldiers supplied by any tribe in North-Western Europe. Once they had been called into existence these units had to be kept up to strength for more than half a century with new recruits who were drawn from a limited population. The disadvantage of this system was its inflexibility. Given the sheer size of the Batavian military effort, it does not seem far-fetched to suppose that finding new recruits became a problem in the long run.

To appreciate the demographic implications of this sustained national recruitment, we have to know the size of the Batavian population. On the basis of archaeological evidence Willems arrived at the conclusion that it consisted of 40,000 people at the most.³⁵ From this it is usually concluded that the involvement of the Batavian population in the Roman military was

³³ A.K. Goldsworthy, *The Roman Army at War, 100 BC- AD 200* (Oxford 1996), 253.

³⁴ *Cohortes I and II* were collectively rewarded with citizenship during the Trajanic campaign in Dacia: Lörincz 2001, op. cit. (n. 22), 145, with references.

³⁵ Willems 1984, op. cit. (n. 3), 234-237.

very heavy indeed. But on closer inspection it seems to be quite impossible to raise such a force, especially if most of these men served far away from home for a considerable period, as was the case with the eight cohorts raised in AD 43.

If we assume that the men of military age made up about a quarter of the population, that is 8000 men, the raising of eight cohorts would mean that more than 50% of all able-bodied men went into the army and became permanent emigrants. The problem is, however, even bigger than this implausible scenario suggests. The reason for this is that we must also take into account that normally only men in their late teens and early twenties were recruited when new units were established. And that will have been entirely impossible, for the simple reason that a population of 40,000 cannot have supplied the required 4500 new recruits. In a recent study based on life-expectancy tables the year class of men reaching the age of twenty is estimated at barely 1% of a given population. That would mean that if the share of the age classes 17-23 is put at 7%, there would be 2800 potential recruits in a population of 40,000.³⁶ Of course, these are very rough estimates, but they can only be discarded by assuming that they are off the mark by an improbably large margin.

It follows either that Willem's estimate of the size of the Batavian population is much too low or that the Batavian units were recruited from a larger population than that inhabiting the Batavian territory. Although estimating population figures in antiquity is notoriously difficult and the subject raises much debate and controversy, there is no good reason for assuming that Willems is entirely wrong. His results have found general acceptance among archaeologists. So until new discoveries drastically alter the picture, it seems preferable to accept his estimates of the number of settlements in Batavian territory, of the average size of these settlements and of the size of the households each settlement contained, as being roughly correct. The only objection that can be made to his views is that he too readily accepts the possibility of recruiting so many soldiers for long-term service abroad from such a small population. His admission that the levy must have put a considerable strain on Batavian society is clearly an understatement.

³⁶ For the rough estimate that 25% of the population was able to carry arms see Willems, *op. cit.*, 235, referring to Caesar, *De bello Gallico* 1.29. W. Scheidel *Measuring Sex, Age and Death in the Roman Empire* (Ann Arbor 1996), 93, calculates the number of men aged 20 in a population of 5,200,000 at 49,400.

The only possible solution to this problem is to assume that the soldiers were not recruited exclusively in the territory of the Batavians, that is the Betuwe and the eastern part of the modern Dutch province of Noord-Brabant. It may be conjectured that the composition of the auxiliary regiments was similar to that of the imperial bodyguard. The guard could be referred to as 'the Batavians', but even though the epigraphic evidence of the guardsmen's tombstones shows most of the guards whose origins are mentioned to have been Batavian, there were others who came from different Germanic tribes.³⁷ If likewise some of the soldiers in the auxiliary units were not Batavians, where did they come from and by what authority could they be enlisted by the Batavian leaders? And to what extent can these regiments be called 'tribal' or 'national' if the soldiers originated from various tribes?

It is hard to find satisfactory answers to these questions. Perhaps the solution lies in the tribal and administrative structure of the Lower Rhine area in the early first century, but unfortunately the subject is very poorly documented and open to much debate. Thus we cannot rule out the possibility that in the early first tribes like the Canninefates, Texuandri and Frisiavones were century *pagi* of the Batavian *civitas*.³⁸ According to this theory, the formation of separate *civitates* for the Canninefates and the Frisiavones is associated with the activities of Corbulo around AD 47. If this supposition is correct, it becomes easier to explain how the Batavians were able to raise eight cohorts on the eve of the invasion of Britain in 43. In the early 40s AD the tribe simply comprised more territory and people. But the problem of how these units were kept up to strength in the subsequent 50 years still remains.

According to another theory *civitates* on the Roman model were not established in this region until the reign of Domitian in AD 85. Before that date it was administered as a military zone, in which the Batavians, supported by imperial patronage due to their position in the imperial guard, were allowed to play a prominent part in a local system of allied tribes in which the smaller ones like the Canninefates were considered to be their clients. The Batavian leaders would then have been able to use their position of authority and their personal network of intertribal contacts to levy soldiers

³⁷ Bellen 1981, op. cit. (n. 4), 36: from 23 guards 10 were Batavians, 3 Ubii, 1 Bataesius and 1 Suebus. The origins of the remaining 8 guards are not recorded.

³⁸ M.-Th. Raepsaet-Charlier, 'Les institutions municipales dans les Germanies sous le Haut Empire: bilan et questions', in Dondin-Payre and Raepsaet-Charlier 1999, op. cit. (n. 20), 283.

among the other tribes in the region.³⁹ The attractive elements in this scenario are that it explains not only how the Batavians were able to man an exceptional number of regiments for a long period but also why this effort could no longer be sustained towards the end of the first century. The supposed rearrangement of the tribal structure by Domitian implied that the smaller tribes became separate *civitates*, which would have made it more difficult for the Batavian leaders to recruit soldiers among them. To all this it has been objected that although it is difficult to document the *civitas* structure in this region during the early first century, the military administration of a region in the absence of *civitates* on the Roman model for more than a century is without parallel.

The only direct evidence for recruitment among other tribes concerns the Canninefates. In one passage of the *Historiae* Tacitus refers to the *cohortes Batavorum et Canninefatium*.⁴⁰ This seems to prove the point, especially because the contexts suggests that this expression refers to the eight 'Batavian' cohorts. Unfortunately, there are several problems. One of these is that the amplifying words *et Canninefatium* are found only in this passage and that there is nothing in the context that helps us to account for the use of this anomalous phrase. It might therefore be hypothesized either that the reading of the manuscript is incorrect or, less likely, that Tacitus must have made an error. A more serious objection is that an *ala Canninefatium* is recorded early in the Julio-Claudian period.⁴¹ This means that the inclusion of the Canninefates in the recruitment area of the Batavians will not solve the demographic problem, since this raises the number of regiments to be accounted for.

Another possible source of recruits to be considered is the 'free' Germans who lived outside the Roman Empire. It is striking how quickly Julius Civilis was able to mobilise a large force of supporters among the Germans from the other side of the Rhine in the initial phase of the Batavian revolt.⁴² This might indicate that there were more or less regular contacts between the Batavian leaders and tribes living outside the empire. Such con-

³⁹ J. Slofstra, 'Batavians and Romans on the lower Rhine. The romanisation of a frontier area', *Archaeological Dialogues* 9 (2002), 16-38, esp. 28 on recruitment.

⁴⁰ Tacitus, *Historiae* 4.19. The usual interpretation of this passage is that Tacitus is referring to the eight Batavian cohorts and one (or even several) cohorts of the Canninefates (see H. Heubner, *Die Historien*, Band IV, *ad. loc.* for references). That can hardly be right, as there is no further mention of these cohorts of the Canninefates.

⁴¹ Tacitus, *Annales* 4.73, referring to AD 28.

⁴² Tacitus, *Historiae* 4.28.

tacts would have put them in an excellent position as brokers of manpower. If the idea that soldiers were recruited from free Germany is correct, we can point to various military events of the late first century, such as the complete annihilation of the Bructeri, named as allies in the revolt, to explain the Batavian manpower problem around that date.⁴³

In sum, the conclusion that the Batavian regiments were recruited from a larger group than the Batavian tribe seems inevitable on demographic grounds, although it must be admitted that there is no hard evidence to corroborate this conclusion.

The final question that will be dealt with in this paper concerns the reasons why the special conditions under which the Batavian regiments had served were abolished at the end of the first century AD. As we have seen, it is not difficult to point to certain external events and developments that may have prompted the 'denationalisation' of the Batavian cohorts. However, even if external factors may help to account for this important change, it is important not to lose sight of the possibility that certain developments in Batavian society itself may have worked in the same direction.

One conclusion that emerges from the foregoing pages is that the Batavian regiments are unlikely to have consisted exclusively of soldiers from the Batavian homeland. Despite this there are no grounds for doubting that such soldiers formed the kernel of these troops and were perhaps the largest minority among many. Although we cannot be more specific than that, it is clear that even in this situation the demand on Batavian manpower was considerable. In recent research stress is laid on two interdependent factors lying behind this heavy involvement in the military: the existence of a strong military ethos and the fact that the Batavians operated a largely pastoral economy. Since pastoral activities were less labour-intensive than arable cultivation, more men could be made available for military service. Of course, this economic behaviour was dictated partly by the wet soil conditions prevailing in the river area where the Batavians lived. According to the recent archaeological literature, however, the tribe also intensified its pastoral activities as part of a deliberate economic strategy to cope with a declining population.⁴⁴ This would help to explain how this society was able to survive in spite of the absence of so many men.

In my view, these observations, important though they are, cannot fully explain certain striking episodes such as the massive recruitment of eight

⁴³ Tacitus, *Germania* 33.

⁴⁴ Willems 1984, op. cit. (n. 3), 234; Roymans 1998, op. cit. (n. 1).

cohorts in AD 43, which in demographic terms amounted to a major emigration. Evidence concerning similar developments in better-documented societies suggests that most of those who were willing to enlist as soldiers wanted to escape poverty. The frontier zone of the Roman empire was a peripheral and underdeveloped region.

In the long run we can detect a slow but steady development of the region in the course of the first century. Archaeological evidence indicates that the pastoral economy was intensified and became more market-orientated. Integration in a wider economic zone made further specialization possible, such as the breeding of cattle and horses to satisfy the demands of the Roman army.⁴⁵ The installation of the tenth legion in Nijmegen in AD 70 will have given the economy an important impulse. At the same time a new *civitas* capital was developed to replace Batavodurum which had been destroyed during the revolt. One is left with the overall impression that economic conditions gradually became better: as a consequence it will have made more men less eager to serve abroad in the army.

Perhaps this problem became visible when the four milliary cohorts left Britain around the turn of the first century. The transfer of these units to theatres of war must have made it necessary to bring them up to full strength. The casualties suffered in these wars must have made further recruitment necessary. We may note that this was also the time when a new imperial guard was raised by the emperor Trajan: the *equites singulares*, a unit consisting of 1000 horsemen, who were recruited from among various existing *alae*. Batavian horsemen formed a substantial part of this force.⁴⁶ They served in such numbers that this guard was commonly referred to as 'the Batavi'. This makes it improbable that they were just detached from their units: it will have been necessary to replace them.

To conclude, a few words must be said about another event that can be linked to the revision of the ancient treaty implied by the changing composition of the Batavian regiments: the change in status of the *civitas Batavorum* early in the reign of Trajan. The exact nature of this change is not clear. The only certainty is that ancient Nijmegen was renamed *Ulpia Noviomagus*. It has long been thought that at this date Nijmegen obtained the *ius nundinarum*, that is the right to hold fairs and markets, as a compensation for the departure of the tenth legion to Pannonia. More recently, it has been suggested that the *civitas* may have obtained Latin rights at this moment.

⁴⁵ Roymans, op. cit., 82.

⁴⁶ Speidel 1994, op. cit. (n. 4), 38-55.

Even the elevation to municipal status cannot entirely be excluded, although it was very uncommon for an urban community to receive an imperial epithet such as *Ulpia* on such an occasion.⁴⁷

The recent excavations of the Gallo-Roman sanctuary at Elst lend a certain measure of support to the theory that Nijmegen did in fact become a *municipium* under Trajan. The foundations of this temple – and those of a much smaller predecessor – had already been discovered in 1947 underneath the protestant church at Elst. Until recently it was assumed that the small temple was destroyed during the Batavian revolt and was rebuilt on a grander scale after peace had been restored. It is only this second temple that concerns us here.

The recent (re-)excavation has yielded some interesting results. To begin with, a fragmentary altar inscription proves beyond doubt that the sanctuary was dedicated to Hercules Magusanus, the principal deity of the Batavians. Secondly, the temple complex turns out to have been exceptionally large. It must have been the principal sanctuary of the Batavian community. Thirdly, dendrochronological evidence has led to a redating of the building activities. It is now clear that the sanctuary was not built immediately after the revolt, but around AD 100.⁴⁸

It probably is no coincidence that the rebuilding of the Hercules sanctuary and the elevation in status of Nijmegen took place at about the same time. It is tempting to hypothesize that Nijmegen became a *municipium* and that one effect of this was to redefine the legal obligations of the newly established decurions *vis-à-vis* the public cults of the *municipium*. The rebuilding of temple would then testify to the wish to have a principal sanctuary that suited the new dignity of the *civitas*.

It is also tempting to assume the existence of a connection between these events and the end of the special status of the Batavian units. We cannot tell if the whole arrangement was abruptly terminated. It is equally possible that it lapsed gradually. If this supposition is correct, the whole process may have started when a shortage of recruits made it necessary to look for new soldiers elsewhere. When external recruitment became regular, this must have contributed to the realization that local recruitment no longer func-

⁴⁷ See the discussion in Dondin-Payre and Raepsaet Charlier 1999, op. cit. (n. 20), 281-282, where a preference for a date in the middle of the second century is expressed with due caution, although a Trajanic date is not excluded.

⁴⁸ For a preliminary report of this recent excavation, see T. Derks, *De tempels van Elst (GLD). Nieuw archeologisch onderzoek rond de N.H. kerk*, Brochure nr. 9, Archeologisch Instituut Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam (October 2002).

tioned satisfactorily. Finally, when the composition of the troops had gradually altered, the rationale for using 'national' commanders must have disappeared. We even cannot rule out the possibility that this view was shared by the Batavian nobles, whose lifestyle closely resembled that of any Roman equestrian officers by this date (as the Vindolanda tablets testify) and who could command any regiment if they were ambitious to follow a military career. In any case, there can be no doubt that the treaty regulating the special position of the Batavians was revised at some point. The change in status of the Batavian *civitas* in the reign of Trajan provided a suitable occasion for such a revision.

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MILITARY IDENTITY AND PERSONAL SELF-IDENTITY
IN THE ROMAN ARMY

By
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Contemporary Roman attitudes towards soldiers are well represented from an élite standpoint in the surviving literary record.¹ For the senatorial and equestrian writers soldiers were over-bearing, armed plebs, greedy for increased pay and other rewards. Strong emperors kept soldiers in their place, weak rulers succumbed to the pressures of instability and discontent.² To a great extent the sub-literary record colluded with this picture. For the rough soldiers in the writings of Petronius, Juvenal and Apuleius,³ there are plenty of ‘real-life’ sub-literary notices, complaints of unwarranted payment demands and semi-official commandeering of animals and other property. Indeed, apart from the odd soldier who is a victim of violent crime, there is an almost universal howl of complaint about soldiers.⁴ However, this should

¹ Much of the discussion presented in this paper will address the period from the 1st c. BC to the 4th c. AD, with some few allusions to earlier and later material. Reference to ‘the Roman soldier’ is made in the understanding that there was not one, unchanging model of service in the army or service experience, as Roman military culture, and the people caught up within it, constantly evolved. The present paper is concerned principally with the subject of military ‘identity’ within Roman society, and personal ‘self-identity’ within the Roman army. See also J.C. Coulston, ed., *Military Equipment and the Identity of Roman Soldiers* (Oxford 1988); A. Goldsworthy & I. Haynes, eds., *The Roman Army as a Community* (Portsmouth 1999); S.T. James, ‘The community of the soldiers: a major identity and centre of power in the Roman empire’, in P. Baker, S. Jundi & R. Witcher, ed., *TRAC 98: Proceedings of the Eighth Annual Theoretical Roman Archaeology Conference, Leicester 1998* (Oxford 1999), 14-25; ‘Writing the legions: the development and future of Roman military studies in Britain’, *Archaeological Journal* 159 (2002), 1-58; B. Campbell, *War and Society in Imperial Rome, 31 BC-AD 284* (London 2002). It will open up various specific questions and dwell on particular areas of evidence, leaving a much broader approach to future publications.

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² In general see J.B. Campbell, *The Emperor and the Roman Army, 31 BC – AD 235* (Oxford 1984).

³ Petronius, *Satyricon* 82; Juvenal, *Satirae* 16; Apuleius, *Metamorphoses* 9.39.

⁴ B. Isaac, *The Limits of Empire. The Roman Empire in the East* (Oxford 1992), 115-18 (for a hostile view); R.A. Alston, *Soldier and Society in Roman Egypt* (London 1995), 53-4,

come as no surprise. People did not write to provincial officials to praise the good behaviour of soldier-neighbours, but petitioned for redress against their supposed depredations.

Conversely, it is not too perverse to view society from the soldiers' perspective and to see civilians as profiteers preying on soldiers, not just through the inflated prices charged for goods and services, but also by identifying the military as a legitimate target for litigation. Indeed one could see the range of social elements from the soldiers' viewpoint, such as arrogant senators manipulating the soldiers for their narrow, personal interests, and at times these members of the élite signally failed in their attempts to rule.⁵ Grasping civilians, unappreciative of the soldiers' labours and sacrifices on their behalf might have seemed to 'deserve' rough treatment.⁶ There are many parallels in other periods of soldiers as a coherent group disfunctionally at odds with other elements seen as less patriotic, less disciplined, less faithful to specific values. Thus, the Illyrian soldiery of the Severan and later periods, so castigated as rapacious barbarians by the senatorial sources,⁷ could instead be recognised as the best troops in the Roman army and the saviours of the 3rd c. empire.

In this enquiry there will be some employment of military, ethnographic parallels. Often these are helpful, not so much in the most obvious and frequently misleading manner of employing other army practices to elucidate Roman activities, but in contrasting such practices and empowering the observer to consider what made the Roman army and its solutions so different. With these strictures in clear view, this paper will first position the individual soldier within the Roman military context(s), then go on to examine how soldiers might have both viewed themselves and advertised those views to others in both the narrower military 'family' and the broader Roman society. Two primary classes of evidence will be employed in this study: military equipment and provincial military iconography, principally gravestone sculptures.

100-101 (for a more integrated picture). See also Campbell 1984, op. cit. (n. 2), 246-54; 2002, op. cit. (n. 1), 91-2.

⁵ For example Antonius Saturninus against Domitian (Suetonius, *Domitianus* 7.3).

⁶ A military formation marching through Asia Minor, for example, might have been surrounded by a 'halo' of inflation, the dust of their approach literally allowing traders to 'see them coming'. This lies behind Diocletian's edict *de pretiis*, an attempt to peg the prices charged for the commodities most needed by government, and army (S. Corcoran, *The Empire of the Tetrarchs. Imperial Pronouncements and Government, AD 284-324* (Oxford 1996), 211-12).

⁷ Especially Dio 75.2.6.

Soldiers in context

Various scholars have paid specific attention to the evolution of the Roman soldier during the Late Republic from the citizen *legionarius* serving for limited periods and equipped according to his personal wealth, to the long-service professional, equipped by the state.⁸ The crucial difference was between men who thought of themselves primarily as citizens (farmers, traders etc.), secondarily as soldiers, and men who identified themselves as career *milites*. Once this started to take hold, pressed on by extended foreign service and by the cyclical civil wars, soldiers not only looked more closely to their generals for reward, but also to their *comilitones* for supporting community.⁹ In more settled times the career soldier drew his identity and pride in achievement from his service, and recorded both through increasingly prominent funerary monuments. The ethos of training and *disciplina* was spread, reinforced and perpetuated through the veteran colonies which served to reward service and provide new generations of recruits. A specifically military concept of *romanitas* was shared by serving soldiers and veterans, manifested in the appetite for gladiatorial entertainments and the concomitant spread of amphitheatres around the empire.¹⁰ These played their own valuable part in social and cultural reinforcement.

For soldiers under the emperors there was a range of identities which both defined soldiering and internally articulated the military community. Citizen troops in their legions were identified by their specific formations, from their small group of *contubernales*, through the *centuria* named for its *centurio*, through *manipulus* and *cohors* to full *legio*.¹¹ Painted on shields, applied as *punctum* inscriptions on metalwork, cut through leather or carved in stone, these designations situated the individual.¹² His acquisition of

⁸ In particular E. Gabba, *Republican Rome: the Army and the Allies* (Oxford 1976); L. Keppie *The Making of the Roman Army from Republic to Empire* (London 1984), 61-3, 76-8; 'The changing face of the Roman legions (49 BC-AD 69)', *Papers of the British School at Rome* 65 (1997), 89-102.

⁹ For discussion of the term '*comilito*' see Campbell 1984, op. cit. (n. 2), 32-9.

¹⁰ K. Welch, 'The Roman arena in Late Republican Italy: a new interpretation', *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 7 (1994), 59-80; J.C.N. Coulston, 'Gladiators and soldiers: personnel and equipment in *ludus* and *castra*', *Journal of Roman Military Equipment Studies* 9 (1998), 1-2.

¹¹ Note the form of interrogative greeting in Petronius, *Satyricon* 82, by a soldier to a man with a sword: "*comilito, ex qua legione es aut cuius centuria?*"

¹² R. MacMullen, 'Inscriptions on armor and the supply of arms in the Roman empire', *American Journal of Archaeology* 64 (1960), 23-40; H.R. Robinson, *The Armour of*

skills, literate and technical, achievement of *immunitas*, then further promotion through ranked pay-grades denoted career-long achievements.

Outside the legions there were the smaller auxiliary regiments which, at least initially, brought in their own cultural traits of methods of waging war, in weaponry, dress, language and other cultural features reflected archaeologically, for example, in ceramic styles and metalwork details.¹³ Cult and ritual may have distinguished some units' ethnic backgrounds, as was the case with Syrian archer regiments.¹⁴ Some indications of dietary preferences, cultural and regional, are also visible in the archaeological record. For instance, animal bone assemblages from 1st c. AD military sites suggest that northern auxiliaries were predominantly beef consumers, whilst legionaries exhibited the traditional Italian preference for pork.¹⁵ Auxiliaries were distinguished from the legions by their legal status, although not perhaps by their pay levels, as some scholars are now opining.¹⁶ Distinction also came in other forms of reward, *dona militaria* being confined to citizen troops.¹⁷ The increasingly formalised *donativa* may not have been an auxiliary prerogative and legionary troops may have gained greater benefits on completion of honourable service.¹⁸ These differentiations probably narrowed as recruit-

Imperial Rome (London 1975), 82; M.C. Bishop & J.C.N. Coulston, *Roman Military Equipment from the Punic Wars to the Fall of Rome* (London 1993), Fig. 16, 18.

¹³ I. Jobey, 'Housesteads ware – a Frisian tradition on Hadrian's Wall', *Archaeologia Aeliana*, ser. 5, 7 (1979), 127-43 (ceramics); Bishop & Coulston 1993, op. cit. (n. 12), 197-98 (metalwork). What may be concluded from the appearance of 'Dacian' *falces* in commemorative sculptures erected by *cohors I Aelia Dacorum* at Birdoswald (Cumbria) on Hadrian's Wall? Unit 'badge' or indication of continued weapon-specialisation? See J.C. Coulston, 'A sculptured Dacian *falx* from Birdoswald', *Archaeologia Aeliana* ser. 5, 9 (1981), 348-51; J.C. Coulston & E. Phillips, *Corpus Signorum Imperii Romani, Great Britain I.6, Hadrian's Wall West of the River North Tyne, and Carlisle* (Oxford 1988), No. 266-67; J.C.N. Coulston, 'The 'Dacian' *falx*', *Gladius*, forthcoming.

¹⁴ Cf. *cohors I Hamiorum* in North Britain (E. & J.H. Harris, *The oriental cults of Roman Britain* (Leiden 1965), 104-5); *I Hemesenorum* at Intercisa in Hungary (J. Fitz, *Les Syriens à Intercisa* (Bruxelles 1972), 178-79); *XX Palmyrenorum* at Dura-Europos in Syria (F. Cumont, *Fouilles de Doura-Europos* (Paris 1926), Pl. I; S. James, *Excavations at Dura-Europos 1928-1937, Final Report VII, The Arms and Armour and other Military Equipment* (London 2004, Pl. 1)). In general see I. Haynes, 'Military service and cultural identity in the *auxilia*', in Goldsworthy & Haynes 1999, op. cit. (n. 1), 168-69.

¹⁵ A. King, 'Animals and the Roman army: the evidence of animal bones', in Goldsworthy & Haynes 1999, op. cit. (n. 1), 139-49.

¹⁶ M.P. Speidel, 'The pay of the *auxilia*', *Journal of Roman Studies* 63 (1973), 141-47; M.A. Speidel, 'Roman army pay scales', *Journal of Roman Studies* 82 (1992), 87-106.

¹⁷ V.A. Maxfield, *The Military Decorations of the Roman Army* (London 1981), 121-27.

¹⁸ For *donativa* see Campbell 1984, op. cit. (n. 2), 181-98.

ment became more localised and as citizenship spread, so that legionary and auxiliary service may have converged. This would have been helped along by the spread of Latin and literacy through official bureaucratic and epigraphic culture and into private contexts (letters, graffiti, personal gravestones etc.).¹⁹

Nevertheless, the prestige of the legions continued through the Tetrarchic period and beyond, as might be indicated, for example, by the coin issues of Carausius which appealed to, or claimed the allegiance of named legionary formations.²⁰ Even after the legions were reduced in size by the permanent non-return of *vexillationes*, they were tremendous foci of identity and tradition.²¹ Interestingly, their numerical designations, titlature and emblems of imperial legions were not singular *in detail*, but were specific *in combination*.²² This marks such identification out as rather different from the regimental designations which developed in Western Europe from the 16th c. onwards. Totemic animal standards may have visually identified Roman formations in the field, as would the same emblems painted on shields and figured on metal equipment, but they were all most closely linked to the legion's founder by representing his birth-sign.²³ Thus several legions bore the Taurus of Iulius Caesar or the Capricorn of Augustus.²⁴ Conversely,

¹⁹ A process discussed by Haynes 1999, op. cit. (n. 14), 169-72, and more generally by G. Woolf, 'Monumental writing and the expansion of Roman society in the early empire', *Journal of Roman Studies* 86 (1996), 22-39; id., *Becoming Roman. The Origins of Provincial Administration in Gaul* (Cambridge 1998), 91-105.

²⁰ P.J. Casey, *Carausius and Allectus: the British Usurpers* (London 1994), 92-6.

²¹ J. Casey, *The Legions in the Later Roman Empire* (Cardiff 1991), 6-20; M. Speidel, *The Framework of an Imperial Legion* (Cardiff 1992), 30-4; R.S.O. Tomlin, 'The legions in the Late Empire', in R.J. Brewer, ed., *Roman Fortresses and their Legions* (London 2000), 162-73.

²² C. Renel. *Cultes militaires de Rome. Les enseignes* (Paris 1903), 211-33; Keppie 1984, op. cit. (n. 8), 142-43, 205-12.

²³ An interesting exception being the use of a Minerva figure on shield-covers found at the Bonn (Germany) fortress of Domitian's *legio I Minervia* (C. van Driel-Murray & M. Gechter, 'Fundamente der Fabrika der legio I Minervia aus Bonner Berg', *Rheinische Ausgrabungen* 23 (1983), 35-6; Bishop & Coulston 1993, op. cit. (n. 12), Fig. 18.2). The emperor's adoption of the goddess as his patroness, well attested elsewhere, clearly played a part here (Suetonius, *Domitianus* 15.3; E. d'Ambra, *Private Lives, Imperial Virtues. The Frieze of the Forum Transitorium in Rome* (Princeton 1993), 10-8, 104-8; R.H. Darwall-Smith, *Emperors and Architecture: a Study of Flavian Rome* (Bruxelles 1996), 115-29).

²⁴ See Renel 1903, op. cit. (n.22), 212-18; Keppie 1984, op. cit. (n. 8), 139-40; C. Weiss, 'Virgo, Capricorn und Taurus. Zur Deutung augusteischer Symbolgemmen', *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* 109 (1994), 253-69; T. Barton, 'Augustus and Capricorn: astronomical polyvalency and imperial rhetoric', *Journal of Roman Studies* 85 (1995), 33-51.

the *cohortes praetoriae* were singular in bearing Tiberius' Scorpio.²⁵ Legionary *aquilae* by themselves were not particularly distinctive, not even carrying number and title as far as can be determined from military iconography.²⁶ Similarly, combination of number and title distinguished individual auxiliary regiments, but very few exhibited distinctive emblems like the stag of *cohors I Aquitanorum*, the eagle of the *ala Sabiniana*, the birds of *cohortes V Gallorum* and *II Nerviorum*, the capricorn and bull of *cohors VI Nerviorum*, or the bull of *cohors I Batavorum*, all from Britain.²⁷ Moreover, the evidence for units having distinctive shield-blazons which could be used for visual identification is extremely tenuous, even for the period of the *Notitia Dignitatum*.²⁸ Whilst all of these distinctions might seem less than clear to a modern audience, there was surely an internal visual language known to the brotherhood of unit members and swiftly learnt by new recruits.

In many of the prosopographical discussions of rank-structure, promotion and individual movements of soldiers between formations, it has often been implicit or explicit that such 'promotions' were gained through

²⁵ J.C.N. Coulston, 'Armed and belted men': the soldiery in imperial Rome', in J. Coulston & H. Dodge, eds., *Ancient Rome: the Archaeology of the Eternal city* (Oxford 2000), 92; H.I. Flower, 'A tale of two monuments: Domitian, Trajan, and some praetorians at Puteoli (AE 1973, 137)', *American Journal of Archaeology* 105 (2001), 636.

²⁶ A. von Domaszewski, *Die Fahnen im römischen Heere* (Wien 1885), 29-34; Renel 1903, op. cit. (n.22), 148-90.

²⁷ R.G. Collingwood & R.P. Wright, *The Roman Inscriptions of Britain*, II.1 (Gloucester 1990), No. 2411.85, 95, 100, 116-18; S.R. Tufi, *Corpus Signorum Imperii Romani, Great Britain I.3, Yorkshire* (Oxford 1983), No. 106; Coulston & Phillips, 1988, op. cit. (n. 13), No. 193.

²⁸ A circular discussion has highlighted supposedly specific, unit-identifying shield blazons in the *Notitia Dignitatum* in order to support detailed interpretations of shield blazons on Trajan's Column. The most extreme, literalist and ludicrous position was held by L. Rossi, *Trajan's Column and the Dacian wars* (London 1971), 108-18. This is a fallacious viewpoint, as may be demonstrated by the internal evidence of the Column's sculptural detail alone (J.C.N. Coulston, 'The value of Trajan's Column as a source for military equipment', in C. van Driel-Murray, ed., *Roman Military Equipment: the Sources of Evidence* (Oxford 1989), 33-4). That the *Notitia* blazons were a reliable 'unit-spotter's' guide is also not very likely (R. Grigg, 'Inconsistency and lassitude: the shield emblems of the *Notitia Dignitatum*', *Journal of Roman Studies* 73 (1983), 132-42, opposed by M.P. Speidel, 'The army at Aquileia, the Moesiaci legion, and the shield emblems of the *Notitia Dignitatum*', *Saalburg Jahrbuch* 45 (1990), 68-72. See J. Coulston, 'Arms and armour of the Late Roman army', in D. Nicolle, ed., *A Companion to Medieval Arms and Armour* (Woolbridge 2002), 10-11).

'merit'.²⁹ It could be countered that traditional Roman patronage networks were a far more important factor, somewhat like the 'interest' which helped officers and other ranks along their careers in 18th-19th c. armies.³⁰ This would presumably have included admission to 'the army' in the first place and specifically affected choice and entry into specific formations. Relatives already in a given local legion might have helped in younger family members, especially as localised recruitment filled the ranks of increasingly static formations. Generations of the same family would have served, perhaps first in the *auxilia*, then in the legions of the same province, as, for example, did the Syrians at Intercisa in Pannonia whose sons moved on to join the *legio II Adiutrix* at Aquincum.³¹ It is difficult in this context not to draw the parallel with Gurkha regiments in the old Indian Army which were stationed continuously at the same base for 90 years and frequently recruited men from the same family over four generations or 150 years.³² The use of the term 'extended family' might not be too strong and indubitably played a part in unit cohesion.

Promotions from Rome-based units to frontier legions were part of imperial patronage, as were the Severan promotions in the opposite direction with additional political security factors.³³ These were comparable on an individual level to the larger numbers of troops moved for specific cam-

²⁹ Notably in numerous articles by M.P. Speidel concerned with 'élite' units, and especially throughout M.P. Speidel, *Riding for Caesar. The Roman Emperors' Horse Guards* (London 1994).

³⁰ For Roman 'patronage' in general see R. Saller, *Personal Patronage under the Early Empire* (Cambridge 1982); A. Wallace-Hadrill, ed., *Patronage in Ancient Society* (London 1989); Haynes 1999, op. cit. (n. 14), 167-68. For 'interest' and other social factors at play in more recent military forces, even those which demanded training and technical skills, see P. Horthornthwaite, *The armies of Wellington* (London 1994), 24-5; N.A.M. Rodger, *The Wooden World. An Anatomy of the Georgian Navy* (London 1986), 273-302; B. Lavery, *Nelson's Navy. The Ships, Men and Organisation, 1793-1815* (London 1990), 90.

³¹ Fitz 1972, op. cit. (n. 14), 160.

³² J. Masters *Bugles and a Tiger. My Life in the Gurkhas* (London 1956), 185-86: at a 4th Gurkha Rifles regimental celebration in 1936 "all the officers gathered to greet ... a retired subadar-major, a very special one. Honorary Captain Rannu Thapa, Rai Bahadur, seventy years of age, had followed a grandfather, a father, and one brother into the regiment. One of his two sons, the subadar-major of the first battalion, saluted him and led him to a chair. The ashes of his other son made fertile a piece of soil of France, for that son had been killed in action at Givenchy in 1914. Eight grandsons in our uniform came to touch his knee. His great-grandfather had enlisted in the service of one of the Honourable East India Company's Native regiments in 1790. This was 1936 - 146 years of service".

³³ D.L. Kennedy, 'Some observations on the praetorian guard', *Ancient Society* 9 (1978), 290-301; Speidel 1994, op.cit. (n. 29), 57-8; Coulston 2000, op. cit. (n. 26), 77.

paigns around the empire. In this respect it is important to recognise that in practical terms, apart from planners in Rome, few soldiers thought of 'the Roman army' as a whole organisation. Depending on rank and service experience their horizons might not reach beyond the individual legion or auxiliary regiment, but between this level and the whole of Rome's army there were regional groupings which also carried some measure of identity.³⁴ The perception of a Tacitus or a Dio of the distribution of legions around the empire had them regionally grouped,³⁵ and the 'exercitus' coins of Hadrian articulate this rather well, although their exact function is unclear.³⁶ Such regional 'army group' identities came clear also in times of civil war when choices between pretenders had to be made. The Rhenish *legiones* were prominent in their support of Vitellius, Trajan and Constantine; the Danubians joined the Flavian cause and of course provided all the best emperors from Severus onwards. The eastern *legiones* had a less enviable identity, at least in élite literature, as the least 'Roman' and most infamously corrupted army group.³⁷ Links and movement between armies can be traced through the archaeological record, not just in inscriptions recording transfer of troops, but also in the spread of such features as ceramic forms (Africa and Germany to Britain), equipment type and decoration (Rheinland to Britain, Danube to Syria) and funerary practice (Danube to Rome and Africa, Rome to Syria).³⁸

³⁴ I. Haynes, 'Introduction: the Roman army as a community', in Goldsworthy & Haynes 1999, op. cit. (n. 1), 7-14; James 1999, op. cit. (n. 1); 2002, op. cit. (n.1), 38-44; 2004, op. cit. (n. 14), 239-54.

³⁵ Tacitus, *Annales* 4.5; Dio 55.23. Compare CIL 6, 3492 = ILS 2288.

³⁶ H. Mattingly, *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum*, III, *Nerva to Hadrian* (London 1936), No. 1672-91.

³⁷ The reverse may have been true with the east being a 'School of War' in tactics, equipment and siege warfare, akin to Italy in the first half, and Flanders in the second half of the 16th century (A.D.H. Bivar, 'Cavalry tactics and equipment on the Euphrates', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 26 (1972), 273-91; J.C. Coulston, 'Roman, Parthian and Sassanid tactical developments', in P. Freeman & D.L. Kennedy, eds., *The Defence of the Roman and Byzantine East* (Oxford 1986), 59-75).

³⁸ Ceramics: Jobey 1979, op. cit. (n. 13); V.G. Swan, 'Legio VI and its men: African legionaries in Britain', *Journal of Roman Pottery Studies* 5 (1992), 1-33. Equipment: Bishop & Coulston 1993, op. cit. (n. 12), 197-98, 202-5; James 2004, op. cit. (n. 14), 240-41, 247-54. Funerary practice: J.C. Balty & W. van Rengen, *Apamea in Syria. The Winter Quarters of Legio II Parthica* (Bruxelles 1993); M.P. Speidel, *Denkmäler der Kaiserreiter, Equites Singulares Augusti* (Köln 1994); Coulston 2000, op. cit. (n. 26), 94-7.

Equipment and identity: soldier & 'civilian'

Intrinsic to the soldier's identity was his legal right to carry arms as a matter of course and at all times. His profession was the use of arms, so he was separate from legal restrictions on civilians who had to be in specific contexts, hunting or travelling, to be armed. However, swords, shields and shafted weapons were all legitimate hunting equipment, especially when bears and big cats were involved, but not body-armour or helmets.³⁹

Indeed, the most important difference lay in the types of belts associated with arms in military service. Practically, they were required to gird the tunic and carry sheathed or scabbarded blade weapons and over time a variety of forms developed for infantry. In the 1st c. AD one plated waist-belt carried a sword, another bore a dagger; or one for a dagger and a narrow shoulder baldric for the sword. The latter combination continued through the 2nd century. In the 3rd c. the waist-belt became broader, was characteristically fastened with a ring-buckle, and was generally not used for a dagger, whilst the baldric broadened and took elaborate *phalerae* and terminal-fittings. In the 4th c. the waist-belt broadened still further and exhibited large 'chip-carved' plates. A sword was suspended from this belt, from an additional, narrow waist-belt, or from a baldric. First century swords were normally of the short 'Mainz/Pompeii' type derived from the *gladius Hispaniensis*; in the 2nd c. 'Pompeii' swords predominated alongside some 'ring-pommel' swords of Sarmatian derivation. Whilst some short swords continued in use right through to the Late Roman period, in the 3rd c. the long *spatha* came to dominate, derived from northern European forms, especially those most suitable for cavalry.⁴⁰

In all the forms of belts there were practical details, such as plates intended to stop broad leather belts curling over with wear. There were also elements which had no practical function other than visual display. The most impractical element in all periods was the treatment of the belt-end which had passed through a buckle. In the 1st c. BC strap-ends hung down from the waist at the wearer's front. By the Augustan period these leather straps had lengthened and multiplied, each bearing studs and elaborate terminal fittings

³⁹ Campbell, 1984, op. cit. (n. 2), 207-42; Alston 1995, op. cit. (n. 1), 53-68. For weapons and shields in hunting iconography see K.M.D. Dunbabin, *The Mosaics of Roman North Africa. Studies in Iconography and Patronage* (Oxford 1978), Pl. 29-30, 35-7, 45, 198-201, 205; *Mosaics of the Greek and Roman World* (Cambridge 1999), Fig. 135, 137, 142, 147, 160, 169-70, 195-97, 244; M. Piccirillo, *The Mosaics of Jordan* (Amman 1992), Pl. 11-2, 15, 37, 101, 166-69, 201-2, 252, 452, 479 (although these generally postdate the 4th c. AD).

⁴⁰ Bishop & Coulston 1993, op. cit. (n. 12), 69-81, 96-9, 111-12, 126-35, 162-64, 173-79.

up to a total of 150 copper-alloy pieces.⁴¹ This ‘apron’ seems to have become less elaborate in the 2nd c., but in the 3rd c. the broader belt was characteristically passed through the buckle, fixed with a fungiform stud, and its elongated end hitched up through the belt at the hip and allowed to hang down by the tunic skirt. Often the end was bifurcated and given metal terminals to both weigh it down and to prevent the leather from fraying.⁴² Fourth century belts, although wider, actually passed a narrow end through the buckle and this was hitched at the hip or wrapped around the belt and given one terminal fitting.⁴³

It may be observed that all these elaborate aprons and strap-ends fulfilled no *practical* function whatsoever. The apron did *not* “protect the private parts” as is often opined in modern works: quite the opposite when the wearer ran.⁴⁴ What it and other strap-ends did do was swing when the wearer walked and create considerable metallic noise. The bifurcated straps could indeed be ‘clacked’ together and swung or twirled from the wearer’s right hand. Add the sound of hobnailed boots on road surfaces, and the soldier would have had a notable aural signature.

The clothing worn by soldiers was, unsurprisingly, a version of civilian dress, but when tunics are shown in coloured iconography they are almost invariably white with red or purple (and shades between) decorative details.⁴⁵ They were thus the clothes of *wealthy* people. Metalwork fittings were predominantly made from the bullion metal *orichalcum* and might be further decorated with tinning, and inlays such as niello or enamel.⁴⁶ Thus these were also valuable indicators of status. There is a striking correspondence between the chip-carved designs of 4th c. belt-fittings and the embroidered or tapestry *orbiculi* of Tetrarchic and later tunics.⁴⁷ Trousers became more

⁴¹ M.C. Bishop, ‘The early imperial ‘apron’’, *Journal of Roman Military Equipment Studies* 3 (1992), 81-104.

⁴² Bishop & Coulston 1993, op.cit. (n. 12), Fig. 85, 92; James 2004, op. cit. (n. 14), 52-4, 60-2, 72-96.

⁴³ M. Sommer, *Die Gürtel und Gürtelbeschlüge des 4. und 5. Jahrhunderts im römischen Reich* (Bonn 1984); Bishop & Coulston 1993, op. cit. (n. 12), Fig. 130-31.

⁴⁴ *Contra* G. Webster, *The Roman Imperial Army of the First and Second Centuries AD* (London 1979), 127.

⁴⁵ For example Cumont, 1926, op. cit. (n. 14), Pl. L; James 2004; *Das Museum für Altägyptische Kunst in Luxor* (Mainz 1981), Fig. 154.

⁴⁶ Bishop & Coulston 1993, op. cit. (n.12), 191-92.

⁴⁷ Chip-carving: Sommer, 1984, op. cit. (n. 43); Bishop & Coulston 1993, op. cit. (n. 12), Fig. 125-26, 128. Textiles: A. Baginski & A. Tidhar, *Textiles from Egypt, 4th-13th Centuries CE* (Tel Aviv 1980), 19-33; J. Trilling, *The Roman Heritage. Textiles from Egypt*

frequently worn in the 3rd c. and are always shown a practical dark colour. Military cloaks were predominantly brown, suggesting unbleached wool with the natural oils retained for waterproofing.⁴⁸ However, these cloaks were fastened by increasingly elaborate *fibulae* and, also by the late 3rd c., decorated with large *orbiculi*.⁴⁹

Armour further distinguished the soldier from the civilian and there are indications that it became heavier and more complete over time. The various types of cuirass were all worn with a padded under-garment. In addition to helmet and shield, articulated arm-defences and greaves were worn by legionary troops more widely and frequently than has been generally appreciated.⁵⁰ By the 3rd c. a gorget or coif might also have been added.⁵¹ However, armour would have been worn only part of the soldier's time, when weapons-training, marching and actually in battle. The rest of his time would have been spent unarmoured but often standing-to with weapons and shield. This was the order for praetorians on duty in Rome, for example, and several states between 'undress' and full accoutrement can be deduced from the ancient literature and iconography: clothed and wearing waist belt(s), but unarmed except perhaps for a dagger; the same but with the addition of baldric and sword; the same plus sword, shafted weapons and shield; all of the above plus full armour.

Equipment and identity: soldiers in 'uniform'?

So far in this paper the term 'uniform' has been scrupulously avoided. It is often unquestioningly applied to Roman military dress and equipment in the modern literature with its great baggage-train of assumptions regarding

and the Eastern Mediterranean, 300 to 600 AD (Washington 1982), No. 26, 66, 79-80, 83, 87-8, 97-104, Fig. 1-6; A.M. Donadoni Roveri, *Egyptian Civilisation. Daily Life* (Milano 1988), 208-10, Fig. 299; C. Nauerth, *Die koptischen Textilien der Sammlung Wilhelm Rautenstrauch im Städtischen Museum Simeonstift Trier* (Trier 1989), Pl. 3-5, 28, 43-4, 59-62.

⁴⁸ On the practicality of dark and waterproof clothing see James, 2004, op. cit. (n. 14), 58-63.

⁴⁹ Cf. M.L. Rinaldi, 'Il costume romano e i mosaici di Piazza Armerina', *Rivista dell'Istituto Nazionale d'Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte*, n.s. 13-4 (1964-65), 218-36; I. Kalevrezou-Maxeiner, 'The imperial chamber at Luxor', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 29 (1975), Pl. II-IV.

⁵⁰ J.C. Coulston, 'Later Roman armour, 3rd-6th centuries AD', *Journal of Roman Military Equipment Studies* 1 (1990), 142, 151; Bishop & Coulston 1993, op. cit. (n. 12), 87; T. Richardson, 'Preliminary thoughts on the Roman armour from Carlisle', *Royal Armouries Yearbook* 6 (2001), 186-89, Fig. 2-3.

⁵¹ Coulston 1990, op. cit. (n. 50), Fig. 6-7.

‘uniformity’, ‘regularity’, planning and supply.⁵² Boot forms, cut of tunic, presence or absence of trousers, and type of cloak varied greatly over time. In fact, military equipment studies over the last twenty years have moved well away from ‘uniform’ concepts and now suggest that there was no conscious central planning or design of equipment but that what similarity there was arose from practical ergonomics, localised small-scale production, and copying of pieces as troops moved around the empire. These processes may indeed have resulted in certain equipment forms originating with one army group, often in the 2nd-3rd c. that located in the Danubian provinces, and gaining currency elsewhere. There was no ‘industrial’ mass-production, and thus no serial-numbers as with the equipment of armies from the 18th c. onwards. Some complex artifacts such as helmets were simplified in conjunction with the establishment of centralised *fabricae* under the Tetrarchy, but this was actually a far more complex situation than just reaction to bulk demand.⁵³

The concept of Roman soldiers ‘uniform’ in appearance has traditionally been fostered by studies of Trajan’s Column. In fact on this monument the sculptors consciously chose the ‘*lorica segmentata*’ to visually distinguish citizen troops from non-citizen *auxilia*. They were correct in that this articulated plate armour form was predominantly designed for use by close-order infantry, i.e. praetorians and legionaries,⁵⁴ but the merest glance at contemporary gravestones and the Adamclissi *Tropaeum Traiani* (Romania) reveals that other cuirass forms were also used by Trajanic citizen troops.⁵⁵

To turn the subject on its head, a series of different questions might be asked. Why would the Romans have wanted uniform dress and equipment? How could they possibly have achieved centralised design given the nature of Roman technology, resources and communications? A look at the development of uniforms and military identity in modern armies is very instruc-

⁵² A central part of the concept of ‘modernity’ which so bedevils Roman army studies (James 2002, 12).

⁵³ S. James, ‘Evidence from Dura-Europos for the origin of Late Roman helmets’, *Syria* 63 (1986), 107-34; ‘The *fabricae*: state arms factories of the Later Roman Empire’, in Coulston, 1988, op. cit. (n. 1), 271-73; Bishop & Coulston 1993, 167-72, 186-88; Coulston, 2002, op. cit. (n. 28), 19.

⁵⁴ Bishop & Coulston 1993, op. cit. (n. 12), 206-9; M.C. Bishop, *Lorica Segmentata I. A Handbook of Articulated Roman Plate Armour*, Journal of Roman Military Equipment Studies Monograph 1 (Chirnside 2002), 91.

⁵⁵ F.B. Florescu, *Die Siegesdenkmal von Adamklissi: Tropaeum Traiani* (Bucaresti 1965³), Fig. 189-90, 193, 195, 197-202, 212, 217, 221.

tive. In the first half of the 16th c. there were positive disincentives. The mercenary Swiss and German *Landsknecht* infantry were renowned for their flamboyant and individual dress as recorded in numerous paintings and engravings.⁵⁶ *Individualism* was the key to understanding the self-regard of these troops, free as they were from sumptuary laws, able to dress in clothes of 'civilian' cut yet with rich flamboyance in compensation for lives that were otherwise so miserably brutal.⁵⁷ In the second half of the 16th c. the Spanish Army of Flanders was the first European army, through its continuity of campaigning, to develop 'regular' institutions in the modern sense (standing military formations, pay and rank-structures etc.). However, when it was suggested that the *tercios* be uniformly dressed, one commander responded in no uncertain terms that individual attire and finery reinforced the warrior's martial ardour, and that uniforms would have been entirely counter-productive.⁵⁸ In this connection it is perhaps significant that the earliest uniform dress in French Renaissance forces was developed during the French Wars of Religion for impressed sappers. Attrition amongst these people during the numerous sieges of the period was high and they were uniformed to identify and limit desertion.⁵⁹ Similarly Elizabethan English troops were 'uniformed' in red cloth, largely as a characteristically cheap option to dress the miserable, low-status wretches sent to Ireland.⁶⁰

Indeed, apart from field-signs and heraldic badges, European armies did very well without uniforms until the later 17th c. What changed then? The rise of unprecedentedly large Nation State armies combined with the use of massed musketry firing in linear formations creating great clouds of black powder smoke had something to do with it. Enforcing the new discipline necessary both for controlling the masses and drilling the linear formations was greatly enhanced by the spread of uniforms which were bright enough to be recognised through the fog of war. Monarchs were also separating their

⁵⁶ J.R. Hale, *Artists and Warfare in the Renaissance* (New Haven 1990), Fig. 1-4, 6-7, 23-4, 31-5, 51-2, 56-7, 61, 76-110.

⁵⁷ J.R. Hale, *War and Society in Renaissance Europe, 1450-1620* (London 1985), 127-28, 163-64.

⁵⁸ G. Parker, *The Army of Flanders and the Spanish Road, 1567-1659* (Cambridge 1972), 164-65.

⁵⁹ J.B. Wood, *The King's Army. Warfare, Soldiers, and Society during the Wars of Religion in France, 1562-1576* (Cambridge 1996), 165-66.

⁶⁰ C.G. Cruickshank, *Elizabeth's Army* (Oxford 1966), 91-101.

troops from their subjects to enhance social control, hence the first appearance of distinct military installations and barracks since the Roman period.⁶¹

Roman armies not only did not create gunpowder smoke, they did not have any enemies with regular armies which could be visually confused on the battlefield with their own side.⁶² The only time this happened was during Roman civil wars. Northern barbarians, steppe nomads, North African tribes and the Partho-Sassanid eastern neighbour all fielded forces which were intrinsically different to the Roman armies.

Once it is recognised that there was no uniform planning and design, then the evolutions of dress, equipment and weaponry become far more interesting questions of culture-change. Self-evidently 'the Roman *miles*' was a very different type of soldier from those in modern armies, despite the natural inclination of scholars with modern military experience to assume otherwise. The ritual and belief-systems of the Roman world alone should excite caution in this respect, but then again the modern downplay of non-Judaeo-Christian 'belief' and the tendency to see the Romans as somehow non-spiritual and 'rational', therefore 'modern', creates a considerable barrier to understanding. Instead 'the Roman soldier' was not 'modern', despite being part of an army with features regularly identified as such (standing military formations, pay and rank-structures etc.). He may have been much more akin to the *Landsknechte* or the Spanish *tercio corseletes* in one regard, that of warrior display.⁶³

Another misnomer which can be dismissed regards Roman military 'parade'. There have been two traditional reactions to finds of decorated Roman military equipment items. The first was to assume that they were the property of officers or high-ranking troops, thus imposing a modern hierarchical model.⁶⁴ However, it is clear that individual soldiers at the level of the *miles gregarius* were free to have their equipment embellished. Equipment was certainly used to denote status but in other ways. The *vitis* proper, but not the common knotted stick (*fustis*) and the *crista transversa*, but not it seems greaves, were confined to centurions.⁶⁵ *Optiones* carried a knob-ended

⁶¹ J. Childs, *Armies and Warfare in Europe, 1648-1789* (Manchester 1982), 73-4, 185-90, 200; J. Black, *European Warfare, 1660-1815* (London 1994), 39-41, 225.

⁶² Although note Tacitus, *Historiae* 3.23.

⁶³ This rather mixes distinctive modern concepts of 'warrior' and 'soldier'.

⁶⁴ Note the title of H. Klumbach, *Spättrömische Gardehelme* (München 1973).

⁶⁵ *Vitis*: Tacitus, *Annales* 1.23; Robinson, 1975, op. cit. (n. 12), Fig. 442, 445. *Fustis*: M.P. Speidel, 'The *fustis* as a soldier's weapon', *Antiquités Africaines* 29 (1993), 137-49. *Crista*:

staff.⁶⁶ *Beneficiarii* and other detached administration soldiers carried special spears, the characteristic heads of which were also reproduced in sculptures and in model form on scabbard-fittings, brooches, belt-mounts.⁶⁷

The second assumption is that decorated pieces of equipment could not have been designed for battlefield use: they must be ‘parade’ items used only for reviews.⁶⁸ This may be partly correct in that soldiers did look their best on important occasions, such as the pay-parade held by Titus before Jerusalem,⁶⁹ but the tacit assumption is that (modern practice brought in here again) each soldier had two sets of equipment, one for parade, one for ‘practical’ use. Specifically this refers to such items as decorated shield-bosses, helmets and armour chest-pieces. However, the *most* important occasion for the Roman soldier was battle and the time at which he would have most used display to overawe the enemy and bolster up his own courage. Plumes and crests, their attachment fittings particularly evident on 1st c. AD helmets,⁷⁰ gave the warrior greater height and imposing presence. Display would also have injected a degree of individuality amongst the mass of soldiery, thus allowing individual acts of bravery to be recognised. The decorated items in question were not ‘impractical’ as such. A decorated shield-boss was permanently riveted to its board and was in no way ‘flimsier’ than an undecorated piece. Is it to be imagined that soldiers wandered around with two or more shields? This is most unlikely. One shield would have been refurbished and repainted periodically to the level of the examples deposited at Dura-Europos.⁷¹ Decorated copper-alloy helmets and cuirass chest-pieces were actually strengthened by embossed decoration.⁷² The face-mask helmets and decor-

Vegetius, *de rei militaris* 2.16; Robinson, 1975, op. cit. (n. 12), Fig. 445. Greaves: Bishop & Coulston 1993, op. cit. (n. 12), 87, 145.

⁶⁶ Speidel, 1992, op. cit. (n. 21), 24-6.

⁶⁷ K. Eibl, ‘Gibt es eine spezifische Ausrüstung der Benefiziarier’, in *Der römische Weihebezirk von Osterburken* (Stuttgart 1994), 273-95.

⁶⁸ Note the title of J. Garbsch, *Römische Paraderüstungen* (München 1978). On Roman ‘parade’ see M.C. Bishop, ‘On parade: status, display and morale in the Roman army’, in H. Veters & M. Kandler, eds., *Akten des 14. internationalen Limeskongresses 1986 in Carnuntum* (Wien 1990), 21-30, very different from more modern reviews, for which see S. Hughes Myerly, *British military spectacle from the Napoleonic wars through the Crimea* (Cambridge, Mass 1996).

⁶⁹ Josephus, *Jewish War*, 5.349-56.

⁷⁰ Robinson 1975, op. cit. (n. 12), 15-4, 26-7, 46-7, 64-5.

⁷¹ See now James 2004, op. cit. (n. 14), 163-66, Pl. 6-10.

⁷² Chest-plates were used with mail and scale cuirasses, not some separate form of ‘parade’ armour. See L. Petculescu, ‘Contributions on Roman decorated helmets and breast-plates from Dacia’, in Veters & Kandler 1990, op. cit. (n. 68), 843-54.

ated horse-chamfrons associated with cavalry exercises were in a class of their own providing practical protection, and should be referred to as 'sports', not 'parade' equipment.⁷³

Gravestones and identity

Figural military gravestones provide a window through which the modern viewer can look in on the Roman soldier, and a window through which he gazed, in death, at the passing world of the living. Paradoxically, this one class of funerary monument is very instructive precisely because it is so unrepresentative in the sense of being 'typical' as a genre or as a sample of deceased soldiers. Even allowing for biases of survival, only a tiny proportion of soldiers who served were commemorated in this manner. As artefacts, such gravestones are not uniform in their distribution and they were not erected regularly over time. However, each extant item represented a degree of 'Roman',⁷⁴ cultural practice (*stela* monument, figural sculpture, Latin inscription), and a series of compositional and economic decisions on the part of deceased subject, his heirs, and/or an artist.⁷⁵ Clearly the degree of available skill played a part in literally shaping the final result. Often the aspirations and desire for sculptural detail outstripped the capabilities of the craftsman, producing a 'crude' but always recognisable figure.⁷⁶ To judge from the degree of faithful equipment detail and the locations of both finds

⁷³ For this class of decorated mask-helmet see Robinson 1975, op. cit. (n. 12), 112-27; Garbsch 1978, op. cit. (n. 68), Pl. 2, 12, 14-27; M. Feugère, *Casques antiques* (Paris 1994), 122-40; M. Junkelmann, *Reiter wie Statuen aus Erz* (Mainz 1996), 18-56. Cf. Arrianos, *technē taktikē* 34.

⁷⁴ Clearly it could be argued that these gravestones were not 'Roman' at all but descended from Archaic and Classical Greek funerary practices. Indeed, the Hellenistic period did see flowerings of military figural gravestones at different places and times, for example the painted *stelae* of Demetrius (Greece: Volos Museum, pers. obs.) and Sidon (Lebanon: G. Mendel, *Catalogue des sculptures grecques, romaines et byzantines, Musées Impériaux Ottomans I* (Istanbul 1914), No. 102-7), and the rock-cut panels depicting Lycian soldiers (Turkey: J. & H. Wagner, *Die Türkische Südküste* (Frankfurt 1977), Pl. 6, 210-12, 220). However, these were sporadic and discrete manifestations, quite unlike the numbers, richness of detail and distribution over time and space represented by the monuments of Roman soldiers.

⁷⁵ For general studies see R.P. Saller & B.D. Shaw, 'Tombstones and Roman family relations in the principate: civilians, soldiers and slaves', *Journal of Roman Studies* 74 (1984), 124-56; V.M. Hope, *Constructing Identity: the Roman Funerary Monuments of Aquileia, Mainz and Nimes* (Oxford 2001).

and putative sculptors' workshops, the vast majority of such funerary depictions were executed by soldiers, perhaps as part of an internal coin or favour-based economy (similar to the production of many other types of artefact for the army and for individual soldiers).

Some classes of soldiers are more heavily represented in the corpus of figural gravestones than others, perhaps both for cultural and economic reasons: legionaries appear more frequently than auxiliary infantry, and during the 1st c. AD most prominently in Northern Italy and the Rhineland, spilling over into Britain after AD 43.⁷⁷ In the same region and period cavalrymen favoured a number of figural motifs, glorifying in their literally elevated status (*Reitertyp*), or wealth (calo and horse), or buying into traditional genres (*Totenmahl*). Rider gravestones spread widely in the 1st-2nd c. AD, tapping into Danubian cultic iconography (Danubian Rider-Gods).⁷⁸ Recruitment of northern auxiliaries into the *equites singulares Augusti* from the time of Trajan onwards brought all these gravestone forms to Rome.⁷⁹ The Mauretanian War of Antoninus Pius brought *Reitertyp* erection to North Africa.⁸⁰

There was a great *floruit* of full-length standing figure gravestones in the 3rd c. Danubian provinces.⁸¹ Curiously, whilst figural military gravestones all but disappeared from the Rhineland, they were spread out from the Pannonias to Rome by Severan recruitment of Danubian *legionarii* to the Praetorian Guard and to *legio II Parthica* at Albano Laziale.⁸² A sprinkling of these 'ring-buckle' gravestones can be found throughout the provinces of the empire, but with larger concentrations in Britain and Dacia, around Byzantium (Turkey), and at Nicopolis by Alexandria (Egypt).⁸³ A particu-

⁷⁶ An example of a 'ring-buckle' gravestone from Chester (Cheshire) is especially crude, despite it having been erected for a centurion: R.P. Wright & I.A. Richmond, *The Roman Inscribed and Sculptured Stones in the Grosvenor Museum, Chester* (Chester 1955), No. 37.

⁷⁷ For an over-view with reference to published collections of gravestones see Bishop & Coulston 1993, op. cit. (n. 12), 24-8.

⁷⁸ M. Schleiermacher, *Römische Reitergrabsteine. Die kaiserzeitlichen Reliefs des triumphierenden Reiters* (Bonn 1984); D. Tudor, *Corpus Monumentorum Religionis Equitum Danuviorum I, The Monuments* (Leiden 1969).

⁷⁹ Speidel, 1994, op. cit. (n. 38); Coulston 2000, op. cit. (n. 26), 96.

⁸⁰ N. Benseddik, *Les troupes auxiliaires de l'armée romaine en Mauretanie Césarienne sous le Haut-Empire* (Algiers 1979), Fig. 1-7.

⁸¹ Collected by H. Ubl, *Waffen und Uniform der römischen Heeres der Prinzipatsepoche nach den Grabreliefs Noricum und Pannoniens*, unpublished PhD thesis (Wien 1969).

⁸² Coulston 2000, op. cit. (n. 26), 94-7.

⁸³ Collected by J.C. Coulston, 'Roman military equipment on 3rd century AD tombstones', in M. Dawson, ed., *Roman Military Equipment: the Accoutrements of War* (Oxford 1987),

larly important and numerous group is represented by finds from Apamea (Syria), also belonging to *II Parthica* with attendant auxiliaries, on service in the East.⁸⁴

Some groups of gravestones, notably those of the 1st c. Rhineland and 3rd c. Rome, pay remarkable attention to military equipment details, *especially* belts and belt-fittings, to such a degree that, as with the Adamklissi metopes, it must again be suggested that the sculptors were actually soldiers, or veterans with a very good grasp of equipment realities.

The salient point is that any funerary monument was erected to remind (*monere*) the living of the status and achievements of the deceased. In a society without clearly articulated concepts of spiritual life after death, such monuments provided an element of immortality. They also raised the deceased up out of anonymity amongst the mass of the dead. Thus the soldier was presented on various levels to both soldiers and civilians viewing the gravestone in a cemetery: as a *miles* marked by the potent signifiers of military status; as a unit member; as a man with friends, relatives and fellow-soldiers (*comilitones* or *contubernales*); as a successful soldier distinguished from the mass of the soldiery by his service, ranks, acquired skills, and decorations won. Concern, even fear, about anonymity could be manifested in the context of various ancient communities: amongst all the dead; amongst living Roman society as a whole; amongst the soldiery.⁸⁵ All the identities or 'belongings' would have come into play, such as unit, rank, length of service, and achievements. Beyond this specific contexts may be identified. Soldiers were not the only community to fear anonymity amongst the mass population of the city of Rome and to take measures to avoid it. Hence the careful distinction of soldiers by their equipment and, it should be realised, by their appearing on figural monuments in contrast with most urban inhabitants. Appeal to cultural community may also have been at work, for example by distinguishing Danubians from the multi-ethnic masses through equipment and burial practice.⁸⁶ Similarly, the gravestones at Apamea are remarkable in the Greek eastern provinces for their Latin inscriptions, for their detailed titles of legionary centuries, and for achievements of rank. These features

141-56; P. Noelke, 'Ein neuer Soldatengrabstein aus Köln', in C. Unz, ed., *Studien zu den Militärgrenzen Roms III* (Stuttgart 1986), 213-25.

⁸⁴ J.C. Balty, 'Apamea in Syria in the second and third centuries AD', *Journal of Roman Studies* 78 (1988), 97-104; Balty & Rengen, 1993, op. cit. (n. 38).

⁸⁵ K. Hopkins, *Death and Renewal* (Cambridge 1983), 213-14.

⁸⁶ D. Noy, *Foreigners at Rome. Citizens and Strangers* (London 2000), 218-20; Coulston 2000, op. cit. (n. 26), 96.

both separated the western soldiers from the indigenes, and marked a considerable amount of competition within formations for promotions and skill-distinctions. These peculiar circumstances have very valuably provided much new information or confirmed old suspicions about legionary organisation and armaments.⁸⁷

It is possible to move one final stage closer to the men depicted on these gravestones. Whilst it is generally appreciated that the faces are not individual portraits, but follow contemporary imperial models (e.g. Julio-Claudian hair and ears, Severan features and hairstyles⁸⁸), the soldiers looking out from their niches assumed a series of characteristic stances. They lean on spears or javelins. They heft shields or stand them down at rest. They grasp their sword-grips and hold the long strap-ends of their waist-belts. Here the viewer is indubitably seeing elements of a body-language intrinsic to equipped Roman soldiers, as observed by the sculptors and as it evolved with changing equipment forms.

Military equipment has the effect of giving its owners a certain stance, taking the weight in an alert pose or at rest, whatever the period. Characterised by jauntiness, arrogance, strutting, soldiers cut a *bella figura* which they could both take pride in and use as part of their menacing presence. Even without shafted weapons and shields, soldiers on 3rd c. gravestones pose arrogantly, and they may be imagined clacking and stropping and twirling their belt-ends with threatening menace, perhaps especially when standing at their ease. Something similar comes through in the numerous 16th c. engravings of German *Landsknechte* which are sometimes sympathetic, but often frankly hostile parodies.⁸⁹ Shafted weapons or long firearms dictated an attitude quite different from civilian body language, but also one which differed characteristically over time, for example in engravings of 18th and 19th

⁸⁷ Confirming the existence of *sagittarii legionis* (cf. CIL 6, 37262), the nature of *lanciarum* and the continuing evolution of legionary battlefield organisation (Speidel 1992, op. cit. (n. 21), 14-22; Balty & Rengen, 1993, op. cit. (n. 38), 16-8, Pl. 3-5; Bishop & Coulston 1993, op. cit. (n. 12), 123-26). It may be that 'specialists' with pride in weapons-skills may be over-represented in the corpus of gravestone representations, notably *contarii* (M.P. Speidel, 'Horsemen in the Pannonian *alae*', *Saalburg Jahrbuch* 43 (1987), 61-5) and *sagittarii* (J.C. Coulston, 'Roman archery equipment', in M.C. Bishop, ed., *The Production and Distribution of Roman Military Equipment* (Oxford 1985), Fig. 26-32).

⁸⁸ See E.J. Phillips, 'The gravestone of M. Favonius Facilis', *Britannia* 6 (1975), 102-5; M.P. Speidel, 'Neckarschwarben (Suebi Nigrensens)', *Archäologischen Korrespondenzblatt* 20 (1990), 201-7.

⁸⁹ See n. 56.

c. soldiers.⁹⁰ In this respect a particularly good, formal parallel to the niched Roman gravestone figures are the 19th c. photographs or Daguerreotypes of soldiers associated with the Crimean War⁹¹ and the American Civil War.⁹²

As the technology spread, and the popularity of photography for personal portraiture increased, so these portraits took on an almost funereal function in the sense that countless Civil War shots of newly enlisted men in smart or ill-fitting new uniforms were taken with a (perhaps concealed) fear that the subject would not survive service.⁹³ In a sense they were pre-death studies, and the need to hold a pose for a lengthy exposure, plus the desire to strike a 'martial' stance lent a similar formality to that seen on the Roman gravestones. Unfortunately today we cannot photograph Roman soldiers, nor can we observe them in formal situations or at ease, lounging, swearing, spitting, scratching, jostling, threatening, glowering, joking and laughing together. However, something of their group body-language does come through via the medium of their personal equipment and the images they chose to project in death. The modern observer may move closer to the individual men, set within Roman society, within the Roman army, and within the company of their fellow soldiers.

St Andrews, June 2004

⁹⁰ J. Keegan & R. Holmes, *Soldiers. A History of Men in Battle* (London 1985), 44, 65, 68; Hughes Myerly 1996, op. cit. (n. 68), Pls.

⁹¹ H & A. Gernsheim, *Roger Fenton. Photographer of the Crimean War* (New York 1973); L. James, *Crimea 1854-56. The War with Russia from Contemporary Photographs* (Thame 1981). Some photographs were already intended to document uniforms (James 1981, No. 8, 11-12, 22, 36-7, 40, 45, 55), whilst exotic troops such as Scottish Highlanders and Turkish 'Bashi Bazooks' were popular subjects (James 1981, No. 28, 52).

⁹² G.C. Ward, *The Civil War. An Illustrated History* (New York 1991). For a summary of photographic sources see P. Katcher, *The American Civil War Source Book* (London 1992), 298-99.

⁹³ Ward 1991, op. cit. (n. 92), 44-7, 53, 82-3, 122-23, 133, 237, 250-51, 265.

THE LEGEND OF DECEBALUS*

By
CHRISTER BRUUN

1. Introduction

King Decebalus of the Dacians has his given place in the series of great enemies of Rome, a series including names such as Hannibal, Viriathus, Iugurtha, Mithridates, and Boudicca. Classicists working in many different fields are today very much aware of the king: epigraphers, art historians who admire Trajan's Column in Rome, students of Roman military history, scholars who write about the emperor Trajan, and – why not – those with an interest in anthropology who study the ancient practice of beheading enemies or collecting their heads.¹ Decebalus is also of obvious interest to those who focus on the province of Dacia, and – true to the topic of this volume – the relations between the imperial centre and one of the last provinces to be acquired by Rome will be explored in this paper by means of an investigation of what I call “the legend of Decebalus”. In other words, this study concerns how the memory of King Decebalus lived on in a somewhat different form in Dacia than it did elsewhere.

The interest of modern anthropologists in the fate of the Dacian king was of course spurred by the sensational presentation by Professor Michael P. Speidel of the “autobiography” of the “Captor of Decebalus” in 1970. The funerary inscription commemorating the career of the Roman cavalry officer Ti. Claudius Maximus contains a dramatic description of how Decebalus ended his life: *quod cepisset Decebalu(m) et caput eius pertulisset ei Ra-*

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¹ J.-L. Voisin, ‘Les romains, chasseurs de têtes’, in *Du châtimeut dans la cité. Supplices corporels et peine de mort dans le monde antique* (Collection École Française de Rome 79, Rome 1984), 241-93, esp. 251 for Decebalus. On decapitation, though not on Decebalus, see also R. Ash, ‘Severed heads. Individual portraits and irrational forces in Plutarch’s *Galba* and *Otho*’, in J. Mossman, ed., *Plutarch and his Intellectual World. Essays on Plutarch* (London 1997), 189-214, esp. 196-201.

nisstoro(m) – “because he had captured Decebalus and had brought his head to him (the emperor Trajan) to Ranisstorum”.²

As far as I know there are no monographs dealing exclusively with king Decabalus in any of the major languages of classical scholarship,³ while an enemy such as Hannibal continues to generate books today, as do some other major Roman foes. This situation is largely explained by the paucity of literary sources on Decebalus (as will become clear below), yet regardless of the lack of narrative sources and anecdotal material the scholarly world is today well aware of the resistance of the Dacians and their cunning king. The question I want to explore concerns what people in the Roman world knew.⁴ Was there a general awareness of Decebalus, did his memory live on? And in what form?⁵ Is one in fact justified in talking about a “legend of Decebalus”? I shall proceed in a conventional fashion, looking at different groups of sources in turn.

2. Literary sources

There are about half a dozen mentions of Decebalus within the existing Latin literature.⁶ The earliest reference, in a letter by Pliny, dates to only a few years after the king’s death: an envoy had been *a Decibalo muneri missum Pacoro Parthiae regi* (Plinius Minor, *Epistulae* 10.74.1). Probably towards the end of the second century the name of the king was added to the list of famous historical characters in the compendium of stenographical abbreviations known as the *Notae Tironianae*.⁷ The next surviving mention already

² M.P. Speidel, ‘The captor of Decebalus, a new inscription from Philippi’, *Journal of Roman Studies* 60 (1970) 142-53, esp. 142 f. for the text (= id., *Roman Army Studies* I (Amsterdam 1984), 173-87, 408 f.).

³ But see, in Roumanian, C. Petolescu, *Decebal, regele Dacilor* (Bucuresti 1991).

⁴ The topic has not been studied before as far as I know. For some rather remote similarities, see C.S. Lightfoot, ‘Trajan’s Parthian war and the fourth-century perspective’, *Journal of Roman Studies* 80 (1990) 115-26.

⁵ There are perhaps some affinities between this investigation and the one I presented in ‘Roman emperors in popular jargon: searching for contemporary nicknames (I)’, in L. de Blois et al., eds., *The Representation and Perception of Roman Imperial Power* (Amsterdam 2004), 69-98, as both attempt to evaluate evidence for popular feelings on the grassroots level.

⁶ The basis for my search was the Latin CD-ROM disc # 5.3 from the Packard Humanities Institute (1991), to which material found elsewhere was added.

⁷ See W. Schmitz, ed., *Commentarii notarum Tironianarum* (Lipsiae 1893), Tab. 116.7, in the form *Decibalis*, but this may be due to later scribal errors; the text was copied and worked on until the Carolingian age (ninth-tenth centuries). Schmitz, op. cit., 11 notes that

takes us to late antiquity, to c. 370 AD, when Decebalus appears in Eutropius' *Breviarium* in the shortest of comments: *Daciam Decebalo victo subegit* (scil. *Traianus*).⁸ The Dacian king is mentioned also in the late fourth century by Aurelius Victor (*Liber de Caesaribus* 13.3) – a neutral *Decibalo rege*; by the *Historia Augusta* (*tyranni triginta* 10.8): *vir ... gentis Daciae, Decibali ipsius ut fertur adfinis* (an expression which implies fame); and in the sixth century by Jordanes (*Romana* 217: *Decebalo eorum* (scil. *Dacorum*) *rege devicto*).⁹

This result is not all that impressive and the existence of a “legend” would at first sight seem in doubt.¹⁰ A mere handful of Latin passages mentioning Decebalus is certainly not much in comparison with, for instance, how Hannibal scores. He overworked my search machine and yielded some 1,300 mentions in Latin literature alone, and in a number of works besides Livy's Third Decade where his presence of course is overwhelming. Even Petronius' Trimalchio, that great intellectual, remembered Hannibal, *homo vafer et magnus stelio* “a cunning and treacherous person”, because – as Trimalchio puts it – Hannibal destroyed Troy and burned all its statues of gold and silver in a great pyre (Petronius, *Satyrica* 50.5). That was the “legend of Hannibal” known to Trimalchio.

Yet before drawing the conclusion that Decebalus made no impact on Roman public opinion we ought to consider the composition of our literary sources. For the war against Hannibal we have Livy's Third Decade, while we have no comparable surviving historical work for the Dacian wars. In general, as is well-known, we have very little in the way of historical works after the first century AD. Everything that happened before c. AD 100 stands a fair chance of at least some mention in our surviving sources, and events from the heroic “Good Old Days” of the Republic were likely to be referred to also in non-historical works during the periods of Golden and Silver Latin, besides appearing in the many prose narratives and collections of *exempla*.

the list, which originated in the late Republic, received additions in the late second century AD. One may note, among the many (miss-spelled) names of famous characters, Tab. 115.86 Cingetorix, 116.9 Domnorix, 116.54 Hanibal, 116.79 Iugusta.

⁸ Eutropius, *Breviarium ab urbe condita* 8.2.2.

⁹ Decebalus is absent from Jordanes' *Getica*, in which other Dacian kings appear.

¹⁰ One should point out that even in the surviving Latin texts there are occasions when he might have been mentioned, although he is not. Dacia appears in, for instance, late antique Latin poetry, when the focus of the Empire was on the Danube once more. Paulinus of Nola refers to Dacia and the Dacians in his *Carmen* 17.17, 143, 213-16, 249-52 (AD 400); so does Claudianus, *De VI Consulatu Honorii* 335-38; cf. notes 8-9.

Trajan's wars against Decebalus occurred so late that not even Frontinus, who was composing his *Stratagemata* in the tradition of Valerius Maximus and presented just the kind of stuff that legends are made of, could include them in his work. Frontinus mentions four episodes from Domitian's war against the Chatti, but he seems to have been less well informed about that emperor's war against Decebalus.¹¹

The situation is different, however, when we look at the surviving Greek literature and other written sources included in the two Greek CD-ROMs that I searched.¹²

Decebalus naturally plays a considerable role in Cassius Dio's Roman history, to some extent already under Domitian, but very much more so under Trajan, as we can see in the various Byzantine summaries which is all we have of Cassius Dio for this period. All in all, there are 74 instances of "Dekebalos", of which 58 come from the Cassius Dio tradition.¹³ Then there are eight passages from Zonaras, who wrote in the early twelfth century, and five from the Suda, another Byzantine source. Other occurrences in the Greek corpus are a comment by a scholiast of Lukianos, who gives us a fragment from the historian and court physician Criton, an oration by Themistius, and a passage by Johannes Lydus, who again quotes Criton.¹⁴

In any case, when we combine Latin and Greek sources, there is enough material from Late Antiquity to assure us that the memory of the king had not disappeared. Anyone interested in the *res gestae* of the Roman

¹¹ K. Strobel, 'Der Chattenkrieg Domitians. Historische und politische Aspekte', *Germania* 65 (1987), 423-52, esp. 424 n. 6 lists the four passages; new facts on the context in W. Eck - A. Pangerl, 'Sex. Iulius Frontinus als Legat des niedergermanischen Heeres', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 143 (2003), 205-19, esp. 209 f. We also have Frontinus, *Stratagemata* 1.10.4 mentioning *Scorylo dux Dacorum*, the predecessor of Decebalus. But Cassius Dio contains some good material from Domitian's war that one would think Frontinus might have included, had he been aware of them, such as Decebalus dressing up tree stumps in armour to trick the Romans into believing he had a large army lined up (Cassius Dio, *Roman History* 67.10.3).

¹² I used the Packard Humanities Institute's CD-ROM # 7 *Greek Documentary Texts* (1991-96) (containing inscriptions and papyri), and the University of California at Irvine's *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* disc for the literary texts, paying attention also to different ways of spelling the king's name.

¹³ There is also a mention in Paionios' Greek translation of Eutropius, composed while the Latin author still lived, which uses the form "Dekiballos" (8.2.2), see *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Auctores Antiquissimi* II (Berolini 1879), 137.

¹⁴ For Johannes Lydus, *De magistratibus* 2.28, and the Lukianos scholiast, see F. Jacoby, *Fragmenta Graecorum Historicorum* II B (Berlin 1929), 931 nos. 1-2; Themistius, *Or.* 8. *Peri fyseos basilikes* 110 B.

empire would encounter stories about him. The role he plays in these accounts is of course not very flattering; he was an obstacle to Rome's greatness and deserved to be annihilated.

When assessing Decebalus' fame, one must not forget that much literature written in the second and third centuries has disappeared, and in particular many works dealing with Trajan's war are lost.¹⁵ Trajan's physician Criton wrote an influential work about the war, which was quoted by several later authors,¹⁶ and Trajan himself wrote *commentarii* on the campaigns. In addition, Hadrian, who took part in the war as commander of the *legio I Minervia*, wrote an autobiography, and one must not forget the imperial biographies by Marius Maximus.¹⁷ Appian's now almost completely lost *Dakike* was another source, as was Dio Chrysostom's lost *Getika*, and it is probable that also Arrian's *Parthika* treated the subject to some extent.¹⁸

Some works by less famous authors may also have circulated. There is a letter by Pliny in which he encourages a certain Caninius Rufus, "a local bard at Comum" as Sir Ronald Syme called him,¹⁹ to write about the Dacian war: *optime facis, quod bellum Dacicum scribere paras* (Plinius Minor, *Epistulae* 8.4.1). It was apparently going to be an epic poem in Greek (*ibid.* 8.4.3). He briefly hints at the topics to deal with, among which is also the fate of the Dacian king: *pulsum regia pulsum etiam vita regem nihil desperantem* ("you will tell of a king driven from his capital and also from his life = to his death, but never giving up/courageous to the end"; Plinius Minor, *Epistulae* 8.4.2). This last passage can be interpreted as admiration,

¹⁵ For a general overview, see K. Strobel, *Untersuchungen zu den Dakerkriegen Trajans* (Bonn 1984), 19-22, including Trajan, Criton, Caninius Rufus, Appian, and the Cassius Dio-tradition.

¹⁶ See Jacoby 1929, op. cit. (n. 14), 931 f. no. 200 Kriton; eight fragments of the work survive.

¹⁷ See A.R. Birley, *Hadrian, the Restless Emperor* (London - New York 1997), 3, 50-52; id., 'Marius Maximus: the consular biographer', *ANRW* II 34.3 (1997), 2678-2757, esp. 2725-27.

¹⁸ G. Zecchini, 'La storia romana nella *Suda*', in G. Zucchini, ed., *Il lessico Suda e la memoria del passato a Bisanzio* (Bari 1999), 75-88, esp. 86 n. 55 argues that one of four mentions (there are actually five) of Decebalus in the *Suda* comes from Arrian (namely at E 1864; the others are from Cassius Dio).

¹⁹ R. Syme, 'Pliny and the Dacian Wars', *Latomus* 23 (1964) 750-59, esp. 750 = *Roman Papers* VI (Oxford 1991), 142-49, esp. 142.

at least to some degree, for the dead Dacian king – rare but not unique in our ancient sources²⁰ – as he seems to have shown fortitude until the end.

The passage describing Decebalus as *nihil desperantem* prompts another question. In a recent investigation of suicide in the classical world it was argued that *desperata salus* (a hopeless situation) was an acceptable reason for committing suicide.²¹ Pliny must have known that Decebalus had committed suicide (indicated by *pulsum vita*), as is indeed expressly said in some of our surviving sources and not contradicted by any ancient evidence.²² The explanation for the expression *Decebalus nihil desperans* must be that the king was reputed to have been undaunted until the end, and thus he took his own life rather than surrendered to the Romans.²³

Nevertheless, the king's name is not mentioned anywhere in this part of Pliny's correspondence, which does (and did) nothing to keep Decebalus' name alive. In fact it seems that there are some awkward gaps regarding Decebalus especially in Latin literature. I refer here to accounts where one would have thought that the name of the enemy king could have been mentioned, but it is not. The Dacians are, after all, mentioned not infrequently, already during the Flavian times, and then later during the second century. Statius, in his *Silvae* 3.3.117 f., writes *cum prima truces amentia Dacos / impulit et magno gens est damnata triumpho*; Suetonius, who knew Decebalus' later importance, mentions two Dacian wars under Domitian (Suetonius, *Vita Domitiani* 6.1), Martial refers to the Dacian wars three times,²⁴ but although he does mention the king's brother D(i)egis in the following lines, Decebalus is not named:

²⁰ Cf. below section 8, and see S. Settis, 'La Colonna', in id., ed., *La Colonna Traiana* (Torino 1988), 45-255, esp. 143, 229 f.

²¹ A.J.L. Van Hooff, *From Autothanasia to Suicide. Self-killing in Classical Antiquity* (London-New York 1990), 87, 174; Pliny's passage is not discussed.

²² Suicide is expressly stated in Cassius Dio, *Roman History* 68.14.3 (Xiphilinus): "Decebalus, when his capital and all his territory had been occupied and he was himself in danger of being captured, committed suicide; and his head was brought to Rome" (translation by E. Cary, LCL edition).

²³ On the two ways to interpret suicide in Rome – "suicide before dishonour", and "cowardly and characterless escape" – see recently Coulston, 'Overcoming the barbarian. Depictions of Rome's enemies in Trajanic monumental art', in L. de Blois et al., eds., *The Representation and Perception of Roman Imperial Power* (Amsterdam 2004), 389-424, esp. 404 and 409.

²⁴ Valerius Martialis, *Epigrammata* 5.3, 6.10.7, and 6.76.

*Accola iam nostrae Degis, Germanice, ripae
a famulis Histri qui tibi venit aquis*

“Degis, a dweller, Germanicus, on the bank that is now ours, who came to you from Hister’s subject waters” (*Epig.* 5.3, lines 1-2, translation by D.R. Shackleton-Bailey, LCL)

Pliny’s *Panegyricus* (16-17) mentions the Dacians, but is silent about the king’s name (*Quodsi quis barbarus rex* is how Pliny refers to Decebalus in 16.5). A few decades later, Gellius walks on Trajan’s Forum, admiring the decoration and discussing the *ex manubiis* inscription, but there is no word about Dacians or Decebalus (Aulus Gellius, *Noctes Atticae* 13.25.1), and Fronto, in his *De bello Parthico* 2 (van den Hout p. 220 = Haines vol. II (LCL), p. 20) and in the *Principia historiae* 10-11 (van den Hout p. 207-209 = Haines vol. II (LCL), p. 204-206) refers to the experiences of the Dacian wars without naming names.²⁵

Should one attribute any importance to this silence during the late first and second centuries? Were there conscious attempts to bury the memory of the king who created so many problems for Rome’s armies? Perhaps not; these omissions probably are purely fortuitous and may in some cases simply be due to metrical reasons, as Pliny hints in his letter to Caninius Rufus: *non nullus et in illo labor, ut barbara et fera nomina, in primis regis ipsius, Graecis versibus non resultent* (Plinius Minor, *Epistulae* 8.4.3).²⁶

3. Inscriptions

Unlike literature written on scrolls for the elite, inscriptions were documents accessible to the public at no cost and were therefore important, too, in creating and perpetuating a legend, as they could reach a wider audience.²⁷

There are less than ten surviving inscriptions mentioning the king, most of them public and some even monumental.²⁸ Three inscriptions on

²⁵ Note that Fronto, *Ad Verum imperatorem* 2.1 (van den Hout. 131 = Haines vol. II (LCL), p. 147) and *Principia historiae* 20 (van den Hout, p. 213 = Haines vol. II (LCL), p. 216) names Viriathus and Spartacus.

²⁶ “Another problem arises out of the barbaric names, especially that of the king himself where the uncouth sounds will not fit into Greek verse” (translation by B. Radice, LCL).

²⁷ I am leaving aside the question of literacy here, but in general I think that, in one way or another, monumental public inscriptions would have been accessible to a fair number of passers-by.

²⁸ Though the texts are few in number, I have not found them all collected anywhere. There are obviously many other inscriptions that refer to the Dacian *expeditiones*, see V.

Gallic pottery will be discussed at the end of this paper, the others are presented here.

(1) A large jar from Sarmizegethusa Regia in Dacia contains the two stamps *Decebalus* and *per Scorilo*. While there is little doubt that the king is being referred to (one may note the Latinized form of his name), it is debated whether *per Scorilo* refers to the potter who made the vessel, or gives the filiation of the king (cf. the Latin *puer*). As Petolescu has shown, the former suggestion must be right.²⁹

(2) Outside Dacia the earliest piece of evidence comes from Heliopolis (Baalbek) in Syria. The text lists among the accomplishments of a veteran officer an expedition under Domitian: *bello Marcomannorum Quadorum Sarmatarum adversus quos expeditionem fecit per regnum Decebali regis Dacorum* (ILS 9200).³⁰

(3) A dedication to Apollo and Diana from Cyrene dated to AD 107, only a year after Decebalus' death, already celebrates Trajan's capture of the king.³¹

(4) The tombstone of Claudius Maximus the "captor of Decebalus" was found near Philippi in Northern Greece, and dates to after the Parthian war or to at least a decade after Decebalus' death.³²

Rosenberger, *Bella et expeditiones. Die antike Terminologie der Kriege Roms* (Stuttgart 1992), 92-94; C.C. Petolescu, 'La victoire de Trajan en Mésie inférieure', *Thraco-Dacica* 16 (1995) 223-26, esp. 224; Petolescu 1991, op. cit. (n. 3), 93 and 96 (coins), but those that do not mention Decebalus by name will not be cited here. There has been a debate about of the exact identity of King Decebalus: N. Gostar argued, in a posthumously published paper, that the Dacian king Diurpaneus who fought against Domitian is the same man who later acquired the honorary "Siegename" Decebalus. This view, also found in earlier scholarship, is convincingly refuted by Petolescu 1991, op. cit. (n. 3), 14-16.

²⁹ For the stamps, see now IDR 3.3, no. 272 (with a question mark regarding whether Decebalus is the king himself); also AE 1977, 672. P. MacKendrick, *The Dacian Stones Speak* (Chapel Hill, NC 1975), 64-66 shows the vessel and the stamp, but still offers the interpretation of the discoverer C. Daicoviciu, that the text means "Decebalus, son of Scorilo", the latter being the *Scorylus dux Dacorum* mentioned in Frontinus, *Stratagemata* 1.10.4. This view is however convincingly refuted by Petolescu 1991, op. cit. (n. 3), 35 f. (as well as in the commentary in IDR 3.3).

³⁰ On the events referred to here briefly in Strobel 1984, op. cit. (n. 15), 126 f.

³¹ See SEG 9, 101: ὁ κύριος Νέρβας Τ[ραϊανὸς ...]χον Δεκίβαλλον ἔλαβε. Speidel 1970, op. cit. (n. 2), 142 n. 1 remarks that this text shows the same "official imperial propaganda" as Claudius Maximus' text (no. 4 below): Decebalus is alleged to have been "caught", but in reality he took his own life.

³² See above n. 2.

(5) In Dacia itself the defeated king may have been mentioned in two monumental inscriptions erected at Adamklissi in modern Roumania (ancient Moesia Inferior), the place where the Romans built a major victory monument. The letter “D” is however all that remains of the crucial word, and although no proposed restoration is quite satisfactory, it seems that the expression on the stone was [*exerc*]itu D[*acorum*].³³

(6) One of several inscriptions of great men of the Trajanic age that were erected in Rome, accompanying their statues, also mentions the campaign in which Trajan *gentem Dacor(um) et regem Decebalum bello superavit* (CIL 6, 1444 = ILS 1022). It lists the achievements of Q. Sosius Senecio, cos. 99, cos. II 107.³⁴

(7) The *Fasti Ostienses*, which for the citizens in Rome’s harbour gave an account of the major events in the Capital and in Ostia on a yearly basis. This chronicle famously describes the last stage in Decebalus’ life: *caput] Décibali [- in sca]lis Gémóni[is -]*.³⁵

The emperor Trajan was in fact never able to parade the fettered king through Rome’s centre (the fate that befell for instance Iugurtha and Vercingetorix), but instead the government in Rome made the most of this symbolic end of Trajan’s war against the Dacians.

Was that scene on the Gemonian Steps the beginning of the “legend of Decebalus”? And what kind of a legend should we imagine? A priori, there are two more or less plausible versions: (1) the legend of Decebalus the great Dacian king who fought for his people’s freedom and opposed Rome for so

³³ In favour of *D[ecebali]*: N. Gostar, ‘Les inscriptions votives du monument triomphal d’Adamclisi’, *Latomus* 28 (1969), 118-25 (= AE 1972, 521); Strobel 1984, op. cit. (n. 15), 34 f.; Petolescu 1991, op. cit. (n. 3), 64 with some doubts. L. Bianchi, ‘Adamclisi: il programma storico e iconografico del Trofeo di Traiano’, *Scienze dell’Antichità* 2 (1988), 427-73, esp. 432 considers it utterly impossible that the inscriptions would have deigned the conquered king with a mention and he may have a point. For the epigraphical counter-argument see E. Dorotiu-Boila, ‘Despre inscriptia votiva a monumentului triumfal de la Adamclisi’, *Studii Clasice* 25 (1987), 45-56, esp. 52; see also AE 1996, 1355.

³⁴ As shown by C.P. Jones, ‘Sura and Senecio’, *Journal of Roman Studies* 60 (1970), 98-104, the Roman general in this fragmentary inscription is Sosius Senecio, not Licinius Sura; thus already briefly R. Syme, *Tacitus* (Oxford 1958), 641. Cf. also id., ‘Hadrian’s Autobiography’, *Roman Papers* VI (Oxford 1991), 398-408, esp. 403.

³⁵ The text is conveniently found in B. Bargagli - C. Grosso, *I Fasti Ostienses documento della storia di Ostia*, *Itinerari Ostiensi* 8 (Roma 1997), 35. The missing verb is perhaps *iacuit*, as suggested by Speidel 1970, op. cit. (n. 2), 151.

many decades,³⁶ or (2) that of Decebalus the treacherous Barbarian king who was forced to take his own life hunted down by the valiant Roman cavalry.

There is no doubt that the Roman authorities in Rome did their best to promote the second alternative,³⁷ and we can be certain, not least from a comparison with the gravestone from Philippi (Fig. 1), that in Rome scene 145 on Trajan's Column indeed does show the moment when the king is found by the pursuing Romans.³⁸

4. Archaeological evidence

The Dacian gold made it possible to rework part of Rome's centre in a stunning way. Trajan's Forum, with its very explicit symbolism in the form of numerous marble statues of Dacian prisoners,³⁹ was the centre piece, and an important part of this urbanistic project was Trajan's Column.⁴⁰

³⁶ This idea is not completely unwarranted; cf. that Dio Chrysostomos, who visited the battlegrounds in Dacia, spoke of the Dacians "fighting for freedom and their native land" in his "Olympian speech" (Dio Chrysostomos, *Oratio* 12.16-20), as pointed out in the admirable study by Settis 1988, op. cit. (n. 20), 229 f. In Cassius Dio, *Roman History*, 68.11.1-2 Decebalus encourages his neighbours to fight for freedom against slavery under the Romans. See further below.

³⁷ On the question of a legend promoted by the government, see Speidel 1970, op. cit. (n. 2), 150 notes 97-98, "an inscription sponsored by Trajan himself" (on Sosius Senecio's inscription); and the "wide publicity given to the 'capture' ...". In general on propaganda (in visual media) under Trajan relating to the Dacian victory see R. Scheiper, *Bildpropaganda der römischen Kaiserzeit unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Trajanssäule in Rom und korrespondierender Münzen* (Bonn 1982), 123-259.

³⁸ As was already argued by A. Stein in *PIR*² D 19 (1943). For a representation of the scene on the column see, e.g., Speidel 1970, op. cit. (n. 2), pl. XIV; Settis 1988, op. cit. (n. 20), 526.

³⁹ See P. Zanker, 'Das Trajansforum in Rom', *Archäologischer Anzeiger* 85 (1970), 499-544, esp. 507-12; some examples also in J.E. Packer, 'Trajan's forum again: the column and the temple of Trajan in the master plan attributed to Apollodorus (?)', *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 7 (1994), 163-82, esp. 173 f.

⁴⁰ The column was inaugurated in 113 AD, see J. Packer, 'Forum Traiani', *Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae* II (Roma 1995), 348-56, esp. 348. The attempt of A. Claridge, 'Hadrian's column of Trajan', *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 6 (1993), 5-22, esp. 13-22, to date the frieze to the first part of Hadrian's reign has not found favour with other scholars; see Packer 1994, op. cit. (n. 39), 167-71; S. Maffei, 'Forum Traiani: Columna', *Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae* II (Roma 1995), 356-59, esp. 358; Coulston 2004, op. cit. (n. 23), 393. Part of the area surrounding the column is however from the late 120s, see now R. Meneghini, 'Nuovi dati sulla funzione e le fasi costruttive delle "biblioteche" del Foro di Traiano', *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome. Antiquité* 114 (2002), 655-92, esp. 689-92.

Yet, to complicate matters somewhat, we have to ask what the marvelous carved frieze on the Column really did for Decebalus' fame. Few classicists or members of the general public have ever enjoyed the details in scene 145, "The Capture of Decebalus", without the help of binoculars – or, for that matter, scene 147, "The Showing of Decebalus' head to the army",⁴¹ – except for those who had the chance to climb up the scaffolding during the recent restaurations. Decebalus features in some earlier scenes as well, but his identification is no easier there.⁴² The fact the Column was surrounded by the basilica and the two "library" halls did not make it more accessible in antiquity.⁴³

The spiral frieze is there for us to admire, and one can well imagine that it must have had an effect on its Roman viewers as well. And even though a Roman visitor may not have been able to discern its details, there must have been bystanders or street peddlers or other people living off the ancient tourist trade who would relate (their version of) the column's message to the curious visitor.

However, in Roman times there was so much more in and around Trajan's Forum that might have made a greater impression on an observer. It is remarkable that in all of antiquity we never find anyone commenting on the column's decoration, which we today might well call one of Rome's seven architectural or artistic wonders. Of course observers and visitors did comment on the column in antiquity, and it is evident that they admired it. But the monument is referred to as the *columna coc(h)lis* (or something similar), that is "the column with a spiral staircase", as was recently shown by Martin Beckmann. There is never a word about the exterior decorations, about the frieze and what it shows.⁴⁴ The obvious case is Ammianus Marcellinus' visit to Trajan's Forum in AD 357. We hear nothing about the

⁴¹ These scenes are shown by, e.g., Speidel 1970, op. cit. (n. 2), pl. XIV and XV.2; Settis 1988, op. cit. (n. 20), 526, 530.

⁴² Speidel 1970, op. cit. (n. 2), 149 n. 88 indicates the earlier scenes nos. 75, 93, and 135 on the column; Settis 1988, op. cit. (n. 20), 289, 389, 425, 508, agrees and adds scene 24.

⁴³ Packer 1970, op. cit. (n. 39), 177 f.

⁴⁴ M. Beckmann, 'The *Columnae Coc(h)lides* of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius', *Phoenix* 56 (2002), 348-57, esp. 349-53, for the terminology. Beckmann, *ibid.* 352, uses the Teubner edition of Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res Gestae* 16.10.14: *elatosque vertices scansili suggestu concharum, priorum principum imitamenta portantes*, translated as "and the exalted heights with raising platforms of conch-like quality bearing likenesses of previous emperors" (the LCL edition, transl. J.C. Rolfe, here has *elatosque vertices qui scansili suggestu consurgunt*, "the exalted heights which rise with platforms to which one may mount").

Dacians, not to mention Decebalus, although the Forum made by far the deepest impression on him and the emperor Constantius: *cum ad Traiani forum venisset, singularem sub omni caelo structuram* (Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res Gestae* 16.10.15).

In terms of archaeological evidence for the “legend of Decebalus”, the major Roman victory monument in Roumania, in Dacian territory, the *tropaeum* at Adamklissi, carved under Trajan by less skilled artists than the monuments in Rome and less well preserved, should also be considered.⁴⁵ The message is very similar: the Roman army conquers the Dacians; the heroes are Romans and the enemies are Dacians. What is most relevant for us is that Decebalus cannot be identified in any of the preserved panels (and very little is missing). Some scholars think they have detected the death of the Dacian king among the decorations of the Adamklissi monument, especially after the scene from Claudius Maximus’ tombstone was discovered and inspired the search for something similar at Adamklissi, but it seems that we are just dealing with generic pictures of Dacian fighters being killed by Romans.⁴⁶ Thus, at Adamklissi in Dacia the memory of Decabalus was not kept alive in any major archaeological monument, as far as we know, not even as the memory of a desperate and defeated enemy.⁴⁷

⁴⁵ See F. Bobu Florescu, *Das Siegesdenkmal von Adamklissi: Tropaeum Traiani* (Bukarest-Bonn 1965³); L. Bianchi, ‘Tropaeum Traiani’, *Enciclopedia dell’Arte Antica* 2. Suppl. V (Roma 1997), 862-64. Bianchi 1988, op. cit. (n. 33) also contains many good observations. On which victory was celebrated at Adamklissi there are many conflicting views; C. Petolescu, ‘La victoire de Trajan en Mésie Inférieure’, *Thraco-Dacica* 16 (1995), 223-26, relates the monument to Roman victories in the winter of 101/02 (based on the new inscription SEG 39, 358 = AE 1991, 1450, but the chronological argument is not convincing). The monument was also recently discussed by M. Alexandrescu Vianu, ‘Tropaeum Traiani. L’ensemble commémoratif d’Adamclisi’, *Il Mar Nero* 2 (1995/96) 145-88 (without any mention of Decebalus).

⁴⁶ Bianchi 1988, op. cit. (n. 33), 439-41 convincingly discussed the matter, but M. Griffin, ‘Nerva to Hadrian’, *The Cambridge Ancient History*, 2nd ed., vol. XI (Cambridge 2000), 84-131, esp. 110 still claims that Decebalus is represented on the Adamklissi monument, based on Speidel 1970, op. cit. (n. 2). M.P. Speidel, ‘The suicide of Decebalus on the Tropaeum of Adamklissi’, *Revue Archéologique* 1971, 74-78 is more detailed. L. Rossi, ‘Evidenza storico-epigrafica della decapitazione di Decabalo in monete e monumenti traiani con proposta di riordino delle metope del Tropaeum Traiani di Adamklissi’, *Rivista Italiana di Numismatica* 73 (1971) 77-90, esp. 81-83 also advocated Decebalus’ presence in a different metope (no. 7). Bianchi 1988, op. cit. (33), 440 f. argues that if Decebalus is shown, he appears escaping on horseback in metope no. 30.

⁴⁷ Cf. above at n. 33 on the possibility that his name was mentioned in the inscriptions on the monument.

The question of generic pictures, raised by the monument at Adamklissi, prompts us to consider whether we may also be dealing with generic pictures in the two representations of King Decebalus' death. "Roman cavalryman attacks prostrate enemy" is not a very original scene; it demonstrates Roman superiority in a particularly effective way. Scholars have often taken every aspect of the tombstone from Philippi as strictly autobiographical,⁴⁸ and I would not contradict them as far as the text is concerned. The expression *caput eius pertulisset ei Ranisstor(m)* follows no common formula in military tombstones (although, as one can easily ascertain, the Latin phrase *caput referre* (or similar) of dead enemy heads is almost a *terminus technicus*⁴⁹). Cassius Dio knows the same story: proof of the dead king was brought to Trajan and onwards to Rome (Cassius Dio, *Roman History* 67.14.3). Yet what really matters for us is what kind of story originated from the event: was it the stuff of which legends are made?

We have Trajan's column and the tombstone that indicate the existence of a uniform story. Is there more? In particular, is there more to Decebalus's head?

5. Coins

The Italian scholar Lino Rossi has argued that certain coins minted in connection with the Dacian wars do *not* show a generic picture of Trajan, Pax, or Dea Roma trampling the head or bust of a conquered Barbarian symbolizing Dacia (this is how previous scholarship has interpreted the coins),⁵⁰ but that for several reasons we can tie these motives precisely to the decapitation of Decebalus (see Figs. 2-3). Chronology is important here. The coins

⁴⁸ Cf. that Speidel 1970, op. cit. (n. 2), 149 acknowledges that Trajan's column may not show a true portrait of the king, "yet Decebalus must have looked at least similar to this truly impressive image". The relief from Philippi adheres suspiciously close to standard patterns in Roman art; Speidel 1984, op. cit. (n. 2), 408 gives references to several scholars who have pointed out iconographical *topoi* that probably influenced the relief on the tombstone.

⁴⁹ Tacitus, *Annales* 14.57: *relatum caput eius inlusit Nero*; ibid. 14.59: *caput interfecti relatum*; ibid. 14.64: *caput amputatum latumque in urbem*; Tacitus, *Historiae* 2.16: *capita ut hostium ipsi interfectores ... tulere*; Florus, *Epitome* 1.45.8: *relatumque regis caput*; Historia Augusta, *Maximini duo* 11.4: *caput eius ad imp(eratore)m detulit*; Anon., *Liber de viris illustribus* 81.6: *caput (scil. Ciceronis) ad Antonium relatum*.

⁵⁰ Rossi 1971, op. cit. (n. 46), 84 f. (*RIC* II, nos. 190a, 210, 489-90, 503-6, 547). For these motives, see P.L. Strack, *Untersuchungen zur römischen Reichsprägung des zweiten Jahrhunderts I. Die Reichsprägung zur Zeit des Traian* (Stuttgart 1931), 113 f., dating some of them to the first Dacian war.

cannot be dated with any precision from the imperial titulature: Trajan is *consul V*, and this places the coins in the period AD 103-111, after Trajan had entered his third consulate (January 103), but before his sixth in 112. The work of P.V. Hill on the undated coins from AD 98-148 paved the way for Rossi, but Hill's largely iconographical analysis of the various coins led him to date some of the "trampling of the head" coins to 104 and after.⁵¹ Rossi on the other hand argues that none of the coins in question is earlier than AD 106.⁵² This later date is clearly crucial, so that what looks like a head or a bust from the shoulders up should be identifiable as the Dacian king, whose head lying on the Gemonian Stairs symbolized his utter defeat.

It seems difficult to reach certainty in this matter, but surely if sophisticated modern scholars find it difficult to determine if the head under the foot of various figures representing Roman power belongs to Decebalus, nothing will have prevented ancient users of the coins from frequently drawing that very conclusion. This is what matters as far as the "legend of Decabalus" is concerned.

The motif of trampling a Dacian bust/head enjoyed a short life in the numismatic medium but the coins themselves will have been around for a number of years, circulating and perhaps making an impression on people until they were worn or hoarded.

6. The onomastic material

Onomastics can also shed light on the question of whether Decebalus was present in people's minds. If the king had become legendary, people will have known his name. But will they also have used it? And if we find the name *Decebalus* used with some frequency, can we be sure that this happened as a result of the fame of the Dacian king? I believe we can provide affirmative answers to both these questions.

To begin with, *Decebalus* (or *Decibalus*) is registered in Detschew's *Die thrakischen Sprachreste* and can therefore be regarded as a name indigenous to the Danubian region. The etymology is not quite clear, but

⁵¹ P.V. Hill, *The Dating and Arrangement of the Undated Coins of Rome AD 98-148* (London 1970), 11-13, 29-36, 135-39. Hill based much of his work on the theory of cyclical activity at the Roman mint proposed by R.A.G. Carson. The limitations of Hill's stylistic approach were pointed out in a review by J.-B. Giard, *Revue Numismatique* 6. ser. 13 (1971), 168.

⁵² Rossi 1971, op. cit. (n. 46), 84-90. It is in fact somewhat surprising that in Hill's chronology the "trampling of a Dacian head" motive first appears in 104, well after the victory celebrations relating to the first Dacian war, but before the outbreak of the second.

Detschew, following Kretschmer, suggests a meaning for *Decebalus* related to the Latin *decet*, “es ziemt sich”, *decus*, “Zierde”, or in any case a name with a positive meaning, having to do with “propriety, honour”.⁵³ The ending *-bal* is probably connected to the meaning “shining, gleaming”.⁵⁴ *Decebalus* is therefore a name with a positive meaning that may be expected to have been given to people of Thracian language and culture.

In fact *Decebalus* occurs as a personal name in various places in the Roman world. Interestingly, all known examples belong to the period after King Decebalus’ death. I know of the following instances:⁵⁵

1. CIL 6, 25572 (Rome): *Sex. Rufius Decibalus* (he commemorates his son Sex. Rufius Achilleus – are father and son both named after heroes?)
2. CIL 15, 2797 (Rome): *Deceb[alus]* (an amphora stamp)
3. *Epigraphica* 13, 1951, 138 no. 118 (Rome): *Silvin(ius) Decibal(us)* (an *equus singularis*)
4. IGUR I, 160 face II col. C 33 = *American Journal of Archaeology* 37 (1933) Pl. II col. vii no. 85 (Rome): DEKIBALOS (member of a Bacchic cult association)
5. AE 1989, 299 (Assisi): *D(is) M(anibus) T. Vibatio Decibalo ... liberto*
6. RIB 1920 = CIL 7, 539 = 7, 866 (Birdoswald): *D. M. Deciba[li]*
7. *Die Römischen Inschriften Ungarns* 22 I.9 = CIL 3, 4150 (Savaria = Szombathely): *Iul(ius) Decibalus* (member of a large *collegium* in AD 188)
8. CIL 3, 7437 line 52 (= B. Gerov, *Inscriptiones Latinae in Bulgaria repertae* 438 = ILS 4060, but without name lists) (near Nicopolis ad Istrum): *Cresce(n)s Deceb(ali)* (a name list of a cult association of AD 227, “*album sodalicii cuiusdam Bacchi*”)
9. IGBulg 709 (near Nicopolis ad Istrum): Δικέβαλος Δικέδ[ου]
10. *Inscriptiones Latinae de Novae* 54 (Novae): *Fl(avio) Decebalo vet(erano) leg. I Ital(icae) Severianae*
11. “*Bulletin of the Varna Archaeological Society*” 14 (1963) 51 f. no. 8 (Varna): Εἰθία Δικεβάλι (sic)

⁵³ D. Detschew, *Die thrakischen Sprachreste* (Wien 1976²), 124.

⁵⁴ Detschew 1976, op. cit. (n. 52), 41, writes on the name “Balas”: “idg *bhel-* ‘glänzen’ in ai. *bhala-m* ‘Glanz’”, and gives further references to Celtic and Greek corresponding words.

⁵⁵ The list has been compiled with the help of the *AE*; *SEG*; *PIR*² D 19; Detschew 1976, op. cit. (n. 53); B. Lörincz *et al.*, *Onomasticon provinciarum Europae latinarum* II (Wien 1999) (who quotes only five instances); M. Burbulescu, ‘Numele Δεκέβαλος pe o inscriptie descoperita in Dobrogea’, *Thraco-Dacica* 11 (1990), 5-9; and above all Petolescu 1991, op. cit. (n. 3), 15.

12. CIL 3, 7477 (Durostorum): *Valerius Decibal[us]* (son of Valerius Marcus *miles leg. XI Claudiae* and Aurelia Faustina)
13. AE 1998, 1141 (Sucidava): *Diurdano Decebali (filio) veteran(o)*
14. AE 1992, 1495 (= SEG 40, 605) (Constanza): Ναϊέτων Δεκεβά[λ]ου
15. E. Popescu, *Inscriptile grecesti si latine din secolele IV-XIII descoperite in Romania* (Bucuresti 1976) 272 (Salsovia): *Dicebalus exarchus*

Decebalus is not a very common name, though. It is not nearly as common as some other Thracian names, such as the many names beginning with *Muca-*: *Mucaboris*, *Mucatralis*, *Mucaporis*, and *Mucianus* even,⁵⁶ or the names *Bithus* (*Bithys*), *Dizas*, and so on.⁵⁷ Still, with fifteen entries in our list, it is worth carrying out an investigation into the occurrence of the name *Decebalus*.

To put the frequency of *Decebalus* in another context, namely that of names referring to legendary enemies, it may be noted that in Rome *Hannibal* is equally common in inscriptions, with four known cases.⁵⁸ In addition we have literary references for the use of the name *Hannibal*, but perhaps significantly we are dealing with a slave name when Suetonius (*Life of Domitian* 10.3) reports that the senator Mettius Pompusianus in the reign of Domitian gave his slaves the names *Mago* and *Hannibal* (he had an “imperial nativity”, *vulgo ferebatur habere imperatoriam genesim*, which made him a possible rival, and he was an avid reader of Livy, thus perhaps also a republican; cf. Cassius Dio, *Roman History* 67.12.2-4). Then in the late second/early third century we come across the striking cognomen *Hannibalianus*, born by a man of consular rank, who is considered to have been an ancestor of the Praetorian Prefect under Diocletian, Afranius Hannibalianus.⁵⁹ Moreover, during the reign of Constantine I it briefly entered the

⁵⁶ Detschew 1976, op. cit. (n. 53), 312-20: “Same, Art, Geschlecht, Nachkommenschaft”; cf. V. Besevliev, *Untersuchungen über die Personennamen bei den Thrakern* (Amsterdam 1970), 38 f. on Mucianus.

⁵⁷ On *Bithus*, see Detschew 1976, op. cit. (n. 53), 66-68 “strong, powerful” p. 65; on *Dizas*, see *ibid.*, 132-34: related to “wall, castle”. There are numerous attestations for each name.

⁵⁸ L. Vidman, CIL 6, 6.2. *Index cognominum* (Berolini-Novii Eboraci 1980) gives CIL 6, 6461, 23782, 38429. H. Solin, *Die stadtrömischen Sklavennamen I-III* (Stuttgart 1996), 22 adds NSA 1915, 47 no. 32 (M. Furius M.l. Annibalus).

⁵⁹ G. Barbieri, *L'Albo senatorio da Settimio Severo a Carino (193-285)*, Roma 1952, 354 no. 2039; *PIR*² H 14. The man was of Eastern origin and the name may have a local flavour.

imperial family, as a half-brother of his was called Hannibalianus, as was his nephew.⁶⁰ Perhaps an eastern onomastic tradition is the explanation.

As for the men called *Decebalus*, it is important to identify their social status. Are they slaves and freedmen, or are they freeborn? A master giving his slave the name *Decebalus* perhaps does so as a practical joke, as Mettius Pompusianus must have done with his slaves Mago and Hannibal, or for some other particular reason that we cannot know, but hardly in order to honour the king.⁶¹ If a free person gives the name to a child, more respect is likely to be involved.

Among the “*Decebali*”, slaves or probable slaves appear in very few cases.⁶² On the contrary, the largest group is made up of men who undoubtedly were freeborn (nos. 2, 3, 10, 12, 13, and 15), and then there is an almost equal amount of so-called “*incerti*”, i.e. men who might be either freed slaves or freeborn: nos. 6, 7, 8, 11, and 14. Most of these *incerti* come from Dacia and Moesia, and since it has been established by György that among the slave names used in Roman Dacia only a very small portion were not Greek or Latin,⁶³ it is not likely that many of these *incerti* from Dacia and Moesia were former slaves.

The geographical spread is also interesting. Rome is well represented, but with a few exceptions it is the area covered by modern Roumania and Bulgaria that provides most of the instances.

How, though, can we determine whether in these inscriptions the names of our epigraphical *Decebali* were inspired by the Dacian king? We

⁶⁰ *PLRE* I, Hannibalianus nos. 1-2 for Constantine’s relatives; no. 3 for Afranius Hannibalianus, *cos.* 292, *PVR* 297-98.

⁶¹ J. Baumgart, *Die römischen Sklavennamen* (Breslau 1936), 57-59, recorded instances where the names of foreign rulers, some of them hostile to Rome, were used during the imperial period; Antiochos was by far the most common name, while also Pharnaces was well represented. The investigation is now superseded by Solin 1996, *op. cit.* (n. 58), 239-55, esp. 244-47 for Antiochos (189 instances) and 254 f. for Pharnaces (30 references). Cf. H. Solin, ‘Appunti sulla presenza di Africani a Roma’, *Africa Romana* XIV (Roma 2002), 1381-86, esp. 1382 on one *Primus qui et Iugurtha* (H. Solin - M. Itonen-Kaila, *Graffiti del Palatino I. Paedagogium* (Helsinki 1966), no 177). According to Solin the original name of the man must have been Iugurtha, as his master would not have bestowed such a name on him.

⁶² As far as I can make out, only no. 5 belongs in this category without any doubt (he is a freedman, and thus was once a slave), while no. 2 perhaps is a slave, and no. 4 perhaps a freedman. No. 9 seems to be the property of one Dikedos.

⁶³ E. György, “Die Namengebung der Sklaven und Freigelassenen im römischen Dakien”, *Acta Musei Napocensis* 36 (1999), 109-28.

can approach this question by way of a comparison. In Cassius Dio's account of the Dacian wars a few other Dacian leaders are mentioned by name: for instance Diegis, the king's brother, whom we encountered in Martial's text (cf. above, p. 159; see also Cassius Dio, *Roman History* 67.7.2), Ouezinias (or Vezinas), a close ally (Cassius Dio, *Roman History* 67.10.2), and Bikilis, a companion of his (ibid. 68.14.5).

According to Detschew, the meaning of these names, in so far as their etymology can be established with reasonable certainty, is quite positive. *Ouezinias* seems related to "strength", "hero", "courageous",⁶⁴ while *Diegis* can be linked to a word meaning "bright", "shining";⁶⁵ *Bikilis* remains unexplained. In any case, there should be nothing to prevent parents from calling their children by such names. If they desired a Thracian name but wanted to fit into the Roman context, they might be expected to have preferred *Ouezinias*, *Diegis* or *Bikilis* to the one name which might really offend any Roman with a sense of history, namely *Decebalus*.⁶⁶ Yet to the best of my knowledge these inoffensive Thracian names do not appear in any inscription.⁶⁷

Two possible explanations come to mind. The first is that those people who chose the name *Decebalus* were completely unaware of the existence of the great king and chose his name by chance – the legend was completely dead, then – while avoiding for some reason names with a positive ring such as *Ouezinias* or *Diegis*. The other is that some memory of King Decebalus

⁶⁴ Detschew 1976, op. cit. (n. 53), 347.

⁶⁵ See Detschew 1976, op. cit. (n. 53), 126, for the etymology.

⁶⁶ Regarding the frequency of *Decebalus*, I do not think that we are dealing with a parallel to the contemporary onomastic practice of the U.S. armed forces, which use helicopters with type names such as OH-58 Kiowa Warrior or AH-64 Apache. These names, referring to native peoples that once were much maligned "savages" and enemies, are gestures at least partly originating in an intellectual milieu of imperialistic guilt, surely unknown in Roman times.

⁶⁷ For the occurrence of these names see Detschew 1976, op. cit. (n. 53), 68, 135, 347; in each case only the example from Cassius Dio is cited. One looks in vain for *Diegis*, *Degis* or any similar name in Lörincz *et al.* 1999, op. cit. (n. 55). But cf. H. Solin, 'Thrakische Sklavennamen und Namen thrakischer Sklaven in Rom', *Studia in honorem G. Mihailov* (Sofia 1995 [1997]), 433-47, esp. 439 on *Diagiza M. Fulvi s(ervus)* (CIL 15, 2445): "Mutet thrakisch an", with further references. A new Thracian female name *Degou* was presented by T. Corsten, 'Einige neue thrakische Namen', *Beiträge zur Namenforschung* 25 (1990), 261-66, esp. 262 f.

still lingered and exerted a small but perceptible influence over naming practices.⁶⁸ The former explanation seems unlikely, to say the least.

7. Pottery

Finally, there is the decorated Gallic terra sigillata of La Graufesenque in Southern France. The production of this type of pottery began in the second half of the first century AD.⁶⁹ Figs. 4-5 show scenes from La Graufesenque pottery. The first item has been known for a long time (it appears in CIL 13, 10013.39) and was found in western France. It features someone called Decibale; his name is repeated twice. The word *dumenus* has been interpreted as *dominus*, and the most coherent reading that has been given is [*Sarmizege*]dusa ubi Decibale dumenus [---].⁷⁰ But the text is fragmentary and the only certainty is that it refers to the Dacian king's suicide.

A more recent discovery, from La Graufesenque itself, shows that the local potters also produced other scenes featuring Decebalus (Fig. 5).⁷¹ These are interesting manifestations of the "legend of Decebalus", but obviously the evidence must be seen in perspective; we are not dealing with objects as common as Coca-Cola bottles. Déchelette's standard work shows that there was an enormous richness and variety in the decorations used for La Graufesenque pottery; above all, representations of gods, gladiators, and animals.⁷² In contrast, all we have at the moment is one large and one small fragment showing one scene, one vessel showing another, and a third type of decorated terra sigillata with the text *DECIBALE N[-] / ATEVANE* and a fragmentary reclining figure.⁷³ Certainly such scenes could not be found in

⁶⁸ For the reason indicated in the main text I do not agree with the comment of V. Bozilova, to *Inscr. Lat. de Novae*, no. 54 (no. 10 in the list above), that by the early third century the name Decebalus was possibly "un nome indigène tout à fait banal".

⁶⁹ See J. Déchelette, *Les vases céramiques ornées de la Gaule romaine I-II* (Paris 1904); A. Oxé, 'La Graufesenque', *Bonner Jahrbücher* 140/141 (1936), 325-94; and A. Bourgeois, 'L'empreinte de Rome dans le Gaules: l'apport de La Graufesenque (Millau, Aveyron)', *Cahiers du Centre Gustave Glotz* 6 (1995), 103-38, esp. 103 for recent scholarship.

⁷⁰ M. Labrousse, 'Les potiers de la Graufesenque et la gloire de Trajan', *Apulum* 19 (1981), 57-63, esp. 58. He also reads *rex* after *dumenus*.

⁷¹ Presented by Labrousse 1981, op. cit. (n. 70), 59 f. with figs. 4-6. The scene is reproduced also in van Hooff 1990, op. cit. (n. 21), 180; Settis 1988, op. cit. (n. 20), 227.

⁷² See Déchelette 1904, op. cit. (n. 69).

⁷³ In addition to CIL 13, 10013.39, the first type was discovered at La Graufesenque in 1934, see Labrousse 1981, op. cit. (n. 70), 59 and fig. 3; for the second type, see above n. 70; for the third, also found at La Graufesenque, see Labrousse 1981, op. cit. (n. 70), 61 and fig. 7.

every village *caupona* in Gaul or in those places to which decorated Gallic terra sigillata was exported.

Yet these discoveries are significant. Clearly the events across the Danube had made enough of an impression on the imagination of these Gallic potters to stimulate them to create these images. And once production began, the legend spread further. The potter responsible for these “historical decorations”, L. Cosius, did not produce solely for the local market, for his products have been discovered in Italy, Gaul, Britain, the Germanic provinces and Raetia.⁷⁴

These iconographic sources may also have further implications. We are probably not just seeing some scenes from distant Dacia being recreated for the buyers of these pots. The picture shown in Fig. 5 seems to fit an amphitheatrical context rather well. It was recently stressed by Kathleen Coleman how the Romans used to re-enact mythological, but also historical events in their amphitheatres,⁷⁵ and perhaps something similar took place after the Dacian victory. Whether the spectators were shown merely a tableau (vivant?) of Decebalus’ suicide, or a condemned criminal was given the role of Decebalus to perform, is difficult to say.⁷⁶ Since the inscriptions in Fig. 5 also refer to the Parthian campaign of Trajan, we can date these performances to after AD 117, and the activities of the La Graufesenque potters to sometime after that.

⁷⁴ On the potter L. Cosius and the distribution of his products see Labrousse 1981, op. cit. (n. 70), 62.

⁷⁵ K.M. Coleman, ‘Fatal charades: Roman executions staged as mythological enactments’, *Journal of Roman Studies* 80 (1990), 44-73, esp. 64 f., 71 f.; K.M. Coleman, ‘Launching into history: aquatic displays in the early Empire’, *Journal of Roman Studies* 83 (1993), 48-74, esp. 60-62, 677 f. for historical scenes. When Cassius Dio 67.8.2 mentions battles between infantry formations and between cavalry units in the circus games after Domitian’s Danubian campaign, it sounds as if these were also inspired by historical events, probably by the recent war.

⁷⁶ The connection with the amphitheatre was already made by Labrousse 1981, op. cit. (n. 70), 62, who suggested painted tablets as the inspiration; similarly J.-J. Hatt, ‘Armée romaine et dieux celtiques’, *Bulletin de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France* 1983, 24-30, esp. 25 “spectacle de cirque”, and Coulston 2004, op. cit. (n. 23), n. 140; doubted by Settis 1988, op. cit. (n. 20), 226-28, who suggested the potter had combined real historical events with the large *venationes* staged in Rome after the second Dacian victory. One may note that Plinius Minor, *Panegyricus* 17.2 mentions painted scenes in the triumph after Trajan’s first Dacian war.

We can thus infer another ingredient in the shaping of the “legend of Decebalus”, namely performances in Roman amphitheatres, probably in Southern France (but perhaps elsewhere too), showing his defeat.

8. Conclusion: Dacians as Trojans?

Trajan’s campaigns against the Dacians was a major war which saw one of the largest concentrations of Roman forces ever. But the Dacian wars were not merely large and bloody.

The wars against the Dacians were important for many reasons. It was the first military enterprise conducted by the new emperor. Trajan was a military man, but he needed to prove his qualities as emperor. Domitian had achieved a mixed success in his northern wars, a fact which had damaged his rule and reputation (cf. Tacitus, *Agricola* 41.2-3; Cassius Dio, *Roman History* 67.7.2-4).⁷⁷

Warfare ended in AD 106 and Trajan made the most of the victory when he celebrated his second Dacian triumph. This also meant that after twenty years of trouble the Romans had finally settled the Dacian question. For good, as it turned out.

Did the Romans know whom they had been fighting? This question is less straightforward than it sounds. Of course, tens of thousands of Roman soldiers knew that they faced the Dacian forces of King Decebalus. But what about the people living far away from the front line, in the days before mass communication? Even though there is no way of really finding out, one would assume that news about this major event had travelled far, and that the name of King Decebalus had become known. We do not find much support for this view in surviving literature, though. Dacians are mentioned, not infrequently, but Decebalus appears much more rarely. Of course this may be a coincidence.

Once the king was dead, the Roman authorities made the most of the capture of Decebalus in their shaping of public opinion. The king could not be lead in a triumph and on to his execution. But the next best thing occurred: his head was shown to the army and to the people of Rome.

We should realize that not every venue chosen by Trajan and his advisers was equally efficient in shaping the memory of the defeat of Decebalus – there are doubts about the impact which the column in Rome had. In

⁷⁷ K. Strobel, *Die Donaukriege Domitians* (Bonn 1989), 111 f.; id., review in *Klio* 85 (2003), 530-32, esp. 532.

any case, only a small minority of the inhabitants of the Roman world ever had the opportunity to visit Trajan's Forum.

Did news of Decebalus' suicide and decapitation travel everywhere (a question which is of relevance in the larger context of the effects of Roman rule on the provinces)? My feeling is that it did, even if the process of dissemination must have been haphazard. First of all, the returning soldiers, of whom there were many, must have brought with them scores of anecdotes about the war, which surely also involved Decebalus. And when receiving the *honesta missio*, veterans may eventually have taken the stories even further, to non-military areas. Therefore I do not think that it is a coincidence that Decebalus is mentioned not only in Rome and Ostia but in inscriptions originating from five or six different provinces. To these epigraphic references the evidence provided by the Gallic terra sigillata must be added. In itself the number of texts is of course ludicrously low, but as always the surviving inscriptions are only a fraction of those that once existed.

The defeat of Decebalus was also picked up by Greek and Latin writers. Enough survives for us to see that he had indeed become legendary. Decebalus never acquired the same status as Hannibal, but one of the reasons why he did not may lie in the general conditions prevailing in the centuries following his death. Intellectuals had other concerns than the wars of the late first and early second centuries, and Roman history and culture did not, after Decebalus' death, develop in the same way as after the Second Punic war.

As far as the official picture is concerned, the content of the "legend" is clear: the wicked Barbarian was forced to take his own life. But was there another and different legend? The onomastic sources point in this direction. Are there perhaps even grounds for assuming the existence of an "anti-Roman legend", a legend of "Decebalus the great freedom fighter"? As we have seen, there are in fact some literary references stressing that the freedom of the Dacian people was at stake. Cassius Dio narrates how, in the lull between the first and second war, Decebalus sent emissaries to his neighbours with the message, that "it was safer and easier for them, by fighting on his side before suffering any harm, to preserve their freedom, than if they should ... later be subjugated themselves".⁷⁸ The Greek intellectual Dio Chrysostomus apparently visited the two opposing armies at about the same time, and in his *Olympic Discourse* described them as follows: "strong men

⁷⁸ Cassius Dio, *Roman history* 68.11.2 (Xiphilinus), transl. by E. Cary, LCL.

contending for empire and power [obviously the Romans], and their opponents for freedom and native land”.⁷⁹

Even in the Graeco-Roman world, then, there was some understanding for the cause of Decebalus and his people. Perhaps, especially with the passing of time, the wars of Decebalus and the Dacians took on something of a legendary character, with the old foes beginning to appear like contenders of the “Homeric kind”, a pair of noble antagonists such as Achilles and Hector. The Trojans were heroes too, after all. Thus to some people, evidently for the most part in the Danubian region, precisely in the area where one would expect it, Decebalus remained one of the heroes of the past, even several centuries after his death, yet without any pointed anti-Roman connotation.⁸⁰

Toronto, April 2004

⁷⁹ Dio Chrysostomus, *Oratio* 12.20: τοὺς δὲ ὑπὲρ ἐλευθερίας τε καὶ πατρίδος, transl. by J.W. Cohoon, LCL; the relevance of this passage was underlined by Settis 1988, op. cit. (n. 20), 229.

⁸⁰ To follow up on the onomastic parallel used above: one may note that the name Hannibal (or rather Annibale) has been quite accepted (even, or perhaps mostly) in noble and literary circles in Italy since the Renaissance.

III

ROMANIZATION AND ITS LIMITS

FUNERARY EPIGRAPHY
AND THE IMPACT OF ROME IN ITALY

By
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The experience of Italy under Roman domination has often been regarded as fundamentally different from that of the provinces – partly because Italy was conquered much earlier than the rest of the Mediterranean, but also because it enjoyed a different and closer legal relationship with Rome. As the vast amount of research on cultural change has indicated, the impact of Rome on regions of Italy was no less dramatic than on the provinces, and the full implications of Roman domination for the people of Italy is still not fully understood. What is clear, is that Italy, throughout, remained intensely regionalised, with strong local cultural traditions which adapted to, and interacted with, the ruling power of Rome, but did not disappear.² The processes which determined which aspects of local culture and society survived, which did not, and which aspects of Roman culture (itself constantly changing) were absorbed require further examination.

The funerary inscriptions of Italy are a particularly valuable resource, since they form the single largest body of surviving epigraphy, but they present methodological problems in their interpretation. In particular, inscriptions are all too frequently studied in isolation from form, location and iconography of the monuments themselves.³ This paper will examine case studies of funerary inscriptions from several different areas of Italy, with varying experiences of Roman conquest and domination, but will analyse these in the context of the location and iconography of the monuments on

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² N. Terrenato, 'The Romanisation of Italy: global acculturation or cultural *bricolage*?' in *TRAC 97: Proceedings of the 7th Theoretical Roman Archaeology Conference* (Oxford 1997), 20-27; G. Woolf, *Becoming Roman : the Origins of Provincial Civilization in Gaul* (Cambridge 1998), 7-16.

³ G.J. Oliver, 'Introduction' in G.J. Oliver, ed., *The Epigraphy of Death. Studies in the History and Society of Greece and Rome* (Liverpool 2000), 12-15; V. Hope, 'Inscription and Sculpture: the construction of identity on the military tombstones of Roman Mainz', *ibid.*, 155-86.

which they were placed. It will focus on the period from the Social War to the end of the 1st century AD, a period which was one of extensive cultural change in Italy. Romanization is clearly an important issue throughout the post-conquest history of Italy. It is also a notoriously difficult and problematic concept to define. Neither Roman culture, nor any of those with which it interacted, were static and the nature of cultural interactions with Rome varied widely according to the local context, social status and possibly gender of the individuals concerned. In any study of interaction between Roman and non-Roman cultures, we can see a process of negotiation and manipulation as each party adopts, adapts or rejects different aspects of culture according to his/her own agenda and needs. The late Republic and early empire is an era of particularly radical change in Italian culture and society, and this is reflected in changes in epigraphic culture which can provide an important source of evidence for the processes of cultural change.

Research on the epigraphy of Italy in the period before and immediately after the Social War has increasingly highlighted the extent to which many regions had flourishing and distinct traditions of written commemoration which were entirely independent of that of Rome.⁴ These provide a rich source of evidence for the social structure, social interactions, political and religious cultures of pre-Roman Italy; equally, the manner and means by which they eventually faded and were superseded by a superficially homogenous 'Romanized' epigraphic culture, based around the use of Latin language and alphabet, can also be very revealing as a way into the impact of Rome on the various non-Roman cultures of Italy. It is becoming increasingly clear that the level of homogeneity may be merely superficial and there is considerable evidence that local epigraphic cultures and traditions remained strong even within the Latinized epigraphic culture of the 1st century AD onwards.⁵

A useful model for the process of Romanization in funerary epigraphy has recently been constructed using a database of c. 4000 Etruscan and Latin

⁴ E. Benelli, *Le iscrizioni bilingui etrusco-latine* (Florence 1994); id. 'The Romanization of Italy through the epigraphic record' in S. Keay and N. Terrenato, eds., *Italy and the West: Comparative Issues in Romanization* (Oxford 2001), 8-10; R. Häussler, 'Writing Latin – from resistance to assimilation: language, culture and society in N. Italy and S. Gaul' in A. Cooley, ed., *Becoming Roman, Writing Latin. Literacy and Epigraphy in the Roman West* (Portsmouth RI 2002), 61-75.

⁵ Häussler 2002, op. cit. (n 4), 72-4; P. Milnes-Smith, "'Lapidarias litteras scio". Literacy and inscribing communities in Roman Venetia', in K. Lomas, R. Whitehouse and J. Wilkins, eds., *Literacy and Establishment of State Societies* (London, forthcoming).

inscriptions from northern Etruria – specifically, the territories of Perugia, Arezzo and Chiusi.⁶ Each inscription is subdivided into a series of potential cultural indicators, charting the elements of Roman culture adopted by the local population and examining how these were used. The pattern revealed is one of a complex interaction, in which certain aspects of Roman culture were adopted relatively early, while in other areas, the region retained a very high degree of pre-Roman cultural practices until much later. The inscriptions were analysed for the script and language, the content and form of the personal names, and the general epigraphic formulae and format used. Changes in these indicators over time were examined, then the varying patterns were brought together to give an overview of the epigraphic culture of the region in the 2nd-1st centuries BC and 1st century AD, and in particular the so-called private responses to Rome reflected in funerary inscriptions.⁷ The same methodology has also been applied to the epigraphy of north-east Italy, but other regions of Italy were excluded – notably those where the pre-Roman epigraphic habit is Greek or exposed to a high degree of Hellenisation – on the grounds that these areas are atypical and would skew the analysis.⁸ While it is undoubtedly true that the Greek language had a higher status than many others in the eyes of the Roman elite of the late Republic and early Empire, this is not a reason to dismiss evidence from the Greek or Hellenised areas of Italy out of hand. If interaction with Rome, and Roman culture, is to be understood as a process of dialogue and mutual interaction between cultures which are themselves not static, there is no good reason to omit a group, or groups, because a small – if influential – sector of Roman society might react to its culture in a particular way. In any case, the attitude of Romans to Greeks and the Greek language was highly ambivalent and the Greek culture of the region concerned itself raises some complicated cultural issues.⁹ The aim of this paper, therefore, is twofold: firstly, to apply Benelli's

⁶ Benelli 1994 and 2001, *opp. cit.* (n. 4).

⁷ On the dichotomy between public and private in the ancient world and the difficulties in defining it, see P. Veyne, 'The Roman empire' in P. Veyne, ed., *A History of Private Life*. Vol.1 (Cambridge, Mass., 1987), 161-71. The differences in practice between public and private spheres in epigraphy are discussed by Häussler, 'Writing Latin – from resistance to assimilation', 72-4 and Benelli, 'La romanizzazione attraverso l'epigraphia: Il Veneto e il modello Etrusco' in O. Paoletti, ed., *Protostoria e storia del 'Venetorum Angulus': atti del XX Convegno di studi etruschi ed italici* (Pisa and Rome 1999), 654-7, and Benelli 2001, *op. cit.* (n. 4), 10-11.

⁸ Benelli 2001, *op. cit.* (n. 4), 1-8

⁹ J. Kaimio, *The Romans and the Greek Language* (Helsinki 1979); E. Gruen, *Studies in Greek Culture and Roman Policy* (Leiden 1990), 170-74; *id.*, *Culture and National Identity*

methodology to data from selected Greek areas of Italy and compare the results with his findings from Etruria and North East Italy, and secondly, to try to place some of the inscriptions concerned in context by examining the form and iconography of the monuments on which they were written, as well as the cultural content of the inscriptions themselves. By adopting this two-pronged approach, it may be possible to shed some further light on the impact of Rome on local cultures and the reaction of those cultures to Roman cultural influence.

The 'Benelli model' and the Romanization of Etruria

The general pattern of funerary inscriptions in northern Etruria is one of considerably mixed cultural signals during the 1st century BC and into the early 1st century AD. In Benelli's analysis, it shows some interesting divergences between the language, form and content of the inscriptions (Table 1). Before c.100 BC, Etruscan language and culture predominates. The majority of funerary inscriptions were written in Etruscan language and script, using Etruscan names and Etruscan epigraphic forms and formulae. Latin funerary inscriptions are also found, but these are a small minority of the total sample of c. 4000 texts.¹⁰ By the middle of the 1st century BC, many – if not most – inscriptions still use Etruscan language and funerary formulae, but Latin influences are becoming stronger, and some texts which are Etruscan in content – i.e. using Etruscan names, onomastic forms and funerary formulae – are written in Latin script. More Latin names are finding their way into the onomastic traditions of the region, but at the same time, names (even Latin ones) are mostly expressed in Etruscan form. In some cases, Etruscan and Latin names and onomastic forms co-exist in the same family.¹¹ By the second half of the century, Latin is becoming more widespread, the use of Roman (or Romanized) names and onomastic forms is spreading and Etruscan inscriptions are restricted to increasingly small areas, but there are still substantial traces of Etruscan names, name-forms and funerary formulae to be found. Nor is the process a linear, one-way, change. Benelli cites the example of T. Pontius Rufus of Chiusi, who used the Roman *tria nomina*,

in *Republican Rome* (London 1993), 227-70; K. Lomas, *Rome and the Western Greeks. Conquest and Acculturation in Southern Italy* (London 1993), 161-68 and 174-87.

¹⁰ Benelli 1994, op. cit. (n. 4), 62-66; id. 1999, op. cit. (n. 7), 654-8.

¹¹ For instance, the family of T. Pontius Rufus, of Chiusi, a Roman immigrant who intermarried with the local family of the Cezrtle, and whose descendants re-adopted Etruscan for their epitaphs: H. Rix, *Die Etruskischen Texte. Editio Minor*, 2 vols. (Tübingen 1991), Cl. 1.919; Benelli 1994, op. cit. (n. 4), 63, and id. 1999: 655-5.

but whose descendants reverted to Etruscan names.¹² Latin language and script, and Roman names and funerary formulae do not become fully dominant until the beginning of the 1st century AD. Thus we have a pattern where for a period of c.50 years or more, inscriptions written in Latin may be almost entirely Etruscan in terms of content, and different members of the same family may swap between Roman and Etruscan cultural indicators.

North-East Italy

Benelli's other detailed regional case-study, north-east Italy, is similar to Etruria in some ways, but also shows some important and significant differences.¹³ Like Etruria, it has a strong tradition of literacy. The earliest inscriptions appear in the late 7th century BC, and inscriptions in the most widespread of the local languages, Venetic, persist until the 1st century BC, well after the Social War.¹⁴ The vast majority are either funerary inscriptions or votives, with a small number of possible public inscriptions, inscriptions on small personal artefacts such as jewellery, and stamps on pottery and amphorae. The numbers are considerably smaller than those of inscriptions from Etruria – c.750 all told, of which c.270 are funerary – most of which come from two particular cemeteries at Este, from Altino, or from Padua.¹⁵

¹² Benelli 2001, op. cit. (n. 4), 10-12; id. 1994, op. cit. (n. 4), 63; Rix 1991, op. cit. (n. 11), Cl. 1.919.

¹³ Benelli 1999, op. cit. (n. 7), 654-8.

¹⁴ A.L. Prosdocimi, 'Una iscrizione inedita dal territorio atestino. Nuovi aspetti epigrafici linguistici culturali dell'area paleoveneta', in *Atti dell'Istituto Veneto di scienze lettere ed arti, classe di scienze morali e lettere* 127 (1968-69), 123-183; L. Calzavara Capuis, 'Rapporti culturali veneto-etruschi nella prima età del Ferro' in R. de Marinis, ed., *Etruschi a nord del Po* (Udine 1988), 90-102; AAVV, *Akeo, I tempi della scrittura* (Montebelluna 2003), 157-8. For the development and adoption of the alphabet, see M. Pandolfini and A.L. Prosdocimi, *Alfabetari dell'Italia antica* (Florence 1990). Inscriptions in Venetic are collected in G.B. Pellegrini and A.L. Prosdocimi, *La Lingua Venetica* (Padua 1967) and those in Raetic by S. Schumacher, *Die Rätischen Inschriften. Geschichte und heutiger Stand der Forschung* (Innsbruck 1992). The most recent review of the evidence for literacy in the Veneto is in AAVV, *Akeo. I tempi della scrittura*.

¹⁵ For the typology of Venetic inscriptions, see AAVV, *Akeo I tempi della scrittura* (n. 14); on the inscriptions from Este, see Pellegrini and Prosdocimi 1967, op. cit. (n. 14), 193-283, 344-48, 409-26; A. Marinetti, 'Este preromana. Epigrafia e lingua' in G. Tosi, ed., *Este antica: dalla preistoria all'età romana* (Padua 1992), 125-72. For Venetic cemeteries, see L. Calzavara Capuis and M. Chieco Bianchi, *Este. Le necropoli Casa di Ricovero, Casa Muletti Prosdocimi e Casa Alfonsi* (Rome 1995); A. Marinetti, 'Gli apporti epigrafici e linguistici di Altino preromana' in G. Cresci Marrone and M. Tirelli, eds., *Vigilia di romanizzazione. Altino e il Veneto orientale tra II e I sec. a.C.* (Rome 1999), 75-95.

The data shows a pattern broadly similar to that from Etruria (Table 2). There is an initial phase in which there is very little Latin influence, an intermediate phase in which Latin script is adopted but the language, names and form of the inscriptions is still largely local, and a final phase in which Latin names and epigraphic formulae are more widely adopted.¹⁶ There are more problems with this than with the Etruscan example, not least because the number of inscriptions is smaller, the material is more highly concentrated into a small number of sites, and the chronology is more difficult to fine-tune. The epigraphic culture of the Veneto is also very localised, which makes it more difficult to create a generic model for cultural interactions in funerary monuments. The types of funerary monuments and inscriptions found at Este are very different from those from neighbouring Padua and Vicenza, and the epigraphic culture of the lowland Veneto is distinct from that of the Italian Alps.¹⁷ Most of the inscriptions analysed by Benelli are from only two sites – the Casa di Ricovero and Villa Benvenuti cemeteries at Este. They are simple in form, consisting only of a personal name written in either Venetic or Latin and are inscribed, usually before firing, onto the pottery urns. These were used as containers for cremated remains and deposited in graves along with other grave goods.¹⁸ These appear to be the main form of commemoration, and most graves do not have any obvious sign of an external grave marker.

So far, this might support Benelli's thesis that local names and name-forms were more likely to be used in so-called 'private' contexts such as funerary inscriptions designed to be deposited in tombs rather than placed on full public display. However, there is other evidence which may problematise this. One grave marker in particular is worth examining in detail since it is one of the few from this region which allows us to consider a funerary

¹⁶ Benelli 1999, op. cit. (n. 7), 655-64.

¹⁷ The differences in alphabet, letter-forms and votive formulae between the northern and southern Veneto are highlighted in A. Marinetti, 'Il venetico di Lagole' in G. Fogolari, and G. Gambacurta, eds., *Materiali veneti preromani e romani del santuario di Lagole di Calalzo al Museo di Pieve di Cadore* (Rome 2001), 61-72, and in K. Lomas, 'Writing and Reita. The development of literacy in north-east Italy', in Lomas, Whitehouse and Wilkins, op. cit. (n. 5).

¹⁸ For instance, 'Fugia Muskialnai' (Pellegrini and Prosdocimi 1967, op. cit. (n. 14), Es86) and 'Moloto Ennonia' (ibid., Es90), both epitaphs of funerary urns from the cemetery at Casa di Ricovero at Este; for a full discussion, see Marinetti 1992, op. cit. (n. 15), 333-55 (inscriptions) and C. Balista and A. Ruta Serafini, 'Este preromana. Nuovi dati sulle necropoli', in Tosi 1992, op. cit. (n. 15), 112-123 (cemeteries).

inscription in the context of iconography.¹⁹ This is a rectangular stele of local limestone, found on the Via Massimo in the centre of Padua in 1962, and dating to the late 1st century BC (Fig. 1). On the upper section of the stele is a square panel containing a relief sculpture, with a reserved border around all four sides. About 30% of the stele is undecorated and unworked and it was almost certainly intended to be set into the ground. The inscription runs round the top and right-hand border of the stele. Both the figurative decoration, the inscription and the general type of the monument show an interesting mixture of cultural elements. The scene shows a *biga* galloping from right to left, carrying a charioteer and two passengers. The general type of the monument, and the scene represented, is found on other examples dating to the 6th-2nd centuries BC, and may represent the journey of the dead to the underworld. The details, however, indicate a continuing co-existence of Roman and Venetic culture. The male figure is draped in a toga, the characteristic dress of a Roman citizen. The female figure, in contrast, wears local Venetic costume consisting of a long-sleeved, full-skirted dress and cloak pinned in the centre of the body. She also appears to have a head-dress surmounted with a disk, another local feature which is found on other earlier stelai of the same sequence from Padua. The iconography therefore alludes to Roman status, but for the man only, while the representation of the woman and the overall cultural framework are drawn from traditional Venetic funerary monuments of the area. The inscription, which reads '[M]. Gallen]i M'.F. Ostialae Galleniae equpetars' ('Monument to Manius Gallenius, son of Manius, and Ostiala Gallenia') shows a similar mixture of cultural signals. It is written in the Latin alphabet and uses a Romanised name-form for the man – M' Gallenius, M'.F. – but the name of his wife – Ostiala Gallenia – is certainly Venetic in content and probably in form. The use of the praenomen in female names is unusual in Roman onomastics but is well-attested in the Veneto, and the praenomen itself – Ostiala – is derived from a name which is very common in this area.²⁰ The formula of the inscription is also Venetic, using a Latinised form of the formula 'ekupetaris

¹⁹ A. Prosdocimi, 'Una stele paleoveneta patavina di epoca romana', *Atti e Memorie dell'Accademia Patavina* 77 (1964-65), 19-30; Pellegrini and Prosdocimi 1967, op. cit. (n. 14) Pa6; G. Fogolari, 'La cultura' in G. Fogolari and A.L. Prosdocimi, eds., *I Veneti antichi* (Padua 1988), 99-105.

²⁰ J. Untermann, *Die venetischen Personennamen* (Wiesbaden 1961), 117-9; Pellegrini and Prosdocimi 1967, op. cit. (n. 14), 148-50.

ego' which is found on the earlier grave stelai from Padua.²¹ So far, the addition of iconography to the equation seems to confirm Benelli's thesis that Roman practice was a fairly thin veneer, and selectively applied, for some considerable length of time, although in this instance we seem to be considering a monument which may have been for public display, not for burial in a tomb or some other 'private' context. The other difficulty we face is that it is a unique example. Nevertheless, it provides a useful illustration of the cultural complexities of the late 1st century BC, and an example of how one particular family attempted to weave the various cultural strands together.

Greek inscriptions: Ancona and Naples

The largest concentration of Greek inscriptions from the period post-dating the Roman conquest of southern Italy is found at Naples. Other sites, notably Velia and Rhegium, also have some Greek inscriptions of similar date, and there is an important group of Greek funerary monuments from Ancona. This paper will concentrate on material from Ancona and Naples, but the general pattern shown by the funerary inscriptions from other Greek communities is broadly consistent with the results from these two cities. These communities all have a generically Greek ethnic and cultural background but do not form a geographical unit. Their relations with Rome also varied. Naples was a long-standing ally, having negotiated a highly favourable treaty with Rome in 325 BC (Livy 8.22-27; Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Antiquitates Romanae* 15.5.5-9.2), while Ancona also entered into Rome's orbit during the 3rd century BC, in circumstances which are less clear (Livy 10.44.8-45.11).

If the funerary inscriptions from these communities are analysed using the criteria developed by Benelli (Table 3), it is immediately apparent that there is much less overlap between the Greek and non-Greek epigraphic habit in these communities than there is in Etruria and the Veneto. At Ancona, for instance, there are relatively few Greek funerary inscriptions from the 1st century BC or 1st century AD. Those which do date to the early-mid 1st century BC are for the most part written in Greek, with little interference

²¹ Cf Pellegrini and Prosdocimi 1967, op. cit. (n. 14), Pa1-Pa5; A.L. Prosdocimi, 'La Lingua', in Fogolari and Prosdocimi 1988, op. cit. (n. 19), Pa24. The exact meaning of 'ekupetaris' (sometimes also 'eppetaris' or 'ekvopetars') is obscure. It is possible that it is an indicator of social rank or status, but the most usually accepted interpretation is that it refers to the grave marker itself – i.e. 'I am the monument of ...').

from Latin/Roman language, names or epigraphic forms.²² By the 1st century AD, most funerary inscriptions have made the transition to Latin. A similar pattern is evident at Rhegium and Velia, but these communities still retain Greek as a written language for other public documents. Greek remains in use for civic inscriptions – which include decrees of the city council, honorific inscriptions, building inscriptions etc. – and inscriptions connected with cults until well into the 2nd century AD.²³

Ancona represents an unusually complex case of cultural interaction. It was originally a Picene settlement which was the site of a Syracusan colony that was founded in the 4th century BC (Strabo, *Geography* 5.4.2). It came under Roman control in 3rd century BC and further colonists were added to the city by Rome in the Augustan period (Caesar, *Bellum Civile* 1.11; Appian, *Bella Civilia* 5.23). An interesting group of 15 Greek funerary stelai survives, dating from the late 2nd century BC to the early 1st century BC, well after the date at which Ancona came under Roman influence.²⁴ The stelai as a group are associated with an area of wealthy burials containing local and imported pottery, amphorae with Greek stamps, glass, strigils, and jewellery, some of it gold.²⁵ Unfortunately, the exact contexts are lost and they cannot be associated with specific graves. The stelai are of a typical Greek type – marble, with architectonic surround (either pillars and a pediment or a niche) containing a scene in relief sculpture depicting the deceased. Most represent a *dexiosis* – a farewell between the deceased and his/her relatives – or a banquet scene in which the deceased reclines on a couch. Both of these are typical Greek funerary types, and carry inscriptions in Greek, identifying the deceased by Greek names, given in Greek forms and using the typical Greek formula ‘chaire’ or ‘chreste chaire’.²⁶ The women depicted are represented wearing Greek dress, and some are veiled. However, there are also significant traces of Roman cultural features. Several male figures are represented wearing Roman dress, the *toga exigua* which was the badge of Roman

²² E.g. Symmache Sopatrou, Gaulion Diodorou, Apollonie Apollon[iou] (all cited by L. Mercandi ‘L’ellenismo nel piceno’ in P. Zanker, ed., *Hellenismus in Mittelitalien*, vol. I (Göttingen 1976), 161-72.

²³ Lomas 1993, op. cit. (n. 9), 174-85.

²⁴ Mercandi 1976, op. cit. (n. 22), 161-72; F. Colivicchi, ‘Dal *pallium* alla *toga*: Ancona fra ellenismo e romanizzazione’, *Ostraka* 9.1 (2000), 135-42.

²⁵ Mercandi 1976, op. cit. (n. 22), 164-70.

²⁶ For example, ‘Damo chreste chaire’ and ‘Apollonie Pasionos chreste chaire’. Mercandi, op. cit., 164-70, Colivicchi 2000, op. cit. (n. 24), 136, 139 and figs. 1a and 5.

citizenship.²⁷ Clearly there was still a strong strand of local Hellenised culture in the elite of 1st century BC Ancona, but also recognition of the need to adopt some of the symbols of *Romanitas*. Ambiguities about the general culture of Ancona make this particular group of stelai difficult to interpret. A recent study of this group of inscriptions argues that Ancona was never a fully Greek community, and that Hellenism in Ancona was the preserve of a relatively small number of families which did not integrate fully with what remained essentially a Picene, then a Roman, community.²⁸

The final example, Naples, is a very different case. This was also a multicultural community, with a substantial Campanian minority and possibly some Etruscan population as well. It was a notably loyal ally of Rome and was much favoured by the Roman elite for its Greek culture.²⁹ The Neapolitans had good reason to go out of their way to maintain their Greek identity as it brought them recognition and favour. However, the epigraphic habits of the city show a more complex story. As with other Greek communities, public documents – decrees, honorific inscriptions, high-profile cult inscriptions etc – are written in Greek.³⁰ Funerary inscriptions, however, are much more mixed (Table 4). The chronology of cultural change is later than that of Etruria and the Veneto, with Greek inscriptions persisting in substantial numbers well into the 1st century AD and even into the 2nd century, although by this time they are in a minority. Unlike the Etruscan and Venetic texts, which include examples where Latin is used as a vehicle for otherwise local inscriptions, Latin is never used to express Greek types of funerary formula or Greek name-forms. However, the reverse process, by which Greek is used as a medium for literal translations of Latin funerary forms such as the D(is) M(anibus) inscription, is well-documented.³¹ Roman or Italic names continue to be used alongside Greek ones in substantial quantity throughout the 1st century BC and 1st century AD, but the standard Greek

²⁷ Colivicchi 2000, op. cit., 137-9.

²⁸ Colivicchi 2000, op. cit., 139-42.

²⁹ Dio Cassius 55.10.9-10; Strabo, *Geography* 5.4.7; K. Lomas, 'Graeca urbs? Ethnicity and culture in early imperial Naples', *Accordia Research Papers* 7 (1997-98), 125-7; M. Leiwo, *Neapolitana. A Study of Population and Language in Graeco-Roman Naples* (Helsinki 1994), 29-32.

³⁰ E. Miranda, *Iscrizioni greche d'Italia. Napoli I* (Rome 1990); Lomas 1993, op. cit. (n. 9), 176-81.

³¹ The epitaphs of Novia Hermione, Hermes and Perpetua (IG 14, 802), which date to the 2nd century AD, are a clear example of this phenomenon. The epitaph is written in Greek, but the funerary formulae (including the invocation to the Dis Manius) are of Latin type, translated literally into Greek.

onomastic form of name + patronymic is preferred by the majority to the Roman *tria nomina* until well into the 1st century AD.³² Where Roman names occur, either in Greek or Latin inscriptions, they are mostly given in the form *nomen + cognomen* rather than as a proper Roman *tria nomina*. By the 2nd century, however, Greek starts to disappear, and the majority of socially-significant individuals use Latin for their epitaphs. Greek, in contrast, is increasingly associated with low-status catacomb burials.³³

A group of marble stelai dating from the early 1st century BC to the mid 1st century AD is particularly informative. Like the Ancona stelai, they are carved in relief with a naiskos containing a *dexiosis* scene of the deceased bidding farewell to a friend or relative – a well-documented Greek type of funerary monument (Figs. 2-4).³⁴ Also like the Ancona stelai, they carry exclusively Greek inscriptions, using Greek funerary formulae. However, both the iconography and the personal names reflect the cultural complexity of the era. Most – although not all – the names are given in Greek form, but some are not of Greek origin. For instance, Grania Felicla and Gaius Valerius³⁵ have completely Romanised names, while Ariston, Aste and Lamiskos Lamiskou (Fig. 3)³⁶ have Greek ones, and Mamos Mamou and Leukios Larthios (Fig. 4)³⁷ have names which are Greek in form but not in content – one being Oscan and the other being a mixture of Latin and Etruscan. In addition, some of the women are depicted seated on the high-backed chair characteristic of the Roman *matrona* (Fig. 2) and some of the men are depicted togate (Fig. 3) while others are depicted in Greek dress

³² For example, Bibie Archippou (1st century BC; Leiwo 1994, op. cit. (n. 29), 82-3), Soteriche Soterichou (Leiwo, *Neapolitana*, 77-78), Loukia Nymphiou (Leiwo, op. cit., 84).

³³ The largest single group was found in the catacombs of S. Ianuarius, published as IG 14, 826.

³⁴ Leiwo, op. cit., 116-119; J. Papadopoulos, 'I rilievi funerari' in AAVV, *Napoli Antica* (Naples 1985), 293-8 and 294-7; K. Lomas, 'Personal identity and Romanisation: Greek funerary inscriptions from southern Italy', in E. Herring and J. Wilkins, eds., *Inhabiting Symbols: Symbol and Imagery in the Ancient Mediterranean* (London 2003), 197-207.

³⁵ IG 14, 774; Papadopoulos, 'I rilievi funerari', 296; E. Miranda, *Iscrizioni greche d'Italia. Napoli II* (Rome 1995), 36-7; Leiwo, op. cit., 120.

³⁶ IG 14, 769, IG 14, 770 and IG 14, 796; Papadopoulos 1985, op. cit. (n. 34), 295-7; Miranda 1995, op. cit. (n. 35), 30-33 and 60-62.

³⁷ G.A. Galante, 'Il sepolcro ritrovato in Napoli sotto il palazzo Di Donato in via Cristallini ai Vergini', *Atti della Accademia di Scienze Morali e Politiche della Società Nazionale di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti di Napoli* 17 (1893-96), 5-24; Papadopoulos 1985, op. cit. (n. 34), 295-6; Leiwo 1994, op. cit. (n. 29), 74-6 and 117-8; Miranda 1995, op. cit. (n. 35), 63-7.

(Fig. 4). Nor is there any obvious chronological pattern in this; there appears to be a set of mixed cultural signals throughout this group of stelai.

Conclusions: Funerary monuments and cultural change

The pattern revealed in the Greek regions of Italy is therefore different from that of Etruria and the Veneto, but not uniform across the whole of Greek Italy. There are considerable similarities, but also some important differences between regions and individual communities in the way that they interact with Rome and the ways in which this is expressed in funerary art and commemoration. The variations between Greek and non-Greek regions are also fairly subtle – clearly they interacted differently with Rome, but are not wildly divergent from the model developed for Etruria. For instance, there is a longer chronology for Naples – the one site for which we have a large amount of evidence – with Greek persisting well into the Principate, but shifting in social value, eventually being abandoned by the elite and becoming a largely non-elite (or even slave) phenomenon. The form of personal names also remains fairly resistant to Roman influence, with a high proportion retaining a Greek form even after the adoption of Roman onomastics as individual elements of the name. In high-status public documents such as decrees of the *boule*, most personal names are, by the end of the 1st century AD, composed of Roman elements but still expressed in Greek form rather than using the structure of the *tria nomina*. This pattern is broadly consistent with the funerary evidence, where the structure of a name seems to be more resistant than the individual elements. The adoption of the *tria nomina*, which elsewhere comes into use (at least in public contexts) as a badge of citizenship and Roman allegiance is relatively scarce until the mid-2nd century BC, and where it occurs, it is frequently associated with libertine status. Greek script is also fairly robust. Whereas in Etruria and the Veneto, local scripts tend to disappear fairly quickly, to be replaced by inscriptions written in Roman script, even if not with Roman content, Greek persists until well into the Principate and is not overtaken by Latin until the end of the 2nd century AD. We therefore seem to have a broadly similar pattern of funerary inscriptions absorbing different elements of Roman culture at different rates and using these to express localised cultures. The details, however, vary quite a lot; we have the early disappearance of local languages and scripts, and the erosion of indigenous name-forms but the persistence of local names in parts of northern and central Italy as against the persistence of local language and scripts and of local name-forms but the erosion of indigenous

names in the Greek-speaking parts of the south. In addition, the examination of iconography further indicates that local cultures and traditions persisted, even in use on monuments which show other aspects of *Romanitas* such as the Ostiala Gallenia stele and the funerary stelai of Naples.

Benelli³⁸ argued that the privileged position of Greek in the Roman world means that it cannot validly be considered as part of the same analysis as other pre-Roman Italic languages. However, as the analysis above demonstrates, there is an analogous process of acculturation taking place in the funerary epigraphy of many Greek communities in Italy, although the details and chronology of the process differ. The fact that Greek did indeed enjoy a privileged position means that it survived for far longer than Etruscan or Venetic as a written language used by the elite to record both their public acts and their private funerary monuments. However, the onomastic history of these communities indicates that they were not islands of privileged Hellenism in a rapidly Romanising Italy, but were part of processes of adaptation and cultural hybridization analogous to those taking place in other regions. Clearly there was a considerable impetus amongst the Greek and Oscan elites of Naples, Rhegium, Ancona and most other communities to adopt Roman names, and other symbols of Roman identity feature in the funerary iconography. But all this is set within a framework which retains a large element of local identity – itself a complex mixture of Greek and non-Greek elements.

The considerable amount of variation throughout the Greek and Hellenised areas of Italy suggests that any study of cultural change must take into account the wider spectrum of cultural influences present in each community, rather than viewing the process as an interaction between a single indigenous culture and that of Rome. At Ancona, for instance, there appears to be a smallish sub-group within the elite of the city which retains a largely Greek culture for commemorating their dead, set within a generally Picene – then Roman – context. When this Greek or Hellenised funerary culture disappears, it does so suddenly and without the phase of cultural hybridity which characterises many other acculturation processes. Other communities, such as Rhegium and Velia have a period in which Roman and Greek cultures of funerary commemoration co-exist for a time, but disappear gradually during the first half of the 1st century AD.³⁹ At Naples, the same gen-

³⁸ Benelli 2001, op. cit. (n. 4), 8.

³⁹ Lomas 1993, op. cit. (n. 9), 177-84.

eral pattern has a greatly elongated chronology, with Greek epigraphic culture persisting into the 2nd century AD.⁴⁰

There are also perceptible differences in response to Roman culture between the various social groups represented, and between various contexts in which inscriptions were set up. Benelli points out that in Etruria, the elite tends to adopt some outward forms of Romanization such as the *tria nomina* or Romanized forms of Etruscan personal names relatively early but does so in an inconsistent manner and restricts their usage to public contexts.⁴¹ In contrast, local Etruscan forms are much more likely to continue in use – even by the same families – in a ‘private’ context. It has been suggested that many families and individuals had a flexible approach to Roman culture, in which adoption of particular Roman symbols in particular contexts was driven by purely pragmatic concerns of personal status and advantage.⁴² Thus the elite may co-opt selected elements of Roman culture as part of a general pattern of internal competition for status. For example, it may be advantageous to present oneself under a Romanised name in a public context such as an honorific or euergetic inscription as a way of demonstrating citizenship and/or familiarity with a particular form of status display, while still using a non-Roman name in more private or informal contexts. These considerations raise some difficult questions of boundaries between public and private, of the cultures and conventions of writing in ancient Italy, and of the status of funerary inscriptions. In a funerary context, attempting a division between private and public spheres is problematic. Funerary stelai have a dual function as a private memorial and representation of personal/family identity on the one hand, and as a public memorial and statement of public persona on the other.⁴³ Some of the examples discussed in this paper – including most of those from Naples – were intended for display within the confines of a family mausoleum, access to which would probably have been limited – possibly restricted to relatives and/or to access at certain times such as festivals. Others, however, such as the funerary stelai of Padua, may have been set up in a public place as a grave marker.⁴⁴ It is therefore difficult to

⁴⁰ Leiwo 1994, *op. cit.* (n. 29); Miranda 1990 and 1995, *opp. citt.* (nn. 30 and 35); Lomas 1997-98, *op. cit.* (n. 29).

⁴¹ Benelli 1994, *op. cit.* (n. 4), 14-16; *id.* 2001, *op. cit.* (n. 4), 10-11.

⁴² Häussler 2002, *op. cit.* (n. 4), 72-4.

⁴³ Hope 2000, *op. cit.* (n. 3).

⁴⁴ Like most of the other so-called ‘Stele Patavine’, the stele of M’ Gallenius and Ostiala Gallenia was not found in its original context. Many of the earlier stelai in this group have a section of rough or unworked stone at their base, which suggests strongly that they were

generalise on the basis of funerary evidence about whether reception of Roman culture was less widespread in private culture in late republican Italy. If the private/public distinction is accepted, then it does indeed seem that the more public the monument, the more likely it is to be written in Latin. However, we should not lose sight of the fact that many of these grave markers also show a range of other cultural indicators. The *tria nomina*, for instance, may be relatively infrequent among epitaphs at Naples, but assuming that this reflects usage in private is problematic. The adoption of the full Roman name structure is initially most prominent amongst *liberti* and therefore may not have had an automatically honorific connotation.⁴⁵ We must also bear in mind the iconography of carved stelai. At both Naples, Ancona and Padua, there are examples of funerary art in which specifically Roman symbols – notably the toga – appear in contexts which are otherwise derived largely from local models.

There are also other distinctions between social groups in the adoption of various aspects of Roman funerary culture. Although it is difficult to quantify, it seems probable that there were gender differences in the ways in which Romanised culture was adopted and the uses to which it was put. In the funerary iconography examined for this paper, men seem to be depicted more frequently than women in association with the outward symbols of *Romanitas* such as the toga, or Romanised names. This may simply reflect the more public role of the elite male and the resulting greater need to adopt and emphasise the symbols of Roman status. However, the matter is not clear-cut, as there are other examples in which men retain non-Roman dress and names, and in which women adopt Roman nomenclature and the status symbols of a Roman *matrona*. The complexity of evaluating the differing responses to Rome by men and women is highlighted by the pattern of adoption of Romanised names in the Veneto. The onomastic structure of the late Republican Roman name is, typically, *praenomen*, *nomen* and (some-

intended to be set upright in the ground. Analogy with funerary practice at Este, where cippi appear to have been set upright outside tombs to mark the entrance, suggests that they may have been displayed in a public location, not within the tomb itself. cf. L. Malnati, 'Il ruolo di Este nella civiltà degli antichi Veneti' in A. Ruta Serafini, ed., *Este preromana: una città e i suoi santuari* (Treviso 2002), 40-41. The stele of Gallenius and Gallenia does not have this, but it is not entirely clear whether this is because the lower part of the stele was broken off or removed, or because it was designed to be displayed in a different context to the earlier examples.

times) *cognomen* for men, while women are principally known by a single name derived from the *nomen*.⁴⁶ In the Veneto, in contrast, many women appear to have used a personal name, derived from the indigenous onomastics of the region, in addition to a family name derived from the *nomen* of their father or husband.⁴⁷ In this case, we seem to have an attempt by elite women to display both local and Roman identities.

It seems clear that the funerary monuments of Roman Italy and their inscriptions are a rich source of information about the impact of Rome on Italian society at the personal and familial level. The creation of a Roman – or Romanised – culture is not just the result of the adoption of certain norms of Roman public life, or the use of Roman cultural forms in large-scale civic projects such as public building programmes, but of the interaction of Roman and non-Roman culture at the level of everyday life. Individual cultural choices in activities such as dining habits, choice of name, clothes, layout of houses and many other aspects of day-to-day life can be just as important in the interaction of cultures and the development of new ones.⁴⁸ The pattern revealed by the funerary monuments considered in this paper is one of a complex cultural hybridity, in which individuals adopted – and publicly represented themselves as adopting – a range of symbols of *Romanitas* such as the Latin language, the toga and the Roman *tria nomina*, but did not do so in a consistent and uniform manner. These aspects of Roman culture continued to co-exist with many aspects of pre-Roman culture as well as completely external cultural influences – for instance, Greek and Oscan culture at Naples, and Celtic, Greek, Etruscan and Venetic cultural influences at Padua. What these monuments represent is not so much the impact of Rome, but rather a process of ongoing cultural dialogue which extends from the public and communal spheres right down to the level of individual cultural choices and identities.

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⁴⁵ On the possible servile connotations of non-Latin cognomina, and especially Greek cognomina, see I. Kajanto, 'The significance of non-Latin cognomina', *Latomus* 27 (1968), 517-34.

⁴⁶ B. Salway, 'What's in a name? A survey of Roman onomastic practice from c.700 B.C. - A.D. 700', *Journal of Roman Studies* 84 (1994), 124-45.

⁴⁷ Untermann 1961, op. cit. (n. 20).

⁴⁸ Woolf 1998, op. cit. (n. 2), 7-16. On the cultural implications of personal names, in particular, see S. Hornblower and E. Matthews, *Greek Personal Names: Their Value as Evidence* (London 2000).

	Writing/language	Personal names	Onomastic formulae	Epigraphic form
Pre 100 BC	Mostly Etruscan lang. Mostly Etruscan script Small number of Latin inscriptions	Majority Etruscan names with some Roman or Romanised names	Mainly Etruscan form (name + filiation)	Mainly Etruscan
Early 1 st Cent. BC	Mostly Etruscan lang. Mostly Etruscan script Small number of Latin inscriptions	Some individuals have both Roman and Etruscan name;	Roman and Etruscan forms co-exist, even within same families	Latin and Etruscan co-exist, sometimes in same tomb.
Late 1 st Cent. BC	Latin more widespread; Etruscan used in limited areas	Use of Roman names increasing; Etruscan names confined mainly to Etruscan inscs.	Greater use of Roman name-forms Etruscan forms restricted to limited areas	Roman formulae increasing, but some Etruscan forms persist, even in Roman(ised) texts
Early 1 st cent. AD	Mainly Latin	Name-stock mainly Romanised	Name-forms mainly Romanised	Epigraphic forms mainly Romanised

Table 1: Changes to language, script and personal names at Chuisi, Perugia and Arezzo (after Benelli 1994)

	Writing/language	Personal names	Onomastic formulae	Epigraphic form
Pre 100 BC	Venetic language and script	Venetic names	Venetic name forms (name + patronymic or gamonymic)	Venetic
Early 1 st Cent. BC	Mainly Venetic language and script; some Latin	Majority Venetic names, but some Latin present	Some Latin forms, but mainly Venetic	Mainly Venetic
Late 1 st Cent. BC	Latin more widespread; some Venetic inscriptions in Lat. alphabet	Mixture of Venetic and Latin names	Mixture of Venetic and Latin forms	Increasing use of Latin norms.
Early 1 st cent. AD	Latin language and script dominant	Name-stock mainly Romanised	Name-forms mainly Romanised	Epigraphic forms mainly Romanised, but with distinctive local features

Table 2: Changes to language, script and personal names in the Veneto (after Benelli 1999)

	Writing	Personal names	Onomastic formulae	Epigraphic form
Early 1 st Cent. BC	Mainly Latin; some Greek	Mainly Latin; some Greek	Mainly Latin; some Greek	Mainly Latin; some Greek
Late 1 st Cent. BC	Mainly Latin; some Greek	Mainly Latin; some Greek	Mainly Latin; some Greek	Mainly Latin; some Greek
Early 1 st cent. AD	Latin	Latin	Latin	Latin

Table 3: Changes to language, script and personal names at Ancona

	Writing	Personal names	Onomastic formulae	Epigraphic form
Pre 100 BC	Greek language and script	Mainly Greek and Oscan; some Etruscan	Greek	Greek
Early 1 st Cent. BC	Greek – few Latin inscriptions	Mainly Greek and/or Oscan; some Latin	Greek; small number of Latin forms	Greek; small number of Latin formulae
Late 1 st Cent. BC	Mainly Greek – small quantity of Latin inscs	Mainly Greek and/or Oscan; some Latin	Greek; small number of Latin forms	Greek; small number of Latin formulae; some Latin forms trans. into Greek
Early 1 st cent. AD	Mainly Greek but Latin inscriptions increasing	Greek, and some Greek/Latin hybrids; Latin increasing but still a minority	Mix of Greek and Latin forms	Greek and Latin; some Latin forms trans. into Greek
Late 1 st cent. AD	Mainly Greek but Latin inscriptions increasing	Greek and Latin	Mix of Greek and Latin forms	Greek and Latin; some Latin forms trans. into Greek
2 nd cent. AD	Greek and Latin co-exist	Latin names increasing rapidly	More use of Latin name-forms	Latin and Greek; some Latin forms trans. into Greek
3 rd Cent. AD	Mainly Latin	Mainly Latin; Greek names mostly low-status	Mainly Latin; Greek names mostly low-status	Mainly Latin; some Greek

Table 4: Changes to language, script and personal names at Naples

TOWN AND CHORA OF THESPIAE IN THE IMPERIAL AGE

By
J.L. BINTLIFF

Introduction

The topos of ancient authors, that much of Mainland Greece was in a state of decay or stagnation in early Imperial times, has found surprising confirmation in the accumulating results of regional archaeological field survey. The contribution of the Boeotia Survey, conducted since 1978 by myself and Anthony Snodgrass of Cambridge University, has been to offer a good overview of developments in town and country in this Central Greek province between high Classical Greek and Late Roman times, particularly as regards the cities of Thespieae, Haliartos, Hyettos and their *choras*, and the *komopolis* of Askra.¹ These data were put to significant use in Sue Alcock's landmark monograph on Roman Greece, *Graecia Capta*.² Currently I am directing fieldwork at the Boeotian city of Tanagra and in its countryside, where similar results seem to be appearing.³ The final publication of the older Boeotia Project is now coming on stream, and this has involved a far more intensive analysis of our results from each city and *chora* of Boeotia which has been studied over the last 25 years. *Fascicule 1* deals with a mere 18 rural sites in the southern *chora* of ancient Thespieae city, and is now ready for publication. The development of a new hyper-intensive methodology for analysing surface survey sites in complex landscapes⁴ has allowed us to reconstruct in unprecedented detail the transformation of the rural

¹ J.L. Bintliff and A. M. Snodgrass, 'The Boeotia survey, a preliminary report: The first four years', *Journal of Field Archaeology* 12 (1985), 123-161; *idd.*, 'Mediterranean survey and the city', *Antiquity* 62 (1988), 57-71.

² S.E. Alcock, *Graecia Capta. The Landscapes of Roman Greece* (Cambridge 1993).

³ J.L. Bintliff, N. Evelpidou et al., 'The Leiden ancient cities of Boeotia project: preliminary report on the 2001 season', *Pharos. Journal of the Netherlands Institute in Athens* 9 (2001), 33-74; J.L. Bintliff, E. Farinetti et al., 'The Tanagra Survey. Report on the 2000 season', *Pharos. Journal of the Netherlands Institute in Athens* 8 (2000), 93-127; J.L. Bintliff, E. Farinetti et al., 'The Tanagra survey. Report on the 2002 season', *Bulletin de Correspondence Hellénique* (in press).

⁴ J.L. Bintliff and P. Howard, 'Studying needles in haystacks – Surface survey and the rural landscape of Central Greece in Roman times', *Pharos. Journal of the Netherlands Institute at Athens* 7 (1999), 51-91.

settlement picture across dramatic changes associated with the Roman Empire, and this paper will concentrate on a review of this new information, together with the broader social, political and economic changes it seems to evidence. Finally I shall raise some general problems for archaeologists and ancient historians dealing with processes of regional development in the short, medium and long-term of Braudelian historical processes, in so far as they relate to the Aegean under Rome.⁵

Methodology and early results

Since 1980 the Boeotia Project has worked at settlement history reconstruction in this large province of Central Greece, using an intensive field methodology for finding surface traces of past activity foci across the Greek landscape.⁶ Teams of fieldwalkers at 15 metre intervals between individuals, systematically cross the landscape field by field, hill by hill, counting the density of surface potsherds, thereby allowing computerised maps of entire swathes of the countryside with their ancient debris traces to be prepared on a daily basis. Artefact clusters of higher density, or of a distinctive character, are subjected to a further stage of field analysis, with grids of 10 x 10 metres or larger dimension applied over their surface, whereby each grid unit has a counted artefact density recorded and a sample of finds collected for subsequent study. The entire landscape artefact density allows us to measure human impact on the countryside by period of the past (through a dated sample of this material), whilst the more detailed study of the quantitative and qualitative foci (or 'sites') takes us into the specific forms of settlement and burial, their number, size and histories in the long-term.

As regards the Roman era in Greece, ancient sources (e.g. Strabo, Polybius, Pausanias, and inscriptions) have provided evidence for some historians to postulate a prolonged period of decay of urban and rural life in the *polis* heartlands of Southern and Central Mainland Greece, although other scholars have considered these as exaggerated or simply untrue,

⁵ J.L. Bintliff, ed., *The Annales School and Archaeology* (Leicester-London 1991); id., 'Regional survey, demography, and the rise of complex societies in the Ancient Aegean: Core-Periphery, Neo-Malthusian, and other interpretive models', *Journal of Field Archaeology* 24 (1997), 1-38; id. et al., 'Deconstructing 'The sense of place'? Settlement systems, field survey and the historic record: a case-study from Central Greece', *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* 66 (2000), 123-149.

⁶ Bintliff and Snodgrass 1985, op. cit. (n. 1).

reflecting a topos of Greek decline in the shadow of Roman expansion. The early published results from our Boeotia Project, from both countryside survey and the total survey of large urban sites⁷ were the first in Greece to test these competing theories. The results were unambiguous for Boeotia: the numbers of rural farm and hamlet sites were severely reduced in Late Hellenistic and Early Roman Imperial times (ca. 200 BC-200 AD), at the same time as *polis* urban sites were contracting dramatically in their spatial extent. Moreover, in the place of the many small Classical Greek sites generally interpreted as family farms, a lesser number of usually larger sites seen as '*villas*' was documented for this same period. The implications were equally clear: severe depopulation and the displacement of farmers of low to middling income by a wealthier class, and a general confirmation of our ancient authorities.

Subsequently published survey projects have provided similar results for South-Central Mainland Greece (for example in the Argolid Peninsula⁸ and for Attica⁹). Susan Alcock's synthesis¹⁰ of these and other survey projects and her skillful contextualisation of such results into all the historical material, gave definitive proof of the deep-reaching changes that Mainland Greece had undergone from its Classical highpoint, by the middle of the Roman Imperial period, although the causation of a generalized demographic decline and economic transformation remained difficult to be precise about.

A revisiting of data and interpretations

The sheer quantity of data we recovered in Boeotia during our active field seasons between 1978 and 1991 has led to a very prolonged period of analysis. There simply did not exist published studies of such artefact-rich landscapes where distributional patterns over and between sites were taken apart and accounted-for in sociological and taphonomic terms, and we have indeed spent many years trying to create a strong scientific methodology for

⁷ Bintliff and Snodgrass 1985 and 1988a, opp. cit. (n. 1).

⁸ M.H. Jameson, C. N. Runnels et al., eds., *A Greek Countryside. The Southern Argolid from Prehistory to the Present Day* (Stanford 1994).

⁹ H. Lohmann, 'Zur Prosopographie und Demographie der attischen Landgemeinde Atene' in E. Olshausen and H. Sonnabend, eds, *Stuttgarter Kolloquium zur Historischen Geographie des Altertums* 2 and 3 (Bonn 1991), 203-258.

¹⁰ Alcock 1993, op. cit. (n. 2).

interpreting our finds. The amount of information, and our constant learning-process through its progressive analysis, have ruled out a single volume for publishing our results, and instead we are publishing Boeotia as a series of some ten fascicules, each of book size, in each of which a sub-region or an individual city-site will be presented. *Fascicule 1*,¹¹ treats just 18 rural sites in the south *chora* of the major city of Thespieae, together with a remarkable carpet of ceramic discard of ancient date spread over the entire landscape between these sites and the city (the “offsite” pottery scatter). A key role in our revaluation of the Boeotia survey data is being played by computerized spatial analysis and database manipulation, made possible through software such as ArchInfo and ArchView within the group of analytical methods termed Geographical Information Systems (GIS), and carried out for us by Phil Howard at Durham University in England.

The prolonged gestation of our final results has allowed us to revisit older preliminary published analyses of our data, extract far more information than previously and question how valid our earlier provisional impressions of the data remain under intense and refined scrutiny.

There still exists some scepticism amongst ancient historians that surface survey archaeologists can distinguish farms or hamlets from casual loss and rubbish dumps, so one first step is to parameterize in a rigorous fashion what defines a ‘site’ or spatially confined human activity focus. With the aid of GIS all our counted surface pottery densities can be analyzed and mapped very precisely, and this allows us to show that past settlements, whether large or very small, are quantitatively elevated in density over normal ‘background’ ceramic sherd discard across the landscape as a whole (Figure 1). A further observation is that such settlements have a ‘core’ of highest values, associated often with traces of structures for habitation and storage, then around this a band of less elevated but still abnormal sherd density – a ‘halo’ (Figure 2), whilst our computerized analysis shows that the halo zone is more or less extensive into the surrounding landscape according to the relative size of the site core. More detailed study confirms that the ‘core’ represents the actual area of domestic habitation, whilst the halo seems to represent an area of farmyard and/or gardens, where rubbish is both accumulated and also deliberately placed to fertilize an inner part of the

¹¹ J.L. Bintliff, P. Howard, and A.M. Snodgrass, eds., *The Boeotia Project, Fascicule 1: The Leondari South-East and Thespieae South Sectors* (Cambridge, in press).

estate where intensive cultivation took place. Interestingly, a purely text-based reconstruction of Roman and Byzantine farming¹² has produced a scenario of land use for core and halo creation identical to our empirical results.

Our first aim, then, was to clarify the reality and distinctive properties of rural habitation sites. The same analysis helpfully shows that rural cemeteries – which are only of Classical Greek date hitherto in our survey area, when found separate from larger settlements – are distinctive through being lower in surface pottery density than the normal background values, so that their discovery rests essentially on qualitative criteria – special kinds of finer ceramics. Furthermore, as we shall show later, we are also in a position through very detailed internal analysis of the date and distribution of surface pottery found on habitation sites, to suggest that in some phases of their use they may have ceased to have been residential and lost their role as foci of heightened human activity.

So far we have sought to separate ‘sites’ – rural farms and hamlets, or cemeteries – from ‘background’, represented by ‘offsite’ pottery scatters. But for some 15 years we have maintained that this offsite material in Boeotia is of great interest in its own right.¹³ Not only does Boeotian offsite pottery cover the entire cultivable landscape, but its average density is staggering. In the area presented in *Fascicule I* of the Boeotia Project, stretching some 2-3 kilometres southward out from the city wall of ancient Thespieae, our calculations suggest that around 1.4 million potsherds lie *between* recognized rural sites, on average some 2635 sherds per hectare (or the equivalent of finding one sherd in an area of 2 x 2 metre square anywhere in this 5.4 square kilometre district) (Figure 3). As this material runs up and down hills regardless of the location of our 17-18 rural sites, often at great distances from them too, and is of such density in comparison to the debris produced by the small population living in the country, the only conceivable source of this vast debris has to be the city of Thespieae itself, a giant town of some 100 hectares at its Classical to Hellenistic peak, and still some 40 hectares in Roman and Late Roman times. As erosion can be ruled out as a cause of such artefact spreads, for topographic reasons, the distances

¹² A. Ducellier et al., *Byzance et le monde orthodoxe* (Paris 1986), Figure p. 188.

¹³ J.L. Bintliff and A. M. Snodgrass, ‘Off-site pottery distributions: a regional and interregional perspective’, *Current Anthropology* 29 (1988), 506-513.

involved and the sheer scale of deposition, we have long argued that only one explanation is allowable for the vast bulk of this offsite material, and that is deliberate manuring of the *chora* from city waste material, by farmers who were town-dwellers, but who commuted out to cultivate their estates. This being the case, our offsite scatters become a primary tool for measuring intensive land use in the *chora*, and hence their chronological composition is of great interest.

Remarkably, some 70-80% of the offsite pottery is of Classical to Early Hellenistic date (Figure 4), coinciding with the single era in the long history of the Thespieae settlement (Neolithic to early 19th century AD) when the town reached massive proportions. The implication is clear: only in this period was population density great enough to require an unparalleled effort of agricultural intensification in its supporting countryside, in which artificial manuring with domestic waste was a major aspect. Of course the most desired ingredients were inorganic waste components – from cooking, agricultural processing, human and animal waste products, all largely consumed by past crops for their growth – leaving us archaeologists the inorganic and almost indestructible household debris! These significant results are very much as predicted from earlier studies of landscape manuring in the Near East.¹⁴

If the entire cultivable landscape is itself an ‘artefact’, a new problem arises. It is easy enough to demonstrate with statistics that our claimed rural settlements are genuinely distinct in terms of the quantitative scale of accumulation of ancient rubbish, and hence residential. We can certainly also demonstrate that there is an easily-recognized difference between pottery manuring scatters from ancient fields and heavily-occupied rural farms, through the general nature of the finds – small and severely worn fragments contrast with larger and freshly-broken fragments, often fitting together, respectively. Our problem is a different and more subtle one, and I have already raised a more complex and yet surely highly plausible historical scenario. This is where an ancient rural residential site is found because of its undeniably rich densities of freshly-disturbed settlement deposits (through ploughing usually). But let us imagine, that during certain periods of its

¹⁴ T.J. Wilkinson, ‘Extensive sherd scatters and land-use intensity: some recent results’, *Journal of Field Archaeology* 16 (1989), 31-46.

cultural ‘biography’ this settlement could well have changed its character – it was either abandoned or reduced to a storage or other non-residential role, so quite different from the times when it functioned as a normal farmstead or hamlet. In the latter cases our finding of some sherds of those periods at the site location and on its surface would derive from a very different human activity at this location, but mixed in with the surface sherds of the residential phase or phases this evidence might well be simply added to the list of periods when the settlement was in full occupation. This scenario is a problematic challenge to our understanding of life in the countryside from surface finds, but at the same time clearly an exciting opportunity to nuance our histories of the landscape.

The scale of this potential flaw in the practice of surface survey archaeology can be seen by considering recently-published site catalogues such as that of the Kea Survey¹⁵. Many surface sites on the island of Kea are multi-period, but the numbers of collected and dated finds for each phase on such sites are small (cf. Table 1).

TABLE 1: A representative surface site from the Kea Survey Site Catalogue

SITE 64. OTZIAS

Area: approx. 2.0 ha.?

Confirmed activity: Late Roman; Middle Byzantine

Dated finds from the site as collected: Greco-Roman 2+; Archaic-Classical 1; Archaic-Hellenistic 2 (plus +1?); Classical-Hellenistic 2; Classical-Late Roman 2 (plus 1+?); Late Roman 4+ (plus 1+?); Roman 1; Middle Byzantine 4; Modern 1+; Hellenistic-Roman 1

(From J.F. Cherry, J. C. Davis et al. 1991, op. cit. (n. 15), p. 123)

What if potsherds during some periods, collected from a rural site, reflect not residential activity at this location, but limited storage or even abandonment and a reversion to a field in which sherds from manure are deposited? Although normally site recognition in modern intensive surveys is due to dense and fresh sherds on its surface, this only demands that the dominant

¹⁵ J.F. Cherry, J. C. Davis et al., eds., *Landscape Archaeology as Long-Term History* (Los Angeles 1991).

period represented should be residential, allowing minor periods represented to be open to the kind of alternative scenarios just presented. But how can we know?

It took me several years of mental struggle with the detailed data from the 18 rural sites of our first survey sector to resolve this central problem.¹⁶ Previously, researchers confronted with small amounts of surface finds from several periods had perforce adopted a simple guideline: the dominant phase numerically was to be seen as occupation, the rest were rather arbitrarily assigned to either offsite, or also to site occupational use, without any sustained evidence or argument. If the entire surface collection was small, it is now almost impossible to decide which classification is correct.

The first guiding principle is what I have termed 'Residual Analysis'. Because we possess density figures for the surface pottery coating the entire landscape enclosing our 18 sites, and a chronological breakdown of its composition, it is possible to calculate the predicted density of finds across our sites *had they not existed*, by interpolating of the density of the district they lie in. Secondly, we can use the period breakdown for that district's offsite pottery to calculate the amount of sherds for each period we might expect to find across each site, also *if it had not existed*. We then compare the expected numbers of sherds per period with those actually recorded across each site. Excessive amounts beyond prediction comprise the 'Residual' not accounted for by processes operating over the whole district, and hence representing genuine focal activity at the site. Once it has thereby become clear that period 'x' is present in abnormal density at a site on residual quantities, we can add back to the residual the sherds predicted by local offsite density, since all this period's material can be removed from consideration as field scatter and reassigned to concentrated activity. As noted above, we argue that almost all of the offsite was put in place by urban manuring, and its bias towards the Classical-Early Hellenistic period means that finds of that phase on any site deserve particular scrutiny to test if their level really exceeds the high local offsite values. In contrast, prehistoric, Roman-Late Roman and Medieval-Postmedieval offsite scatters are much thinner and discontinuous, so that sites for these periods are much easier to distinguish. This method seems to clarify the basic issue of separating genuine site use from offsite activity for each period.

¹⁶ Bintliff and Howard 1999, op. cit. (n. 4).

TABLE 2: An example of a rural site from the south chora of Thespieae. Actual = recorded density, Predicted = expected density from surrounding fields for this district of the chora.

SITE LSE 1: RESIDUAL ANALYSIS TABLE

500 sherd sample

Period	A-H	R	LR
Actual	305	83	22
Predicted	153	16	7
RESIDUAL	+152	+67	+15

In this example, it is clear that the reason for the field-walkers recognising this locality as a site was the very high total of Archaic to Hellenistic (A-H) potsherds. Subsequently the pottery collection sampled over the site revealed a secondary Early Roman (R), and a tertiary Late Roman (LR) sherd presence. In scientific terms, we should begin with the residual figures: strongest for A-H, much less so for ER, and weakest for LR. Once we feel that a reasonable case exists to give heightened local activity status to a phase, the next step is to re-incorporate the remaining sherds of that period, since we assume that assigning site status for that phase removes the hypothetical assignment of sherds to such off-site deposition as would characterise surrounding fields. Here then, although we expect in the immediate fields nearby a relatively dense scatter of A-H pottery, the same amount per square metre within the site at LSE 1 will now be added to the on-site activity, making up an overall total of 305 out of the sample of 500 which is site deposition. Likewise the enhancement, by a factor of four, of the actual over the expected Early Roman pottery first confirms site use, then allows us to merge the potential off-site with the residual on-site, to make a total of 83 per 500 sherds for the period. The disparity between these two phases of confirmed site use will be the subject of the next stage of investigation, together with the reason for a real but extremely vestigial Late Roman presence.

A second and more delicate analysis is required however, to cope with another and equally serious criticism of previous surface survey interpretation: the nature of use of a site. In the past, rural sites have often been subject to a 'grab collection', where a measure is made of the dimensions of the dense scatter, then a bag or two filled with randomly-collected potsherds

from various points of the site surface. As noted above, well-represented periods are taken to be site use, rarer periods as sporadic use or offsite discard. The statistics of such collections is very shaky and we gain no clear idea, even for the claimed site use periods, of how much of the site surface was in use in each phase. More advanced strategies collect from set points along set transects over the surface, although even here no evidence is given that such sampling is reliable for the entire site surface. Thus even on the high quality regional surveys published for the Argolid Peninsula¹⁷ and the Methana Peninsula¹⁸ almost all the sites have a single, maximum dimension of use area, despite the presence on most of more than one period of activity. Having experimented with these methods in the first two years of the Boeotia Project, we moved to adopting for most of our sites a collection method in which either large swathes of the surface were totally counted and collected from, or the entire surface was gridded and studied completely, from which we were able to show how misleading the results from the former sampling strategies could be, through comparison of the resultant collections.¹⁹ Crucially, only large collections of sherds from distinct zones of each site can offer a reliable basis for examination of the internal composition of each site (cf. Table 1 with Table 2).

Nonetheless, even with large area or even total area coverage of a surface site, and a large sherd collection from each part of its surface, the meaning of the period finds across it demands rigorous analysis. We can plot the distribution of finds for each phase of activity, especially easy and rapid to do now that GIS packages spatial information and artefact database material for analysis and display on one's computer. The resultant sherd distribution maps for a site, period by period, complement the statistical approach to the density of finds (the Residual Analysis), in the following fashion. The Residual Analysis of numbers of finds per period highlights phases where site quantities do not exceed the local offsite discard, allowing a first hypothesis that the site is merely part of the wider landscape of manuring at that time. Likewise abnormal accumulation of density argues for distinct focal or site use at a particular phase. But the spatial plotting of these period finds permits a more nuanced series of scenarios to be tested. What if

¹⁷ Jameson et al. 1994, op. cit. (n. 8).

¹⁸ C. Mee and H. Forbes, eds., *A Rough and Rocky Place. The Landscape and Settlement History of the Methana Peninsula, Greece* (Liverpool 1997).

¹⁹ Bintliff and Snodgrass 1985, op. cit. (n. 1).

the total number of sherds for period 'x' is within the range of the wider landscape, but across the site map its finds are clustered in one restricted part of the site – which means that the *actual* finds density is elevated at the location over the local offsite? Here we could propose a new model – limited site use compared to the wider use of other periods. Since taken as a whole the site is proven to be such by a surface pottery density exceeding local offsite, it is those other periods that therefore must now have been responsible for creating the high density feature or site in the first place. Now actually, since most of our sites in this sector are of Classical, Hellenistic, Early or Late Roman date, usually in use during at least two or more of those phases, it is highly likely that the scale of site use did indeed vary across time, so that we need a methodology which will reliably distinguish the expansion and contraction of rural settlements. Questions of rural population size and the kind of establishments represented demand our ability to draw such distinctions. In yet another scenario, the finds at a particular site may be clearly but not strongly elevated in absolute numbers over the expected total for the landscape around on the Residual Analysis, but when plotted on the site map we find an absence of a clear clustering effect. Such a pattern is unlikely to be created by a typical fullscale domestic occupation, more likely to represent some kind of temporary, seasonal use of the site, yet still arguably at a higher level than that of a manured field.

If we return to the site presented in the example Residual Analysis Table shown in Table 2, and now study both the location of that site in its offsite density context (Figure 5) and then the distribution of our dated pottery collection across the site (Figures 6-8), we are able to clarify the clear discrepancy between the total dated finds and the predicted finds based on the Null Hypothesis that the 'site' is merely part of a continuum of offsite pottery. Firstly we see that this site lies in a very dense carpet of offsite pottery – in fact it is really close to the city of Thespieae and is thus lying in a zone of very high density urban manuring. Since this offsite manuring ceramic is nearly all of Classical Greek age, this explains why in Table 2 the predicted amount of finds for this location is set so high and the threshold to clear site status is well above that set for corresponding thresholds of abnormal density in Roman and Late Roman times. Nonetheless the total density for the Greek phase is still adequate to elevate the location to site level, and as Figure 6 shows, this is the main occupation of LSE1, with a hamlet size of more than a hectare. Although the total for Early Roman times is well above expected offsite discard for this district of countryside, and

hence should reflect a genuine activity focus now at LSE1, the numbers of sherds recovered are quite out of scale compared to Greek times. As Figure 7 makes clear, this can be accounted for by a dramatic shrinkage of the occupied zone, with most finds occurring in a limited zone of the gridded area. In fact we estimate a small farm of a mere 0.2 hectares. Finally, the finds from Late Roman times (Figure 8), although visibly above expectation, are so few in total that the statistics of small numbers denies us certainty that the extra finds are not within the range of variability of the average for the offsite of this period. Moreover, their absolute number even in comparison to the small farm of earlier Roman times seems inadequate for an occupation site. To confirm our suspicions, the spread of these Late Roman sherds over the site (Figure 8) shows a wide and generally thin scatter²⁰ which is more likely to be the result of field manuring than concentrated activity – whether residential or otherwise – and we can safely assign this phase to offsite activity, when the former hamlet-farm had become an area of lightly-manured fields.

The advantages of such analyses are great. Firstly, scholars can study the figures and displayed distributions for themselves, to see if the interpretations look convincing, and apply alternatives for their own use or use these analyses for comparison with their own and other surveys. Secondly, we can suggest quite nuanced interpretations for the history of each site, and cumulatively for entire landscapes, charting the rise and fall in the number and size of rural sites, but also changing uses of those locations. At the same time, the intervening cultivated landscape provides a complementary story through the analysis of those ‘offsite scatters’ which result from manuring episodes which mark highpoints of intensive land use. Finally, the relationship between land use, rural site use and the city they belong to can be examined when, as here, the entire *polis* surface has also been studied through complete gridded collection of surface finds.²¹

²⁰ Apparent small foci of Late Roman sherds in a few squares of the western part of the site are largely due to overenthusiastic collection of sherds in these squares by the students concerned, something we can control for by tagging such squares with an oblique stroke, as displayed here.

²¹ Bintliff and Snodgrass 1988, *op. cit.* (n. 1)

Final results: the changing rural and urban settlement picture for ancient Thespieae

For reference it is necessary to commence with the settlement picture for the high Classical to early Hellenistic era, the 5th to 3rd century BC (Figure 9).

Thespieae City is at an all-time maximum extent of some 95 hectares, perhaps 12,000 occupants, whilst the south inner *chora* has a whole series of rural farms and hamlets (cumulatively however just 6.8 ha. of domestic occupation) before we reach the first *kome* or village at Askris Potamos (ca. 2.5 ha in size). The rural population that we calculate drew their subsistence directly from the surveyed bloc of 5.4 sq.km. was less than 200 people, and by extrapolating from this we can suggest that some 76% of food surpluses from the surveyed area was available to feed the urban population. Overall, if we take out *komai* in the entire wider *chora* of Thespieae of 'urban' scale (ie 10 ha or more in size), the urban-rural population split is around 80%-20%, whilst our rural surplus estimates can just feed town and country at full landuse.

By Late Hellenistic times however (Figure 10), the final two centuries BC, dramatic decline has affected both the City and its rural settlements. In Early Roman Imperial times (the first two centuries AD) the City remains at its new shrunken level of around 40 ha, but a slight recovery in rural settlement can be registered. In Middle Roman times (ca. 200-400 AD) (Figure 11) rural recovery moves a clear step further, although the City does not grow correspondingly, but the really striking change to the preceding 600 years of stagnation then slow recovery, is registered for Late Roman times (ca. 400-600 AD) (Figure 12), when the countryside fills out with an unprecedented occupied area, and even the City witnesses an admittedly quite modest re-expansion (to 48 ha). Indeed the area of rural settlement has risen to 13 ha in the *chora* up to the still-occupied village of Askris Potamos (an additional 2.5 ha in extent), doubling therefore the density of rural occupation to that registered for Classical Greek times. The scale of transformation is encapsulated in the statistics: if high Classical settlement was 80%-20% urban-rural overall on extrapolated calculations for the entire Thespieae *chora*, then in Late Roman times an inversion has occurred to 30%-70% or even (on one calculation) 20%-80%.

Although one is tempted to a swift interpretation, very much in tune with contemporary thinking about Late Antiquity, I shall suggest that this is almost certainly erroneous. A standard current view would take this urban-

rural inversion of population to evidence the decline of minor provincial cities in Late Roman times and a complementary ‘flight to the country’ by rich and poor alike. While the towns became the residence of the jobless and landless, living off church and state handouts, country life revolved around large estates manned by tied peasants or ‘*coloni*’, whose products were aimed rather at interregional trade (heading for the great cities and the army) rather than for regional consumption in the local towns. Why, then, does this attractive view not work in the south Thespieae *chora*?

For Classical Greek times, our estimates show that the entire surplus food production of the *chora* was needed to sustain the great city of Thespieae and its urban *komai* such as Askris Potamos and Askra. What was left could just feed the density of non-urban rural villages, hamlets and farms which we have identified through survey. Boeotia in this period is characterized in our sources as a self-sufficient agricultural region with little external trade and very little history of external involvement with colonial foundation, and indeed we find that there would have been little scope for exports with a regional total population at maximum exploitation of available agricultural land, and consuming virtually everything it produced in the way of subsistence crops. It is entirely consistent with these considerations that we have documented a massive and sustained programme of agricultural manuring out of all the major and minor urban sites of Boeotia so far studied, a practice without parallel in any other period of Boeotian prehistory and history. Simply put, feeding such a giant regional population put immense strain on soil fertility, and communal effort was deployed to enable the land to hold up high yields for as long as possible.

During the final centuries BC the system collapsed, and both town and country populations plummeted. Modest recovery in the rural sector can be observed in the early centuries AD, picking up in the 3rd and 4th centuries, to blossom into a spectacular replanned countryside in the 5th and 6th centuries AD, when the cumulative extent of rural sites is around double even that of the Classical florescence. The slight re-expansion of Thespieae City in Late Roman times still leaves that town, however, at half its Classical peak size.

But something has to be wrong with translating these areal extents of town and country directly into demographic and land use reconstructions. For one thing, the new generation of larger Late Roman sites is remarkable for the dominance of building debris (tiles) and storage and transport amphora, but a contrasting poverty of vessel fragments from domestic food preparation and consumption; these are often large sites, but it seems not

many people were normally living there. Secondly, if we were to assume that the density of rural sites and their area corresponded to dense rural inhabitants, we find that simply feeding these country residents would take up 90-95% of available food produced in the *chora*, leaving a still large urban population of 6000 or so residents to subsist on the remaining 5-10% of rural surpluses. In fact the figures are impossible, and the town would starve! Finally, with the City at half its Classical peak, but assuming full occupation of a greatly enlarged rural site area, food production in the *chora* would have needed intensive land use – but the evidence from our sample of dated offsite pottery (Figure 4) for agricultural manuring in Late Roman times is minimal.

The only explanation which brings into harmony all the evidence so far presented, is to suggest that the new socio-economic system of Early Roman and Late Roman times, replacing the Classical Greek *polis* model, is closest to the traditional agro-town, large estate scenario notoriously documented in Early Modern Sicily and Southern Mainland Italy. The wider countryside is owned by wealthy landowners, and exploited out of their estate centres; in the immediate outskirts of each town, peasants manage to work small plots, but the basis for peasant income comes from tied or wage labour on the open countryside estates of the rich. The labour force, however, dwells in the towns and commutes out to distant *latifundia*, so that these estate centres have a sizeable plan but a small permanently resident population of overseers and maintenance staff. In our application of this model, we suggest that a countryside once largely owned by middling farmers (of the hoplite class) and to a lesser extent by the elite in Classical Greek times, but with significant areas assigned to the smaller holdings for a lower peasant class, became transformed during the crisis of Late Hellenistic times, into one where by Roman Imperial times land in the wider *chora* had passed into the hands of a class of rich landowners (native or incoming) during. The former hoplite and lower class were largely reduced to an urban population surviving largely by supplementing inadequate smallholdings in the immediate vicinity of the City with hired or tied labour on the estates of the rich. The low level of domestic rubbish at these *villa* centres, compared to their sizeable individual and collective area, suits a small resident population but largescale activities requiring non-resident labour, and the effect of shrinking the rural population to a low level is to bring the Late Roman urban-rural balance back to its Classical Greek proportions of around 80%-20%. Since the 80% urban population is however at half the absolute level of

its Classical Greek predecessor, then the level of land use they are involved with is also some half of that earlier period, and such a scale of exploitation would not require intensive agricultural manuring. Hence the striking absence of late Antique manuring evidence, plainly documented in our study of the offsite scatters.

The wider Aegean context

Some years ago I tried to summarize the accumulating results from recent regional field surveys and older more topographical researches as regards differential demographic and economic growth in the Aegean over the entire Greco-Roman period.²² Although this was only a provisional attempt, which had to rely on data of variable detail and reliability, there nonetheless emerged a surprisingly consistent picture for most regions of Greece, exceptions to which were then subjected to special attention for the light they shed on underlying processes (Figure 13). As would have been expected by scholars of historical demography and regional archaeological survey working in other parts of the world, the Aegean trajectories are characterized by cyclical patterns of growth, climax and decline, although in detail clusters of regions appear to behave together and out of phase with other clusters in this respect. Thus a precocious early growth cluster focusses on the South-Central Mainland, with Boeotia on its periphery forming part of a second rather later cycle of development. In North and West Greece tertiary and later cycles can be traced. Whereas the first group already show rapid takeoff in rural and urban growth in the final Dark Age and earliest historic era (Geometric-Archaic period), the Boeotian cluster belongs more with high Classical and early Hellenistic times, whilst the latest cycles peak in Roman Imperial times or even in Late Antiquity.

In my study of these phenomena I highlighted the need to deploy a battery of models to isolate critical explanatory elements in accounting for both the general trends and localized exceptions. However one of the factors which seemed to account for much of the broader picture was an agro-demographic, Neo-Malthusian explanation²³: put simply, populations tend to expand beyond the means of long-term subsistence capacity of their

²² Bintliff 1997, *op. cit.* (n. 5).

²³ E. Le Roy Ladurie and J. Goy, *Tithe and Agrarian History from the Fourteenth to the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge-Paris 1982).

resources, leading to a demographic and economic recession of a significant depth. Since the fundamental source of subsistence in ancient Greece was the land, this implies that its productivity may be expected to have failed as a result of overuse. Such a failure can manifest itself in various ways, such as deteriorating soil nutrients caused by overcropping, or erosion of open surfaces in a suitable climate such as semi-arid Southern Greece possesses. It seems likely that both of these named processes can be observed in the Aegean. In the Argolid and Attica, where the first growth cycle is concentrated, a major erosion phase is documented by the end of Classical Greek times,²⁴ whereas in Boeotia – where the climate is significantly less arid – failure of soil nutrients is more probably a central cause of the collapse of town and country population which we have discussed above for the Late Hellenistic era. It was to counter visibly declining crop yields, we believe, that the immense work of urban manuring into the Boeotian landscape was set in motion in Classical Greek times.

What, then, is the place of Roman imperialism in this broader Aegean picture, and then in the specific context of Boeotia? Following an approach widely adopted by scholars of the Roman economy²⁵, I would prefer to see the provinces of the Empire as following semi-autonomous paths in terms of demography and economy, much as we have postulated for the regions within the Aegean over a longer time-period. The ‘Impact of Rome’ in this view would depend on the pre-existing trajectory or trajectories of the future province at the time of incorporation, as well as the individual place of the province in terms of the functioning of the Imperial system as a whole. In the case of Greece, as we have seen, different regions were in quite contrasted states of growth, stagnation or decline by the turn of the 1st millennium AD, and thus Rome may have been a stimulus in some regions, but a force to sustain underdevelopment in others. Crete, for example, underexploited in Classical and Hellenistic times, reaches a first climax of population and economic productivity in the Early Empire, but Boeotia stagnates, and rural

²⁴ J.L. Bintliff ‘Landscape change in Classical Greece: a review’, in F. Vermeulen and M. De Dapper, eds., *Geoarchaeology of the Landscapes of Classical Antiquity* (Leuven 2000), 49-70.

²⁵ Cf. M. Fulford, ‘Economic interdependence among urban communities of the Roman Mediterranean’ *World Archaeology* 19 (1987), 58-75, and G. Woolf, ‘Imperialism, empire and the integration of the Roman economy’, *World Archaeology* 23 (1992) 283-293.

Attica fails to develop at all – if our single but high quality survey can be generalized from.²⁶

For Boeotia, we have argued from the empirical evidence for the dominance of wealthier *villa* owners in the Early and Late Roman landscape, at the expense of a peasant class which was increasingly driven to occupy a defined niche as a town-dwelling, dependent labour force employed on the former's estates (a scenario in large part anticipated from less complete archaeological evidence in Susan Alcock's *Graecia Capta*.²⁷ Even in the heyday of the *villa* system, around 500 AD, we have suggested that land use and population levels were only half those of the Classical Greek era; nonetheless it can be remarked that, although this socioeconomy was little profitable for the bulk of the regional population, and very profitable for the landowning magnate class, it was at least considerably more sustainable in ecological terms. Had our Boeotian peasants known this, however, it would have been scant consolation for their impoverishment and that of the *polis* society of around 400 BC which they originated from!

Leiden, January 2004

²⁶ Lohmann 1991, op. cit. (n. 9); Bintliff 1997, op. cit. (n. 5)

²⁷ Alcock 1993, op. cit. (n. 2).

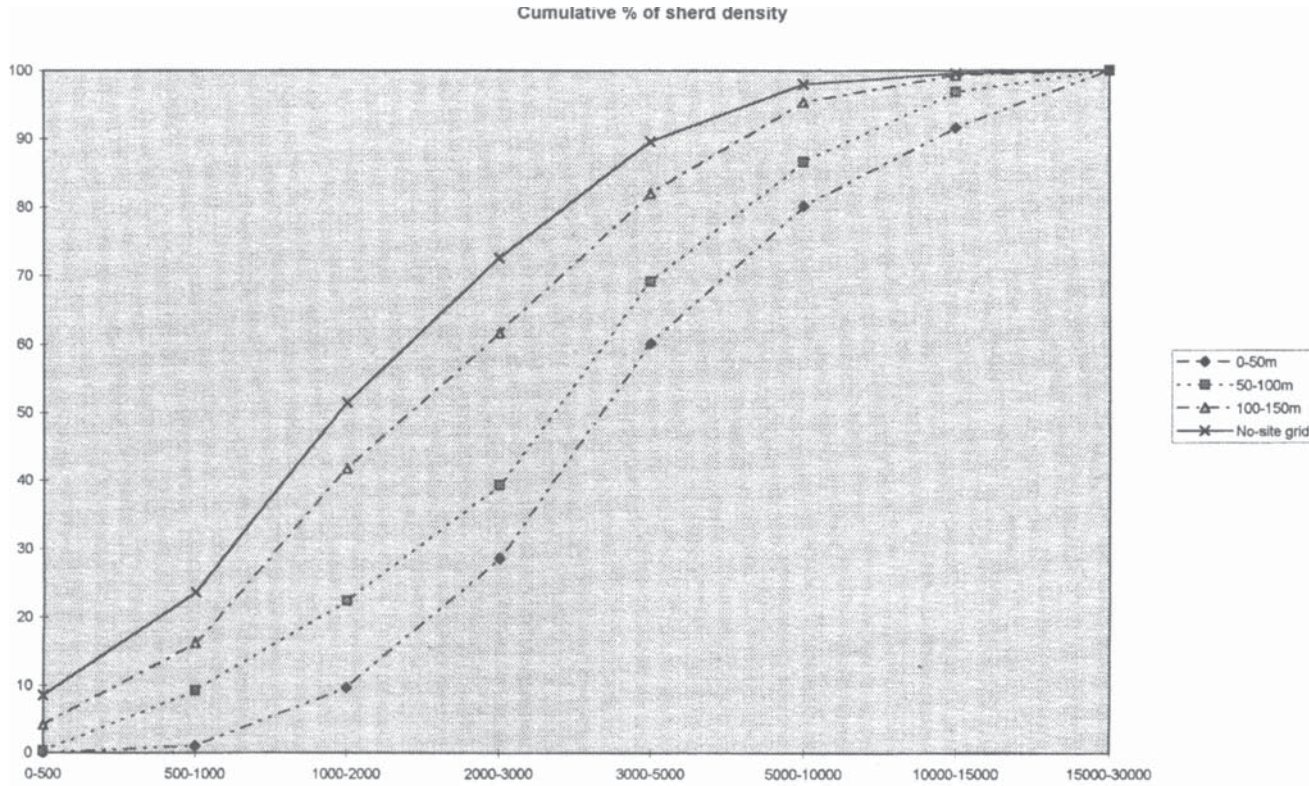


Figure 1: Cumulative frequency chart demonstrating the density of surface pottery at the core and in the immediate periphery of settlement sites in the south *chora* of Thespieae. Densities are given for three different concentric rings around the settlements, 0-50 ms, 50-100ms and 100-150ms, then for comparison the density of sherds on the surface in all the landscape zones lying between settlements and further than 150 ms from any settlement. On the horizontal axis we give sherd density per hectare, on the vertical axis the percentage of the readings at each density level. It is clear that even up to 150 ms distant from settlements the average surface sherd density exceeds the average offsite countryside density.

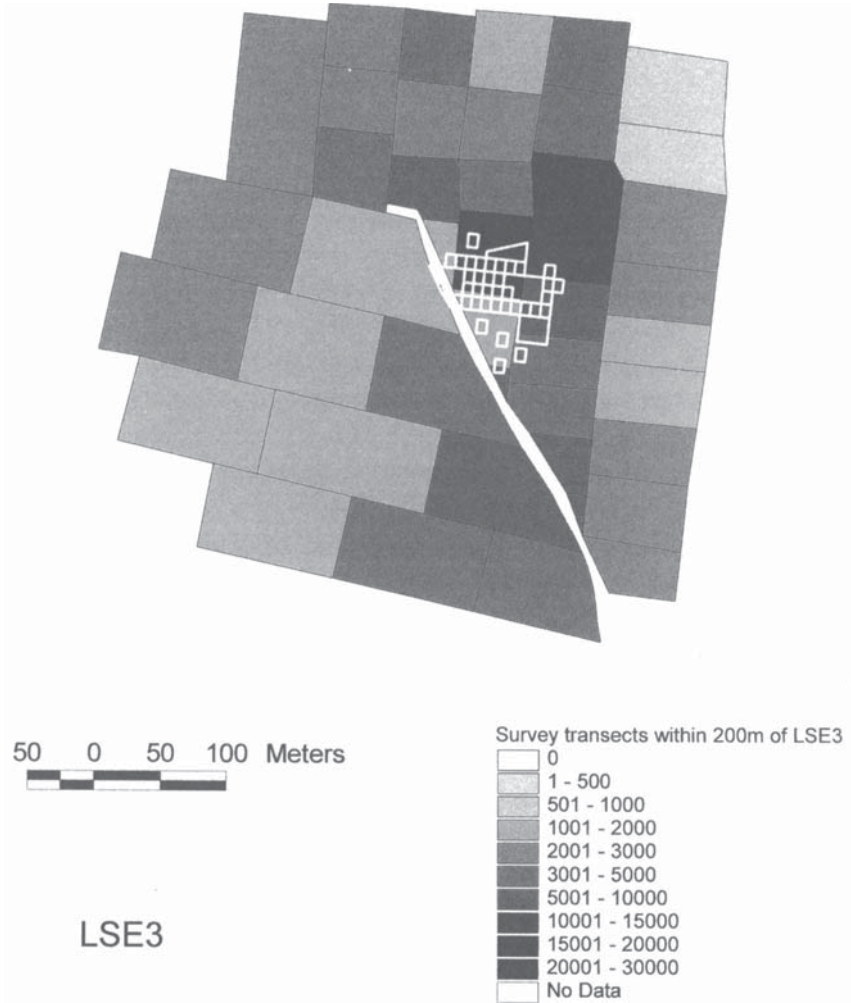


Figure 2: Rural site LSE3 in the south *chora* of Thespieae, with the density of surface pottery in sherds per hectare in its immediate periphery and fields more distant. The site is marked through its white survey grid. Note that although there is much dense offsite pottery in the surrounding area, due to manuring from the city along the traditional track which passes the ancient site, there is also a heightened density zone around the gridded settlement. This 'halo' is interpreted as a sector of intensively manured and farmed garden culture in the innermost part of the ancient estate.

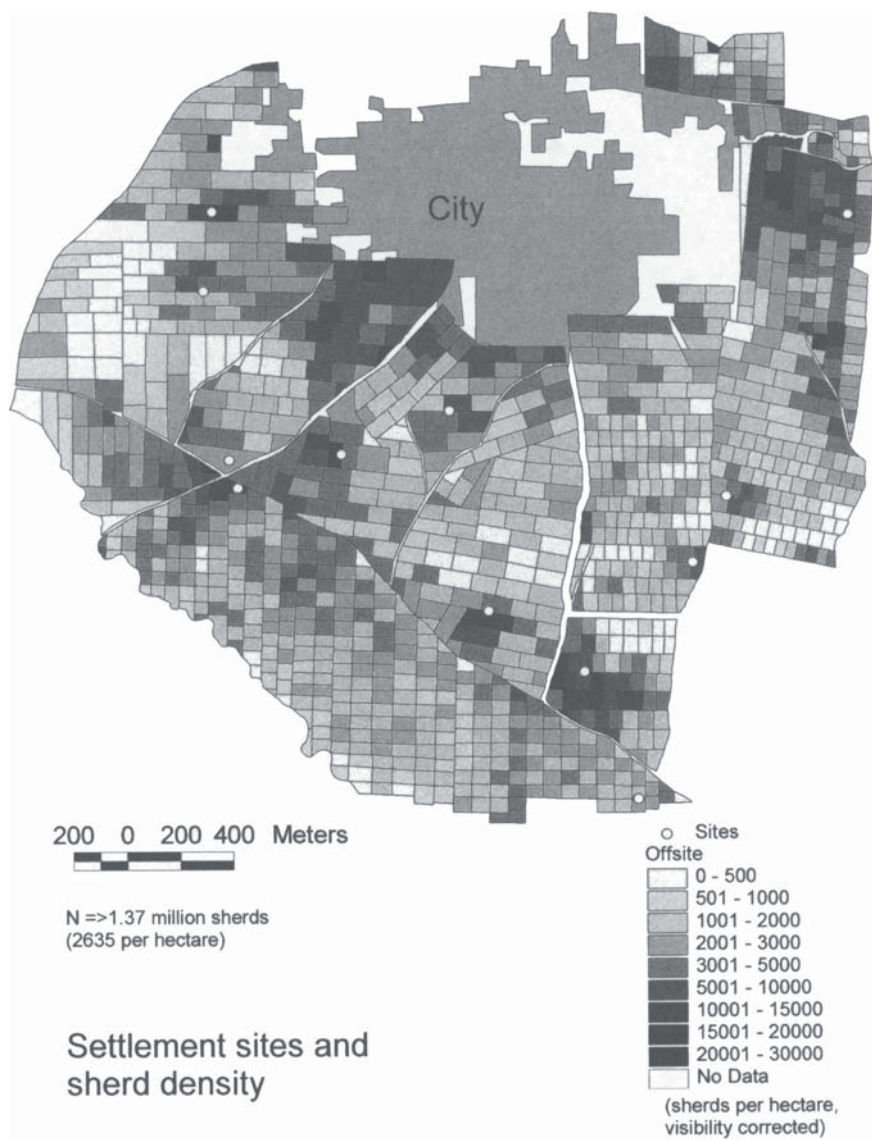


Figure 3: The area of 5.4 sq. kms. covered by the Thespieae south chora survey, with the location of rural sites marked in white, and the density of surface finds per hectare in grey scale.

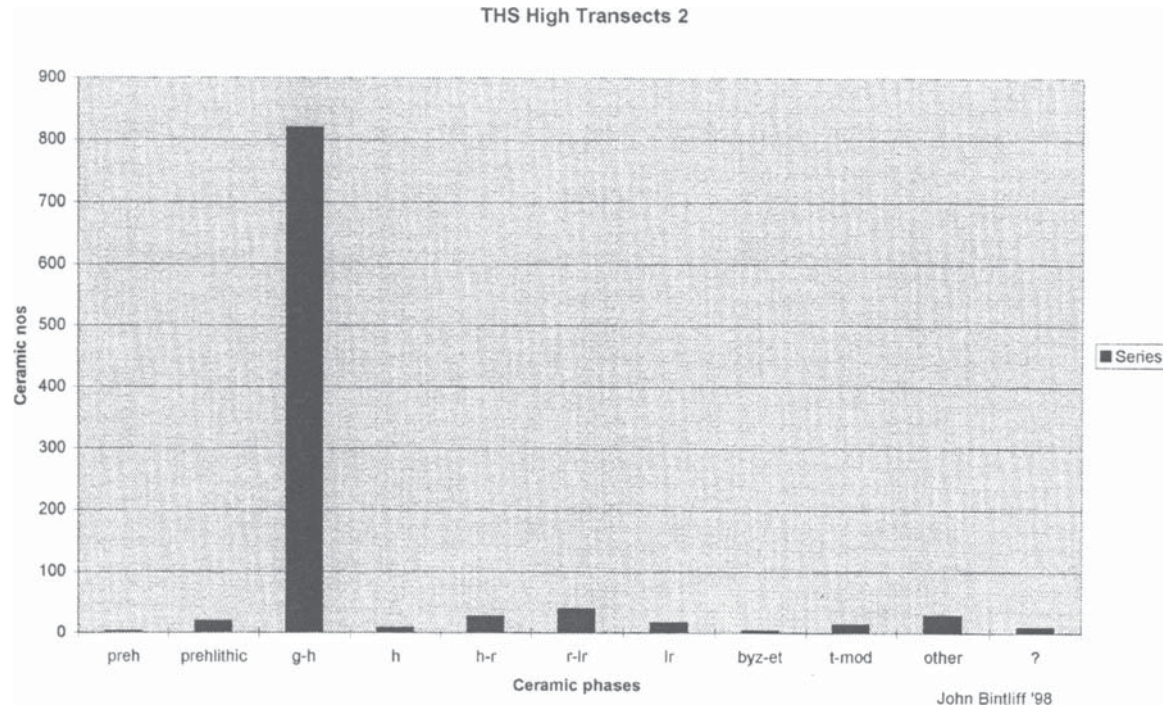


Figure 4: Chart to demonstrate the chronological composition of the offsite surface ceramics lying between rural sites in the south chora of Thespieae. This represents a dated sample collected from approximately one third of the area studied, but the results from the other two-thirds are very similar. Note the absolute dominance of pottery of generic Classical Greek date (here = 'g-h') compared to prehistoric (preh), roman (h-r, r-lr, lr) and post-roman (byz-et, t-mod).

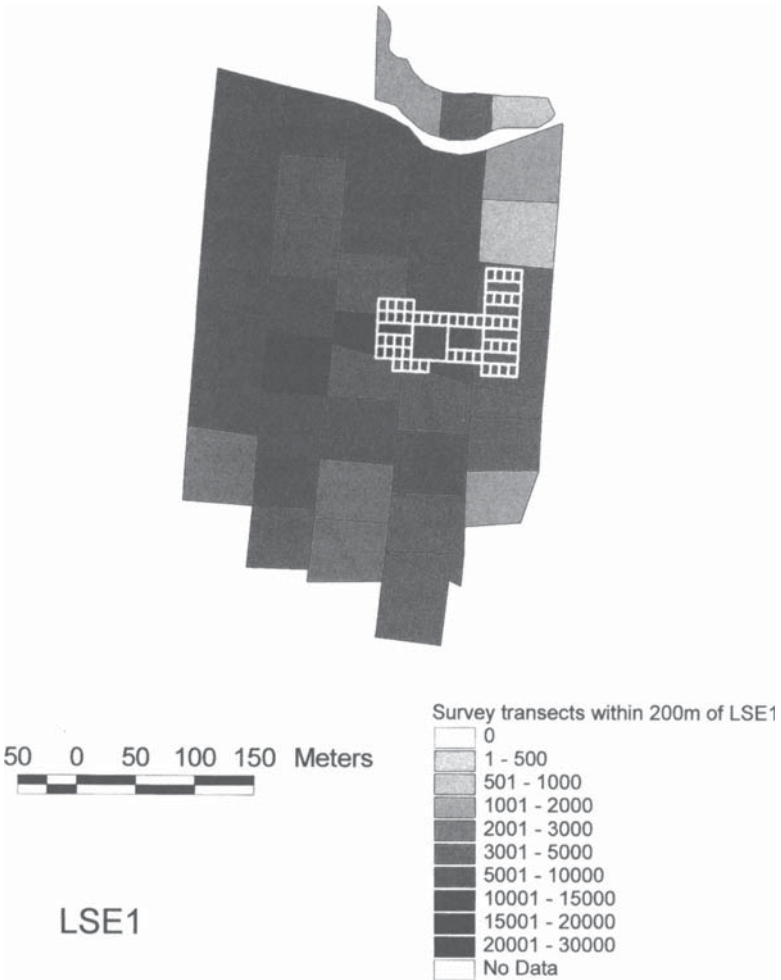


Figure 5: Site LSE1 in the south chora of Thespieae. The site core is represented by the white survey grid. Note that the site lies on the eastern edge of an exceptionally high density offsite zone, which continues to rise further westwards towards the ancient city walls, only some 500 ms distant, but which drops off rapidly in the open country east of the site.

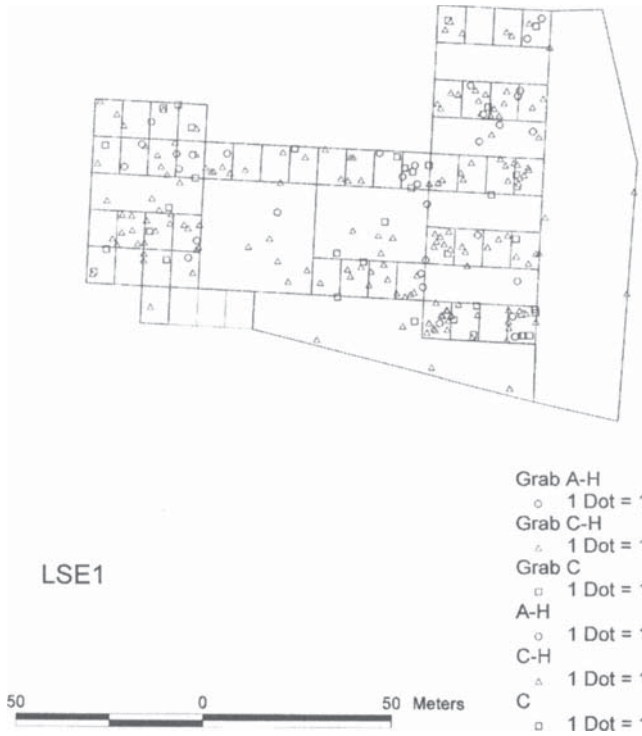


Figure 6: Distribution of dated finds collected from the survey grid over site LSE1, of Archaic-Early Hellenistic, Classical-Early Hellenistic, and Classical date.

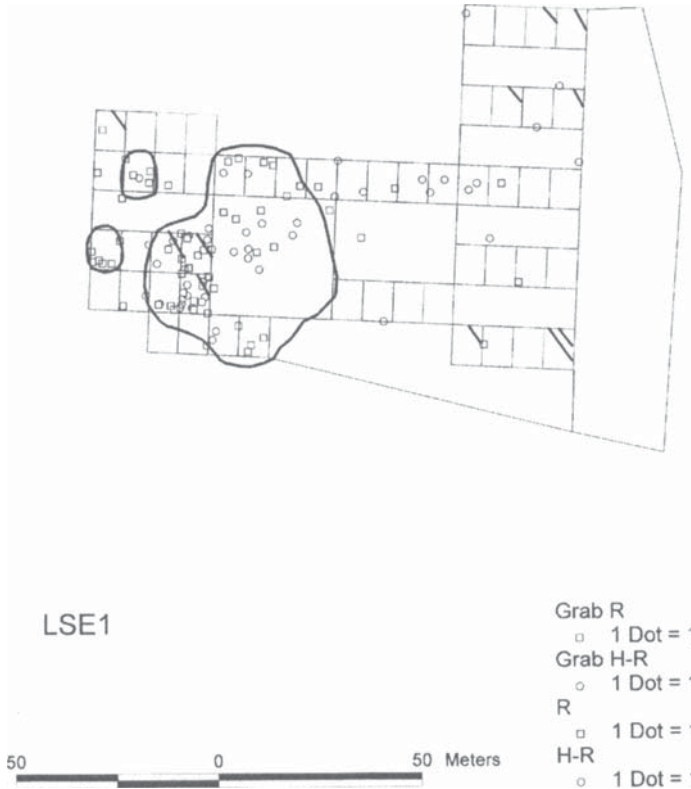


Figure 7: Distribution of dated finds collected from the survey grid over site LSE1, of late Hellenistic to Early Roman (H-R) and Early Roman (R) date. Dark outline highlights the main area in occupation during this period, whilst obliquely tagged grid collection units show those units where unusually large numbers of sherds were collected by fieldworkers.

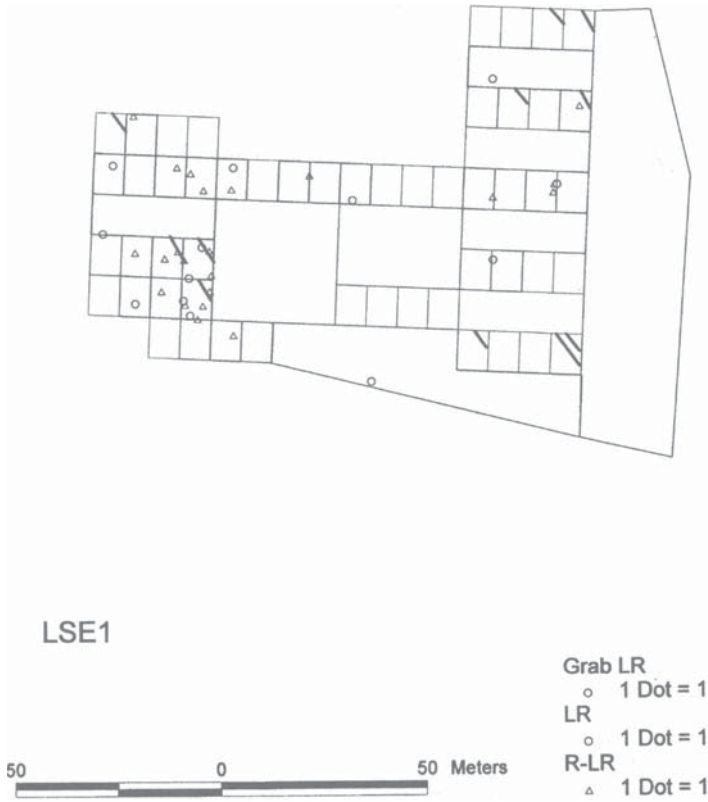


Figure 8: Distribution of dated finds collected from the survey grid over site LSE1, of Late Roman (LR) and Early to Late Roman (R-LR) date. Obliquely tagged grid collection units show those units where unusually large numbers of sherds were collected by fieldworkers.

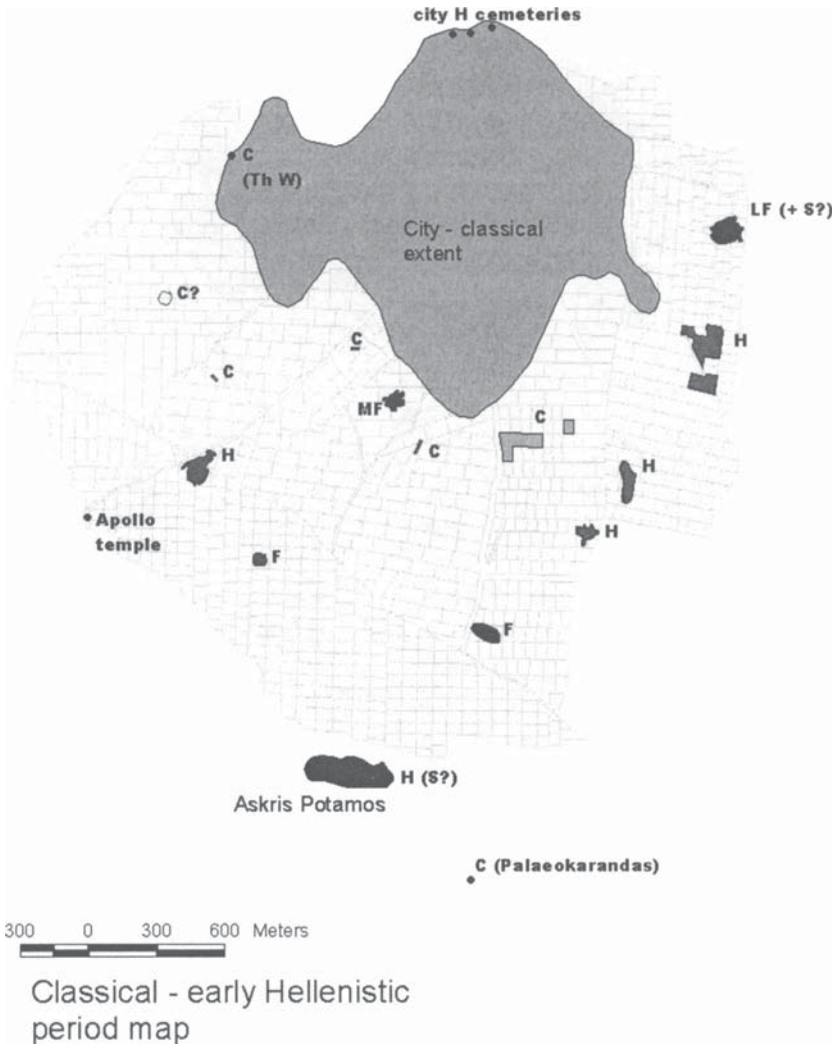


Figure 9: Settlement map for the south chora of Thespieae in Classical Greek times. Key: C = cemetery, H = hamlet, MF = medium-sized farm, F = small farm, S = sanctuary.

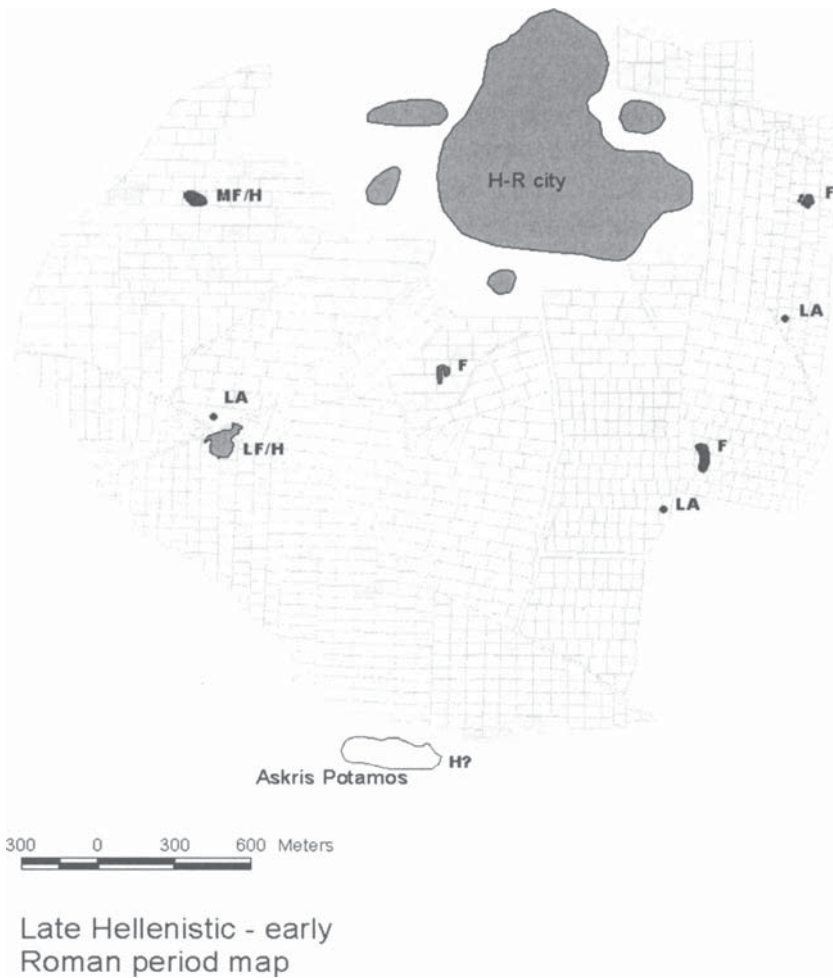


Figure 10: Settlement map for the south chora of Thespieae in Late Hellenistic and Early Roman times. Key: H = hamlet, LF = large farm, MF = medium-sized farm, F = small farm, LA = low activity (non-residential).

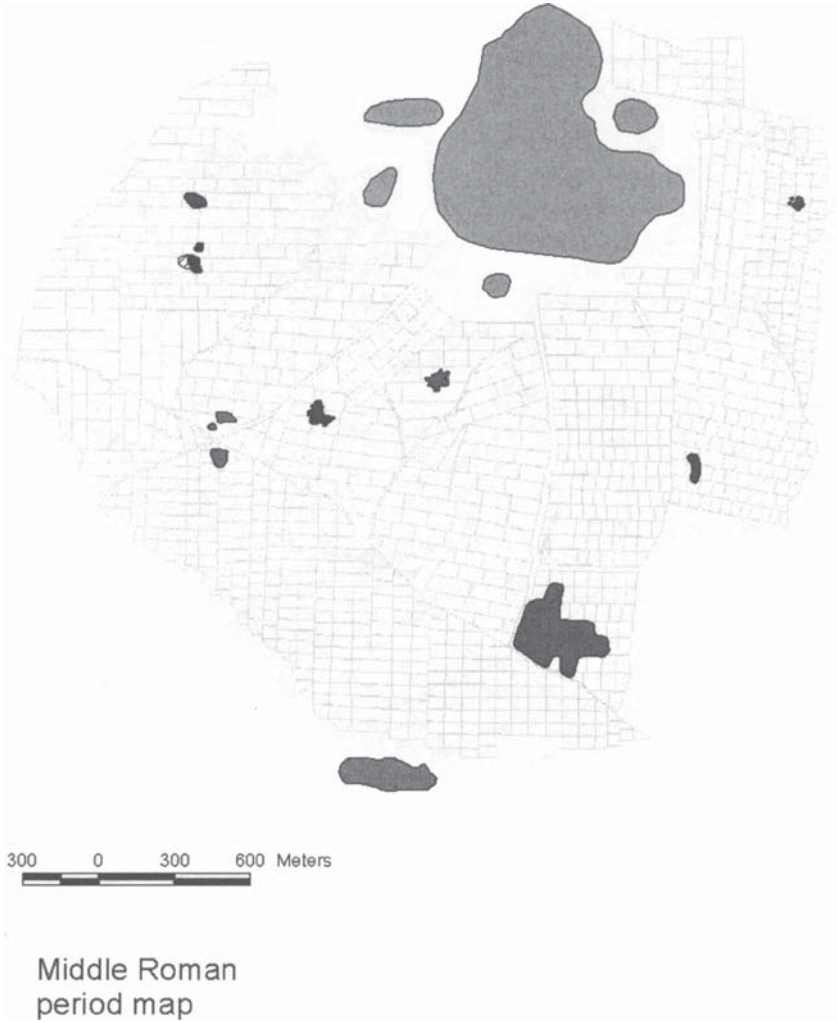


Figure 11: Settlement map for the south chora of Thespieae in Middle Roman times. Sites range from medium farms/ villas to hamlets.



Figure 12: Settlement map for the south chora of Thespieae in Late Roman times. Key: H = hamlet, V = villa, LA = low activity (non-residential).

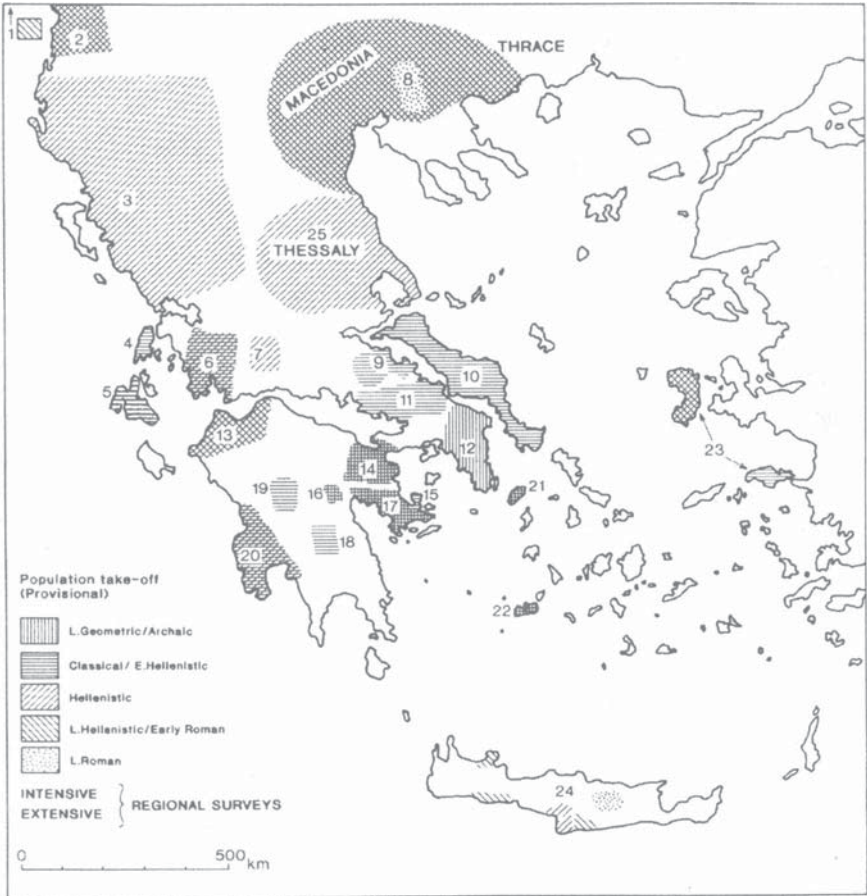


Figure 13: Phases of regional population takeoff, urban proliferation and economic takeoff in the Aegean, based on provisional results of extensive and intensive regional survey, by chronological period during Greco-Roman times.

ROMANIZATION AND SOME CILICIAN CULTS

By
HUGH ELTON (BIAA)

This paper focuses on two sites from central Cilicia in Anatolia, the Corycian Cave and Kanlıdivane, to make some comments about religion and Romanization. From the Corycian Cave, a pair of early third-century AD altars are dedicated to Zeus Korykios, described as Victorious (Epinikios), Triumphant (Tropaiuchos), and the Harvester (Epikarpios), and to Hermes Korykios, also Victorious, Triumphant, and the Harvester. The altars were erected for 'the fruitfulness and brotherly love of the Augusti', suggesting they come from the period before Geta's murder, i.e. between AD 209 and 212.¹ These altars are unremarkable and similar examples are common elsewhere, so these altars can be interpreted as showing the homogenising effect of the Roman Empire. But behind these dedications, however, may lie a religious tradition stretching back to the second millennium BC. At the second site, Kanlıdivane, a tomb in the west necropolis was accompanied by a funerary inscription erected by Marcus Ulpius Knos for himself and his family, probably in the second century AD. Marcus then added, 'but if anyone damages or opens [the tomb] let him pay to the treasury of Zeus 1000 [denarii] and to the Moon (Selene) and to the Sun (Helios) above 1000 [denarii] and let him be subject to the curses also of the Underground Gods (Katachthoniai Theoi).'² When he wanted to threaten retribution, Knos turned to a local group of gods. As at the Corycian Cave, Knos' actions may preserve traces of pre-Roman practices, though within a Roman framework.

Both examples show Romanization in the sense that the imposition of Roman state control had led to cultural changes in the region. The use of the term 'Romanization' has been questioned recently, especially with demands for greater political sensitivity, and in particular, the need to see the process from the perspective of the administered and non-elites. This is a reflection of modern cultures and differs from the way Romanization was discussed in

¹ Zeus, Hicks, E.L., 'Inscriptions from Western Cilicia', *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 12 (1891), 225-273, no.26 = G. Dagron and D. Feissel, *Inscriptions de Cilicie* (Paris 1987), no.16; Hermes, Dagron and Feissel 1987, no. 17.

² Hicks 1891, op. cit. (n. 1), no. 10.

the early twentieth century, in particular by Haverfield.³ With few ancient texts, this focus on the subjects has been developed by some to interpret material culture in terms of resistance to Rome. This interpretation, however, runs the risk of confusing politics and culture. The challenge of distinguishing between the political and cultural is well-illustrated by the modern world. Opposition to the foreign policy of the United States is often expressed in terms of dislike of American products and companies, e.g. Coca-Cola, Disney, or MacDonaldis. Yet the consumption of these 'American' products does not make the consumers American, nor do most think about US foreign policy when they consume Coca Cola or go to work at Euro-Disney. Although the corporate headquarters of such companies are in the US, they produce many of their products locally, employ local workers, and sell the products to local residents. The Roman Empire and Roman Imperial Culture should be viewed in the same way. So, just as reasons for not drinking Coca-Cola vary from political conviction to health to dislike of taste, so local responses to the Roman Empire and Roman Imperial Culture would also vary.⁴

A second criticism of Romanization comes from a realization that the Roman Empire was composed of multiple regions and that it cannot be treated as a single process that was the same everywhere. The majority of studies of the concept have concentrated on western parts of the Empire where there was often the simultaneous introduction of Roman authority and a rapid cultural evolution in the late first century BC or the first century AD. But in many eastern areas of the Empire, this clarity is lacking. A Hellenistic (or often older) civilization was already in existence when Rome took control, while prolonged interactions in Anatolia meant that though Roman control in many regions did not start until the campaigns of Pompey the Great in the 60s BC, there had been contact for over a century before this. Thus, the apparent clarity in the West, of Rome bringing change, was far less clear in the East. This difference can be productively exploited, allowing us to show the differences between the continuing development of Iron Age commu-

³ D. Mattingly, 'Vulgar and weak 'Romanization', or time for a paradigm shift?', *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 15 (2002), 536-540; J. Webster, 'Creolizing the Roman provinces', *American Journal of Archaeology* 105 (2001), 209-225; P. Freeman, 'Mommsen to Haverfield: the origins of studies of Romanization in late nineteenth century Britain', in D.J. Mattingly, ed., *Dialogues in Roman Imperialism* (Portsmouth, RI 1997), 27-50.

⁴ N.J. Cooper, 'Searching for the blank generation: consumer choice in Roman and post-Roman Britain' in J. Webster and N.J. Cooper, eds., *Roman Imperialism: Post-Colonial Perspectives* (Leicester 1996), 85-98.

ities and the impact of Roman rule. Most eastern communities were already used to belonging to an empire, i.e. living in an environment of written administration based elsewhere which regularly extracted surpluses in forms of money, goods, and manpower. In Anatolia, this applied from the imposition of Persian rule in 546 BC, though in many parts imperial control was in place a millennium earlier under the Hittites. But within both East and West there were many smaller regions, each with their own cultures and histories which contribute to an understanding of the changes brought about by the imposition of Roman political control.

The Corycian Caves and Kanlıdivane lie about 10 km apart, the former in the territory of the city of Corycus, the latter in the territory of Sebaste. Both are a few kilometres north of the Mediterranean coast, in upland areas of raw limestone covered with maquis. Now mostly deserted, these areas were much more densely populated during antiquity. Physically, it is a difficult area, hence its frequent description as Rough Cilicia.⁵ Theodore Bent travelled here in 1889.

“The Lamas rises in the Karamanian Mountains just above Mara, and for the whole of its short course, not exceeding 50 miles with all its sinuosities, it eats its way through the rocky mountains by a gorge that is never more than half a mile across, and the stupendous walls of which for miles offer on either side sheer precipices, reaching to the elevation in some places of over 2000 feet. It is impossible to go straight up the river by its banks; for several miles it passes through a narrow gully, which does not even afford a foothold for the acrobatic nomad.”⁶

The first definite contacts with the Classical world came with groups of Greeks (merchants, mercenaries, and sailors) who were active in Cilicia from the seventh century BC. At this point, the region was ruled by a Cilician monarch, the Syennesis, who became a Persian subject after 546 BC before being replaced in the early fourth century by a Persian Satrap. After Alexander's conquest in 333 BC and the Wars of the Successors, Cilicia was ruled by the Seleucids, but was lost to the Ptolemies during the reign of Ptolemy II (285-246 BC). Antiochus III restored Seleucid control in 197 BC, though

⁵ T.B. Mitford, 'Roman Rough Cilicia', *ANRW* 2.7.2, 1230-1261; P. Desideri and A.M. Jasink, *Cilicia dall'età di Kizzuwatna alla conquista macedone* (Turin 1990).

⁶ J.T. Bent, 'Explorations in Cilicia Tracheia', *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society* 12 (1890), 445-463, at 450.

their control of the uplands was often nominal. Although there was a Roman province of Cilicia from 63 BC, when this was split into two parts in the mid-40s BC, lowland Cilicia was incorporated into Syria and upland Cilicia was left in the hands of allied kings. The central part of Cilicia, including Corycus and Elaiussa, lay in the territory of the temple-state at Olba. From 25 BC, the eastern parts of upland Cilicia were ruled by Archelaus I, king of Cappadocia (25 BC - AD 17). In 20 BC Augustus also gave him the cities of Elaiussa (which he renamed Sebaste) and Corycus. Archelaus II (17-38) succeeded Archelaus as ruler of Cappadocia including the Cilician possessions, then on his death in 38, the Cilician territories were given to Antiochus IV of Commagene (38-72). Antiochus' kingdom was taken over by the Romans in 72 when they annexed his kingdom. At this point, a new province of Cilicia was created, combining lowland Cilicia, now detached from Syria, and the parts of upland Cilicia that had been controlled by Antiochus. Thus, between its independence in the sixth century BC and the introduction of Roman direct rule, upland Cilicia had been under the control of the Achaemenids, Seleucids, Ptolemies, local dynasts, Cappadocians, and Commagenians and both cities and territory had been repeatedly assigned to new rulers. So, when considering resistance to Rome, the latest in a long line of rulers, Cilician political identity needs to be argued for rather than assumed.

What sort of society did the Romans rule in upland Cilicia from AD 72?⁷ It was a poor region, and although there had been some Hellenization, it was not on the scale of the richer Pisidian uplands.⁸ Perhaps the most obvious sign of this Hellenization was the foundation of cities. The first wave was in the early third century BC, when Seleucus I created the city of Seleucia on the Calycadnus and Ptolemy II founded Arsinoe, both on the coast. However, the most rapid change in the region took place in a second wave of foundations in the first century BC and first century AD. In the 30s BC, supporters of Antony probably founded Domitiopolis and Titiopolis (both at unknown inland locations) and after Actium an Augustan colony was founded at Ninica in the Calycadnus valley. Antiochus IV founded the

⁷ T.S. MacKay, 'The major sanctuaries of Pamphylia and Cilicia', *ANRW* 2.18.3, 2045-2129; T.B. Mitford, 'The cults of Roman Rough Cilicia', *ANRW* 2.18.3, 2131-2160; H.W. Elton, 'The economic fringe: The reach of the Roman empire in Rough Cilicia', in L. de Blois and J. Rich, eds., *The Transformation of Economic Life under the Roman Empire* (Amsterdam 2002), 172-183.

⁸ P. Desideri, 'Cilicia Ellenistica', in P. Desideri and S. Settis, eds., *Quaderni Storici* 76 (1991), 141-165; S. Mitchell, 'The Hellenization of Pisidia', *Mediterranean Archaeology* 4 (1991), 119-145, esp. 141-142.

coastal cities of Antiochia ad Cragum and Iotape, and the inland cities of Irenopolis, Philadelphia, and Germanicopolis, as well as renaming Ninica as Claudiopolis.⁹ Most of the new cities lay in the interior, on upper branches of the Calycadnus, where no cities are known before this date. This suggests a transformation of the network of settlements and the introduction of Greek styles of living. However, the new cities had few lavish buildings. To the east of the Calycadnus valley at Diocaesarea Seleucus I constructed a roofed building, perhaps a stoa, and the city had a monumental tower tomb.¹⁰ A large temple of Zeus was also built here, dated, on stylistic considerations, to the period 175-150 BC. The size of the temple (c. 21 x 39 m) suggests royal patronage, and so the reign of Antiochus IV (175-164) seems probable.¹¹ There was also a Ptolemaic fortress inland at Meydançikkale, 15 km north of Celenderis near Gülnar.¹² The only other possible Hellenistic site inland is at Canbazlı, about 10 km west of Diocaesarea where it seems likely that a sanctuary to an unknown god has been entirely lost by its rebuilding as a church; only the sanctuary wall and some reused blocks survive.¹³ These examples might suggest a high degree of Hellenization, but the lack of comparable examples (beyond isolated towers), as well as the lack of features (except at the Olban temple-state at Diocaesarea) such as city walls, agorai or monumental tombs like those found in Pisidia, suggest the depth of Hellenization was limited. This is also suggested by the small number of Hellenistic inscriptions from inland, mostly from Diocaesarea.¹⁴ Although the relative lack of buildings and inscriptions, as well as coins and pottery, may be the result of little fieldwork having taken place, the cumulative lack suggests that the absence was real. Although, because of this lack of

⁹ A.H.M. Jones, *Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces* (Oxford 1971²), 211.

¹⁰ R. Heberdey and A. Wilhelm, *Reisen in Kilikien, 1891 und 1892* (Vienna 1896), no. 166.

¹¹ C. Börker, 'Die Datierung des Zeus-Tempels von Olba-Diokaesarea in Kilikien', *Archäologischer Anzeiger* 86 (1971), 37-54; C. Williams, 'The Corinthian temple of Zeus Olbios at Uzuncaburç: A reconsideration of the date', *American Journal of Archaeology* 78 (1974), 405-414.

¹² A. Davesne *et. al.*, 'Le site archéologique de Meydançikkale (Turquie): du royaume de Pirindu à la garnison Ptolémaïque', *Comptes-Rendus d'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 1987, 359-382; A. Davesne and F. Laroche-Traunecker, *Gülnar 1: Le site de Meydançikkale* (Paris 1988).

¹³ J. Keil and A. Wilhelm, *Denkmäler aus dem rauhen Kilikien*, MAMA 3 (Manchester 1931), 39.

¹⁴ Diocaesarea, Heberdey and Wilhelm 1896, *op. cit.* (n. 10), no. 166; Keil and Wilhelm 1931 (*op. cit.*, (n. 13), nos 62-68; Hicks 1891, *op. cit.* (n. 1), no. 45; Yapılıkaya, Hicks 1891, *op. cit.* (n. 1), no. 18; Meydançikkale, SEG 31, 1321 and 41, 1405.

evidence, the extent of Hellenization must be considered unclear, it certainly was not as developed as in Lycia, Pisidia, or Pamphylia.¹⁵ Probably the most profound change was the dominance of Greek as the local language, with the local language leaving few traces except in names.

The first of the two sites considered here, the Corycian Cave (modern Cennet ve Cehennem, 'Heaven and Hell') lay less than a day's journey to the east of Seleucia (modern Silifke) and close (c. seven kilometres) to Corycus (modern Kızkalesi).¹⁶ The main cave is a huge chasm, 200 m long, 70 m deep, covered at the bottom with trees and saffron plants. There is a huge cave at the western end, large enough to be thought the home of Typhon, the hundred-headed monster from the early stages of the creation of the Greek universe.¹⁷ In some versions, Zeus was helped in the struggle by Hermes. A late second-century AD Cilician version of the story tells how Typhon was tricked from his cave by a promise of a meal of fish. Once outside the safety of the cave, he was blasted by the thunderbolts of Zeus so that

'the yellow banks along the shore still
run red with the blood from the Typhaonian war-cries.'¹⁸

These caves are a product of karstic geology, formed as water trickled down through the limestone and ponded above impermeable clay layers. The result was large caves and underground rivers. Occasionally, the limestone caves collapsed into underground watercourses, producing, as here, chasms. Fifty metres east of the large chasm is a smaller, rounded opening, 40 x 25 m at the top and about 125 m deep, with vertical edges. The site is still a holy place and the trees and bushes at the edges are festooned with apotropaic ribbons, usually used for wishes for help in producing babies or finding husbands.

Just beyond the western end of the large chasm sat a small temple (probably Doric, estimated size 12.75 x 8.5 m), surrounded by a wall. This temple was dated by Heberdey and Wilhelm to the first half of the first century BC, followed by Weber. When this temple was converted to a church, several inscriptions from the temple precinct were incorporated into

¹⁵ cf. M. Waelkens, 'Sagalassos: Religious life in a Pisidian town during the Hellenistic and Early Imperial period', in C. Bonnet and A. Motte, eds., *Les syncrétismes religieux dans le monde méditerranéen antique* (Brussels and Rome 1999), 191-226.

¹⁶ Pomponius Mela 1.72-76; Strabo 14.5.5.

¹⁷ Strabo 13.4.6; cf. 13.4.11, 16.2.7 for other locations; Homer, *Iliad* 2.781-784.

¹⁸ Oppian, *Halieutica* 3.15-25 at 24-25.

the new structure.¹⁹ These reused blocks preserved three lists of names, usually thought to be priests of the temple. The first list as preserved includes 169 names, ending with Archelaus, son of Archelaus. This was presumably king Archelaus II of Cappadocia, son of king Archelaus I. This suggests that either the temple should be dated earlier or that there was an earlier temple on the site that was rebuilt in the first half of the first century BC. The temple then continued in use into the third century AD as a second list included several Roman citizens, thus postdating the first list, and several Aurelii, suggesting this sequence covered the second and early third centuries. The third list included 17 men named Marcus Aurelius or Aurelius, and so must have come from the early third century, reaching at least the 230s, if not later, showing that the cult remained active until at least the mid-third century AD.²⁰ A second temple lay about half a mile north of the cave, though little now remains.²¹

These temples at the Corycian Cave were the source of the two altars to Zeus and Hermes mentioned above. This linking of Zeus and Hermes is confined to western Cilicia and the Lycaonian plain. Perhaps the best known example of this combination comes from the Book of Acts. After Paul of Tarsus healed a cripple at Lystra, the local population shouted 'the gods have come down to us in human form. Barnabas they called Zeus and Paul they called Hermes because he was the chief speaker.' This is paralleled by an inscription from Isaura Vetus erected by the priest Celer to Zeus Bronton and to Hermes, and similar stones from Balıklı near Lake Trogitis and from Kavak near Lystra.²² Zeus was worshipped throughout Anatolia, but Hermes was found less often. As a crude measure of this, volume 3 of *IGRR* contains only two inscriptions mentioning Hermes and 80 mentioning Zeus. Hermes, however, was important in central Cilicia and within 20 km of the temple at the Corycian Cave, we know of three other temples of Hermes, at Çatiören,

¹⁹ O. Feld and H. Weber, 'Tempel und Kirche über der Korykischen Grotte (Cennet Cehennem) in Kilikien', *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 17 (1967), 254-278.

²⁰ Heberdey and Wilhelm 1896, op. cit. (n. 10), nos 155-156.

²¹ Feld and Weber 1967, op. cit. (n. 19), 267, doubted the existence of this temple

²² Acts 14.8-18; E. Swoboda, W. Keil and F. Knoll, *Denkmäler aus Lykaonien, Pamphylien und Isaurien* (Brünn 1935), no.146; W.M. Calder, 'A cult of the Homonades', *Classical Review* 24 (1910), 76-81; W.M. Calder and J.M.R. Cormack, eds, *Monuments from Lycaonia, the Pisido-Phrygian Borderland, Aphrodisias*, MAMA 8 (Manchester 1962), no. 1.

Yapılıkaya, and Ovacık. The latter two were both cave temples.²³ Further away from these sites were a priest of Hermes at Seleucia (possibly from a village rather than from the city) and a temple at Hamaxia in Pamphylia.²⁴

The combination of Zeus and Hermes attested at the Corycian Cave and in Lycaonia thus represents a native combination of deities, not an imported combination. It is usually suggested that they represent the Luwian (southern Anatolian coast) gods Tarhunt and Runta.²⁵ However, unlike the common western Roman practice, the so-called 'interpretatio Romana', there were few inscriptions mentioning the gods with both Olympian and native names. Native elements, for example, are completely lacking in a mid-second century AD inscription from Castabala in eastern Cilicia, dedicated to a goddess usually called by modern scholars Artemis Perasia.

'Either Selene or Artemis or you, Hecate the fire-bearing goddess whom we honour at the road junction, or the Cypriote one [Aphrodite] whom the people of Thebes honour with incense, or the daughter of Zeus, mother of Persephone.'²⁶

Inscriptions from the site call the goddess only 'Perasia', and it is only through Strabo that they can be connected with Artemis. Thus identifying Perasia with the goddess referred to in an Aramaic inscription from Castabala as Kubaba, though attractive, has to be conjectural.²⁷ In the same way, there is no direct evidence for Tarhunt and Runta from the Greco-Roman period (though their names were often used as elements in personal names from Cilicia). The primary aspect of Tarhunt was sky, so where Zeus is mentioned in a Luwian region, he is usually assumed to represent Tarhunt.

²³ Çatnören, Hicks 1891, op. cit. (n. 1), 232-236; Yapılıkaya, Hicks 1891, op. cit. (n. 1), 236-237; Ovacık (Meidan), Hicks 1891, op. cit. (n. 1), 270-271.

²⁴ Seleucia, G.E. Bean and T.B. Mitford, *Journeys in Rough Cilicia, 1964-8* (Vienna 1970), no. 218; Hamaxia, Bean and Mitford 1970, op. cit. no. 54.

²⁵ A.M. Jasink, 'Divinità Cilicie: Tarhunt, Sarruma, Santa. Esempi di continuità nel culto e nell'onomastica', in P. Desideri and S. Settis, eds., *Quaderni Storici* 76 (1991), 164-174; R. Lebrun, 'Panthéons locaux de Lycie, Lykaonie et Cilicie aux deuxième et premier millénaires avant J.-C.', *Kernos* 11 (1998), 143-155; R. Lebrun, 'Syncretismes et cultes indigènes en Asie Mineure méridionale', *Kernos* 7 (1994), 145-157.

²⁶ IGRR 3, 903; A. Dupont-Sommer and L. Robert, *La Déesse de Hiérapolis Castabala (Cilicie)* (Paris 1964), 51-52; Strabo 12.2.7; E.L. Hicks, 'Inscriptions from eastern Cilicia', *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 11 (1890), 236-254, nos 16, 17.

²⁷ Cf. L. Roller, 'The Great Mother at Gordion: The Hellenization of an Anatolian cult', *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 111 (1991), 128-143.

This identification can be suggested by a second millennium BC Hittite (and probably also Luwian) myth, that the Storm God defeated the dragon Illuyanka. Like the Greek Typhon myth, this was set outside Cilicia, and it is not until the fifth century BC that the Greek version acquired a Cilician location. The parallels with Zeus and Typhon are tempting. In the Karatepe bilingual inscription, Tarhunt is paired with Runta. Given the regional pairings of Zeus and Hermes and the identification of Zeus with Tarhunt, it is tempting to link Runta and Hermes. But such links would be stronger if Runta could be associated with the Illuyanka myth.²⁸ The Corycian Cave can be interpreted as showing the continuity of local traditions interpreted through Hellenic culture. But it is more difficult to assess what this actually meant since very little evidence for the native culture survives directly. Thus, despite these gods being recorded with Greek names, how the locals thought of them is unknowable, nor is there any evidence for any attempts to maintain continuity with the past.

Although the Corycian Cave was particularly famous because of its size and the attached legend, there were other similar sites in the religious landscape of Cilicia. One of these, Kanlıdivane, rivalled Corycus in size. When Theodore Bent, travelling from east to west in 1889, came across it, he at first thought it was the more famous Corycian Cave, some 10 km to the west.²⁹ The site, a large village in the territory of Sebaste, is built around a chasm 200 x 170 m, 60m in depth.³⁰ There were several necropoleis with at least twenty funerary inscriptions. Beyond the inscription of Marcus Ulpius Knos, there were seven other inscriptions calling on various combinations of the Moon, Sun, and the Underground Gods. This pattern of funerary inscriptions appealing to the Underground Gods and the Sun and/or the Moon is confined to the eastern uplands of the central Taurus (Map 1).³¹ All are

²⁸ P.H.J. Houwink Ten Cate, *The Luwian Population Groups of Lycia and Cilicia Aspera during the Hellenistic Period* (Leiden 1965), 206-214; H.A. Hoffner, *Hittite myths* (Atlanta 1990), 10-14; D. Hawkins, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions*, vol. 1.1 (Berlin 2000), 45-71, lines 209-213.

²⁹ J.T. Bent, 'A journey in Cilicia Tracheia', *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 12 (1891), 206-224 at 209.

³⁰ Eyice, S., 'Kanlıdivan (=Kanytelideis - Kanytelleis)', *Anadolu Araştırmaları* 4-5 (1977), 411-442.

³¹ Adanda (Lamus), R. Paribeni and P. Romanelli, 'Studii e ricerche arch. nell'Anatolia meridionale', *Monumenti Antichi* 23 (1914), 5-274, no. 112; Aşağı İrnebol, Bean and Mitford 1970, op. cit. (n. 24), no.234; Ayaş (Elaiussa/Sebaste), J. Keil and A. Wilhelm, 'Vorläufiger Bericht über eine Reise in Kilikien'. *Jahreshefte des Österreichische Archäologischen Instituts* 18 (1915), 5-60 at 46-47; Cambazlı, Keil and Wilhelm 1931, op.

funerary inscriptions, usually invoking the gods in respect to those who attempt to use the tombs for unauthorised burials, using the formula 'I swear to...' and then naming the figures called upon. Almost all of these inscriptions come from cities or large villages, but this probably reflects contemporary epigraphic habits and the fieldwork of modern archaeologists, rather than the actual distribution of the religious practice. The earliest examples are from the late first century BC or early first century AD (Gaius Julius Celer, a veteran and his wife Octavia), the latest from the mid-third century (Marca Aurelia Lieies, daughter of Indacus), though the only dated stone comes from AD 150. Many of the appellants had native names, like Coarmis son of Aingolis or Appas with his wife Lealis, which might suggest a cult for locals. However, at least four of the known dedicators were Roman citizens, like Gaius Pomponius Julianus from Sinobuç. A military connection is certain in the case of the veteran Gaius Julius Celer from Sinobuç and Marcus Ulpius Knos may have been a military veteran from the reign of Trajan.

As with the linkage of Zeus and Hermes, the combination of figures to whom Marcus appealed is interesting. The Underground Gods are often mentioned in funerary inscriptions from Cilicia and Lycia, though rarely in Pisidia. This usage is different from the use of *katachthoniois theois* at the head of tombstones, a simple translation of the Latin *Dis Manibus* sometimes found in Anatolia, especially at Ankara.³² The Sun or Moon are rarely mentioned in inscriptions from outside the region of the south-eastern Taurus (though graphical representations of the Sun and Moon on tombstones are

cit., (n. 13), no. 56; Efenk, Keil and Wilhelm 1931, op. cit., (n. 13), no. 111; Ermenek (Germanicopolis), Callander, T., 'Inscriptions from Isauria', *American Journal of Philology* 48 (1927), 235-246 at 240-246; Halimye, Bean and Mitford 1970, op. cit. (n. 24), no. 240; Kanlıdivane (Kanytelles), Hicks 1891, op. cit. (n. 1), nos 10, 11; Heberdey and Wilhelm 1896, op. cit. (n. 10), p. 54 n. 1, nos 124, 128, 133, 134; S. Hagel and K. Tomaschitz, *Repertorium der westkilikischen Inschriften* (Vienna 1998), *Kanytelis* 21; Kayabaşı, G. Dagon and J. Marcillet-Jaubert, 'Inscriptions de Cilicie et Isaurie', *Bulletin* 42 (1978), 373-420, no. 47a; Kızkalesi (Corycus), Keil and Wilhelm 1931 op. cit., (n. 13), nos 225, 743; Mut (Claudiopolis), Bean and Mitford 1970, op. cit. (n. 24), no. 266; Narlı, Dagon and Marcillet-Jaubert 1978, op. cit., no. 46; Silifke (Seleucia), Heberdey and Wilhelm 1896, op. cit. (n. 10), no. 185; Sinobuç, A.C. Headlam, 'Inscriptions from Cilicia Trachea', *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, suppl. papers 1 (London 1893), nos 21, 23 (revised by Bean and Mitford 1970, op. cit. (n. 24), 228), 33; Heberdey and Wilhelm 1896, op. cit. (n. 10), nos 191, 205; Uzuncaburç (Dioicaesarea), Hicks 1891, op. cit. (n.1), no. 59; texts of all inscriptions also in S. Hagel and K. Tomaschitz, *Repertorium der westkilikischen Inschriften* (Vienna 1998).

³² S. Mitchell, *Anatolia. Land, Men and Gods in Asia Minor* (Oxford 1993), vol. I, 135.

more common). The Moon is mentioned more often than the Sun, but usually in combination with the god Men, who is virtually unattested in Cilicia itself. The southernmost example of Men comes from Tosuntaş, south of Bozkır but north of Cilicia.³³

Are these inscriptions an index of Romanization? There are some signs of the presence of the Roman Empire, i.e. mentions of the imperial treasury, some fines given in denarii rather than drachms, and a veteran. The inscriptions cannot be easily sorted into pre- and post-AD 72, which suggests that the imposition of Roman direct rule had little impact. There is certainly no evidence for Pompey's presence in the mid-first century BC, though the Augustan creation of a colony at Mut is visible in the presence of at least one veteran. But these are privately erected stones regarding personal matters and should not be expected to mention the Empire often. Although these statements depend on the currently limited knowledge about the epigraphic habit in the Cilician uplands before AD 72, the small number of inscriptions from the area is significant and, like the lack of Hellenistic remains, does not suggest a wealthy community with the exception of the temple state of Olba.

As with the altars from the temples at the Corycian Cave, the inscriptions to the Underground Gods show how local practices may have continued after the imposition of Roman direct control. A reasonable case can be made that native gods continued to be worshipped and that local funerary traditions continued, though in a Hellenized and Romanized framework. This suggests that the impact of Roman political control on traditional religion in upland Cilicia was minimal and that the Greek cultural impact was of far greater significance. However, the continuity of these native practices can only be suggested because of the introduction of a non-local tradition, the epigraphic habit.

Ankara, June 2004

³³ E. Lane, *Corpus Monumentorum Religionis Dei Menis* (Leiden 1976), 52-53, 76-77; Tosuntaş, Bean and Mitford 1970, op. cit. (n. 24), no. 105.

GRABMONUMENTE ALS ZEICHEN DES SOZIALEN AUFSTIEGS DER NEUEN ELITEN IN DEN GERMANISCHEN PROVINZEN

Von
HENNER VON HESBERG

Die folgende Betrachtung gilt Grabmonumenten im Milieu der Nordwestprovinzen im 1. Jh. n. Chr. und ihrer Aussage über die Selbstdarstellung der Personen und Gruppen, die auf ihnen wiedergegeben sind. In aller Regel handelt es sich – so die These, die ich im Folgenden begründen möchte – bei Serien auffälliger Monumente um Zeugnisse des gesellschaftlichen Aufstiegs. Aufstieg kann dabei viele Formen besitzen, nur ist allen gemein, dass die betroffenen Personen und ihre Familien sich am Ende in einer gesellschaftlich anerkannten Position befinden, die sie vorher nicht innehatten. Zuletzt hat V.M.Hope in dieser Hinsicht die Überlieferung dreier ausgewählter Städte in dieser Region geprüft und mit Recht noch einmal hervorgehoben, wie wichtig eine integrale Betrachtung der verschiedenen Komponenten ist, aus denen sich die Wirkung eines Grabmonumentes zusammensetzt.¹ An anderer Stelle weist sie darauf hin, dass in der unterschiedlichen Verwendung zusätzlich eine soziale Dynamik zum Ausdruck kommt, da bestimmte Gruppen der Gesellschaft ihren neu gewonnenen Rang auch auf diese Weise zum Ausdruck bringen wollen. Am besten bekannt sind die freigelassenen Sklaven in Rom und Italien.² Trotz allem werden die Monumente allzu oft direkt als Abbilder jener Gesellschaft verstanden, der sie zugehören. Meist geht man davon aus, dass die Monumente deren Verhältnisse direkt wiedergegeben haben, wir also aus der Zahl und der Art der Monumente auf die Zusammensetzung der Bevölkerung Rückschlüsse gewinnen können. Eine derartige Interpretation wird dem antiken Material

¹ Die Studie entstand im Rahmen eines von der GEW-Stiftung und dem Ministerium für Städtebau und Wohnen, Kultur und Sport des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen finanzierten Projektes “Die Architektur und ihr Ornament als kulturelle Leitform im römischen Köln”. Mit Hinweisen halfen W.Eck, H.Hellenkemper, F.Naumann-Steckner, St.Neu und P.Noelke. Allen Beteiligten gilt mein herzlicher Dank.

V.M. Hope, *Constructing Identity: the Roman Funerary Monuments of Aquileia, Mainz and Nimes*, BAR International Series 960 (Oxford 2001), 7. Die integrale Betrachtung von Grabanlagen und -riten setzt sich in der Forschung zusehend durch, vgl. u.a. F. Feraudi-Gruénais, *Ubi diutius nobis habitandum est – Die Innendekoration der kaiserzeitlichen Gräber Roms*, Palilia 9 (Wiesbaden 2001), 20-22.

² Hope 2001, op.cit. (Anm.1), 90 f.

kaum gerecht. So geben schon die aus den Nekropolen griechischer Städte der archaischen und klassischen Zeit bekannten Grabsteine eine bestimmte und sehr begrenzte Auswahl der Bevölkerung wieder, deren Bedeutung für die Wiedergaben der Verstorbenen sich erst im Kontext erschließt. Jedenfalls wird nicht jeder Verstorbene – selbst aus einer ansonsten einheitlichen sozialen Gruppe – gleichartig wiedergegeben oder in einer Inschrift genannt. Vielmehr treten bestimmte Altersgruppen oder bestimmte Konstellationen beispielhaft hervor.³ Gleiches gilt für die römische Kultur, in der z.B. für die Zeit der späten Republik oder auch im 1. und 2. Jh. n. Chr. in Rom selbst z.B. die Freigelassenen mit ihren Monumenten überproportional präsent sind.⁴

In einem 1985 in München veranstaltetem Kolloquium zu römischen Gräberstraßen wurde unter anderem die Frage untersucht, warum die Mitglieder bestimmter sozialer Gruppen auf bestimmte Monumente zurückgreifen und in der Art ihrer Selbstdarstellung am Grabe einen bestimmten Status demonstrativ zu Schau stellen. Auf diese Weise wird eine bestimmte Zusammengehörigkeit innerhalb der Gruppe definiert und damit ein Selbstverständnis stabilisiert, sich gegen andere Gruppen abzusetzen, wie wiederum besonders die Gräber der Freigelassenen veranschaulichen. Zudem allerdings kommt generell eine Veränderung der Mentalität hinzu, die auf Grund sich wandelnder Prioritäten in den Wertvorstellungen zu neuen Formen in der Gestaltung der Grabanlagen geführt hat⁵.

Der Begriff Selbstdarstellung versucht darin ein Verhaltensmuster zu beschreiben, das einer größeren Gruppe einer Gesellschaft eigen ist und bei dem bestimmte Medien in komplexer Weise aktiviert werden, um die eigene Person vielfach zusammen mit seinen Angehörigen in einer Weise wiederzugeben, die ihr eine angemessene Beachtung ihrer Umgebung sichert.⁶

³ B. Schmaltz, 'Verwendung und Funktion attischer Grabdenkmäler', *Marburger Winkelmann-Programm* 1979, 13 ff.; ders., *Griechische Grabreliefs* (Darmstadt 1983) 7 ff.; J. Bergemann, *Demos und Thanatos* (München 1997) 117 ff.

⁴ P. Zanker, 'Grabreliefs römischer Freigelassener', *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Institutes* 90 (1975), 267-315. V.Kockel, *Porträtsreliefs stadtrömischer Grabbauten* (Mainz 1993), 77-79.

⁵ H. von Hesberg und P. Zanker, Hgg., *Römische Gräberstraßen – Selbstdarstellung – Status – Standard*, Koll. München 1985, Abhandlungen der bayer. Akademie der Wissenschaften (1987).

⁶ Vgl. G. Weber und M. Zimmermann, 'Propaganda, Selbstdarstellung und Repräsentation. Die Leitbegriffe des Kolloquiums in der Forschung zur frühen Kaiserzeit', in *Propaganda – Selbstdarstellung – Repräsentation im römischen Kaiserreich des 1. Jhs. n. Chr.*,

Dabei zeichnet sich innerhalb der römischen Kultur deutlich ab, dass je nach den Konventionen der verschiedenen gesellschaftlichen Gruppen im Gedenken an die Verstorbenen Wort, Bild und die übrigen Faktoren mit unterschiedlicher Intensität eingesetzt werden, ein Verhaltensmuster, das sich vereinfacht als Kompensation in der Anerkennung eines bestimmten Status verstehen lässt. Das einzelne Mitglied der Gesellschaft stellt sich nur insoweit in seiner individuellen Leistung nach außen hin dar, als sie mit dem für das Kollektiv gültigen Standard harmoniert und ihn verstärkt.⁷ Beides hängt also eng miteinander zusammen, denn die individuelle Leistung orientiert sich an den Standards der Gruppe und die Qualität des Individuums beweist sich in der Einhaltung der Standards. Anders aber als heutzutage versuchen in der Antike die Inhaber der Grabmonumente sich je nach den Erfordernissen ihres Standes einzubringen. Diese Erfordernisse variieren auf Grund verschiedener Faktoren, z.B. der sozialer Unterschiede, des Geschlechtes etc., aber auch auf Grund einer übergreifenden Disposition in der Bedeutung der Werte, woraus sich eine unterschiedliche Mentalität ergibt, z.B. in der Art, wie die Leistungen gegenüber der Stadt gegen die Verbindung mit der Familie oder gar das persönliche Schicksal abgewogen werden. Jenseits dieser Erwägungen sind die Verhaltensmuster von der jeweiligen historischen Konstellation abhängig. Besonders deutlich ist der Wandel von der Zeit der Republik zur frühen Kaiserzeit zu sehen, in der Mitglieder der politischen Führungsschicht sich in der Gestaltung ihrer Grabbauten zunehmend Zurückhaltung auferlegen. Es gilt aber für alle Gruppen, wobei die Veränderungen jeweils aufzuzeigen wären.

Diese verschiedenen Faktoren helfen zu erklären, warum einzelne Gruppen in Rom – aber auch anderswo – im Bestand der Denkmäler sehr unterschiedlich präsent sind.⁸ So taucht z.B. in den römischen Rheinlanden die einheimische Bevölkerung anfangs kaum auf. Dabei sind zwei Ebenen der Betrachtung zu trennen, obwohl sie eng miteinander zusammen hängen.

Historia Einzelschriften 164, 11-40. M. Bergmann in A.H. Borbein, T.Hölscher und P.Zanker, Hgg., *Klassische Archäologie – Eine Einführung* (Berlin 2000), 166-188.

⁷ P. Zanker, 'Bürgerliche Selbstdarstellung am Grab im römischen Kaiserreich', in H.-J.Schalles, H. von Hesberg und P. Zanker, Hgg., *Die römische Stadt im 2. Jahrhundert n. Chr.*, Kolloquium Xanten 1990, Xantener Berichte Bd. 2 (Köln 1992) 339 ff.; T. Nogales Bassarate, in M.Navarro Caballero und S. Demougouin, Hgg., *Élites Hispaniques* (Bordeaux 2001), 121-140.

⁸ Andere Veränderungen in der Art der Selbstdarstellung kommen selbstverständlich hinzu, z.B. der Mentalitätswandel während der frühen Kaiserzeit, der die Art der bildlichen Präsentation beeinflusst, Zanker 1979, op. cit. (Anm. 7), 349, 358.

Zum einen handelt es sich um unterschiedliche Formen des Gedenkens oder der Erinnerung an den Toten. Auf diesen Aspekt hat sich V.M.Hope konzentriert, wobei sie m.E. die spezifische Instrumentalisierung des Grabmonumentes als Mittel der Selbstdarstellung nicht ausreichend berücksichtigt.⁹ Indem innerhalb der römischen Tradition die Ehre des Toten (*honos*) betont wird, ist damit ein bestimmtes Verhältnis zwischen Ritus, Monument und Erinnerung definiert. Das Monument propagiert sie in abstrakter Weise. Im Gegensatz dazu hält die Erinnerung, wie sie im einheimischen Umfeld üblich gewesen ist, die Taten der Verstorbenen wach. Damit korrespondiert der Einsatz der Medien. Im römischen Umfeld soll das Gedenken mit Hilfe von Schrift und Bildern die Zeiten überdauern, während in den einheimischen Gesellschaften die Taten der Verstorbenen über mündlich tradierte Geschichten wach gehalten werden.

Zum Zweiten geht es um die Frage, welche Mittel die Mitglieder der einzelnen Gruppen wählen, um in ihrer Umgebung hervorzutreten. Zunächst spielen unterschiedliche Traditionen und Bindungen eine Rolle, Umgang und Einsatz der Medien schlechthin, dann aber speziell Fragen der Verfügbarkeit von entsprechenden Handwerkern und Materialien und der Kosten. Dabei zeichnet sich als Tendenz in der Forschung ab, die Selbstdarstellung am Grabe entspräche linear der Besoldung, wobei im Einzelnen die Verhältnisse nicht so klar zu greifen sind, denn es spielt ja die Summe der Gelder und ihre Verfügbarkeit die entscheidende Rolle. Hinzu kommen zusätzliche Einkünfte oder Vermögen aus dem zivilen Bereich. W.Boppert z.B. referiert L.Wierschowski, der belegte, dass Auxiliarsoldaten bei Dienstende nur ein geringes Entlassungsgeld erhielten und deshalb wahrscheinlich "sinnlose" Ausgaben z.B. für reiche Grabausstattung vermieden hätten.¹⁰ Mir scheint die Antwort nicht eindeutig zu sein, da die Auxiliarsoldaten eine reichere Ausstattung wählen, im Wunsch nach Selbstdarstellung folglich unterschiedlich motivierte Verhaltensmuster zusammen kommen.

⁹ Hope 2001, op. cit. (Anm. 1), 7 ff. Vgl. auch J. Edmondson, T. Nogales Basarrate und W. Trillmich, *Imagen y memoria – monumentos funerarios con retratos en la Colonia Augusta Emerita*, Monografías Emeritenses 6 (Madrid 2001) 75 ff.

¹⁰ L. Wierschowski, *Heer und Wirtschaft, Das römische Heer der Prinzipatszeit als Wirtschaftsfaktor* (Bonn 1984) 101 f.; W. Boppert, *Militärische Grabdenkmäler aus Mainz und Umgebung*, CSIR Deutschland, II.5 (Mainz 1992) 74 f. Allerdings ist die Logik der Ausführungen nicht ganz einsichtig, denn nach Boppert tragen von 116 Stelen für Legionssoldaten nur 14 ein Porträt, von den 35 für Auxiliarsoldaten "weit mehr als die Hälfte", d.h. das Vermögen wird in eine "sinnlose" Ausschmückung investiert.

In der Region der späteren Nordwestprovinzen konstituierte sich eine neue Gesellschaft aus den primär "römisch" geprägten Anteilen und den "einheimischen" Gruppen. Innerhalb der augusteischen Zeit und der ersten Hälfte des 1. Jhs. n. Chr. ist aus den Nordwestprovinzen eine ganze Reihe von Grabdenkmälern überliefert. Wegen der begrenzten Überlieferung lassen sich zwar nur ausschnittartig Einblicke gewinnen und kaum statistisch glaubhafte Werte erzielen. Dennoch aber werden bestimmte Tendenzen deutlich. Dabei sollen zunächst an Hand einzelner Beispiele die Monumente von Angehörigen des Militärs auf ihre Verhaltensweisen verglichen werden, anschließend die Vertreter ziviler Gruppen. Konfrontiert werden jeweils die Römer mit den Provinzialen. Die jeweiligen Teile der Monumente, d.h. die Inschriften und Bilder, sollten sich dabei in ihren Tendenzen entsprechen.

Innerhalb des Militärs fallen Unterschiede zwischen den beiden Gruppen auf. Die Angehörigen der römischen Legionen weisen auf Stand oder besondere Leistungen hin. Der dem Ritterstand zugehörige Gnaeus Petronius Asellio aus der Tribus Pomptina hatte es bis zum Praefectus Fabrum des Tiberius Caesar gebracht, wie im Titulus seines Grabsteins in Mainz vermerkt ist. Weitere Hinweise z.B. auf das Alter oder Lebensumstände fehlen. Der Bildschmuck unterstreicht markant die Aussage, denn im Giebel erscheinen Rundschild (*palma*) und Lanzen (*hastae*) als Zeichen des Ranges.¹¹

Ein weiterer berühmter Grabstein ebenfalls aus augusteischer Zeit erinnert an Marcus Caelius, Sohn des Titus, aus der Tribus Lemonia, gebürtig aus Bologna (Abb. 1).¹² Er war Centurio des ersten Ranges in der 18. Legion und bei seinem Tod 53 1/2 Jahre alt. Er fiel im Varianischen Krieg und erlaubte, die Gebeine seiner Freigelassenen mit zu bestatten. Sein Bruder Publius Caelius hatte den Stein aufstellen lassen. Der Verstorbene erscheint im Bildfeld der Stele in militärischer Paraderüstung mit einem den Körper umschließenden Panzer, dem Mantel und dem Stab (*vitis*) der Centurionen sowie mit allen Ehrenabzeichen (*dona militaria*). Es war also ein hoch dekoriertes Offizier, der seinen militärischen Rang und seine Ehren deutlich vorführt. Seine gesellschaftliche Stellung im zivilen Bereich ist den beiden Freigelassenen ablesbar, deren Bilder ihm zur Seite erscheinen und

¹¹ Boppert 1992 op. cit. (Anm. 10), 173 f. Nr. 59 Taf. 55; id., 'Zur Sepulkralkunst im Raum der obergemanischen Provinzhauptstadt Mogontiacum', in P. Noeke, Hg., *Romanisation und Resistenz*, Koll. Köln 2001 (2003), 265-284.

¹² G. Bauchhens, *Militärische Denkmäler*, CSIR Deutschland III.1 (Bonn 1978) 18 ff. Taf. 1 ff.

denen in der Inschrift das Recht auf Bestattung in seinem Grabbezirk eingeräumt wird. Daraus erklärt sich ihre Wiedergabe als Büsten mit Inschriften. Zugleich aber macht die Gestaltung und Position der Bilder die Zuordnung zum Patron im Zentrum sofort deutlich.

Die Monumente stehen ganz in römischer Tradition, denn ihre wichtigste Aufgabe ist es, Stand und Reputation (*honoros*) der Verstorbenen zu bezeugen. Die Leistung wird schon in den Zeremonien der Begräbnisfeierlichkeiten hervorgehoben, aber das Monument formuliert diesen Anspruch auf seine Weise mit seiner Form, der Inschrift und dem Bildschmuck neu. Allerdings können diese Werte je nach Umfeld, Situation und Erwartungen unterschiedlich gelöst werden. So manifestiert sich in Rom selbst der Stolz der Familien auf ihre Söhne beim Militär darin, dass sie in den Bildern in heroischer Nacktheit erscheinen.¹³ Dies mochte angesichts der übrigen Bilder in den Nekropolen Roms angemessen erscheinen,¹⁴ außerhalb Roms hätte es hingegen eher Befremden erweckt. Dort haben sich Formen ausgeprägt, die in den Provinzen weiter ausgestaltet werden.¹⁵

Dabei legen die im Monument vereinten Medien den Akzent anders. Denn die Inschriften nennen neben dem Namen biographische Details wie den *Cursus honorum* oder die Umstände des Todes, definieren folglich das Individuum speziell. Das Bild mag zunächst überflüssig wirken, aber es schafft zum einen in der Gruppe der Monumente eine schnelle Orientierung, zieht unmittelbar die Aufmerksamkeit auf sich und ordnet vor allem das Individuum allgemein einem bestimmten Kontext zu. So wird es in der Umgebung des Lagers von Mainz nicht allzu viele Monumente mit den Emblemen des Ritterstandes gegeben haben. Die Stele des Asellio betont also in diesem Fall die besondere Stellung des Verstorbenen heraus. Zum anderen erlaubt es Zusätze, die offenbar in den Inschriften nicht formuliert wurden wie der Hinweis auf die *Dona Militaria* bei Caelius.

Die Regel hat aber anders ausgesehen. Einfache Legionäre begnügen sich mit einfachen Inschriftenstelen. Sie vermerken neben dem Namen

¹³ Zanker 1975, op. cit. (Anm. 4), 304 ff. Abb. 44.

¹⁴ Zanker, 'Zur Bildnisrepräsentation führender Männer in mittelitalischen und campanischen Städten zur Zeit der späten Republik und der julisch-claudischen Kaiser', in M. Cébeillac-Gervasoni, Hg., *Les "Bourgeoisies" municipales italiennes aux IIe et Ier siècles av. J.-C.* (Paris 1983), 254 ff. Abb. 5. 11 f.

¹⁵ C. Franzoni, *Habitus atque habitudo militis – Monumenti funerari di militari nella Cisalpina Romana* (Rom 1987), 129-140; H. Pflug, *Römische Porträtstelen in Oberitalien* (Mainz 1989), 134-142; H.G. Frenz, *Römische Grabreliefs in Mittel- und Süditalien* (Rom 1985), 50-52.

lediglich die Zugehörigkeit zur Truppe, Lebensalter und Dauer des Dienstens und die Fürsorge der Angehörigen. Als Beispiel wiederum aus Mainz seien hier die in das erste Drittel des 1. Jh. n. Chr. datierbaren Grabsteine des Sextus Naevius aus Aquae (in Ligurien), der 11 Jahre Dienst leistete, oder der des Publius Urvinus aus Forum Fulvi (bei Alessandria) mit 18 Dienstjahren genannt.¹⁶ Bilder kommen erst dann hinzu, wenn die Bedeutung der Person durch ihre Aussage noch gesteigert werden kann. So bietet sich auf einer Stele in Mainz der Adlerträger der 14 Legion, Gnaeus Musius, mit seinen *Dona Militaria* dar (Abb. 2. 3a). Das Bild stellt die zusätzlichen in den Inschriften nicht erwähnten Ehrungen heraus.¹⁷ Dabei können die Ehrenzeichen auch isoliert vorgeführt werden wie auf der Stele des Quintus Cornelius.¹⁸

In Mainz, aber auch anderswo, existieren allerdings Stelen mit Bildern, die Soldaten ohne zusätzliche Ehrenzeichen wiedergeben. Darunter allerdings scheint das Bild des Publius Flaveiolus aus Modena nach dem Stab oder der Hasta in seiner Rechten und der Rolle in seine Linken ihm ebenfalls eine herausgehobene Stellung zu bescheinigen.¹⁹ Auch bei den anderen ist nicht sicher, ob sie nicht jeweils einen besonderen Rang, z.B. als Aquilifer, gewonnen haben.²⁰ Nur bei Caius Faltonius Secundus fehlt die Angabe des Ranges. Dafür definierte er seine Bedeutung mit der Wiedergabe zweier Diener.²¹ Die Bilder auf den Stelen dienen bei den Soldaten offenbar im hohen Maße dazu, innerhalb der Hierarchie Rang und Auszeichnungen genauer und zugleich auch öffentlichkeitswirksam zu präsentieren.²² In Bonn in einem stärker zivilen Umfeld erscheinen die Soldaten auch als Bürger in der Toga und dokumentieren damit ihren Status nach ihrer Entlassung.²³ Als Ergebnis zeichnet sich ab, dass die römischen Angehörigen des Militärs auf ihren Grabstelen den Inschriften vor allem dann Bilder zufügen, wenn sie

¹⁶ Boppert 1992, op. cit. (Anm. 10), 175 ff. Nr. 60 f. Taf. 56 f.

¹⁷ Boppert 1992, op. cit. (Anm. 10), 87 ff. Nr. 1 Taf. 1.

¹⁸ Boppert 1992, op.cit. (Anm. 10), 242 f. Nr. 134 Taf. 95.

¹⁹ Boppert 1992, op.cit. (Anm. 10), 90 ff. Nr. 2 Taf. 2.

²⁰ So eine Stele, an der der Name fehlt, Boppert 1992, op. cit. (Anm.10), 93 f. Nr. 3 Taf. 3.

²¹ Boppert 1992, op. cit. (Anm. 10), 96 ff. Nr. 5 Taf. 6. Vgl. den Grabstein des Auxiliarsoldaten Firmus aus Remagen, der ebenfalls seine beiden Diener mit abbildet. CIL 13, 7684. G. Bauchhenss, 'Römische Grabmäler aus den Randgebieten des Neuwieder Beckens', *Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums Mainz* 22 (1977), 81 ff. Taf. 27,1. Zum Vermögen der Veteranen: Wierschowski 1984, op. cit. (Anm. 10), 102-105.

²² Boppert 1992, op.cit. (Anm.10), 21 ff.

²³ Bauchhenss 1978, op. cit. (Anm.12), 8, 22 ff. Nr. 2 f. Taf. 5 ff.

Ehrungen, eine besondere Stellung in der Hierarchie oder einen gewissen Wohlstand vorweisen können, folglich eine Position wiedergeben wollen, die von dem Standard abweicht und gesellschaftlichen Erfolg und Aufstieg bezeugt.

Unter den Provinzialen sind ähnliche Tendenzen festzustellen. Die Reiter der Alenkohorten werden ebenfalls in bestimmten, von ihnen bevorzugten Nekropolen von Mainz bestattet. Ein Beispiel bildet der Grabstein aus Mainz, dessen Inschrift den Rufus Coutus, Sohn des Vatis, aus dem Stamm der Helvetier, Reiter in der Ala Hispanae, im 18. Jahr seines Dienste, mit 36 Jahren nennt und hinzufügt, dass der Erbe ihn aufgestellt hat. Die Stellung des Provinzialen definiert sich also aus seiner Herkunft und seinem Dienst in einer der Einheiten römischer Auxiliärtruppen, wobei eine bedeutende Rolle auch die Länge des Dienstes spielt. Erinnerungswert sind folglich die Leistungen innerhalb des römischen Systems und ferner, wenn der Provinziale von seiner unmittelbaren Heimat getrennt ist, seine Herkunft. Damit konstituiert sich für die Provinzialen ein Umfeld, in dem die Verhaltensmuster der römischen Kultur dominieren, sie sich über die Grabsteine repräsentieren, und in diesem Akt schon entscheidende Vorgaben übernehmen. Vor allem verstehen auch sie ihre Zugehörigkeit zu der Truppe offenbar als Aufstieg innerhalb der römischen Gesellschaft. Zugleich bestätigt auf diese Weise die jeweilige Gruppe der Auxiliärreiter ihre Einheit auf eine eindrucksvolle Weise, da emotional bestimmte Qualitäten wie Erinnerung und Gedenken vor dem Hintergrund der verbindlichen römischen Werte hinzukommen. Sie können zugleich also ihren besonderen Status pflegen, der in ihrer Herkunft begründet liegt.

Außerhalb der unmittelbar vom Militär dominierten Gebiete wählen die Reiter andere Formen. Albanus, Sohn des Escincus, der als Reiter in der Ala der Asturer diente und vom Stamm (*natione*) der Ubier gebürtig war, wurde bei Châtillon sur Seine bestattet. Sein Bild auf der Stele gleicht nicht den Bildern mit dem Reiter in Attacke, sondern folgt in seiner Gestaltung einem öffentlich aufgestellten Reitermonument, wie es auf dem Forum hätte stehen können (Abb. 3b).²⁴ Entscheidend ist in der Art, wie der Aufstieg dokumentiert wird, also das Milieu, in dem die Grabmonumente aufgestellt werden. In einem zivil geprägten Umfeld passen sich die Angehörigen des Militärs den dort vorherrschenden Wertvorstellungen an, wie schon in Bonn deutlich wurde.

²⁴ CIL 13, 2613. M. Schleiermacher, *Römische Reitergrabsteine* (Bonn 1984) 211 ff. Nr. 92.

Die Auxiliarreiter wählen häufig Bildstelen als Mittel der Selbstdarstellung, während Stelen lediglich mit Inschriften in der Minderzahl bleiben. Aus Mainz könnte man als Beispiel die des Ubiers Fronto, der in der Ala Indiana diente, nennen, oder die des Ogrigenus von der Kohorte der Asturer und Callaecorer.²⁵ Anders also als bei den römischen Militärs stellt es offenbar für die Auxiliarsoldaten einen wichtigen Wert dar, mit dem Bild hervorzutreten und Aufmerksamkeit zu gewinnen. Besondere Ehrungen konnten sie nicht erreichen, bzw. solche sind nicht auf ihren Stelen wiedergegeben, das Bild selbst aber nobilitiert ihre Erscheinung, denn es gibt sie zumindest in der ersten Serie der Bilder in tiberisch-frühclaudischer Zeit als aktive Krieger wieder, die sich todesmutig in den Kampf stürzen. Später wird auch an ihnen stärker der repräsentative Charakter im Sinne eines Erscheinungsbildes hervorgehoben, aber anders als an den Wiedergaben der römischen Legionäre bleibt der Verweis auf den Kampfeinsatz.²⁶

Die Mitglieder anderer Auxiliareinheiten passen sich hingegen den von den Legionssoldaten vorgegebenen Mustern an und wählen porträtartige Wiedergaben von sich selbst, wie z.B. die Mitglieder der Ituraerkohorte aus Mainz (Abb. 3c).²⁷ Andere, wie die Breucerer in Xanten-Vetera, geben bestimmten Mustern wie den Figuren von Tänzerinnen den Vorzug, die sich zur gleichen Zeit als Schmuck aufwendiger Bauten etabliert haben.²⁸ Offenbar kommt es innerhalb der Formierung von Selbstdarstellung mit diversen Möglichkeiten innerhalb der Gruppen schnell zu bestimmten Konventionen, die für die jeweiligen Truppen verbindlich werden. In jedem Fall aber sind sie bestrebt, ähnlich den exponierten Chargen im römischen Heer mit Bildern hervorzutreten und so ihren Aufstieg als einzelne wie als Gruppe unter Beweis zu stellen, während die einfachen römischen Soldaten nicht von diesem Wunsch geleitet sind.

In aller Regel geht man davon aus, dass Inhaber höherer Chargen in ihrer Heimat in Italien bestattet werden. Quintilius Varus hat trotz der Niederlage in Germanien einen Platz in der Grabstätte seiner Familie in Rom gefunden (Velleius Paterculus 2.119.5). Erinnerung an eine Person, Monument und Publikum müssen angemessen korrespondieren, wobei Leistung

²⁵ W. Boppert, *Zivile Grabsteine aus Mainz und Umgebung*, CSIR Deutschland, II 6 (Mainz 1992) 265-267 Nr. 162-163 Taf. 112-113.

²⁶ H. von Hesberg, 'Bilder römischer Reiter der frühen Kaiserzeit im Rheinland', in U. Gotter und D. Wannagat, Hgg., *Hellenisierung – Romanisierung – Orientalisierung*, Kolloquium in Reisenburg 2002 (im Druck).

²⁷ Boppert 1992, op. cit. (Anm. 10), 114 ff. Nr. 10 f. Taf. 18 f.

²⁸ Bauchenss 1978, op. cit. (Anm. 12), 52 ff. Nr. 39 f. Taf. 37 ff.

und Ehre erst in dem traditionellen Umfeld der heimatlichen Gens die traditionelle Position der Familie verstärken. Möglicherweise kommen zusätzliche Gedenksteine an der neuen Wirkungsstätte hinzu, wie es für das Grabmal des Asellio vermutet wird.²⁹

Ein wichtiges Motiv für den Bau eines Grabmonumentes bildet folglich der gesellschaftliche Aufstieg. Bestes Beispiel dafür ist das bekannte Grabmal des Poblicius in Köln, der seinen Erfolg nicht in einer militärischen Karriere gemacht hat, sondern im zivilen Leben als Veteran (Abb. 4a).³⁰ Dem Monument in Köln lassen sich andere zur Seite stellen, die mit Reiterkämpfen geschmückt sind. Eines der frühesten Beispiele bildet das Denkmal der Julier von St. Remy.³¹ Es kann den Aufbau der großen Gruppe von Monumenten im Rheinland verdeutlichen, die H. Gabelmann zusammengestellt hat.³² Auf dem Sockel sind mit vielen Figuren Kämpfe zwischen Reitern wiedergegeben, wobei ausführlicher einzelne Motive ausgestaltet werden, die von den Grabsteinen der Auxiliare bekannt sind. In der Aedikula des Obergeschosses können gut Togati oder auch entsprechende Bildnisse von Frauen und Kindern gestanden haben.³³ Das Monument von Schweinschied bei Kreuznach dürfte in dieser Hinsicht besser als der Bau in Südfrankreich die Grundelemente der späteren Gruppe dieser Denkmäler wiedergeben, auch wenn es im Schmuck des Sockels sehr verschiedene Elemente vereint und das Reiterbild dort in der Art der Stelen eingebracht ist (Abb. 4c).³⁴ Der Rest der Inschrift des Monuments in Wesseling lässt darauf schließen, dass die Frau des Verstorbenen Perrnia Paula oder Paulina aus Italien stammt. Daraus ist wohl zu schließen, dass der Verstorbene und seine Familie dort ihren Ursprung haben, es sich folglich wiederum um römische

²⁹ Boppert 1992, op. cit. (Anm.25), 21 Anm. 101.

³⁰ G. Precht, *Das Grabmal des L. Poblicius* (Köln 1979²), 45-83.

³¹ H. Rolland, *Le Mausolée de Glanum*, 21^e suppl. Gallia (Paris 1969) 46 ff.; P. Gros, 'Le mausolée des Julii et le statut de Glanum', *Revue Archéologique* 1986, 65-80.

³² H. Gabelmann, 'Römische Grabmonumente mit Reiterkampfszenen im Rheingebiet', *Bonner Jahrbücher* 173 (1973), 132-200; id., 'Römische Grabbauten in Italien und den Nordwestprovinzen', in U. Höckmann und A. Krug, Hgg., *Festschrift für Frank Brommer* (Mainz 1977), 101-117. Vgl. auch jetzt den wichtigen Fund aus Bartringen, J. Krier, 'Ein neuer Reliefblock aus Bartringen und die Grabmonumente mit Reiterkampfdarstellungen an Mosel und Rhein', in Noelke 2003, op. cit. (Anm. 11), 255-264.

³³ Zu einem derartigen Denkmal könnte z.B. die Frauenstatue von Aachen-Burtscheid gehört haben, H. Gabelmann, 'Die Frauenstatue von Aachen-Burtscheid', *Bonner Jahrbücher* 179 (1979), 209-250.

³⁴ W. Boppert, *Römische Steindenkmäler aus dem Landkreis Bad Kreuznach*, CSIR Deutschland II.9 (Mainz 2001), 133-138 Nr. 140 Taf. 86-91.

Militärs handelt, die nach der Vermutung von Gabelmann als Grundbesitzer zu Vermögen gekommen sind. An keinem Monument finden wir bisher einen eindeutigen Hinweis darauf, dass sie von besonders verdienten Offiziere errichtet werden. Die Monumente spiegeln also nicht etwa in linearer Entsprechung eine militärische Hierarchie (Abb. 4b).³⁵ Alle die zu Vermögen gekommenen Militärs fixieren folglich ihre neue Stellung mit Hilfe der Monumente. Bezeichnenderweise haben die meisten der Anlagen vielfach weit außerhalb der Städte gelegen. Da anders als in Italien ein fest durch die städtische Gesellschaft umrissenes Publikum fehlt, das die Erbauer erreichen wollten, konnten sie die alternative Lage in der Nähe ihrer Besitztümer wählen.³⁶ Dennoch war es ihnen wichtig, trotz der anderen Strukturierung des Publikums ihren gesellschaftlichen Aufstieg nach außen hin mit dem Grabmonument unter Beweis zu stellen.

Eine gegenüber der Situation in Italien veränderte Haltung belegt vor allem der Schmuck der Bauten. Denn weder Pöblicius noch die Inhaber der Monumente mit Wiedergabe der Reiterkämpfe beziehen sich auf Ehren oder Leistungen im zivilen Leben, sondern heben ihre Zugehörigkeit und auch ihre Leistungen im Militär hervor, Pöblicius mit der Erwähnung in der Inschrift und dem Waffenfries in der Aedikula des Obergeschosses seines Denkmals eher formelhaft, die übrigen mit der Wiedergabe der Reiterkämpfe zwar deutlicher, aber nichtsdestotrotz ähnlich schematisch. Diese Aufsteiger sind gleichsam zwiesgespalten. Ihr *Honos* leitet sich aus den militärischen Leistungen ab, zumal es ja Gemeinwesen, in denen sie sich hätten einbringen können, nicht recht gab. Folglich können sie anders als etwa die Freigelassenen in den Städten Italiens entsprechende Leistungen an ihren Monumenten nicht wiedergeben.³⁷ Ihr Aufstieg im zivilen Umfeld besitzt deshalb keinen Adressaten, der sich an den Erfordernissen seines Gemeinwesens orientiert, sondern wendet sich an ein allgemeines, diffus bleibendes Publikum, vor dem es den vermögenden Bürger bezeugt. Die aus Inschriften bekannten Monumente von Magistraten aus dieser Zeit geben nicht zu

³⁵ Gabelmann (Beitrag G. Alföldy) 1973, op. cit. (Anm. 32), 139 ff. T.A.S.M. Panhuysen, *Romeins Maastricht en zijn beelden*, CSIR Nederland (Maastricht 1996) 156 f., 270 ff. Nr. 10 Abb. 106 ff.

³⁶ Gabelmann 1977, op. cit. (Anm. 31), 105 f.

³⁷ Umgekehrt besaßen die Sklaven und Freigelassenen anders als in Italien in diesem Ambiente nur selten die Möglichkeit, Leistungen wieder zu geben. Deshalb sind ihre Grabmäler in diesem Bereich ungeschmückt. Boppert 1972, op. cit. (Anm. 25), 15 ff.

erkennen, ob hier ebenfalls der Aufstieg als wesentliches Element zusätzlich mit Bildern thematisiert wurde.³⁸

Auch im zivilen Bereich bot sich bestimmten Gruppen der einheimischen Bevölkerung die Möglichkeit eines Aufstiegs. Einen derartigen Vorgang belegt der Grabstein des Blussus in Mainz. Den Verstorbenen kennzeichnet, dass er und seine Frau zwar in der Kleidung von dem römischen Prototypen abweicht, sich aber andererseits daran orientiert (Abb. 3d).³⁹ Denn aus der einheimischen Tracht werden zwar einzelne Elemente übernommen und in eine neue Form überführt, aber damit setzen sich die Träger nicht grundsätzlich gegen römische Normen ab. Ganz im Gegenteil bestärkt die Art der Präsentation und die Tracht die Verbindlichkeit römisch geprägter Wertvorstellungen, da sie nun auch für eine fremde Kultur gelten.

Der Sohn oder Sklave besitzt den Namen Primus und trägt die Bulla oder ein Amulett, wird also römischen Gepflogenheiten angenähert.⁴⁰ Blussus selbst ist – wie auf dem Grabstein wiedergegeben – Schiffseigner und Kaufmann. Als Einheimischer ist er in Mainz in eine römische Domäne eingedrungen und verkündet nun stolz, daran teilzuhaben. Der Sohn hat das Grabmal für die Eltern mit Ehrfurcht (*pietas*) errichtet, gibt also auch darin einen spezifisch römischen Wert wieder. Der Aufstieg in die römische Sphäre wird somit in mehrfacher Verknüpfung unterschiedlicher Werte deutlich. Zum einen bleiben die einheimischen Formen noch erkennbar, aber sie sind vollständig eingebunden in ein neues System der Selbstdarstellung in Abhängigkeit von den römischen Normen.

Schwerer zu verstehen sind Grabsteine für einheimische Frauen, denn deren Männer – in der Regel Römer – konnten damit kaum ihren eigenen

³⁸ Vgl. den Grabbau eines Decurionen, B. und H. Galsterer, *Die römischen Steininschriften aus Köln* (Köln 1975), 72 Nr. 295 Taf. 64, oder eines Duumvirn in Köln, St. Neu, 'Römische Reliefs vom Kölner Rheinufer', *Kölner Jahrbuch* 22 (1989), 292-294 Nr. 19 Abb. 72 f.; J.-N. Andrikopoulou-Strack, *Grabbauten des 1. Jhs. n. Chr. im Rheingebiet*, 43. Beih. Bonner Jahrbücher (Köln 1986), 188 Nr. U 11 Taf. 35 a.

³⁹ Boppert 1972, op. cit. (Anm. 25), 53 ff. Nr. 2 Taf. 6 f. H. von Hesberg, 'The image of family on sepulchral monuments in the North-West provinces', in *Role Models*, Kolloquium Rom 2002 (im Druck). Vgl. auch L. Larsson Lovén, 'Funerary art, gender and social status: some aspects from Roman Gaul', in L. Larsson Lovén and A. Strömberg, eds., *Gender, Cult, and Culture in the Ancient World from Mycenae to Byzantium*, Second Nordic Symposium of Gender and Women's History in Antiquity, Helsinki 2000 (Sävedalen 2003), 54-70.

⁴⁰ Zur Interpretation des jungen Mannes hinter den Eltern: Boppert 1972, op. cit. (Anm. 25), 57. Die Deutung ist umstritten, Boppert 2003, op. cit. (Anm. 11), 276. A. Böhme-Schönberger, 'Menimane, Blussus und das Mädchen vom Frauenlobplatz', in Noelke 2003, op. cit. (Anm. 11), 285.

Aufstieg verdeutlichen. Möglicherweise haben sich die Steine stärker an das provinziale Publikum gewandt. Denn der Grabstein für Bella wird in einer Nekropole Kölns errichtet, wo auch sonst viele Mitglieder der einheimischen Bevölkerung ihre letzte Ruhestätte gefunden haben. Die Inschrift teilt uns mit, dass ihr Mann Longinus den Stein für Bella, die Tochter des Vonucius aus dem Gebiet der Remer, in frommen Gedenken aufgestellt hat (Abb. 3e).⁴¹ Ferner verdient hervorgehoben zu werden, dass es sich zwar um eine Frau aus dem Gebiet der Provinzen handelt, aber nicht aus Köln selbst. Sie war dort eine Fremde. Ubier aber, wie man erwarten würde, kommen in den Grabinschriften Kölns nicht vor. Der Aufstieg geht folglich mit einer gewissen Entwurzelung aus dem traditionellen Lebensbereich und der Einbindung in eine neue Welt einher. Geschieht er im traditionellen Milieu, verdient er keine besondere Hervorhebung in einem Grabmonument. Ein ganz ähnlicher Fall ist aus Neuss bekannt. Dort wird von einem Quintus Cornelius, Sohn des Quintus, aus der Tribus Galeria, eine Stele für seine Gattin, eine gewisse Louba, Tochter des Gastinasius, aufgestellt.⁴² Offenbar erscheint Louba in dem zugehörigen Bild mit einheimischem Gewand. Wie schon der Grabstein des Blussus zeigt, bedingte die Integration in die römische Gesellschaft nicht eine vollständige Übernahme ihrer Gebräuche.⁴³ Um eine einheimische Frau mochte es sich ebenfalls bei dem Kopf von einem Grabmal an der Luxemburger Straße in Köln gehandelt haben.⁴⁴

Wenn also Einheimische mit ihren Tätigkeiten in nähere Berührung zu den Römern gerieten, sei es als Soldat in den Auxiliareinheiten, sei es als Händler oder als Ehefrau, sind sie selbst oder ihre Angehörigen, die ja in aller Regel – wenn nicht Römer – so stärker romanisiert waren und vor allem über angemessene Mittel verfügten, offensichtlich bemüht gewesen, sich entsprechend auffallend im Bild darzustellen und ihre neu gewonnene

⁴¹ P. La Baume, 'Oppidum Ubiorum und Zweilegionslager in Köln', *Gymnasium* 80 (1973), 341 Taf. 8; Galsterer 1975, op. cit. (Anm. 37), 75 Nr. 310. Taf. 67; M. Riedel, 'Frühe römische Gräber in Köln', in P. Fasold, Th. Fischer u.a., Hgg., *Bestattungssitte und kulturelle Identität*, Kolloquium Xanten 1995, Xantener Berichte 7 (Bonn 1998), 307-318, Abb. 3.

⁴² P. Noelke, 'Grabsteine aus dem römischen Neuss', *Neusser Jahrbuch* 4 (1977), 7-9. G. Müller, *Die römischen Gräberfelder von Novaesium*, Novaesium VII, Limesforschungen 17 (Berlin 1977), 19, 111 Nr. 325 Taf. 98.

⁴³ Vgl. zum ubischen Neuss: J. Heinrichs, 'Zur Topographie des ubischen Neuss anhand einheimischer Münznominale', *Bonner Jahrbücher* 199 (1999), 69 ff.

⁴⁴ Andrikopoulou-Strack 1986, op. cit. (Anm. 37), 173 Taf. 19 b.

Position innerhalb der verwandelten Gesellschaft mit den entsprechenden darstellerischen Mitteln zu definieren.

Zu den Aufsteigern der römischen Gesellschaft gehören traditioneller Weise bestimmte, zu Reichtum gelangte Sklaven und Freigelassenen. Sie sind für Köln in einer Reihe größerer Monumente bezeugt, am eindrucksvollsten wohl in einem Rundbau, den sich ein Sklave der kaiserlichen Finanzverwaltung hat errichten lassen (Abb. 5a). Der Aufwand entspricht den besten Monumenten in Italien und hat an weiteren Bauten, die von Sklaven und Freigelassenen in Köln errichtet werden, seine Entsprechung gefunden. Die Fassaden dienen vor allem als Träger der Inschriften, welche die Bauherren hervorheben. Wieweit Schmuck an Bildern hinzugekommen ist und welcher Art sie gegebenenfalls waren, bleibt angesichts der spärlichen Überlieferung unklar. In jedem Fall nehmen sie Bezug auf die Bevölkerung in dem Gemeinwesen.⁴⁵

In den Jahrzehnten bald nach der Zeitwende lassen sich einige Vertreter der einheimischen keltischen Bevölkerung bei Nickenich in der Nähe von Andernach einen großen Tumulus von ca. 7 m Durchmesser errichten (Abb. 5b). In den zylinderförmigen Sockel des Rundbaus ist eine Inschrift eingelassen gewesen, deren Verständnis nicht ganz leicht fällt. Die Namen vielleicht sind folgendermaßen verstehen: Für Contuinda (kelt. Dativ), Tochter des Esucco, und für Silvanus Ategnissa, dessen Sohn. Die Erben haben es nach den Bestimmungen des Testamentes gemacht.⁴⁶ Diskutiert wird die Frage, ob das direkt daneben gefundene Pfeilergrabmal mit der Wiedergabe einer Familiengalerie mit dem Tumulus zu verbinden sei. Die Inschrift und die Blöcke für ihre Einlassung markieren die Front des Rundgrabes. Davor hätte das zweite Grab seinen Platz gehabt. Eine derartige Konstellation erscheint nicht ungewöhnlich, aber sie lässt sich auch nicht beweisen. In jedem Fall erklärt die Inschrift nicht die Figuren der Galerie.

Auffallender Weise wird im Gegensatz zu den Inschriften auf den Stelen der Auxiliarreiter der Stamm der Verstorbenen nicht genannt. Ferner bleiben dem Leser die Begleitumstände, die Familie, der Stand und Leistungen völlig unklar. Aber es ist nicht zu entscheiden, ob es in dieser Generation schon Provinziale gegeben hat, die mit derartigen Monumenten in der

⁴⁵ W. Eck und H. von Hesberg, 'Der Rundbau eines Dispensator Augusti und andere Grabmäler der frühen Kaiserzeit in Köln – Monumente und Inschriften', *Kölner Jahrbuch* (im Druck).

⁴⁶ E. Neuffer, 'Zum Nickenicher Grabmal', *Germania* 16 (1932), 286-288, Taf. 15. L. Weißgerber, 'Zur Inschrift von Nickenich', *Germania* 17 (1933), 14-22, 95-104 Abb. 1 f.; Andrikopoulou-Strack 1986, op. cit. (Anm. 37), 37, 42 f. Taf. 3 b.

Stadt präsent sein wollten oder ob es vielleicht ähnlich der Bella um die Frau eines Römers handelte.

In seiner Vereinzelung bleibt das Grabmal von Nikenich schwer verständlich. Aus dem 1. Jh. n. Chr. fehlen einfach weitere Beispiele.⁴⁷ Die Inschrift bezieht sich auf die Kinder und gibt so der Anlage einen familiären Bezug. Dennoch ist nicht auszuschließen, dass hier trotz allem ein Aufstieg manifestiert wurde, vielleicht eines Einheimischen, der zu Landbesitz gekommen war. Dennoch wird nur eingeschränkt das Register an möglichen Formen römischer Repräsentation gezogen. Denn die Inschrift an diesem Monument bleibt verhältnismäßig gering dimensioniert, in der Verschränkung vieler Buchstaben auch nicht ganz leicht lesbar und in ihrer Aussage äußerst knapp. Das Monument selbst in seinem betont schlichten Aufbau, welcher die italischen Vorbilder deutlich vereinfachte, tritt in seinem ländlichen Umfeld stärker mit traditionellen Bestattungsformen in Konkurrenz. Es steht zu vermuten, dass den Besuchern in ihrem angestammten heimatlichen Umfeld der Status der Familie und ihre Bedeutung ohnehin vertraut gewesen sind.

Dieses Beispiel macht deutlich, dass in der Region und vor allem in dem Nebeneinander von Römern und Provinzialen zwei Formen der Erinnerung gepflegt werden. Für die einheimische, in Gallien und Germanien ansässige Gesellschaft haben die bisher betrachteten Grabmonumente wie die gesamte Kultur, in die sie eingebettet waren, eine zwiespältige Wirkung ausgeübt. Denn derartige Formen sind ihr so gut wie unbekannt gewesen.⁴⁸ Die traditionellen Bestattungsformen jener Gesellschaften kennen wir aus archäologischen Quellen, die über entscheidende Aspekte der Selbstdarstellung, z.B. den der Erinnerung, nur wenig aussagen. Die literarischen Quellen sind aus römischer Sicht verfasst und verfremden somit die Sachlage. So fehlt uns jegliche Vorstellung, ob und vor allem wie während der Bestattung der Toten gedacht wurde, und was wir uns unter dem Trauern und dem Erinnern, das Tacitus bei der Beschreibung der germanischen Bestattungsbräuche den Frauen und Männern zuschreibt, vorzustellen haben. Zwar heißt es an einer Stelle von Arminius, dem bekannten Anführer der Cherusker (Tacitus, *Annales* 2.88.3), er würde noch zur Zeit des Tacitus, d.h. mehr als fünfzig Jahre nach seinem Tode besungen (*canitur*), aber hier

⁴⁷ W. Ebel, *Die römischen Grabhügel des ersten Jahrhunderts im Treverergebiet*, Marburger Studien zur Ur- und Frühgeschichte 12 (Marburg 1989), 101 ff.

⁴⁸ Zu Grabstelen im keltischen Bereich: P. Jacobsthal, in *Schumacher-Festschrift* (Mainz 1930), 189 ff. Taf. 20 f. Ch. Nerzic, *La sculpture en Gaule Romaine* (Paris 1989), 8 ff.

verbindet sich damit ein Angriff des Autors auf die traditionelle Geschichtsschreibung.⁴⁹ Ob es solche Gesänge bei den Bestattungsfeierlichkeiten des Arminius gegeben hat, können wir lediglich vermuten. An den Gräbern selbst fehlen aufwendige, weithin erkennbare, individuell abgestimmte und die Zeiten überdauernden Markierungen.⁵⁰ Vielmehr hat es den Anschein, als seien die Toten bestattet und ihrer in der Folge durch ihre Angehörigen am Grabe gedacht worden. In diesen Gesellschaften fehlen aber andererseits die soziale Mobilität und damit eine entscheidende Möglichkeit des Aufstiegs. Sollte es dort die Möglichkeit eines Aufstiegs gegeben haben, dann blieb er auf den engen Horizont des Stammes begrenzt und an sein Geschick geknüpft. Generell bleibt das Problem, wie sich diese Feiern mit den sozialen Strukturen der Gesellschaften verknüpfen, wie also rituell etablierte Feiern aussehen und wie variabel sie sind.⁵¹

Vergleicht man unter der Perspektive des Erinnerns die Bestattungsformen innerhalb der römischen mit denen der keltisch-germanischen Kulturen, lassen sich auch ohne spezifische Überlieferung einige grundsätzliche Unterschiede vermuten. Die Erinnerung erfolgt innerhalb des barbarischen Umfelds nicht über Inschriften und Bilder, d.h. über ein festes System, in dem die Abfolge der Zeit geregelt ist und dadurch eine große Tiefenschärfe gewinnt. Vielmehr wird sie mündlich weiter getragen und ist damit entsprechenden Veränderungen unterworfen. Jenseits dieser zunächst rein äußerlichen Eigenheiten besitzen die römischen Medien einen anderen Anspruch. Sie lösen sich von einer engen Bindung an die lokal begrenzte Gemeinschaft und knüpfen Erinnerung an die Dauerhaftigkeit der Monumente. In der Verdinglichung bewahren sie ihre Botschaft für jeden Bewohner des römischen Reiches, ja im Grunde für jeden, der Latein verstehen kann, über alle Zeiten und Orte hinweg auf. Damit wird seinerseits der gesellschaftliche Aufstieg gleichsam unumkehrbar in den Monumenten festgeschrieben.

Ein großer Teil der Einheimischen verbleibt zunächst auch nach der Okkupation durch die Römer in seinem traditionellen Umfeld. Deshalb hat gar kein Bedarf nach Monumenten des neuen Typus bestanden, sondern die traditionellen Formen der Erinnerung reichen aus. Dabei können die neuen Güter der römischen Kultur übernommen werden, nur eben in alten Formen. Ein gutes Beispiel sind die Gräber von Auxiliarreitern, die mit ihrer Parade-

⁴⁹ Die Beschreibung bei Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res Gestae* 31.7.11, ist noch allgemeiner und hat mit dem Gedenken an eine Person nichts mehr zu tun.

⁵⁰ S. Anm. 48.

⁵¹ N. Roymans, *Tribal Societies in Northern Gaul* (Amsterdam 1990), 27-45.

rüstung bestattet werden.⁵² Sie sind stolz auf ihren Platz in der neuen Kultur, aber sie äußern sich in dem Rahmen, der ihnen von ihrer Tradition her vorgegeben ist. Derartige Bestattungen finden sich nämlich bisher nicht in den Nekropolen vor den Lagern zusammen mit den Bildstelen der Reiter,⁵³ sondern isoliert über die ländlichen Gegenden verstreut (Abb. 5b).⁵⁴

Das legt die Vermutung nahe, dass diese Reiter jeweils in ihrer Heimat begraben werden. Die Angehörigen wissen nach den Bedingungen ihrer Erinnerung, dass unter dem bescheidenen Grabhügel, den nicht unbedingt ein Grabstein auszeichnet, ein Reiter bestattet liegt, der es innerhalb der römischen Hierarchie weit gebracht hat. Wenn dennoch wie in Nikenich ein weithin sichtbarer Denkmal errichtet wird, muss es dafür Gründe gegeben haben, die aus Mangel an Indizien vorerst nicht zu erschließen sind.

Als Fazit können wir demnach festhalten: die Römer brachten ein komplexes System mit sich, das die Erinnerung an die Verstorbenen regulierte. Diese Form wandelte sich zwar zu Beginn der Kaiserzeit, aber die wesentlichen Eigenarten blieben bestehen. *Memoria* begründete sich aus *Honos* und *Virtus* im politischen, zivilen und militärischen Leben. Gesellschaftliche Veränderung, Aufstieg und die Dauerhaftigkeit der neuen Monumente bedingten sich gegenseitig. Die demonstrative und auf langfristige Dauer angelegte Wirkung der Grabdenkmale brachte den Anspruch zum Ausdruck, die neu gewonnene gesellschaftliche Stellung festzuschreiben.

In der Konfrontation mit der römischen Gesellschaft übernehmen die Mitglieder der unterworfenen und dem Reich einverleibten keltischen und germanischen Stämme diese Formen in unterschiedlicher Weise. Diejenigen Mitglieder der Bevölkerung, die in ihrer angestammten Heimat verbleiben, sehen offenbar zunächst keine Notwendigkeit, die römischen Formen zu übernehmen. Die Präsenz der Angehörigen vor Ort, die Einbettung in die Gemeinschaft und damit deren Formen der Erinnerung werden offenbar auch unter der neuen Konstellation der Herrschaft als ausreichend angesehen. Deshalb erstrebt man in diesem Bereich keinen Wechsel. Dass er im Prinzip möglich gewesen wäre, belegen die Grabanlagen wie das von Nikenich (Abb. 5b).⁵⁵ Es gibt also von römischer Seite nicht etwa eine Kontrolle oder

⁵² J. Krier und F. Reinert, *Das Reitergrab von Hellingen* (Luxemburg 1993), 61-70 Abb. 41.

⁵³ Die Gesichtshelme bei Nijmegen stammen nicht aus Gräbern, H. van Enckevort und K. Zee, *Het Kops Plateau* (Zupthen 1996), 55 ff., 59 f.

⁵⁴ Vgl. Krier und Reinert 1993, op. cit. (Anm. 52) 55 ff. Abb. 41.

⁵⁵ O. Anm. 46. Vgl. in der Nachfolge die Grabhügel der späteren Zeit, A. Wigg, *Grabhügel des 2. und 3. Jhs. n. Chr. an Mittelrhein, Mosel und Saar*, 19. Beih. Trierer Zeitschr. (Trier 1993), 106-118. Vgl. id., 'Römerzeitliche Grabhügel im Trierer Land: Assimilation einer

so etwas wie eine ablehnende Haltung. Auch Mangel an Mitteln kann nicht angeführt werden, denn es sind außerordentlich reiche Gräber der einheimischen Bevölkerung mit einer Fülle von Beigaben belegt,⁵⁶ aber auch Hinweisen auf ungewöhnliche Gepflogenheiten, z.B. das Opfer von Pferden.⁵⁷

Innerhalb einer Gesellschaft im Wandel kann Aufstieg vielerlei bedeuten, die Akzeptanz einheimischer Lebensformen innerhalb der römisch geprägten Kultur, eine neue materielle Basis an Vermögen, ein neues Prestige, das aus der Eroberung und der Erschließung des Landes begründet ist, und weitere Faktoren mehr. Alle diese Werte werden in den Monumenten anschaulich umgesetzt: in der Zurschaustellung einheimischer Kleidung und Sitten, aber auch von persönlicher Tapferkeit in römischen Kontext, der römischen Kriegsführung in der Reiterszenen und in der Größe der Anlagen selbst. In der Gestalt der Grabmonumente manifestiert sich für den Einzelnen der Abschluss dieses Prozesses, worauf der jeweilige Aufstieg begründet ist, und deshalb gab es auch keine Probleme, mit dem Monument zu prunken. Damit ist der Weg zu einer einheitlichen Kultur eröffnet. In den Nord-West-Provinzen dauert es aber noch ca. 100 Jahre, bis sich eine Einheitskultur ausgeprägt hat, in der bei der Gestaltung der Grabmonumente wiederum ganz andere Kriterien für die gesellschaftliche Bedeutung angeführt werden, unter denen z.B. die ethnische Herkunft nur noch untergeordnete Bedeutung besitzt. Entscheidendes Gewicht gewinnen übergreifend für alle Gruppe Besitz, Wohlleben und bürgerliche Reputation.⁵⁸

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autochthonen Bestattungssitte an eine mittelitalische Grabdenkmalform', in Fasold, Fischer u.a. 1998, op. cit. (Anm. 41).

⁵⁶ Ebel 1989, op. cit. (Anm. 46), 110 ff. Die Größe der Tumuli korrespondiert annähernd mit der Menge und dem Reichtum der Beigaben. Vgl. auch A. van Doorselaer, *Les nécropoles d'époque Romaine en Gaule Septentrionale* (Brügge 1967), 111-210.

⁵⁷ Riedel 1998, op. cit. (Anm. 40), 317 f.

⁵⁸ Zu der Entwicklung im 2. und 3. Jh. n. Chr. vgl. vor allem die Grabmäler von Neumagen, W. von Massow, *Die Grabbauten von Neumagen* (Berlin-Leipzig 1932); Y. Freigang, 'Die Grabmäler der gallo-römischen Kultur im Moselland', *Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseum Mainz* 44 (1997), 278-383; B. Numrich, *Die Architektur der römischen Grabdenkmäler aus Neumagen*, Beih. 22 *Trierer Zeitschr.* (Trier 1997), 129 ff.; M. Langner, 'Handwerk und Handel auf gallo-römischen Grabmälern', *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* 116 (2001), 299-356.

LIVING LIKE THE ROMANS?
SOME REMARKS ON DOMESTIC ARCHITECTURE
IN NORTH AFRICA AND BRITAIN*

By
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Introduction

“In order that a population scattered and uncivilised, and proportionately ready for war, might be habituated by comfort to peace and quiet, he would exhort individuals, assist communities, to erect temples, market-places, houses (...).”¹ This famous passage is taken from Tacitus’ biography of his father-in-law Agricola. Obviously, this is a highly tendentious and biased passage, written by a member of the Roman upper class. It goes without saying that the Britons had houses before the Roman conquest, but in this passage Tacitus is referring to domestic architecture which, in his view, was intended only for elite members of society. It is interesting to look at Tacitus’s choice of ‘*domus*’ – a word which conveys a concept much broader than the simple translation ‘house’. A *domus* was not only the house where an extended family, including slaves, lived, but it also played an important role in the social life of the owner. Part of the owners public life took place in its large reception areas such as the *vestibula*, *atria*, peristyles, dining rooms and bathsuites. Hence, *domus* signifies an elite house. I here recall another well-known author, Cicero, who writes in his *De officiis*:

And, as in everything else a man must have regard not for himself alone but for others also, so in the home of a distinguished man, in which numerous guests must be entertained and crowds of every sort of people received, care must be taken to have it spacious.²

* I thank Eric M. Moormann (University of Nijmegen) for reading and commenting upon an early draft. Lorraine Anderson (University of Oxford) kindly edited my English.

¹ Tacitus, Agricola 21: *namque ut homines dispersi ac rudes eoque in bella faciles quieti et otio per voluptates adsuescerent, hortari privatim, adiuuare publice, ut templa, fora, domos exstruerent, (...)*. Translation: M. Hutton, revised by R.M. Ogilvie (ed. Loeb 1992).

² Cicero, *De officiis* 1.139: (...) *et, ut in ceteris habenda ratio non sua solum, sed etiam aliorum, sic in domo clari hominis, in quam et hospites multi recipiendi et admittenda hominum cuiusque modi multitudo, adhibenda cura est laxitatis*. Translation: W. Miller (ed. Loeb 1968).

In the previous chapter Cicero states:

I must discuss also what sort of house a man of rank and station should, in my opinion, have. Its prime object is functionality (*usus*). To this the plan of the building should be adapted; and yet careful attention should be paid to its convenience (*commoditas*) and distinction (*dignitas*).³

The keywords are functionality (*usus*), convenience (*commoditas*) and distinction (*dignitas*). By being both functional and convenient, a *domus* simultaneously shapes and reflects its owner's *dignitas*. This was true for the senators of the city of Rome, as well as elites elsewhere in the Empire, as has been demonstrated by many scholars studying the domestic architecture in the Roman Empire.⁴

In this sense, it is often stated that houses reflect the degree of Romanization of the various regions of the Roman Empire.⁵ Some scholars, like Thomas Blagg, argue that town houses and villas, even more than public buildings, reflect the *romanitas* of the commissioners.⁶ At the same time, other scholars have put forward the idea that local traditions persisted, and were used deliberately as an act of resistance against Roman Rule.⁷

The aim of this contribution is to offer a closer examination of these two opposing positions using archaeological evidence from North Africa and England. Some statements and caveats must be made at the outset.

³ Cicero, *De officiis* 1.138: *Et quoniam omnia persequimur, volumus quidem certe, dicendum est etiam, qualem hominis honorati et principis domum placeat esse, cuius finis est usus, ad quem accommodanda est aedificandi descriptio et tamen adhibenda commoditatis dignitatisque diligentia.* Translation: W. Miller (ed. Loeb 1968).

⁴ For recent general overviews on Roman houses see W. Hoepfner, ed., *Geschichte des Wohnens, Band 1. 5000 v.Chr. – 500 n.Chr. Vorgeschichte, Frühgeschichte, Antike* (Stuttgart 1999); S.P. Ellis, *Roman Housing* (London 2000); P. Gros, *L'architecture romaine. 2. Maisons, palais, villas et tombeaux* (Paris 2001), 136 ff.

⁵ E.g. Gros 2001, op. cit. (n. 4), 148: "(...) le phénomène de la diffusion de la grande *domus* comme l'un des « marqueurs » les plus éloquents de la romanisation."

⁶ Th. Blagg, 'First-century Roman houses in Gaul and Spain', in Th. Blagg and M. Millett, *The Early Roman Empire in the West* (Oxford 1990), 194 ff.

⁷ For North Africa see the still influential study of M. Bénabou, *La résistance africaine à la romanisation* (Paris 1976). For Britain see R. Hingley, *Rural Settlement in Roman Britain* (London 1989), 159 ff.; R. Hingley, 'Resistance and domination: social change in Roman Britain', in D.J. Mattingly, ed., *Dialogues in Roman imperialism. Power, Discourse, and Discrepant Experience in the Roman Empire*, *Journal of Roman Archaeology Suppl.* 23 (Portsmouth, Rhode Island 1997), 81 ff.

Firstly, this paper deals with elite culture and elite housing. In a way this is inevitable, since most well preserved houses and villas are usually those with architectural and decorative pretensions. For the aim of this paper, though, it is exactly what we need – a clear distinction between elite housing and the dwellings of lower classes is necessary.

Secondly, we should not forget that town houses are part of a city. In some ways this was an advantage – for example, houses could tap into the urban water system. On the other hand, the cityscape imposed constraints on the layout of houses. For instance, assigned lots within a grid-plan of streets impeded the expansion of domestic dwellings. In planned cities like Timgad this was a serious problem. It is no wonder that some of the large and lavishly decorated houses of this town were situated outside the city's grid.⁸

Thirdly, we have to take into consideration who owned and inhabited the elite houses in the towns of the Roman Empire. There are basically two possibilities: (1) Members of local elite, involved in the administration of the *civitates* and *municipia* of their native region, (2) Wealthy Roman officials. Given the structure of the Roman administration at the local level, the first group probably formed the majority. Members of this local elite were the *patroni* of *clientes* of their native region. Simultaneously, they themselves were often clients of higher ranking Romans. This social position had implications for the layout of houses.

Finally, despite the impressive remains, the archaeological record is still incomplete. In many cases, only the portions of the cities that contained elite houses were excavated. Furthermore, stratigraphical data is missing simply because it has not been collected. Most North African sites were partly excavated at the end of the nineteenth or early twentieth century, before stratigraphical methods were practised in this part of the world. This means that we have little information on the building sequences of most sites.

Romanization

I will now examine the issue of Romanization since it is of particular concern to this article's central question: can houses be seen as a barometer for discerning trends of Romanization or local resistance? Romanization is a complicated concept that has elicited significant debate in the last three

⁸ On Timgad see A. Ballu, *Guide illustré de Timgad (antique Thamugadi)* (Paris 1910²); *Enciclopedia dell'Arte Antica*, Vol. VII (Rome 1966) s.v. Thamugadi (P. Romanelli); Gros 2001, op. cit. (n. 4), 165.

decades.⁹ For a long time, written sources like Tacitus, cited above, were taken at face value. Rome was the superpower that first conquered and then civilized what would become the North-West region of the Roman Empire. And indeed, Agricola educating the savage Britons is a classic example of this civilizing process. Although this view is no longer widely accepted among scholars, it still wields a striking influence upon historical and archaeological research. We will see an example of this phenomenon later on. Nowadays, acculturation processes like Hellenization and Romanization are understood as forms of mutual cultural exchange in which both groups are influenced. There is still a great deal of research to be carried out on the impact such acculturation processes had on the construction of both native and Roman identities. Identity is, at least in part, a malleable concept that can differ from situation to situation. Since houses were, and still are, expressions of identity, I think it is an important issue to reflect upon.¹⁰

My starting point is the non-interventionist model proposed by Martin Millett. I find this model convincing especially when it comes to material culture in general and elite housing in particular.¹¹ The outline of Millett's model is the following. Basically, Rome governed its empire through native elites. After conquest, the Roman army would withdraw – except, of course, in border regions – and an administration would be established in urban settlements. This administration followed the Roman constitution, and consisted of members of the particular region's local elite. Once involved in the administrative system, the elite desired to become Romanized because their social position within their native society was reinforced by identification

⁹ There is a vast body of literature on the subject of Romanization, of which I will mention just a few titles: K. Lomas, 'Urban elites and cultural definition: Romanization in southern Italy', in T.J. Cornell and K. Lomas, eds., *Urban Society in Roman Italy* (London 1995), 107 ff.; J. Webster and N. Cooper, eds., *Roman Imperialism: Post-Colonial Perspectives. Proceedings of a Symposium Held at Leicester University in November 1994* (Leicester 1996); Mattingly 1997, op. cit. (n. 7); G. Woolf, *Becoming Roman: the Origins of Provincial Civilization in Gaul* (Cambridge 1998); E. Fentress, ed., *Romanization and the City. Creation, Transformations, and Failures. Proceedings of a Conference Held at the American Academy in Rome to celebrate the 50th Anniversary of the Excavations at Cosa, 14-16 May, 1998*, *Journal of Roman Archaeology Suppl.* 38 (Portsmouth, Rhode Island 2000); S. Keay and N. Terrenato, eds., *Italy and the West. Comparative Issues in Romanization* (Oxford 2001).

¹⁰ Shelley Hales' book, *The Roman House and Social Identity* (Cambridge 2003), which was published in September 2003 has contributed significantly to this discussion.

¹¹ M. Millett, *The Romanization of Britain. An Essay in Archaeological Interpretation* (Cambridge 1990).

with Roman Rule. As a consequence, the elite wished to emulate Roman material culture, and use symbols of *romanitas* to boost their social standing. The lower classes attempted to imitate the Romanized elite and thus the material culture spread.

I am well aware of the criticisms of this model, most notably by Richard Hingley and P.W.M. Freeman. Hingley accuses Millett of offering a deterministic model of progressive Romanization, thus implicitly advocating the Roman point of view. The nuances of dominance and resistance in different regions of the Empire and their impact upon Roman and native perspectives are omitted, whereas the bias towards native elites *a priori* excludes a balanced narrative.¹² Finally, as both Freeman and Hingley stress, how can we analyse a process of Romanization if we do not know what Roman material culture contained or what exactly the label ‘Roman’ signified?¹³

However valid Hingley and Freeman’s objections might be, they tend to overlook the fact that material culture is Millett’s starting point. What Millett proposes is not an all-inclusive, simplistic ‘How the West was won’ narrative. Rather, he seeks to explain the rapid spread of Roman material culture in Britain, and thereby allows for the possibility of different perceptions and uses. It is true that Millett’s model is elite based, but for the purpose of this paper that is a virtue, not a defect.

The houses

Now, let us have a closer look at the houses primarily in North Africa but with some evidence from Britain as well. I am well aware of the risk of oversimplification when dealing with broad and complex themes, but it is not my aim to present all encompassing models or solutions. Essentially, arriving at

¹² R. Hingley, ‘The ‘legacy’ of Rome: the rise, decline, and fall of the theory of Romanization’, in Webster and Cooper 1996, op. cit. (n. 9), 35 ff., esp. p. 44 “We may actually expect the situation to have been far more complex, with emulation and opposition working in a variable manner.” Mark Grahame critically questions the idea of an already socially stratified native society as the starting point. In his view, the Romans actively *created* native élites; see M. Grahame, ‘Redefining Romanization: material culture and the question of social continuity in Roman Britain’, in C. Forcey, J. Hawthorne and R. Witcher, eds., *TRAC 97. Proceedings of the Seventh Annual Theoretical Roman Archaeology Conference Nottingham 1997* (Oxford 1998), 1 ff.

¹³ Hingley 1989, op. cit. (n. 7); Hingley 1996, op. cit. (n. 12); P.W.M. Freeman, ‘Romanisation’ and Roman material culture (= review article of Millett 1990, op. cit. [n. 11]), *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 6 (1993), 438 ff.

a universal model is impossible since domestic architecture is not only a reflection of social relations in a broad sense, but foremost a response to local human needs for creating spaces for sleeping, cooking, eating etc. This may sound mundane, but it tends to be overlooked in the theoretical debate.

The African sites chosen here are Bulla Regia, Utica and Dougga (ancient Thugga), all in modern Tunisia, and Volubilis in Morocco. All four sites were founded before the arrival of the Romans. In his important contribution to the series *Histoire de la vie privée*, the French scholar Yvon Thébert has pointed out the importance of Mediterranean, Hellenistic influences upon later African domestic architecture from the Roman Period.¹⁴ Peristyles, for example, already were introduced by the third century BC in Punic cities like Carthage and Kerkouane, a site on the coast of Northern Tunisia.¹⁵ It is essential to stress that this is earlier than the appearance of peristyles in most town houses in Roman and Romanized Italy. Another Hellenistic feature found frequently in the houses of Kerkouane is the bathroom with a hip-bath.

Furthermore, urbanization was not a phenomenon introduced by the Romans, and larger settlements, both Punic and Numidian, existed before the Roman arrival. For example, towns like Bulla Regia, Dougga and Zama Regia were Punicized centres of the Numidian Kingdom and only in a later period became cities governed in the Roman style.

Let us return to Thébert, who writes:

African domestic architecture, like that of other Roman provinces, was the product of theoretical reflection. As such, it was distinguished from a vernacular architecture – architecture without architects, if you will – which often creates quite different types of buildings in response to the same social demand. Vernacular architecture usually has no real program. The person commissioning the project states his desires in

¹⁴ Y. Thébert, 'Private life and domestic architecture in Roman Africa', in P. Veyne, ed., *A History of Private Life. I: From Pagan Rome to Byzantium* (Cambridge, Mass.-London 1987), 313 ff.; on Hellenistic influences esp. 325 f. Originally published as *Histoire de la vie privée. I. De L'Empire romain à l'an mil* (Paris 1985).

¹⁵ See for the pre-146 BC houses of Carthage: S. Lancel, J.-P. Morel and J.-P. Thuillier, *Byrsa II. Rapports préliminaires sur les fouilles 1977-1978: niveaux et vestiges puniques sous la direction de Serge Lancel* (Rome 1982); S. Lancel, *Carthage* (Paris 1995), 167 ff.; F. Rakob, ed., *Karthago I. Die deutschen Ausgrabungen in Karthago* (Mainz am Rhein 1991), 238 ff. On Kerkouane: M. Fantar, *Kerkouane. Cité Punique du Cap Bon (Tunisie). Tome II Architecture domestique* (Tunis 1985).

some vague way, generally referring to concrete examples close at hand. The result is a characteristic “regional” architecture, with builders improvising on the possibilities inherent in the locale: climate, availability of building materials, and so forth. In the Roman era, however, architecture freed itself from local limitations and turned its attention toward social, aesthetic, and individualistic considerations. This resulted in a highly elaborate architectural theory, to which both architect and client referred in making proposals and plans.¹⁶

If we put Thébert’s ideas in a scheme, we get the following:

Native / vernacular	Roman / Romanized
No theory	Theoretical architecture
No architect	Architect
No uniform building	Uniform building
No building plan	Building plan
Local building material	Imported building material (<i>assumption</i>)
Climate and local building material as determining factors	Society, aesthetics and individual preferences as determining factors

I doubt whether reality was this rigid or clear cut. This is a good example of the type of blind assumption I mentioned earlier: the superior Romans teach the backward African tribesmen how to build a proper house. It is impossible to prove that the pre-146 BC city of Carthage was built without architects, building plans and so on. In fact, all archaeological evidence has shown the opposite.¹⁷

Such assumptions lead to a variety of specious claims. We see this in regards to the basements in some of the rich houses of Bulla Regia, a site in modern North Tunisia. Fig. 1 shows an example of the Maison de la Chasse, where a dining room and two bedrooms were situated in the basement. These basements, dug into flat terrain rather than making use of a sloping hill, are a unique architectural feature in the Roman world. To quote Thébert again:

¹⁶ Thébert 1987, op. cit. (n. 14), 326 f.

¹⁷ See above n. 15.

The fact remains that Bulla Regia is the only Roman city known to exhibit so many examples of an architecture in which the occupant increased the amount of space available to him by digging down into the earth. Although the climatic advantages of such constructions are obvious, they are not in themselves a sufficient explanation.¹⁸

Why not, I wonder. Would this be a ‘vernacular’ feature uncommon in Roman or Romanized architecture? It is true, as Thébert states, that many other places with equally extreme climates have no comparable architecture, but, to mention just one possible explanation, perhaps the soil in such regions was not as well suited for large scale digging work. Thébert’s conclusion is that the owners were looking for more space within the constraints of the city’s grid-plan. This may be perfectly right. However, the choice for digging down instead of adding an additional storey still remains unexplained. The amount of work and the costs entailed in digging down rather than building up seem equivalent, so it must have been the climatic advantage that was the decisive factor. I believe it would be more productive to explore this particular architectural feature in a larger framework than simply how it compared with typical Roman modes of building.¹⁹

Material and building techniques

Let us look at some more physical evidence and discuss material and building techniques. Generally speaking, local building materials were used if they were of sufficient quality and quantity. Unlike Thébert, I believe that using local material is the logical thing to do. Why import building material at high costs, if the local material is adequate? One must then explore the material’s influence upon the building technique. A criterium often used in the provinces to distinguish between Romanized and non-Romanized housing is the use of *opus caementicium*. This has become sort of a myth. It seems to me a much too limited concept upon which to classify the architectural style. For example, many places lack the ingredients for making a

¹⁸ Thébert 1987, op. cit. (n. 14), 343.

¹⁹ We should also bear in mind that for example Vitruvius pays a lot of attention to the proper orientation of buildings based on climatic circumstances (e.g. *De Architectura* 5.10.1; 6.1; 6.4). For observations on the orientation of Greek houses see W. Hoepfner and E.-L. Schwandner, *Haus und Stadt im klassischen Griechenland* (München 1994²), 318 ff. Therefore, responses to climatic circumstances could easily be denoted as Roman or more generally Mediterranean.

good mortar, most notably pozzolana-earth, and without this mortar it is impossible to apply the *opus caementicium* technique.

On the other hand, careful study of Romano-British timber building has shown radical advances in woodworking skills after the Roman conquest of Britain. New carpentry techniques were introduced and made possible by Roman tools such as the carpenter's plane and frame-saw.²⁰ If the application of masonry had been the only criterium for establishing Roman influence upon housing, the Roman impact upon timber buildings would have gone unrecognized.

If highly functional techniques such as limestone framework, the so-called *opus africanum* (Fig. 2), already exist, it is only natural to apply them. This is neither barbaric nor should it be automatically interpreted as resistance to Roman Rule. Rather, it is simply a result of building tradition and building economy.

Certainly, material such as mediterranean marble was sometimes imported for architectural decoration, especially in the North-West provinces. The palace of King Cogidubnus at Fishbourne, dating from the Flavian Period, is an outstanding example of this.

Sometimes there are practical reasons for not using local material. Studying the private bath-suites of houses and villas in Central Italy, North Africa and England, I was struck by the uniformity of the hypocausts in the heated sections. With few exceptions, most hypocaust systems looked remarkably similar: pillars of baked, heat resistant tile, that supported an upperfloor of tile. These tiles were of standard sizes, thus creating standardized systems. In regions of North Africa and Britain where brick was not used otherwise in houses, it did appear in the hypocausts of both public and domestic baths. The reason for this was undoubtedly functional: tile is heat resistant, whereas material such as limestone is unable to endure extreme temperatures. The mere fact that sophisticated Roman technology was applied, must have had social significance for both the owner of the house, the commissioner, and owner's guests who were invited to the baths. The use of Roman technology itself was a message that would have been well understood.

Form, function, and architectural pretension

The main components of Roman elite houses can be found in their provincial counterparts. Both town houses and villas feature reception areas for

²⁰ See D. Perring, *The Roman House in Britain* (London-New York 2002), 83 f.

different social groups, Roman-styled *triclinia*, baths with hypocausts and running water. It is impossible for us to establish exactly how these amenities were used. For instance, we do not know if the inhabitants actually adhered to the ‘Roman way’ (assuming there was such a thing as a ‘Roman way’). But is this a problem? The fact remains that the owners deliberately chose Roman-styled designs for their dwellings, investing money in a way unseen before the arrival of the Romans. The reason for choosing such designs could differ from region to region, period to period, or owner to owner. However, there must have been one constant rationale: the house had to satisfy the needs of its owner. They were not entirely private dwellings, but rather performed specific roles in the public and social life of the owner. The owner used his home to receive a large number of visitors and guests. This was not only the case in Italy, but, as both the archaeological evidence and literary sources suggest, was true of the elite dwellings throughout the Empire. Apuleius, for instance, speaks about a lady entertaining numerous guests in her home and adds that this was something expected of a high ranking person.²¹ Needless to say, the symbolic messages communicated through the house’s size, lavishness and decoration were intended for an audience with an at least vague familiarity with the meaning of these messages.

Just as in Italian houses, the entrance of the elite home was an architectural statement. Large door openings, such as the one in the Maison de la Cascade in Utica (Fig. 3), were designed to create a striking impression and offer a hint to the entering visitor or passer-by of what they could expect inside.

Access to the house was controlled by a doorkeeper who sometimes had a little room next to the entrance, as is for example the case the Maison aux Travaux d’Hercule at Volubilis.²² Within the house, the main reception rooms were emphasized by their axial planning. The Maison de Vénus in Volubilis offers a clear example of this phenomenon. Axial planning created visual axes, along which peristyle columns were located, so as not to obstruct the view. Furthermore, architectural ornamentations such as framing

²¹ Apuleius, *Metamorphoses* 2.19: *Frequens ibi numerus epulonum, et utpote apud primam feminam flos ipse civitatis.*

²² For recent plans and descriptions of the houses in Volubilis see M. Risse, ed., *Volubilis. Eine römische Stadt in Marokko von der Frühzeit bis in die islamische Periode* (Mainz am Rhein 2001).

columns, and floor, wall and ceiling decorations immediately denoted which were the important rooms.

For the use of these reception areas, we first need to make a clear distinction between rooms where *clientes* were received in the morning, and those where in the afternoon guests were entertained. The first group, the clients, were received in *vestibula* and reception halls, usually labelled *basilica* by modern scholars.²³ The plan of the Maison de Vénus shows a large double *vestibulum*, the one of the Maison aux Travaux d'Hercule is around 50 square metres. The private *basilicae* are even larger.

The African houses lack *atria*, but this does not constitute a major difference in the house's function. The role of the *atrium* was fulfilled by large *vestibula* and *basilicae*. At any rate, even in Italy, from the end of the first century AD onward, the *atrium* began to disappear, its function being taken over by other rooms.

In the late afternoon guests were received in *oeci* (gardenrooms), private baths and dining rooms. Roman-styled *triclinia* are easily recognizable by their floormosaics, which show the exact location of *triclinium* beds. The guests were either members of the elite or were higher ranked clients of the house owner. Competition among the elite was fierce, and one's house acted as an essential instrument for displaying and highlighting personal status. The modes for showing off social standing varied in different local circumstances. In England, for instance, dining and reception rooms were heated, an amenity that was uncommon in the Mediterranean region. As far as I know, this amenity was specific to the Northern provinces. Heated *cubicula*, sleeping rooms, do exist even in Ostia, but dining rooms with a hypocaust are absent in the Mediterranean world.

The North African house owners had other ways of displaying their wealth and social status. The number of waterbasins and fountains in upper class houses is remarkable (Fig. 4). Most likely, some of the basins were designed to keep fish. In inland towns, it was a statement of wealth and prestige when a host offered fresh fish to his guests.²⁴

Furthermore, the fountains functioned as air conditioning. They also sparkled in the light and made a tinkling noise – features that were intended to impress visitors. Fountains, especially in arid zones where water could be scarce, were a clear form of showing off one's wealth. Because it was Roman technology that made such fountains possible and because the Roman

²³ On the phenomenon of private *basilicae* see Thébert 1987, op. cit. (n. 14), 377 f.

²⁴ Thébert 1987, op. cit. (n. 14), 365 ff.

administration regulated the access to water, this display of wealth was integrally linked to *romanitas*.

Conclusion

If we limit ourselves to elite housing, the debate over the Romanization of housing becomes somewhat clearer. Too often, the discussion has been complicated and confused by bringing in middle and lower class living accommodations. Overall, the pattern for elite housing places a strong emphasis on the social status of the inhabitant, primarily the male house owner. The goal of the house is to leave both *clientes* and *amici* impressed.

This is not a surprise. Similarly in Italy, members of the local elite vied for social status, and the house was one of their most effective tools. Hence, adopting Roman lifestyles and acting as Roman as one possibly could was in the interest of the elite, the evidence for which can be seen in the layouts of their houses, designed for the reception of clients and friends.

The differences that can be discerned are the result of responses to local, mostly climatic circumstances, and not a resistance to Romanization. Policies of resistance were usually not in the best interest of the elite. After the arrival of the Romans, at least in Africa, local material was still widely used. However, the extent to which local building traditions were persistent can hardly be established in detail. Our knowledge is simply too limited for such speculation. The Punic houses at Dougga and Volubilis, for example, could have provided us with useful information, but they were built over in the Roman Period. Without destroying this upper layer, we cannot study the building sequences and the possible persistence of architectural traditions. This same dilemma holds true for many more sites.²⁵ The idea that the architecture of the African provinces changed drastically in *all* respects after the arrival of the Romans has been shown to be misleading. Schemes of vernacular versus Roman/Romanized domestic architecture as proposed by Thébert are too rigid. The crux is that the architectural development was both malleable to local circumstances and indebted to Roman influence and therefore featured previously unknown amenities associated with the 'Roman' lifestyle. Whether these amenities expressed Roman superiority, local power, Roman luxury or just novelty is difficult to assess. Nevertheless we can con-

²⁵ Some preliminary work has been done; see R. Daniels, 'Punic influence in the domestic architecture of Roman Volubilis (Morocco)', *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 14 (1995), 79 ff.

clude that they were well integrated into the social lives of the house owners and their guests.

Finally, looking at single houses is an unviable strategy, since town houses were not isolated from one another. House owners would have been aware of other houses because they would have often been guests themselves. Furthermore, situations could differ from settlement to settlement, and from region to region. The availability of building material also played an important role in this respect. For example, in an environment where marble was unavailable, an upper class house that was not adorned with a marble veneer would not have been looked down upon. Therefore, I would like to conclude with a plea for contextualizing the evidence. Only by carefully evaluating the context of each house, including its physical environment, can we start to gain a better understanding of how these houses were used, and how they can shed more light on their inhabitants. In the end, it was not so much how a house was built, but in what ways it was used that made its inhabitants, at least in their own eyes, Roman.

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IV

URBAN ELITES AND CIVIC LIFE

ROMAN ACTUARIAL SCIENCE
AND ULPIAN'S LIFE EXPECTANCY TABLE

By
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1. Introduction

Roman lawyers must have been well aware of the problem of contingency. A simple case may suffice to illustrate the phenomenon. I have contracted with someone to pay me a certain amount of money in the event of the bankruptcy of one of my debtors (*fideiussio indemnitas*).¹ This is a simple form of credit insurance and it is a wager. The event may or may not happen; if it happens, it may happen within a short time after I have contracted with the guarantor, or it may happen a long time after. Roman 'bankers' (*argentarii*) were specialised in this kind of credit insurance (*receptum argentarii*)² and must have been able to assess their chances in order to fix a competitive price for their services.³ Today the problem of assessing chances is, of course, paramount with life-insurances and it is generally believed among lawyers and legal historians that contracts like these only proliferated after the development of modern actuarial sciences, that is after Johann de Witt (1625-1672) in the Netherlands and John Graunt (1620-1674) in England had shown the way to compose sufficiently accurate life expectancy tables.⁴ Be this as it may, Roman lawyers must have had considerable actuarial knowledge as well, if only to estimate the capital value of annuities, sustenances and other life interests. It is the context of Aemilius Macer's rule on life expectancy and what is generally referred to as 'Ulpian's life expectancy table'. It has been contended that Ulpian's table was not

¹ See, for example, *Dig.* 50.16.150 (Gaius): *Si ita a te stipulatus fuero: 'quanto minus a Titio consecutus fuero, tantum dare spondes?', non solet dubitari, quin, si nihil a Titio fuero consecutus, totum debeas quod Titius debuerit.* For more details see Papinian in *Dig.* 45.1.116.

² On *receptum argentarii* see Jean Andreau, *La vie financière dans le monde Romain. Les métiers de manieurs d'argent* (Rome 1987), 597 ff.

³ See *Dig.* 17.1.6.7, where a certain Maurus Paulus offered his services as guarantor in return for a price. On this text G. MacCormack, 'Periculum', *Zeitschrift der Savignystiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, Rom. Abt.* 109 (1979).

⁴ See, for example, H. Coing, *Europäisches Privatrecht II* (München 1989), 563.

empirically based: ‘how could it be?’⁵ In this paper we will consider the possible empirical basis of Ulpian’s table and the way a fairly accurate life expectancy table could be computed on that basis.

2. Ulpian’s table

Little is known about the Roman lawyer Aemilius Macer. It has been suggested that he lived under the emperors Caracalla and Alexander Severus. If so, he must have been a younger contemporary of Ulpian.⁶ It may be surmised from what has been handed down to us from his writings,⁷ that he had a certain propensity for public law. He wrote a treatise on the Roman inheritance tax, the *lex Iulia de vicesima hereditatium*. It is in one of the fragments from this book, surviving in Justinian’s Digest, that Macer gives an account of the way the capitalised value of a life interest could be established for taxation purposes.

Dig. 35.2.68 pr. (Macer, libro secundo ad legem vicesimam hereditatium) Computationi in alimentis faciendae hanc formam esse Ulpianus scribit, ut a prima aetate usque ad annum vicesimum quantitas alimentorum triginta annorum computetur eiusque quantitatis Falcidia praestetur, ab annis vero viginti usque ad annum vicesimum quintum annorum viginti octo, ab annis viginti quinque usque ad annos triginta annorum viginti quinque, ab annis triginta usque ad annos triginta quinque annorum viginti duo, ab annis triginta quinque usque ad annos quadraginta annorum viginti. ab annis quadraginta usque ad annos quinquaginta tot annorum computatio fit, quot aetati eius ad annum sexagesimum deerit remisso uno anno: ab anno vero quinquagesimo usque ad annum quinquagesimum quintum annorum novem, ab annis quinquaginta quinque usque ad annum sexagesimum annorum septem, ab annis sexaginta, cuiuscumque aetatis sit, annorum quinque. eoque nos iure uti Ulpianus ait et circa computationem usus fructus faciendam. solitum est tamen a prima aetate usque ad annum trigesimum computationem annorum triginta fieri, ab annis vero triginta

⁵ K. Hopkins, ‘On the probable age structure of the Roman population’, *Population Studies* 20 (1966-1967), 264 n. 22: ‘Ulpian’s table is <not> empirically based – how could it be?’. But see K.J. Beloch, *Die Bevölkerung der griechisch-römischen Welt* (Leipzig 1886), 44: ‘Ulpian’s Zahlen <sind> offenbar auf rein empirischem Wege gefunden, und zwar in recht roher Weise’.

⁶ W. Kunkel, *Herkunft und soziale Stellung der römischen Juristen* (Graz-Vienna-Cologne 1967), 256.

⁷ See O. Lenel, *Palingenesia Iuris Civilis* I (Leipzig 1889), 561-574.

tot annorum computationem inire, quot ad annum sexagesimum deesse videntur. numquam ergo amplius quam triginta annorum computatio initur.

‘Ulpianus says that this is the formula to be adopted in making the estimate of sustenances to be furnished. The amount bequeathed to anyone for this purpose from the first to the twentieth year is computed to last for thirty years, and the Falcidian portion of that sum shall be reserved. From twenty to twenty-five years, the amount is calculated for twenty-eight years. From twenty-five to thirty years, the amount is calculated for twenty-five years; from thirty to thirty-five years, the amount is calculated for twenty-two years; from thirty-five years to forty years, it is computed for twenty years; from forty to fifty years, the computation is made for as many years as a person lacks of the sixtieth year after having omitted one year; from the fiftieth to the fifty-fifth, the amount is calculated for nine years; from the fifty-fifth to the sixtieth year, it is calculated for seven years; and for any age above sixty, no matter what it may be, the computation is made for five years. Ulpianus also says that we use the same rule in making the calculation with reference to the legacy of an usufruct. Nevertheless, it is the practice for the computation to be made for thirty years from the first to the thirtieth, but after the age of thirty years it is made for as many years as the legatee lacks of being sixty; hence the computation is never made for a longer time than thirty years’.

The compilers of Justinian’s Digest placed this extract from Macers book in the second section of the thirty-fifth book of the Digest on the *lex Falcidia*, a *plebiscitum* from 40 BC, fixing the portion of his estate a testator was free to dispose of in his last will at three-quarters. The so-called *quarta Falcidia* was to be set-aside for the heirs.⁸ In estimating the *quarta Falcidia*, it was necessary to establish the value of legacies and consequently the question arose how the value of life interests, such as the legacy of an usufruct or a life-long sustenance, was to be estimated, hence the need for a calculated assessment of human life expectancy.⁹

⁸ On the *quarta Falcidia* see M. Kaser, *Das römische Privatrecht* I (München 1971), 756.

⁹ It is rather odd to find a reference to the *lex Falcidia* in an extract from a book on death duties. The reference to the *lex Falcidia* is almost certainly to be attributed to Justinian’s compilers. Originally, the fragment dealt with problems concerning the computation of the value

The fragment contains two computation-methods for calculating the capital value of life interests: one reported by Ulpian¹⁰ and another that is represented by Macer as the normal method for estimating the value of these interests. It is generally believed that 'Ulpian's' table was meant as a refinement of the usual computation-method as reported by Macer.¹¹

3. The empirical basis of Ulpian's table

One of the problems with Ulpian's table in the study of Roman demography concerns the accuracy of its calculations in view of the epigraphical material available to us *now*. The results of the table do not seem to reflect the present empirical data. Of course, we are aware of Keith Hopkins' inspiring article on the relative value of epigraphical material in making demographical assessments on Roman society in general,¹² but some remarks on the reliability of epigraphical data have to be made, as doubts have even been casted on their general accuracy as well. Historians involved in this debate generally overlook some important facts of Roman law. Take, for example, Bruce Frier's casual remark on 'the well-known propensity of Romans to be uncertain about their

of legacies of life interests in relation to the levy of the *vicesima*. This death duty was obsolete in the time of Justinian (see *CJ* 6.33.3 pr.). However, the compilers of the Digest rightly felt that the problems involved were the same as with the computation of the *quarta Falcidia* (cf. R. Duncan-Jones, *Structure and scale in the Roman economy*, Cambridge 1990, 96 n. 10). A conviction shared, no doubt, by the contemporaries of Macer himself. We owe the survival of Macer's fragment (and Ulpian's life expectancy table) to this coincidence; see P. Stein, 'Generations, life-spans and usufructs', *Revue Internationale des Droits de l'Antiquité* 9 (1962), 340 ff.

¹⁰ We do not know whether it is to Ulpian himself, to whom the life expectancy table reported by him should be attributed. Macer merely says that 'Ulpian writes that this is the formula' (*hanc formam <computationis> esse Ulpianus scribit*). It is equally uncertain to which of Ulpian's writings Macer refers. O. Lenel (*Palingenesia Iuris Civilis* II (Leipzig 1889), 1198 n. 2) suggested a section of Ulpian's book *De omnibus tribunalibus* dealing with legacies of life sustenances. A surviving fragment (*Dig.* 2.15.8.10) does indeed mention the estimation of such interests and may originally well have contained the table.

¹¹ Stein 1962, op. cit., 343 and B. Frier, 'Roman life expectancy: Ulpian's evidence', in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 86 (1982), 213 ff; 219 and 224 ff.

¹² K. Hopkins, 'Graveyards for historians', in Fr. Hinard, ed., *La mort, les morts et l'au-delà dans le monde romain* (Caen 1987), 113-126.

ages'.¹³ Now there is a well-known propensity of some modern people – actors, opera-singers and society-belles among them – to be uncertain about their age, but this does not mean that we are in general uncertain about our age and there was no such uncertainty among the Romans. To the contrary: they *had* to be certain about their age. The very existence of a table like Ulpian's testifies to it and the law required it. All contracts entered into by minors were null and void¹⁴ and after the *lex Laetoria* (circa 200 BC) all contracts entered into by persons under the age of twenty five could be set aside by the court.¹⁵ Justinian's Digest contains a whole section on the many problems involved here¹⁶, none of them caused by difficulties of age-assessment. The law as set out there presupposes an easily certifiable way of assessing the age of the persons involved beyond any doubt. The *lex Aelia Sentia* – to name but one other example – provided for the nullity of informal emancipations by a slave-owner younger than thirty.¹⁷

There are no traces in Roman legal literature of specific problems caused by 'the well-known propensity of the Romans to be uncertain about their ages'. They were not and the main reason they were not is the fact that their age was a matter of record. Since the days of the emperor Marcus Aurelius, all births had to be recorded in a public birth register within thirty days after they had occurred. In Rome, the *praefectus aerarii* kept public records of births; in the provinces they were kept by a *tabularius publicus* working in the governor's residence.¹⁸ In case of a dispute, authenticated extracts from these records were

¹³ Frier 1982, op. cit. (n. 11), 226.

¹⁴ Gaius 3.109. There was a controversy over the age at which a minor became a *puber* and consequently able to conclude a binding contract. The 'Sabinian' school contended that it depended on the individual; the 'Proculian' school, however, held that girls reached *pubertas* after 12 years and boys after 14 (see Gaius 1.196). The latter contention, confirmed by Justinian (*CJ* 5.60.3), is untenable without easily certifiable ages.

¹⁵ For details see Kaser 1971, op. cit. (n. 8), 276-277.

¹⁶ *Dig.* 4.4 (*De minoribus viginti quinque annis*).

¹⁷ Gaius 1.18 ff. Another compelling reason for a Roman to be certain about his age was, of course, taxation. Ulpian says that a citizen has to mention his age in his tax declaration (*Dig.* 50.15.3: *aetatem in censendo significare necesse est*), if only because in some areas, as for example Syria, persons over the age of sixty-five and under the age of twelve (females) or fourteen (males) were not liable for certain taxes.

¹⁸ On these records see *SHA, Marcus Antoninus* 9.7-9. Before Marcus registration of births was required by custom, which explains the presence of extracts from the public record before his reign (on this point: H.J. Scheltema, 'Professio liberorum natorum', in *Tijdschrift voor*

available on request.¹⁹ Some of them have survived and it should be noted that there are specific references in them to the provisions of the *lex Aelia Sentia* and similar provisions in the *lex Iulia Poppaea*.²⁰ This shows that a Roman who had to know his age could easily establish it from a public record office.

It is true that Roman law did not provide for a genuine *population* register, as it seems that *deaths* were not officially recorded.²¹ They seem, however, to have been unofficially recorded as a matter of course in the *rationes Libitinae*, the records of deaths kept by the priests of the temple of (Venus) Libitina.²² We do not know whether the data contained in these records were available to the public at large. There is no indication that they contained a reference to the data of *birth* of the deceased. There was, however, an alternative and very public record of mortalities available, the Roman cemeteries and *columbaria*, containing gravestones and *ollae* with – even to modern standards – unusually accurate information on the ages of the deceased. Death was ubiquitous all around Rome and the other cities of antiquity and the abundance of funeral inscriptions offered ample material for the composition of a fairly accurate life expectancy table. This raises another important question.

Some emphasis has recently been laid on the fact that a relatively high percentage of the epitaphs available to us now are from the tombs of freedmen.²³ It may well be that they outnumbered the *ingenui* even in antiquity, which raises the question of whether a freedman (or – which amounts to the same – a slave) was able to assess his age with as much certainty as a freeborn Roman could.

Rechtsgeschiedenis 14 (1936) 86 ff). See also F. Schulz, 'Roman registers of birth and birth certificates', in *Journal of Roman Studies* 32 (1942), 78 ff. and 33 (1943) 55 ff; L. Wenger, *Die Quellen des römischen Rechts* (Vienna 1953), 812-813 and Kaser 1971, op. cit. (n. 8), 273.

¹⁹ An important fact overlooked by most writers on the subject, such as A.R. Burn, 'Hic breve vivitur: A study in the expectation of life in the Roman Empire', in *Past and Present* 4 (1953), 4 ('in the absence of any registration of births') and T.G. Parkin, *Demography and Roman Society* (Baltimore-London 1992), 37.

²⁰ *Fontes Iuris Romani Anteiustiniani* III (Florence 1968), nos 1, 2 and 3.

²¹ Parkin 1992, op. cit. (n. 19), 36.

²² On this record see Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Antiquitates Romanae* 4.15, citing Lucius Piso who attributed the institution to Servius Tullius. On the *ratio Libitinae* see Suetonius, *Nero* 39. See for further information J. Marquardt, *Das Privatleben der Römer* I (Leipzig 1886), 385; G. Wissowa, 'Libitina', in W.H. Roscher, *Ausführliches Lexikon der Griechischen und Römischen Mythologie* (Leipzig 1890-1897) II, 2034.

²³ Duncan Jones 1990, op. cit. (n. 9), 85, referring to research by Solin, Taylor en Weaver.

There seems to be little doubt that he could. We know from inscriptions on the graves of slaves that they could indicate their age accurately, a rather remarkable phenomenon in itself that is rarely emphasized. A slave-holding society is seldom concerned with the age of slaves, as one is rarely interested in the precise age of the chattels constituting a household. We know, for example, that slaves in the former slave-holding states of the United States of America were unaware of their age. One of them, who wrote his autobiography, explicitly states that 'I do not remember to have ever met a slave who could tell of his birthday'.²⁴ Roman slaves could and, again, it is the law that made it a necessity. It is explicitly stated in the *lex Aelia Sentia* that slaves younger than thirty years of age could only be emancipated provided that certain formalities were complied with.²⁵ Information on his exact age was therefore crucial to a freedman. True as it may be that Roman law did not provide for a mandatory registration of births of slaves generally²⁶, a private record was kept by their owners, as modern Dutch farmers still do with their pedigree cattle. There are references to these records (*libelli familiae*) in the Digest.²⁷ Furthermore, the Codex Justinianus reports an interesting case concerning a dispute over the property of a slave where the plaintiff was unable to prove by his private records that the slave was born to him as a *verna*.²⁸ The case seems to presuppose that such records were kept as a matter of course.²⁹ It seems, therefore, rather certain that Romans – freemen, freedmen and even slaves – were not only well

²⁴ From *Narrative of the life of Frederick Douglass, an American slave, written by himself* (Garden City, NY, 1963).

²⁵ Gaius 1.18 en 20.

²⁶ E. Herrmann-Otto, *Ex ancilla natus: Untersuchungen zu den 'Hausgeborenen' Sklaven und Sklavinnen im Westen des römischen Kaiserreiches* (Stuttgart 1994), 234. Egypt was an exception: see R.S. Bagnall and B.W. Frier, *The demography of Roman Egypt* (Cambridge 1994).

²⁷ *Dig.* 32.99 pr. (Paul). The case concerns a legacy of some *servi urbani*, slaves not employed in farm labour. Paul states that the members of the *familia* belonging to this category can be derived *ex libellis familiae*. He further mentions the *cibarii*, the records of food supply to the slaves. A Roman household of some size had a *cellarius*, who was employed 'to keep the records in order' (*ut rationes salvae sint*): *Dig.* 33.7.12.9 (Ulpian).

²⁸ *CJ* 3.32.10.

²⁹ The 'procurators' administering the estates belonging to the imperial domain must have kept similar records: Herrmann-Otto 1994, op. cit. (n. 26), 124 n. 71.

informed about their age, but that the ages recorded on their graves were as a rule correct. It may be that this information was less precise in the provinces, which may account for some irregularities there, such as the ‘age-rounding’ phenomenon³⁰, but Ulpian’s table was only concerned with Rome.³¹

4. Ulpian’s table and its purpose

Too much emphasis is usually laid on the fact that Ulpian’s table survives within the context of the levy of the *vicesima hereditatum*, the Roman inheritance tax. It obscures the fact that the establishment of some way of assessing life expectancies was required in the normal private practice of the law as well. In order to appreciate this assessment, two facts concerning the socio-economic background of Roman private law in imperial times have to be emphasised. The first concerns the fact that Roman commercial legal practice was mainly concerned with litigation over inheritances and legacies, much like modern commercial legal practice is mainly about corporation law. It was there that large fortunes were disputed and large fortunes were to be gained by council. The second fact that needs to be emphasised is related to this. It was quite common for heirs and legatees *not* to take possession of estates and property bequeathed to them, but to sell them to the highest bidder. It was an easy way to capitalise on the advantages gained without carrying the burdens. The Codex Justinianus, as well as the Digest, contain large sections on the ‘sale of inherited estates’.³² There was a genuine ‘estate’-market in the Roman economy, much like the modern ‘mergers and acquisitions’ business. The sharp speculators involved in it had to be able to assess the value of an estate in a lump sum. In order to do so, they had to take into account all the provisions of a will, especially the rather common legacies of usufructs, annuities, sustenances and other life interests.

³⁰ On this phenomenon: R.P. Duncan-Jones, ‘Age-rounding, illiteracy and social differentiation in the Roman Empire’, *Chiron* 7 (1977). It seems to be frequent in those sources only, which represent someone’s guess at another person’s age: W. Scheidel, *Measuring sex, age and death in the Roman empire* (Ann Arbor 1996), 84 ff.

³¹ Slaves were entitled to join funerary societies (*collegia tenuiorum*). By a lucky coincidence the articles of association of one of them survive (ILS 7212). They explicitly provide for the membership of slaves. It may well have been that these societies kept records of the deaths of their members, as Stein 1962, op. cit. (n. 9), 343, thought, but no traces of them have survived; see Parkin 1992, op. cit. (n. 19), 35.

³² *Dig.* 18.4 and *CJ* 4.39 (*De hereditate vel actione vendita*).

After taking over the inheritance, these burdens rested on the buyers and consequently their value had to be assessed in order to fix a price. There can be little doubt that rules of thumb were observed among these traders regarding the life expectancies of the legatees of such allowances at a given age. One that comes to mind is the rather crude rule that Aemilius Macer gives as an alternative to Ulpian's table. This raises the question why and by whom a more refined method was developed and, of course, how it could have been done.

Ulpian had been a successful practising lawyer, before entering into his 'procuratorial' career.³³ He must have been acquainted with the methods employed by estate-speculators in assessing a life expectancy. Even without entering into the problems concerned with this trade, he must have been well aware of their rules of thumb, as they had to be employed within another context as well. In assessing the statutory share of an inheritance that had to be reserved for the heir, fixed by the *lex Falcidia* at a quarter of the capitalised value of an estate, the value of all legacies had to be accounted for, including those providing for an annuity, an usufruct, or other life interests.³⁴ In assessing the value of such legacies, an older jurist, Marcellus, refers to 'the price for which these legacies are sold on the market'.³⁵ This is a direct reference to the Roman estate market and implicitly to the rules of thumb employed there. Ulpian knew all this when he entered the imperial bureaucracy. We know he was a *procurator a libellis* at some point in his career, in which capacity he had to prepare the imperial *decreta* concerning appeals against, for example, the decisions taken by local procurators of the inheritance tax (*procuratores XX hereditatium*). Some of these appeals may well have originated in disputes over the way an annuity was valued and it was on occasions like these that a rule had to be found by the imperial court. The small circle of highly trained legal experts mentioned in Julius Paulus' 'reports' of the imperial *decreta* of the time – Papinian, Ulpian, Messius and, last but not least, Paul himself – may have found the crude rule too arbitrary. All of them were familiar with the problem involved and it is consistent with the highly rational approach to the law that is such a striking

³³ On Ulpian's career see T. Honoré, *Ulpian* (Oxford 1982), 15 ff.

³⁴ On this see Ulpian in *Dig.* 2.15.8.10.

³⁵ *Dig.* 35.2.55: *cum Titio in annos singulos dena legata sunt et iudex legis Falcidiae rationem inter heredem et alios legatarios habeat, vivo quidem Titio tanti litem aestimare debeat, quanti venire id legatum potest, in incerto posito, quamdiu victurus sit Titius*

characteristic of Roman law at this stage of its development that some effort was made to improve on the usual method other than by mere guesswork. But could it be done? What would a rational man have done in the time of Ulpian if he were asked to make an alternative to the crude rules of thumb as employed by the estate-traders?

5. A rational and empirical approach to Ulpian's table

Most, if not all, modern literature on Ulpian's table approaches it on the basis of the empirical material available *in modern times*, i.e. the surviving epigraphical material. It is on the basis of a confrontation with that material that the reality of the table is evaluated. We are, however, not in a position to do so, as the material available to us *now* is hardly sufficient for a fair evaluation of the quality of Ulpian's table. It is questionable, to say the least, whether the surviving epigraphical material on tombstones is a representative sample of the tombstones present in antiquity at various times and in various regions. It is another question whether the material available *in antiquity* could have been treated as a representative sample at the time. Ulpian and his contemporaries did not have the privilege of sharing our knowledge of Keith Hopkins's warning against the use of epigraphical material for demographical purposes and may therefore well have done what any sensible man would do: consult the only public register available, the graveyards.³⁶

The compiler or compilers of Ulpian's table were not interested in a survey for demographical purposes, but in solving a practical problem in as practical a way as possible. In order to understand the ingenious way the table has been composed, some basic statistical concepts have to be explained.

Median life expectancy

In modern insurance business actuaries compute the life expectancy of an individual on the basis of the *median* life expectancy of the cohort he belongs to.

³⁶ As will be shown later, the compiler of the table was well aware of the fact that the graves of children under the age of 10 were underrepresented. He may even have been aware of the fact that age-reporting on tombstones was not universal and seems to have been 'an essentially middle-class and lower-middle-class institution': Burn 1953, *op. cit.* (n. 19), 7. If so, it must have suited him well, because Roman private law was a very middle-class institution.

The concept of median life expectancy is important.³⁷ Consider the following example.

Suppose someone belongs to a cohort of 1000 persons of 15 years of age. Suppose also that, when the same cohort is 45 years of age, 500 of the individuals belonging to it (50%) have died. Then the age of 45 is the 'median' age of the cohort. It is the age at which half of the cohort is still alive.

Assessing the median age³⁸ must have been important to Roman estate-speculators, the businessmen buying estates burdened with legacies of life interests. Suppose, for example, an inheritance is offered to him, containing a legacy of an annuity to someone 15 years of age at the time it becomes due and the estate is offered to a speculator. If the median age of the cohort the legatee belongs to is 45, the buyer knows he may expect to pay for thirty years. After discounting this liability from the estimated value of the assets of the estate, he is capable to fix the price he is willing to pay. If the legatee dies before he has reached the age of 45, the buyer has won in the bargain; if the legatee dies after that, he has lost. So, his expected loss equals his expected profit.

In modern societies such cohorts are easy to follow, but in antiquity they were not.

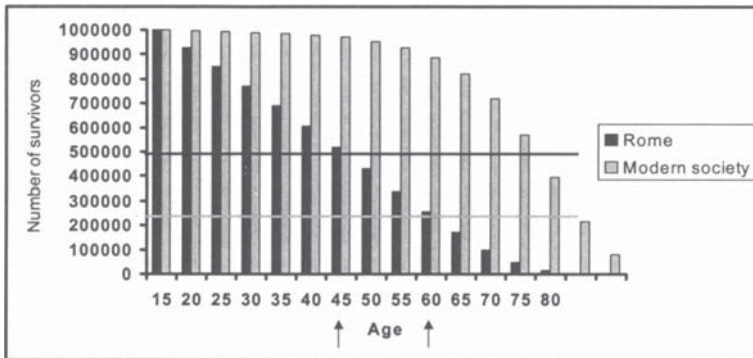
Establishing a median value

Fig. 1 is an example of the determination of a median value. It shows the development of the cohort referred to in the example mentioned above, the one of persons of 15 years of age.

³⁷ Burn, *op. cit.*, 31; Frier 1982, *op. cit.* (n. 11), 220.

³⁸ The concept of 'median age' should not be confused with 'average' age. The latter is a statistical concept of the last two or three centuries.

Fig.1
Age and number of survivors

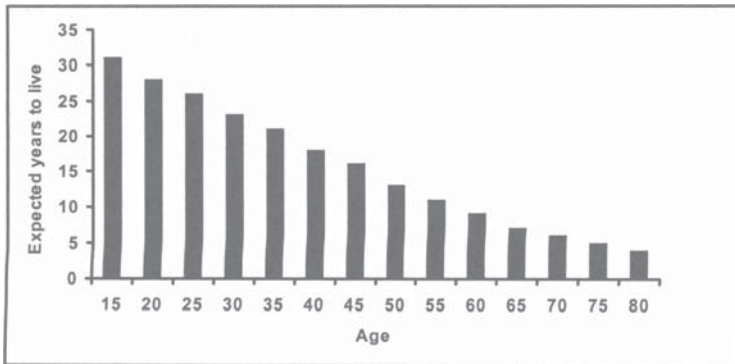


We start with 1.000.000 people, a large number, but that is the way actuaries work. Five years later, 900.000 are still alive. We then look for the 50% threshold, which appears to be 45 years. So in this example (derived from Bruce Frier's article on Ulpian's table³⁹), the median expected life of the cohort is 45 years. Now the median life expectancy of this cohort of 45 years can be determined. That will be reached when half of them have died, which is at the age of sixty. Of course, this holds true only in a situation of linear development, but, as Bruce Frier has indicated, that seems to have been the case in Roman society. We will not challenge that contention and stay with it, just for argument's sake. By way of comparison a second graph has been added in Fig. 1, referring to the development of a similar cohort in modern times. It is obvious that a dramatic change has occurred since antiquity. Due to the so called 'morbidity compression', the downfall occurs at the end, whereas in Roman times the curve seems to have had a neat and almost linear shape.

We can now assess the median expected length of life for each age group. For convenience's sake, only the years still to live were plotted.

³⁹ Frier's data will be used for illustrative purposes.

Fig. 2
Age and expected years to live



Two essential conditions have to be met in order to compose a table like this:

- (a) The population register must contain dates on birth *and* death and
- (b) These data must be easily accessible. Although there was indeed a public record of births in Ulpian's time, we do not know whether the officers of the temple of Libitina (the unofficial death registration) recorded dates of death *and* birth and we do not know whether these records were as easily accessible as the public birth register.

It is fair to surmise that the conditions to be met in order to construct a table like Ulpian's were not fully met in his time. But was it possible to construct a proxy on the basis of empirical data – epigraphical material – available to Ulpian in his own time?

Composing Ulpian's table

True as it may be, that the Romans were poor at axiomatic mathematical reasoning, they were highly gifted in applied mathematics, as Vitruvius' work

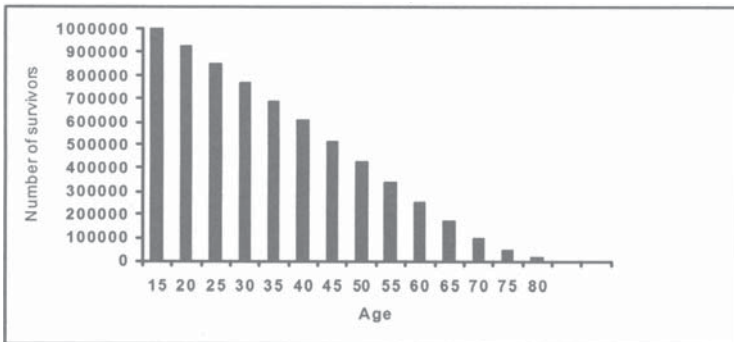
and the writings of the *agrimensores* (the Roman land-surveyors) testify. In order to construct a table like Ulpian's two conditions must have been met at the time:

- (a) A stable demography over a certain period
- (b) An (almost) linear curve of survivors for each age cohort⁴⁰

If these conditions were met in Ulpian's time, it can be shown that he or his contemporaries must have been able to compose the table just by counting the new graves on one random graveyard and noting the ages of the deceased as reported on most of them. A linear development is taken for granted, as there seems to be little doubt among historians that – except, of course, under extreme conditions like the plague – such a situation generally prevailed in Rome in the age of the Antonines.⁴¹ It may, moreover (and even more importantly), well have been a situation taken for granted by Ulpian and his contemporaries.

Fig. 3

Age and number of survivors: almost linear



⁴⁰ The linear curve is not an absolute condition, but simplifies the observations.

⁴¹ See, for example, Frier 1982, op. cit. (n. 11), 241.

The number of survivors in an age group is the key to Ulpian's life expectancy table. Before going into the – very simple – mathematics of the table, one important presumption will have to be stressed. The demographic morphology – the rate of births and deaths – is supposed to have been stable at the time the table was composed. It is an important issue, because – as will be shown later – it renders superfluous the cumbersome tracking of entire age-cohorts over the years. Now a simple mathematical reasoning follows.

First we follow our cohort. It is indicated by the letter C. Suppose all the members of our cohort have been born in the year 200 AD. The number of persons living in the year 215 AD is represented by $L(15)$. Five year later this number is – obviously – less. It is indicated by the expression $L(20)$. If all the members of our cohort, deceased in the last five years, have graves, the number of graves is indicated by $G(20)$. This number equals the formula $L(15)-L(20)$. A mathematician renders this in a general formula (1):

$$L(n) = L(n-5) - G(n),$$

where $n = 20, 25, \dots$ years

For most non-mathematicians this may look somewhat complicated, so a less technical description is called for. Suppose we know the number of the cohort C in 215 AD. We then count the graves of the deceased of this cohort in 220, i.e. all persons of 15-20 years who died in the period 215-220. The number of survivors in the cohort in 220 AD is then simply the number of persons living in 215 minus those who died in the previous five years. Over time, we can repeat this procedure every five-year to determine the number of survivors. Suppose the whole cohort has died out in 285. Then obviously we stop the procedure and construct a table of survivors as shown earlier. This leads to median ages, which is necessary for the constructing of a table like Ulpian's.

For obvious reasons, this *cannot* have been the way Ulpian's table was constructed, if only because it was a very unpractical procedure indeed. Consider the following problems:

- (a) The number of persons in the cohort in 215 is not known. This is a corollary of the high mortality among children – only 30% of all

newborn babies will have reached 10 years of age. Their births may have been registered, but their deaths may not have been and their graves hardly existed. So a starting number of the number of persons in a cohort may be given, but it is hard to follow in the early years.

- (b) The length of the procedure is unpractical. Following a cohort during 70 years is simply too much. This problem will be dealt with after the problem of the absence of a starting number has been tackled.

As has been observed, we do not know the starting number. But we do know the ending number: in 285 AD this number equals zero.⁴² So, why not count *backwards*?

Counting backwards

Suppose our cohort has become extinct in 285 AD. That means that no members are present in that year and $L(85)$ equals zero. Now we can rewrite formula (1) as follows:

$$L(n-5) = L(n) + G(n)$$

Substituting $n=85$ gives

$$L(80) = L(85) + G(85)$$

Since $L(85) = 0$, we have

$$L(80) = G(85)$$

By using this formula, we should be able to compute $L(75)$, since $G(80)$ and $L(80)$ are known. Remember: all numbers of the graves of our cohort are known (since the age of the members of each particular cohort is indicated on the tombstones) and are counted each five years. By repeating this procedure, we are able to compute all the values of L recursively. This may look rather frustrating to a non-mathematician, but it is a simple procedure and can be less formally explained. We are simply counting backwards. We first count the new graves of the cohort in 285 AD. So we get the number of the living in 280. But if we know the living in 280, we can easily get the number of the living persons in 275 AD, by simply adding the new graves of the deceased persons in the

⁴² This number is postulated for practical reasons. Few persons belonging to the cohort will have lived longer than 85 years.

cohort in the period 275-280 A.D to the number of living in 280 AD. And so on. Proceeding this way, we end up by all the living in 215 AD.

A short observation period

It is obvious that the simple method as outlined above would still take an observation period of 70 years. Consequently, it is impractical and – even more important – rather superfluous. It is not necessary to follow an entire cohort from the cradle to the grave. As has been emphasized before, we assume a stable demography, meaning that cohorts of a given age in a given year are the same overtime. So a cohort of people born in 200 AD contains in 230 AD the same number of members as, for example, a cohort born in 240 AD in 270 AD. Consequently, when we count the number of the last cohort in 270 AD, we know all cohorts of thirty years of age, irrespective of the year of birth of the members of that cohort. We, therefore, only have to count the new graves in a given period and note the age of the cohort they belong to, by noting the age of the person in the new grave. In this way, an entire cohort can be reconstructed recursively on the basis of the deceased from other cohorts. The principle can be easily grasped by looking at Table 1.

In contemplating Table 1, attention should be drawn to the bottom-row. It shows the development of the number of graves of our cohort C in the period 220-285 AD. The cohorts starting in 205, 210 *etc.* are identical, since a constant demography is presupposed, so later cohorts show the same development with respect to the number of new graves. So, when, for example, the period 270-275 AD is taken as an observation period, the development of the entire cohort C until that moment can be constructed by noting the number of new graves of different age groups. This means that we can limit our observations to a very short period, which makes it the practical way to operate. There are, however, some problems to be solved.

Child mortality

Counting graves in order to set up a demography will only hold if all graves of all cohorts can be counted. This is not the case. Child mortality is a disturbing factor indeed, since circa 70% of all newborns did not reach the age of 10. In order to overcome the problem of the underreporting effect of child mortality, we start counting the deaths of persons of 15 years and older.

Very old people

There is a tendency of overreporting the age of very old people. Some areas in the Roman empire are known for a relatively high percentage of centenarians.⁴³ Irrespective of the actual situation in Rome itself, this will not pose a serious problem in a demographic analysis, since the absolute number will be very low and may therefore be neglected.

Not all deceased persons had graves

This can be a serious problem when the analysis is carried out longitudinally. When a cohort is followed throughout its lifetime, then a problem may arise. In this case the burial habits can change gradually, which will disturb the procedure of the analysis of the demography. However, as pointed out earlier, we have transformed the longitudinal analysis into a transversal one, by concentrating on one time interval of five years. This implies that we may assume that those habits will not have changed in that time interval. This does not mean that all deceased persons did have relevant inscriptions on tombstones, but that it was certainly the case for a fixed percentage. This means that we may see the observations of all graves with relevant inscriptions as representative for the (middle class) freeborn men of Rome, if not the population at large.

Changes in population

By transforming the analysis from a longitudinal to a transversal one, we have also made an important assumption about the stability of the demographic morphology. If this morphology is not sufficiently stable, errors may occur. Median values may change by a couple of years if the population growth is of a magnitude of 0,5 % over a long period. According to Parkin⁴⁴ a stable population is likely, a *continuous* growth of 0,5% is not. This means that errors occur, but in a random way, which is normal in this kind of analysis.

⁴³ See the centenarians reported by Pliny from the archives (*vasaria*) of a recent census: *Naturalis Historia* 7.49.162 ff. One wonders whether the ages reported there may not have been bona fide errors, simply caused by confusing the consulates of the date of birth.

⁴⁴ Parkin 1992, op. cit. (n. 19), 85-86; 92-93.

6. The construction of Ulpian's table

As demonstrated above, it is possible to construct a table of expected years to live, given a certain age, by simply observing new graves and noting down the ages of the deceased in a given five-years period. The analysis required in order to arrive at the table is very simple, only a rudimentary arithmetic is needed. The same method can be used if there were registers of deceased Romans recording their ages at the moment of their deaths, as the *rationes Libitinae* may have done. There are however some conditions to be met to make the table a practical one.

The first condition is *simplicity*. A table with too many entries is not practical. It may have been possible to construct a table for the life expectancy of every age group, but memorizing a table like that is a problem. If our assumption is correct and the table was designed for use in the civil service, not only in Rome, but in the entire empire, then it *had* to be concise. A long table containing a double list of more than a hundred numbers (ages and expected years to live) is very susceptible to text-corruption, all the more so because it had to be copied and duplicated by hand. A short and easy to memorise table was therefore preferred. So, most age groups with a five-year's unit will be very practical. There are problems with under- and over reporting, as discussed above. For the young and the old it may not be possible to arrive at representative values of expected years to live. In these cases a choice for a (reasonable) fixed value is logical, if it sufficiently fits the table. Therefore, a simple fixed value for the expected years to live was employed for persons under 20 (30 years) and over 60 (5 years).⁴⁵

Consequently, the table was compressed to 9 age groups with the corresponding expected years to live. However, by doing so discontinuities were introduced. For example a person of 29 years has 25 years to live, a year later his life expectancy is reduced to 22 years. This is an obvious corollary of the limitation to five-year groups. By choosing five-years units, discontinuities are implied if a fixed number of life expectancy years is chosen for the age group.

⁴⁵ The 30 year-period was not chosen randomly: it was commonly believed in antiquity to represent the time-span during which a generation reproduces itself. Censorinus comments on it in his treatise 'On Birthdays' (*De die natali* 17.1). It was also used by Roman lawyers in the law of prescription and in the law of limitations. See *CJ* 7.39.3; cf also E. Levy, *West Roman vulgar law. The law of property* (Philadelphia 1951), 184 ff., and Stein 1962, op. cit. (n. 9), 335 ff

This can be avoided at the cost of a more complicated table. The compiler of Ulpian's table recognized the problem of discontinuity, because he deliberately introduced a continuity correction formula for the age group of 40-50 years as the implied discontinuity within this age-group was too considerable: 60-age-1. This works very well for the end of the group 35-40 and for the beginning of the group 50-55.

Ulpian's table	
Age	Expected years to live
0 -20	30 years
20-25	28 years
25-30	25 years
30-35	22 years
35-40	20 years
40-50	$60 - \text{age} - 1$
50-55	9 years
55-60	7 years
60 +	5 years

7. Conclusion

We are convinced Ulpian's table was a deliberate attempt at constructing a fairly accurate life expectancy table using simple mathematical methods. It is our contention that, in order to achieve that end, the compiler or compilers of the table *must* have used genuine demographic data (from tombstones, or the *rationes Libitinae*). It was certainly not compiled by mere guesswork. The fact that it was tried at all is impressive. The very existence of a table like Ulpian's represents a fine example of the practical way the Roman lawyers solved a problem that was theoretically almost insoluble with the means available at the time. Whether Ulpian himself was the originator of the table or not, is immaterial. As it is, it stands out as a monument to his generation because of the tacit presumption implicit in the construction of the table. It is the conviction that in the process of administering justice rational standards will have to be met.

Leiden, December 2003

DVAE PATRIAE? C. PLINIUS CAECILIUS SECUNDUS ZWISCHEN
GERMANA PATRIA UND URBS¹

Von
ANDREAS KRIECKHAUS

I

*Quid agit Comum, tuae meaeque deliciae?*² Diese Frage stellt der offenbar gerade in Rom beschäftigte Senator C. Plinius Caecilius Secundus um 97/98 seinen Landsmann Caninius Rufus und signalisiert damit direkt zu Beginn der Briefsammlung dem Leser, wie er zu seiner Geburtsheimat Comum steht. Dieser Brief ist – nach zweien, die vornehmlich das Thema “Literaturproduktion” behandeln – der erste einer langen Reihe von Briefen in den Büchern 1-9, die den sogenannten “*otium-negotium*-Konflikt” aufzeigen, den bei Plinius überall spürbaren Konflikt zwischen den Landgütern, den Orten literarischer Betätigung und Entspannung, und der *urbs*, die für die Mühen der öffentlichen und politischen Tätigkeit steht.

Dieser offensichtliche Antagonismus soll nicht zentraler Gegenstand der nachfolgenden Überlegungen sein, da er in der Forschung bereits ausreichend diskutiert wurde³, doch bietet er einen guten Einstieg in die Fragestellung, wie sich die Beziehung des Senators C. Plinius Caecilius Secundus zu seiner *patria* Comum in den ca. 30 Jahren, in denen er in verschiedenen Funktionen in Rom und den Provinzen *Syria* und *Pontus-Bithynia* weilte, darstellte. Ist der Begriff *patria*, Geburtsheimat, in Plinius’ Fall nicht doch mehr als eine bloße Metapher für das *otium*?

Die Quellenbasis ist mehr als günstig, befinden wir uns doch in der für diese Zeit einzigartigen Situation, epigraphische und literarische Zeugnisse in ausreichendem Maße vorliegen zu haben und kombinieren zu können.

¹ Es ist mir ein tiefes Bedürfnis, an dieser Stelle einigen Düsseldorfer Freunden und ehemaligen Kollegen für fachliche und vor allem menschliche Unterstützung in den letzten Jahren zu danken: Anthony R. Birley (jetzt Vindolanda/Durham), Vera Hirschmann (jetzt Heidelberg), Rita Kröll, Daiana Mitt, Claudia Salz und Michael Schellenberg. Ihnen allen sei dieser Beitrag gewidmet. *Patria est ubicumque est bene* (Cicero, *Tusculanae disputationes* 5.108).

² Plinius Minor, *Epistulae* 1.3.1.

³ Vgl. etwa H.-P. Büttler, *Die geistige Welt des jüngeren Plinius. Studien zur Thematik seiner Briefe* (Heidelberg 1967) und M. Ludolph, *Epistolographie und Selbstdarstellung. Untersuchungen zu den ‘Paradebriefen’ Plinius des Jüngeren* (Tübingen 1997). Ludolph unterzieht in seinem Werk Brief 1.3 einer ausführlichen philologischen Analyse (a.a.O., 121 ff.).

Allerdings hat, wie noch darzulegen sein wird, gerade die reichhaltige literarische Überlieferung in Form der von Plinius verfaßten, redigierten und herausgegebenen ersten neun Bücher der Briefe vielfach zu einer gewissen Verklärung des plinianischen Heimatbildes in der Forschung geführt.

Bei der Beurteilung der Heimatverbundenheit des jüngeren Plinius sind vor allem soziale, emotionale und ökonomische Aspekte von Bedeutung, wie etwa eine mögliche Geburt bzw. Bestattung in der *patria*, Euergetismus, Ehrungen durch andere, nachweisbarer Grundbesitz, soziale Kontakte sowie munizipale oder religiöse Ämter. Die rechtliche Situation darf hier vernachlässigt werden, da sie eindeutig ist: Rom galt – so lesen wir schon bei Cicero – als die *patria iuris* bzw. *patria civitatis*, die Geburtsheimat in der Provinz als die *patria loci* bzw. *patria naturae*.⁴

II

Es kann bisweilen aus Gründen der Subjektivität sehr gefährlich sein, sich bei der Lebensbeschreibung einer Person völlig bzw. in großen Teilen auf die schriftlichen Äußerungen eben dieser Person zu verlassen. Dies trifft auch auf den jüngeren Plinius und das Verhältnis zu seiner *patria* Comum zu. Vorsicht ist geboten, wenn er in seinen sorgsam stilisierten, literarisch ausgefeilten Briefen die Heimat überschwänglich lobt. Natürlich will man ihm den oftmals beschworenen *amor patriae* nicht absprechen, doch sollte man ihn nicht überbewerten, was im folgenden zu begründen sein wird.

In neuerer Zeit haben einige anregende Studien die etwas festgefahrene Diskussion über den literarischen Wert und den Wahrheitsgehalt der Pliniusbriefe wiederbelebt und in neue Bahnen gelenkt: Vor allem Matthias Ludolph und Jan Radicke gebührt das Verdienst, das Augenmerk auf die essentielle Problematik der Selbstdarstellung Plinius des Jüngeren gerichtet zu haben.⁵ Am Beispiel der Briefe aus den Büchern 1 und 3 konnten sie zeigen,

⁴ Cicero, *De legibus* 2.5: *Itaque ego hanc meam esse patriam prorsus numquam negabo, dum illa sit maior, haec in ea contineatur ... duas habet civitates, sed unam illas civitatem putat.* Vgl. zu den zwei Heimaten bzw. Bürgerrechten eines römischen Senators zuletzt A. Kriekhaus, 'Roma communis nostra patria est? Zum Einfluß des römischen Staates auf die Beziehungen zwischen Senatoren und ihren Heimatstädten in der Hohen Kaiserzeit', in: L. de Blois, ed., *Administration, Prosopography and Appointment Policies in the Roman Empire. Proceedings of the First Workshop of the International Network Impact of Empire* (Amsterdam 2001), 230 ff. sowie ders., *Fallstudien zu senatorischen Familien und ihren Heimatstädten im 1. und 2. Jahrhundert n. Chr.* (in Vorbereitung).

⁵ Ludolph 1997, a.a.O. (Anm. 3), passim, besonders 194 ff. (Zusammenfassung); J. Radicke, 'Die Selbstdarstellung des Plinius in seinen Briefen', *Hermes* 116 (1997), 447 ff. Vgl. jetzt auch F. Beutel, *Vergangenheit als Politik. Neue Aspekte im Werk des jüngeren Plinius* (Frankfurt a.M. 2000), 136 ff. Beutel möchte jedoch noch weiter gehen und

wie der Transpadaner sein Selbstbildnis entwickelt, ein Vorgang, den etwa Elaine Fantham als "charakteristisch für diese nachklassische Phase [i.e. die flavisch-trajanische Zeit] der römischen Kultur" beschreibt.⁶ Frank Beutel betont in seiner Studie besonders die Herausgabe (und damit auch die subjektive Auswahl) der Briefe durch ihren Autor sowie den politisch wichtigen Zeitpunkt der Herausgabe, was dazu beiträgt, hinter der Briefsammlung eine Art von Programm zu vermuten.⁷ Ein jüngst erschienener Beitrag von Klaus und Michaela Zelzer bewertet die neugewonnenen Erkenntnisse kritisch und faßt sie zusammen.⁸

Zu einer Inszenierung der eigenen Person und ihres Umfeldes gehört auch das Bild von "Heimat", welches der Autor vermittelt. Plinius spricht an zahlreichen Stellen und in zahlreichen Situationen in der Briefsammlung von Comum und seinen Wohltaten für diese Stadt, von seinen Gütern, von den Verwandten, Freunden und Bekannten vor Ort. Dabei gebraucht er *patria* in der Regel als Ausdruck einer emotionalen Verbindung zur Heimatstadt, *res publica* in politisch-rechtlichen Zusammenhängen.⁹

Unter den oben genannten Prämissen müssen diese Textpassagen kritisch hinterfragt werden, so etwa, wenn er die eingangs zitierte Frage stellt: *Quid agit Comum, tuae meaeque deliciae?*¹⁰ Oder wenn er euphorisch von einer eigenen Publikation berichtet: *Inde et liber crevit, dum ornare patriam et amplificare gaudemus, pariterque et defensionis eius servimus et gloriae.*¹¹ Oder wenn er in einem Brief über die spezifischen Besonderheiten einer

unterscheidet klar zwischen dem "historischen Plinius" in den Briefen und dem Plinius, Herausgeber der Briefsammlung (150 ff.). Vgl. zum Aspekt der Selbstdarstellung ferner E. Fantham, *Literarisches Leben im antiken Rom. Sozialgeschichte der römischen Literatur von Cicero bis Apuleius* (Stuttgart-Weimar 1998), 190. Die bisherige (in erster Linie von Philologen geführte) Debatte zur Frage, ob die Pliniusbriefe genuin privater Natur seien oder literarisch ausgefeilte Kunstprodukte, wird bei Ludolph, a.a.O. (Anm. 3), 23 ff., Radicke, a.a.O. (Anm. 5), 447 f., und Beutel, a.a.O. (Anm. 5), 129 ff. dargestellt.

⁶ Fantham 1998, a.a.O. (Anm. 5), 190.

⁷ Beutel 2000, a.a.O. (Anm. 5), 129 ff.

⁸ K. und M. Zelzer, 'Retractiones zu Brief und Briefgenos bei Plinius, Ambrosius und Sidonius Apollinaris', in: W. Blümer, R. Henke und M. Mülke, eds., *Alvarium. Festschrift für Christian Gnilka* (Münster 2002), 397 ff.

⁹ *Patria* als Ausdruck einer emotionalen Verbindung zu Comum finden wir in den Briefen 2.5.3; 3.6.4; 4.13.3 f.; 4.30.1; 5.7.2; 5.11.2; 7.32.1; 9.30.1. *Res publica* als politisch-rechtlicher Ausdruck steht für Comum in den Briefen 4.13.5; 5.7.1; 7.15.2; 7.18.1. In 4.23.3 und 6.19.4 ist mit *patria* ausnahmsweise nicht die emotionale Heimat Comum sondern die rechtliche Heimat Rom (i.e. das römische Reich) gemeint. Ein einziges Mal, in Plinius Minor, *Epistulae* 5.14.1, verwendet Plinius *municipium* für seine Geburtsheimat.

¹⁰ Plinius Minor, *Epistulae* 1.3.1.

Quelle philosophiert, die mit mehrmals täglich auf- und absteigendem Wasserpegel über eines seiner Grundstücke in den Comer See fließt, und er dies als *miraculum* deutet.¹² Schon diese Textstellen deuten eine gewisse Überzeichnung und Verklärung des plinianischen Heimatbildes an: Der Transpadaner idealisiert seine *patria* und stellt die mannigfachen Kontakte zu Comum heraus, die sich vor allem in seiner Rolle als Wohltäter und Stifter, der *munificentia* zeigt, manifestieren, ja sogar in ihr kulminieren, wie uns drei weitere Briefe zeigen, in denen Plinius erstens eine von ihm erworbene korinthische Statue eines alten Mannes in Comum *celebri loco* aufgestellt wissen will, zweitens bereit ist, Geld für *praeceptores* in seiner *patria* bereitzustellen und drittens die dortigen *pulcherrima opera* zu Ehren seines Schwiegergroßvaters Calpurnius Fabatus überschwänglich lobt.¹³ An anderer Stelle nimmt er dann sogar explizit zum Thema *munificentia* Stellung: *Volo enim eum, qui sit vere liberalis, tribuere patriae, propinquis, adfinibus, amicis.*¹⁴

Bei aller Überzeichnung tritt jedoch nie Überheblichkeit zutage; Plinius stellt sich auch im Zusammenhang mit der Heimatstadt immer als ein äußerst bescheidener Mensch dar¹⁵, der seiner *patria* nur das Beste wünscht, indem er etwa sagt: *Cupio enim patriam nostram omnibus quidem rebus augeri, maxime tamen civium numero; id enim oppidis firmissimum ornamentum.*¹⁶

Diese Form des inszenierten *amor patriae* haben zwei deutschsprachige Monographien, die das Verhältnis von Plinius zu Comum etwas eingehender beschreiben, nicht in ihre Überlegungen miteinbezogen. Hans-Peter Bütler, dessen Ausführungen sich ausschließlich auf die Aussagen in den Briefen gründen, formuliert recht kühn: "Er [i.e. Plinius] nimmt so lebhaft Anteil am Leben der italischen Landstädte, Comum allen voran [...], und wo er von *patria* spricht, ist [...] stets nur an Comum gedacht. Entsprechend eng sind seine gefühlsmäßigen wie seine äußerlichen Beziehungen zur Stadt und ihren Bewohnern; Familienambiance und Heimat haben seinen Charakter und seine geistige Haltung geprägt [...]"¹⁷

¹¹ Plinius Minor, *Epistulae* 2.5.3.

¹² Plinius Minor, *Epistulae* 4.30.11.

¹³ Plinius Minor, *Epistulae* 3.6.4; 4.13.3 f.; 5.11.2 f.

¹⁴ Plinius Minor, *Epistulae* 9.30.1.

¹⁵ So in Plinius Minor, *Epistulae* 5.7.2 ff.

¹⁶ Plinius Minor, *Epistulae* 7.32.1.

¹⁷ Bütler 1970, a.a.O. (Anm. 3), 129 f.

Bütler erkennt den *otium-negotium*-Konflikt des Plinius und interpretiert ihn zu Recht in Teilen geographisch, indem er Comum und die anderen plinianischen Residenzorte primär dem *otium* zuordnet, Rom dagegen als *negotium* betrachtet¹⁸; zudem kritisiert er die oftmals übermäßig detaillierte Schilderung der *munificentia* in den Briefen.¹⁹ An seinen Bemerkungen muß jedoch kritisiert werden, daß er diese Beobachtungen nicht auf Plinius' System der Selbstdarstellung überträgt.²⁰ Franziska Gasser konnte die neueren Untersuchungen Radickes und Ludolphs nicht mehr verwerten²¹; so kommt auch bei ihr der Aspekt der Selbstdarstellung in den Briefen zu kurz. Sie erwähnt zwar die epigraphischen Quellen²², verarbeitet diese aber in der Folge nicht weiter und legt somit wie Bütler einen zu starken Akzent auf die von Plinius selbst herausgegebenen Briefe der Bücher 1-9. So werden bei ihr nahezu alle seine Verbindungen zu Comum aus der Briefsammlung heraus belegt.²³

III

Wie gestaltete sich nun – auf der Grundlage der epigraphischen Quellen und der biographischen Fakten in der Briefsammlung – Plinius' Verhältnis zu seiner *patria* auf wirtschaftlicher, sozialer und emotionaler Ebene? Unbe-

¹⁸ Bütler 1970, a.a.O. (Anm. 3), 41 ff.

¹⁹ Bütler 1970, a.a.O. (Anm. 3), 123.

²⁰ Dazu zusammenfassend Ludolph 1997, a.a.O. (Anm. 3), 194 ff.

²¹ F. Gasser, *Germana patria. Die Geburtsheimat in den Werken römischer Autoren der Späten Republik und der Frühen Kaiserzeit* (Stuttgart-Leipzig 1999), 186 ff.

²² Gasser 1999, a.a.O. (Anm. 21), 186 f., Anm. 2, nennt zwar "Inschriften mit Bezug zu Como", greift diese jedoch in der Folge kaum mehr auf: CIL 5, 5262 = ILS 2927. 5263. 5264. 5267. 5279 = ILS 6728 (alle Comum). 5667 (Vercellae) und CIL 5, Add. 745/746 = AÉ 1983, 443 (Comum). Sie unterschlägt hierbei G. Susini, *Epigraphica* 33 (1971), 183 f. = AÉ 1972, 212 (Comum) sowie den jüngst wieder publizierten wichtigen Beitrag von G. Alföldy zu CIL 5, Add. 745 und 746 (diese Inschriften werden im folgenden nur als "CIL 5, Add. 745/746" bezeichnet), in dem auch die Relevanz der Inschrift CIL 5, 5279 = ILS 6728 bestritten wird: G. Alföldy, 'Ein Tempel des Herrscherkultes in Comum', *Athenaeum* 61 (1983), 362 ff. = ders., *Städte, Eliten und Gesellschaft in der Gallia Cisalpina. Epigraphisch-historische Untersuchungen* (Stuttgart 1999), 211 ff. Alföldy hat auch CIL 5, 5262 = ILS 2927 neu besprochen und verbessert: G. Alföldy, 'Die Inschriften des jüngeren Plinius und seine Mission in Pontus et Bithynia', in: ders., *Städte, Eliten und Gesellschaft in der Gallia Cisalpina. Epigraphisch-historische Untersuchungen*, (Stuttgart 1999), 221 ff. = *Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 39 (1999), 21 ff. (diese Inschrift wird im folgenden nur als "CIL 5, 5262" bezeichnet). Die literarischen und epigraphischen Quellen zu Plinius dem Jüngeren findet man jetzt übersichtlich aufgelistet in PIR² P 490.

²³ Einzige Ausnahme sind die aus CIL 5, 5262 bekannten Stiftungen, die sie völlig zu Recht im Rahmen der plinianischen *munificentia* in Comum erwähnt (Gasser 1999, a.a.O. (Anm. 21), 201 f.).

stritten ist, daß der 61 oder 62 in Comum zur Welt gekommene Plinius über ausgedehnte Ländereien im Raum Comum/Mediolanum verfügte, die er nicht nur von seinen Eltern sondern auch von Freunden und Bekannten geerbt hatte.²⁴ Auch wenn er *coloni* und einen *procurator* zur Bewirtschaftung und Aufsicht einsetzte und über mehrere hundert Sklaven verfügte²⁵, so machte der große Grundbesitz wenn nicht eine häufige Anwesenheit so doch in jedem Fall einen regen Briefverkehr mit seinen Vertretern vor Ort erforderlich.²⁶ Zumindest versuchte er aber, so oft wie möglich seine *patria* zu besuchen, *si tamen officii ratio permiserit*.²⁷

Doch banden den Senator nicht nur Ländereien an das, was er selbst als *regio mea* bezeichnete²⁸; Comum war auch in emotionaler und sozialer Hinsicht für Plinius von großer Wichtigkeit: Wie bereits erwähnt, handelte es sich bei dem transpadanischen *municipium* um die Geburtsheimat des *homo novus* Plinius, was bedeutet, daß er seine gesamte Kindheit dort verbracht hatte. Über die in dieser Zeit entstandenen sozialen und familiären Kontakte und Beziehungen muß man wohl nicht in aller Ausführlichkeit sprechen; wenn man das in der Briefsammlung zutage tretende komplexe Personen- und Beziehungsgeflecht als real ansieht, so wird mehr als deutlich, daß der Transpadaner, der um 79/80, im 19. Lebensjahr, nach eigener Aus-

²⁴ Vgl. dazu grundlegend A.M. Andermahr, *Totus in praediis. Senatorischer Grundbesitz in Italien in der Frühen und Hohen Kaiserzeit* (Bonn 1998), 384 und Gasser 1999, a.a.O. (Anm. 21), 188 f., mit Anm. 8 (dort Forschungsdiskussion mit zahlreichen Literaturangaben). Gasser geht *in extenso* auf die Frage ein, ob und wie sich Plinius' Grundbesitz in der Heimat räumlich eingrenzen läßt, vor allem in Richtung Mediolanum. Zu den Erbschaften vgl. R. Duncan-Jones, *The Economy of the Roman Empire. Quantitative Studies* (Cambridge 1982²), 25 ff.

²⁵ Der einzige namentlich belegte *colonus* des jüngeren Plinius in der Gegend von Comum ist ein gewisser Verus (Plinius Minor, *Epistulae* 6.3). K.-P. Johne will in ihm einen Großpächter sehen (K.-P. Johne, J. Köhn und V. Weber, *Die Kolonen in Italien und den westlichen Provinzen des römischen Reiches. Eine Untersuchung der literarischen, juristischen und epigraphischen Quellen vom 2. Jh. v.u.Z. bis zu den Severern* (Berlin 1983), 136). Vgl. zu den plinianischen Pächtern in Comum auch P.W. de Neeve, 'A Roman Landowner and his Estates: Pliny the Younger', *Athenaeum* 78 (1990), 373 f. Zur Zahl der Sklaven vgl. Duncan-Jones 1982², a.a.O. (Anm. 24), 24 und W. Eck, 'Die große Pliniusinschrift aus Comum: Funktion und Monument', in: G. Angeli Bertinelli und A. Donati, eds., *Varia Epigraphica. Atti del Colloquio Internazionale di Epigrafia* (Faenza 2001), 229, Anm. 13.

²⁶ Plinius führt uns in der Briefsammlung einige Kostproben dieser Kommunikation mit der Heimat vor, so etwa Brief 7.11 an seinen *prosocer* Calpurnius Fabatus oder Brief 3.19 an den *contubernalis* Calvisius Rufus.

²⁷ Plinius Minor, *Epistulae* 3.6.6.

²⁸ Plinius Minor, *Epistulae* 7.22.2. Vgl. R. Syme, 'Transpadana Italia', *Athenaeum* 63 (1985), 28 ff. = A.R. Birley, ed., *Ronald Syme, Roman Papers V* (Oxford 1988), 431 ff., der das Dreieck Comum – Bergomum – Mediolanum als die plinianische *regio mea* beschreibt.

sage erstmals öffentlich in Rom auf dem *forum Romanum* sprach²⁹, trotz langer Perioden der Abwesenheit weiterhin mit zahlreichen Landsleuten intensiv kommunizierte.³⁰

Es ist in diesem Zusammenhang wohl wenig verwunderlich, daß allein schon der Kreis der Briefempfänger zu mehr als der Hälfte aus Personen bestand, die wie Plinius ihre Heimat nördlich des Po hatten. Zu diesen Landsleuten zählten neben alten Jugendfreunden³¹ nicht wenige (angeheiratete) Verwandte: Sieben *affines* lassen sich allein unter den Adressaten der Briefe ausmachen, darunter Plinius' *prosocer* Calpurnius Fabatus, seine letzte *uxor* Calpurnia sowie Pompeia Celerina, *socrus Plinii* aus einer früheren Ehe.³²

Plinius' Ämterlaufbahn kann für einen *homo novus* durchaus als außergewöhnlich angesehen werden.³³ Beachtenswert ist, daß er fast alle Ämter in Rom ausübte; lediglich sein Militärtribunat leistete er um 82 in der Provinz *Syria* ab; seine erste (und letzte) Statthaltertätigkeit führte ihn wohl 110 nach

²⁹ Plinius Minor, *Epistulae* 5.8.8.

³⁰ Vor allem Ronald Syme hat in unzähligen Aufsätzen den Personenkreis um Plinius aufgearbeitet. Stellvertretend seien genannt: 'Pliny's less successful friends', *Historia* 9 (1960), 362 ff. = E. Badian, ed., *Ronald Syme, Roman Papers* II (Oxford 1979), 477 ff.; 'People in Pliny', *Journal of Roman Studies* 58 (1968), 135 ff. = E. Badian (Hg.), *Ronald Syme, Roman Papers* II (Oxford 1979), 694 ff.; 'Correspondents of Pliny', *Historia* 34 (1985), 324 ff. = A.R. Birley, ed., *Ronald Syme, Roman Papers* V (Oxford 1988), 440 ff.; außerdem nahezu alle Beiträge in *Roman Papers* VII, 1991. Zu den Personen aus Comum und Umgebung vgl. auch Gasser 1999, a.a.O. (Anm. 21), 207 ff.

³¹ So z.B. Romatius Firmus (Plinius Minor, *Epistulae* 1.19.1) und C. Calvisius Rufus (Plinius Minor, *Epistulae* 5.7.1).

³² L. Calpurnius Fabatus (*prosocer Plinii*), Calpurnia (*uxor Plinii*), Calpurnia Hispulla, Calvina, Corellia, Corellia Hispulla (*affines Plinii*) und Pompeia Celerina (*socrus Plinii*). Zur Verwandtschaft der Calpurnii und Corellii untereinander vgl. Syme 1985/1988, a.a.O. (Anm. 30), 348 = 465. Zu den Ehefrauen des jüngeren Plinius vgl. jetzt A.R. Birley, *Onomasticon to the Younger Pliny. Letters and Panegyric* (Stuttgart-Leipzig 2000), 1 ff. Plinius' letzte Ehefrau Calpurnia war also Landsmännin, seine erste wohl nicht. Aus dem Kreis der Adressaten kommt mit Plinius Paternus ein weiterer mutmaßlicher Verwandter von mütterlicher Seite hinzu, der in der PIR² (PIR² P 492) mit dem inschriftlich bekannten Comenser P. Plinius Paternus Pusillienus L. f. Ouf. (AÉ 1916, 116) gleichgesetzt wird (vgl. auch Birley 2000, a.a.O. (Anm. 32), 78 f.). Es könnte sich m.E. aber auch um einen Sohn des Briefempfängers handeln.

³³ Es ist hier nicht der Ort, den gesamten *cursus honorum* des jüngeren Plinius, der vor allem durch CIL 5, 5262 belegt ist, zu diskutieren. Vgl. dazu vielmehr Birley 2000, a.a.O. (Anm. 32), 5 ff.; PIR² P 490; R. Syme, 'Pliny's early career', in: A.R. Birley, ed., *Ronald Syme, Roman Papers* VII (Oxford 1991), 551 ff.; B. Rémy, *Les carrières sénatoriales dans les provinces romaines d'Anatolie au Haut-Empire (31 av. J.-C. – 284 ap. J.-C.)* (Istanbul-Paris 1989), 45 f.; K. Strobel, 'Laufbahn und Vermächtnis des jüngeren Plinius. Zu CIL 5, 5262', in: *Beiträge zur Geschichte* (Bamberg 1983), 37 ff.

Pontus-Bithynia.³⁴ Dies bedeutet, daß er mit einer kurzen Unterbrechung von mindestens 79/80 bis 110 in bzw. bei Rom lebte, somit also Comum immer vergleichsweise nah war und er zumindest aus reisetechischen Erwägungen heraus die Möglichkeit hatte, in seine *patria* zu fahren, was er auch nachweislich tat.³⁵

Als weiteren Grund für gelegentliche Reisen in die *regio mea* könnte man eine munizipale Amtstätigkeit vermuten, welche Plinius in der Heimatregion ausübte: Eine im Bereich des heutigen Cantù (bei Fecchio) gefundene Inschrift (als Teil eines Ehrenmonumentes) aus der Zeit zwischen etwa 104 und 110³⁶ offenbart für ihn das lokale Amt eines *flamen divi Titi Augusti*.³⁷ Während in der Vergangenheit in der Regel angenommen wurde, es handle sich um eine munizipale Aufgabe zur Pflege des Herrscherkultes in Comum³⁸, ist mittlerweile das antike Vercellae zu präferieren.³⁹ Die Ehrung für Plinius durch die Einwohner der Stadt erfolgte wohl im "privaten Raum" seiner Güter.⁴⁰

³⁴ Vgl. zur Datierung des Militärtribunats zuletzt Birley 2000, a.a.O. (Anm. 32), 7, zur Datierung der Statthalterschaft ebd., 17 und Alföldy 1999, a.a.O. (Anm. 22), 221 = 21 f. Vgl. ferner PIR² P 490.

³⁵ Vgl. etwa Plinius Minor, *Epistulae* 4.1.1 f.; 4.13.3; 4.30.1; 5.14.1; 6.24.2; 7.11.5.

³⁶ Um 104 trat Plinius das Amt eines *curator alvei Tiberis et cloacarum urbis* an, um 110 wurde er *legatus Augusti pro praetore proconsulari potestate* in der Provinz *Pontus-Bithynia*. Zur *cura Alvei Tiberis* vgl. R. Syme, *Tacitus*, Band II (Oxford 1958), 659 und PIR² P 490. Zur Statthalterschaft vgl. Alföldy 1999, a.a.O. (Anm. 22), 221 ff. = 21 ff.

³⁷ CIL 5, 5667. Das Amt wird sonst an keiner Stelle in den Briefen oder Inschriften erwähnt, was daran liegen mag, daß es nur lokale Bedeutung hatte und weder für den Adressatenkreis der Briefe noch für die Bürger von Comum von Interesse war.

³⁸ So etwa Duncan-Jones 1982², a.a.O. (Anm. 24), 19, Anm. 5; W.C. McDermott, 'Pliniana', *American Journal of Philology* 90 (1969), 329 und in neuerer Zeit Gasser 1999, a.a.O. (Anm. 21), 198 sowie Alföldy 1983/1999, a.a.O. (Anm. 22), 372, Anm. 22 = 218, Anm. 22.

³⁹ So m.E. zu Recht Andermahr 1998, a.a.O. (Anm. 24), 384 und W. Eck, 'Die Präsenz senatorischer Familien in den Städten des Imperium Romanum bis zum späten 3. Jahrhundert', in: W. Eck, H. Galsterer und H. Wolff, eds., *Studien zur antiken Sozialgeschichte. Festschrift Friedrich Vittinghoff* (Köln-Wien 1980), 287 = ders., 'La presenza delle famiglie senatorie nelle città dell'imperio romano fino al tardo III secolo', in: ders., *Tra Epigrafia, Prosopografia e Archeologia. Scritti scelti, rielaborati ed aggiornati* (Rom 1996), 178. Die auf keinen Fall *in situ* gefundene, ursprünglich von den Bürgern aus Vercellae für Plinius gesetzte Inschrift legt es nahe, den Flaminat ebenda anzunehmen.

⁴⁰ So bereits Andermahr 1998, a.a.O. (Anm. 24), 384. Die begrifflich unpräzise Trennung zwischen "privatem Raum" und "öffentlichem Raum" wurde in der Forschung in den letzten Jahren intensiv diskutiert. Vgl. zuletzt (bezogen auf Rom) H. Niquet, *Monumenta virtutum titulique. Senatorische Selbstdarstellung im spätantiken Rom im Spiegel der epigraphischen Denkmäler* (Stuttgart 2000), 17 ff., die nachvollziehbar für eine Unterscheidung in "öffentlicher Raum" und "halböffentlicher Raum" eintritt, und G. Alföldy, 'Pietas immobilis erga principem und ihr Lohn: Öffentliche Ehrenmonumente von Senatoren in Rom während

Plinius hatte bereits vorher Erfahrungen mit dem Herrscherkult gesammelt: Zwischen 77 und 79 war in Comum an zentraler Stelle⁴¹ ein Tempel *aeternitati Romae et Augustorum* geweiht worden, der ursprünglich auf eine Stiftung seines leiblichen Vaters L. Caecilius Secundus zurückging, nach dessen Tod jedoch von seinem Sohn, der damals [C.] Caecilius Secundus hieß, vollendet wurde.⁴² Dieses Bauwerk haben wir somit als ersten Beweis der Stiftertätigkeit des jüngeren Plinius in seiner *patria* zu werten, müssen allerdings dabei bedenken, daß die ursprüngliche Initiative nicht von ihm ausging; es handelte sich vielmehr um eine Vollendung der – wie er selbst es nennt – *munificentia parentum nostrorum*⁴³, die seiner *munificentia* zugrundelag. Alle übrigen epigraphischen Belege für den transpadanischen Euergeten in seiner weiteren und engeren Heimat fallen in die Zeit nach dem Suffektkonsulat im Jahre 100.⁴⁴

Ein nahezu identisches Textformular weisen zwei fragmentarische Inschriften aus Comum auf, deren Fundzusammenhänge völlig unklar sind.⁴⁵ Auch über die ursprünglichen Aufstellungskontexte existieren keine Informationen; man weiß lediglich, daß die Inschriften und die damit verbundenen Ehrenmonumente in die Zeit nach Plinius' Konsulat fallen, jedoch vor die Bekleidung der Statthalterschaft von *Pontus-Bithynia*.⁴⁶ Von großem In-

der Frühen und Hohen Kaiserzeit', in: G. Alföldy und S. Panciera, eds., *Inscriptliche Denkmäler als Medien der Selbstdarstellung in der römischen Welt* (Stuttgart 2001), 12 ff.

⁴¹ Die Bauinschriften CIL 5, Add. 745/746 wurden im antiken Stadtzentrum von Comum unweit der südöstlich gelegenen Porta Praetoria (Porta Torre) gefunden: Fundort war der Garten des Lyceums in der heutigen Via Cesare Cantù. Vgl. dazu auch die Erstpublikationen von C.V. Barelli, *Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità* 1880, 336 und *Rivista Archeologica dell'antica provincia e diocesi di Como* 19 (1881), 12 sowie ders., *Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità* 1882, 287 und *Rivista Archeologica dell'antica provincia e diocesi di Como* 21 (1882), 6.

⁴² CIL 5, Add. 745/746. Zu Plinius' ursprünglichem Namen und seinem leiblichen Vater vgl. O. Salomies, *Adoptive and Polyonymous Nomenclature in the Roman Empire* (Helsinki 1992), 27 f.

⁴³ Diesen Ausdruck verwendet Plinius selbst in Brief 1.8.5, wo er in der Rede aus Anlaß der Bibliothekseröffnung in Comum ausgiebig von seiner *munificentia* berichtet.

⁴⁴ Für die inschriftlichen Zeugnisse vgl. oben Anm. 22.

⁴⁵ CIL 5, 5263; 5264. Beide Inschriften beginnen folgendermaßen: *C. Plinio L. f. Ouf. Caecilio Secundo cos.* Speziell bei CIL 5, 5264 muß dazu einiges ergänzt werden, doch läßt sich dies mit Hilfe der anderen Inschrift bewerkstelligen. Die ursprünglichen Fundorte liegen in Como; beide Steine wurden wiederverwendet.

⁴⁶ CIL 5, 5263 muß aus der Zeit zwischen ca. 104-110 stammen, da die *cura alvei Tiberis* erwähnt wird, nicht jedoch die Statthalterschaft in der Provinz *Pontus-Bithynia*. Während hier nur der untere Teil fehlt, stellt CIL 5, 5264 ein Fragment aus der Mitte des oberen Teils

teresse ist ein 1971 erstmals publiziertes, mit einer Ehrung für Plinius versehenes Statuenpostament, dessen Comenser Fundort wir kennen.⁴⁷ Die Inschrift stammt ebenfalls aus der Zeit nach Plinius' Konsulat und offenbart als einzige ihren Dedikanten, einen gewissen M. Cassius Comicus, der zwar ansonsten in der Prosopographie von Comum völlig unbekannt ist, aber ein *amicus* oder *cliens Plinii* gewesen sein dürfte, seine Ehrung für den Senator also vermutlich aus einer gewissen Dankbarkeit heraus vollzog.⁴⁸ Dieses sehr persönliche Motiv sowie die Art des Postaments weisen m.E. auf eine Ehrung im "privaten Bereich" hin, vielleicht durch eine *statua pedestris*.⁴⁹ Während Plinius als *patronus* in Comum sicherlich zahlreiche *clientes* hatte⁵⁰, war er nach unserem aktuellen Kenntnisstand nicht *patronus* der Stadt selbst.⁵¹ Diesen Titel führte er statt dessen in Tifernum Tiberinum.⁵² Auch zum nahen Hispellum existierten offenbar Verbindungen.⁵³

einer Inschrift dar, die ursprünglich wohl denselben Text und dieselbe Größe wie CIL 5, 5263 hatte.

⁴⁷ Susini 1971, a.a.O. (Anm. 22), 183 f. = AÉ 1972, 212. Diese Inschrift wurde 1971 zwischen der Via Varese, der Via Cinque Giornate und der Via Volta gefunden, also im nordwestlichen Randbereich des historischen Stadtzentrums von Como, etwas entfernt von den öffentlichen Plätzen. Ob Fundort und ursprünglicher Aufstellungsort übereinstimmen, muß offenbleiben; allerdings wäre dies durchaus denkbar, wenn wir in diesem Viertel Plinius' Stadtvilla vermuten und von einer Dedikation in einem "privaten Raum" bzw. "halböffentlichen Raum" ausgehen.

⁴⁸ M. Cassius Comicus war wohl Freigelassener (oder der Sohn eines Freigelassenen) eines M. Cassius, zumal Cassii in Norditalien reichlich belegt sind; vgl. G. Alföldy, 'Senatoren aus Norditalien. *Regiones IX, X und XI*', in: *Epigrafia e Ordine Senatorio*, Band II (Rom 1982), 360 f. = ders., 'Die Eliten in römischen Norditalien: Senatoren aus den *regiones IX, X und XI*', in: ders., *Städte, Eliten und Gesellschaft in der Gallia Cisalpina. Epigraphisch-historische Untersuchungen* (Stuttgart 1999), 330 f.

⁴⁹ Der Dedikant Comicus hat sich bei der Setzung der Inschrift – aus Kosten- und/oder Platzgründen – auf die Erwähnung des Konsulats beschränkt. Sollte er tatsächlich ein *cliens* des jüngeren Plinius gewesen sein, so wäre eine Statuendedikation etwa im Bereich der Comenser Stadtvilla seines *patronus* sehr wahrscheinlich. Die Grundfläche der Basis beträgt weniger als 1 qm² (90 x 96 cm), die Höhe 36 cm. Für eine Statue plädierte bereits Susini 1971, a.a.O. (Anm. 22), 182 bei der Erstpublikation der Inschrift.

⁵⁰ Viele der zahlreich in Comum belegten Plinii waren wohl *liberti/clientes* des Senators oder deren Nachkommen. Vgl. dazu den Personenindex von CIL 5.

⁵¹ Vgl. Gasser 1999, a.a.O. (Anm. 21), 198 und vor allem J. Nicols, 'Pliny and the Patronage of Communities', *Hermes* 108 (1980), 379 ff., der behauptet, daß dies ohnehin unter Trajan noch relativ unüblich war. Erst im Laufe des 2. Jahrhunderts habe sich dies im Zuge einer Formalisierung der Beziehung Senator-Heimatstadt geändert. Vgl. zu Plinius' Städtepatronaten auch R. Duthoy, 'Le profil social des patrons municipaux en Italie sous le Haut-Empire', *Ancient Society* 15-17 (1984-1986), 148, Nr. 296, der jedoch nur Tifernum Tiberinum nennt.

Edward Champlin hat jüngst in einem instruktiven Beitrag zeigen können, daß Plinius neben der von Ronald Syme als "Pliny's Country" bezeichneten und mittels der prosopographischen Methode klar definierten Heimatregion um Mediolanum und Comum im Gebiet um Tifernum Tiberinum, zwischen *Etruria* und *Umbria*, einen weiteren Schwerpunkt hatte.⁵⁴ Champlin bedient sich selbst der Prosopographie, um ein Pendant zur erwähnten *regio mea* zu entwickeln, die Plinius - schenkt man den Aussagen in den entsprechenden Briefen Glauben - so sehr liebte. Er kann durchaus überzeugend zeigen, daß Plinius außerhalb von Rom mehr als eine Region hatte, in der er sich zuhause fühlte. Letztendlich konterkarieren Champlin's Ausführungen aber nicht die These dieses Beitrages, denn Tifernum Tiberinum war bekanntlich weder die *patria iuris* noch die *patria loci* des Transpadaners.

Die wohl wichtigste und meistdiskutierte Inschrift für eine Charakterisierung der Beziehung des jüngeren Plinius zu seiner *patria* Comum ist CIL 5, 5262 (= ILS 2927), die große nach 110 entstandene Inschriftentafel, von der im 10. Jahrhundert zumindest das linke obere Teilstück von Como nach Mailand gelangte und dort in der Kirche San Ambrogio im Atrio di Ansperto verbaut wurde.⁵⁵ Zahlreiche Forscher äußerten sich seit der Publikation

⁵² Plinius Minor, *Epistulae* 4.1.4 ff.: *Oppidum est praediis nostris vicinum (nomen Tiferi Tiberini), quod me paene adhuc puerum patronum cooptavit ...* Dieser Tempel findet auch in Plinius Minor, *Epistulae* 3.4.2 und 10.8 Erwähnung. Eck 1980/1996, a.a.O. (Anm. 39), 297 = 190 sieht offenbar in den Tempelbauten in den beiden genannten Briefen verschiedene Bauwerke; ersteres siedelt er in Tifernum Tiberinum an, letzteres in Comum. Aus Brief 10.8, der auf das Jahr 98 zu datieren ist (und zeitlich damit etwa sechs Jahre vor Brief 3.4 liegt) geht jedoch hervor, daß das dort nicht namentlich genannte *municipium*, wo der Tempel stehen sollte, über 150 Meilen von Rom entfernt war (Plinius Minor, *Epistulae* 3.4.6). Hierbei kann es sich nur um Tifernum Tiberinum handeln, welches man von Rom aus über die *Via Flaminia* bequem erreichen konnte. Comum lag wesentlich weiter entfernt. *Tegulae* aus der Gegend um Tifernum Tiberinum beweisen zudem Plinius' Anwesenheit dort (CIL 11, 6689 43 = 6689 171 = 8113 16). Dazu A.N. Sherwin-White, *The Letters of Pliny. A Historical and Social Commentary* (Oxford 1966), 371 ff. und zuletzt E. Champlin, 'Pliny's other Country', in: M. Peachin, ed., *Aspects of Friendship in the Graeco-Roman World* (Portsmouth, RI 2001), 122 f. Zu Plinius' Patronat in Tifernum Tiberinum vgl. Nicols 1980, a.a.O. (Anm. 51), 368 ff. und Andermahr 1998, a.a.O. (Anm. 24), 384 f.

⁵³ CIL 11, 5272 (testamentarisch verfügte Anordnung des Plinius bezüglich der Errichtung eines Gebäudes). Rekonstruiert durch Alföldy 1999, a.a.O. (Anm. 22), 223 ff. und 229 ff. = 24 ff. und 30 ff. Vgl. dazu Champlin 2001, a.a.O. (Anm. 52), 123 f.; Andermahr 1998, a.a.O. (Anm. 24), 386; Eck 1980/1996, a.a.O. (Anm. 39), 297 = 190.

⁵⁴ Champlin 2001, a.a.O. (Anm. 52), 121 ff.

⁵⁵ CIL 5, 5262. Zur Geschichte der Inschrift vgl. Mommsen in CIL 5 sowie Alföldy 1999, a.a.O. (Anm. 22), 222 = 22. Die Inschrift enthält den gesamten *cursus* des jüngeren Plinius

Mommsens im CIL zum Inhalt des Textes und der Funktion der marmornen Steintafel; zuletzt haben sich Géza Alföldy und Werner Eck eingehender mit der Problematik beschäftigt: Während Alföldy die in ihrer Art einmalige, im Nominativ gehaltene Inschrift als Teil eines postumen Ehrenmonumentes für Plinius interpretiert, bezeichnet Eck diese in einem in jüngerer Zeit publizierten Beitrag als eine Art *res gestae et impensae Plinii Secundi*.⁵⁶ Die großen Ausmaße der Inschrifttafel von ungefähr drei Metern⁵⁷ und der Text lassen auf eine Aufstellung an einem *locus celeberrimus* der Stadt Comum schließen, vielleicht in der von Plinius zu Lebzeiten gestifteten Bibliothek oder in den postum errichteten Thermen.⁵⁸ Es wäre nicht unwahrscheinlich, daß Plinius selbst vor seinem Tod die Tafel konzipierte (oder sogar noch in Auftrag gab), während seine Erben dann später für die Ausführung verantwortlich zeichneten.⁵⁹

Bei den dort aufgeführten Stiftungen und euergetischen Handlungen, die sich ausnahmslos an die Comenser richten, müssen wir zwischen denen, die Plinius zu Lebzeiten initiierte, und denen, die er testamentarisch verfügt hat, unterscheiden⁶⁰: Während seiner Amtsjahre, die er vor allem in Rom zubrachte, schenkte er – vermutlich noch unter Nerva – seiner Heimatstadt eine Bibliothek an unbekannter Stelle, deren Baukosten nicht überliefert

in absteigender Form (Augurat und Konsulat ausgenommen); daher ist das Jahr 110 der *terminus post quem*.

⁵⁶ Vgl. Alföldy 1999, a.a.O. (Anm. 22), 221 = 21 und Eck 2001, a.a.O. (Anm. 25), 232ff. Eck vergleicht hier die Pliniusinschrift mit den *res gestae* des Augustus.

⁵⁷ W. Eck, 'Rome and the Outside World: Senatorial Families and the World they lived in', in: B. Rawson und P. Weaver, eds., *The Roman Family in Italy. Status, Sentiment, Space* (Canberra-Oxford 1997), 99, Anm. 80 spricht von ungefähr 3,20 m; Alföldy 1999, a.a.O. (Anm. 22), 227 = 28 f. hält sie für ein wenig kürzer und nimmt etwa 2,80 m an. Vgl. auch Eck 2001, a.a.O. (Anm. 25), 228. Das erhaltene eingemauerte Fragment mißt 87 x 85 cm.

⁵⁸ Eck 1997, a.a.O. (Anm. 57), 98 f.; Eck 2001, a.a.O. (Anm. 25), 234 f. W. Eck hat m.W. als erster Forscher darauf hingewiesen, daß diese Inschrift vor allem deshalb aus dem üblichen Rahmen fällt, da der Dedikant fehlt und Plinius im Nominativ genannt wird. Es handelt sich somit nicht um eine Ehreninschrift im eigentlichen Sinn. Eck 2001, a.a.O. (Anm. 25), 234 f., favorisiert als Aufstellungsort für die große Inschrift die plinianische Bibliothek, da diese der evidenten (oben geschilderten) Selbstdarstellung des Transpadaners eher Rechnung trug.

⁵⁹ Vgl. W. Eck, 'Statuendedikanten und Selbstdarstellung in römischen Städten', in: Y. Le Bohec, ed., *L'Afrique, la Gaule, la Religion à l'époque romaine. Mélanges à la mémoire de Marcel Le Glay* (Brüssel 1994), 657 = ders., 'Dedicanti di statue ed autorappresentazione nelle città romane', in: ders., *Tra Epigrafia, Prosopografia e Archeologia. Scritti scelti, rielaborati ed aggiornati* (Rom 1996), 351 und Eck 2001, a.a.O. (Anm. 25), 232.

⁶⁰ Vgl. die Aufzählung der Stiftungen bei Duncan-Jones 1982², a.a.O. (Anm. 24), 27 ff., Gasser 1999, a.a.O. (Anm. 21), 201 ff. und Eck 1980/1996, a.a.O. (Anm. 39), 297 = 190.

sind, wohl aber recht hoch waren⁶¹, und eine *tutela bybliothecae* (100.000 Sesterzen); außerdem richtete er eine Alimentarstiftung für bedürftige Jungen und Mädchen ein, in die er 500.000 Sesterzen investierte.⁶² Richard Duncan-Jones hat wohl zu Recht angemerkt, daß Plinius vermutlich noch vor seinem Tode den Bau der in der Inschrift erwähnten Thermen plante; dieses Projekt, dessen Kosten wir wiederum nicht kennen, gelangte dann jedoch erst postum zur Ausführung.⁶³ Wenn man Plinius ein eher durchschnittliches Vermögen zugesteht, zum größten Teil in Immobilien angelegt, wie er selbst zugibt, so ist festzustellen, daß sich seine *munificentia* in einem für damalige Verhältnisse überdurchschnittlichen Rahmen bewegte.⁶⁴ Aufwendig und herausragend sind auch die Summen, die er testamentarisch für seine Heimatstadt bereitstellte: Klammert man den Thermenbau aus, bleiben die finanziellen Mittel für den *ornatus* (300.000 Sesterzen) und die *tutela* (200.000 Sesterzen) des Bades sowie die *alimenta* für 100 *liberti* (1.866.666 Sesterzen), deren Erträge später der Bevölkerung von Comum *ad epulum* zugedacht waren.⁶⁵

Neben den inschriftlich belegten (und z.T. durch die Briefe bestätigten) *beneficia* ist hier noch auf eine brieflich erwähnte wertvolle korinthische Statue aus einer Metallegierung hinzuweisen, die Plinius kurz nach seinem Konsulat (um 101/102) zufiel; diese beabsichtigte er, in Comum auf einer

⁶¹ Duncan-Jones 1982², a.a.O. (Anm. 24), 31 erwartet hier eine höhere Summe; Eck 2001, a.a.O. (Anm. 25), 231, Anm. 18 schlägt daher 1.000.000 Sesterzen vor.

⁶² CIL 5, 5262. Vgl. Plinius Minor, *Epistulae* 1.8, 5.7 und 7.18, die die aus der Inschrift bekannten Fakten bestätigen. Die dort erwähnten euergetischen Akte und finanziellen Aufwendungen bespricht auch Eck 2001, a.a.O. (Anm. 25), 231 mit Anm. 16 und 18, der eine Errichtung der Bibliothek vor dem Jahr 97 in Betracht zieht und vorschlägt, die Summe von 1.000.000 Sesterzen als Baukosten der Bibliothek in der Textlücke zu ergänzen. Zur Alimentarstiftung vgl. jetzt auch die ausführliche Forschungsdiskussion bei Gasser 1999, a.a.O. (Anm. 21), 203 f., Anm. 80.

⁶³ Duncan-Jones 1982², a.a.O. (Anm. 24), 30 f. Duncan-Jones argumentiert plausibel mit der getrennten Aufführung der Kosten für den Bau der Thermen (Kosten unbekannt, da der entsprechende Teil der Inschrift fehlt) und deren Verzierung (Kosten: 300.000 Sesterzen) in CIL 5, 5262. Wäre Plinius im letzten Planungsstadium des Bauwerkes noch am Leben gewesen, hätte er sicherlich eine Gesamtsumme für Bau und Verzierung veranschlagt. Hinzu kommt, daß die Thermen nirgendwo in den Briefen der Bücher 1-9 erwähnt werden; dies spricht für eine Planung nach 108/109, also mehr oder weniger kurz vor Plinius' Tod um 112. Vgl. zur Datierung der späteren Briefe des jüngeren Plinius R. Syme, 'The Dating of Pliny's latest Letters', *Classical Quarterly* 35 (1985), 176 ff. = A.R. Birley, ed., *Ronald Syme, Roman Papers V* (Oxford 1988), 478 ff.

⁶⁴ Plinius Minor, *Epistulae* 3.19.8: *Sum quidem prope totus in praediis...* Plinius' Vermögen hat Duncan-Jones 1982², a.a.O. (Anm. 24), 17 ff. ausführlich besprochen und analysiert.

⁶⁵ CIL 5, 5262.

Marmorbasis *celebri loco*, möglichst *in Iovis templo* aufstellen zu lassen.⁶⁶ Seinen Comenser Verbindungsmann Annius Severus wies er an, diese Basis mit seinem Namen und seinen Ämtern auszustatten, wenn er dies für richtig halte.⁶⁷

Wann Plinius starb, ist nicht sicher zu sagen; wenn wir aber den Amtsantritt in *Pontus-Bithynia* auf den 17.09.110 legen⁶⁸ und etwa zwei Jahre Amtstätigkeit veranschlagen⁶⁹, befinden wir uns im Jahre 112, in dem er vor dem Ende seiner vorgegebenen Amtszeit in der Provinz verstarb.⁷⁰ Über seinen Bestattungsort ist nichts bekannt, doch wird dieser wohl entweder in Rom oder in Comum zu suchen sein.⁷¹

IV

Das Heimatbild des jüngeren Plinius ist in der Vergangenheit oftmals gewissen Verklärungen unterworfen gewesen, die aus einem bedingungslosen Glauben der Forscher in die Aussagen der Pliniusbriefe resultierten. Dieser Glaube und die fehlende Berücksichtigung des so wichtigen Aspektes der plinianischen Selbstdarstellung führten oftmals zu Aussagen wie der folgenden von Franziska Gasser: "Augenfällig an Plinius' Verhältnis zur *germana patria* ist die Selbstverständlichkeit: Bereitwillig setzt er sich für die Belange seiner Vaterstadt ein oder hilft Landsleuten aus der engeren und weiteren Umgebung der Heimat."⁷² Bisherige Versuche, das plinianische Heimatbild zu ergründen, sind also m.E. den methodisch falschen Weg gegangen, zuerst (oder gar nur) die Briefe diesbezüglich auszuwerten, ohne die Inschriften als unmittelbare und aussagekräftige Zeugnisse ihrer Zeit für diese Fragestellung miteinzubeziehen.

⁶⁶ Plinius Minor, *Epistulae* 3.6.4: *Emi autem, non ut haberem domi (neque enim ullum adhuc Corinthium domi habeo), verum ut in patria nostra celebri loco ponerem, ac potissimum in Iovis templo...*

⁶⁷ Plinius Minor, *Epistulae* 3.6.5: *Tu ergo, ut soles omnia, quae a me tibi iniunguntur, suscipe hanc curam et iam nunc iube basim fieri, ex quo voles marmore, quae nomen meum honoresque capiat, si hos quoque putabis addendos.*

⁶⁸ Der 17.09 ist durch Plinius Minor, *Epistulae* 10.17a.2 belegt.

⁶⁹ Die von Plinius in Buch 10 (ab Brief 15) geschilderten Ereignisse lassen diesen Schluß zu. Vgl. dazu auch den Beitrag von U. Wilcken, 'Plinius' Reisen in Bithynien und Pontus', *Hermes* 49 (1914), 120 ff.

⁷⁰ So auch Alföldy 1999, a.a.O. (Anm. 22), 221 f., Anm. 4 = 21 f., Anm. 4 mit weiterer Literatur.

⁷¹ Das bisherige Fehlen einer Grabinschrift verhindert eine gesicherte Aussage über den Ort des Grabes.

⁷² Gasser 1999, a.a.O. (Anm. 21), 214.

Betrachtet man Plinius' Verhältnis zu Comum während seiner etwa 30 Jahre währenden Amtstätigkeit in Rom, der Provinz *Syria* und der Provinz *Pontus-Bithynia* nüchtern auf der inschriftlichen Basis, so fällt vor allem seine ausgeprägte *munificentia* ins Auge, die neben der Stiftung dreier öffentlicher Bauwerke (Tempel, Bibliothek, Thermen) auch umfangreiche finanzielle Unterstützungen für die Comenser Bürger beinhaltete.⁷³ "It must be concluded that Pliny was outstanding in the extent of his public generosity" schreibt Richard Duncan-Jones nach einem Vergleich mit anderen italischen Euergeten daher zu Recht.⁷⁴ Werner Eck formuliert: "Plinius ist in seiner massiven Bereitschaft, für seine Heimat etwas zu tun, kaum das Modell für den durchschnittlichen Euergeten, er ist, nach allem, was wir sehen können, eher die Ausnahme."⁷⁵ Es läßt sich also epigraphisch eine intensive Fürsorge für die Geburtsheimat festhalten, die sich durchaus auch literarisch in den Briefen widerspiegelt; man denke nur an die oben zitierten Stellen zum Thema *munificentia*.

Der Grundbesitz schuf eine nicht zu unterschätzende ökonomische Verbindung. Nicht nur deswegen muß sich Plinius recht häufig in seiner Geburtsheimat aufgehalten haben. Die munizipale Amtstätigkeit als *flamen* ist hier wohl eher zu vernachlässigen, zumal sie nicht direkt in Comum ausgeübt wurde.

Als ersten (und letzten) Senator seiner Familie verband ihn in emotionaler und sozialer Hinsicht vieles mit seiner *patria*: die Geburt, die Kindheit, zahlreiche Menschen, die *coloni* und *clientes*, die *amici* und die Familie, also ein engmaschiges Netzwerk. Die Briefe, obwohl stilisiert und Teil der plinianischen Selbstdarstellung, sind ein Zeugnis dieser Erfahrungen und des sozialen Netzes vor Ort. Es ist bedauerlich, daß wir aufgrund des frühen und plötzlichen Todes Plinius des Jüngeren nicht wissen, wo er plante, nach seiner "Pensionierung" seinen Lebensabend zu verbringen und, wo er selbst bestattet werden wollte.

Resümierend kann man festhalten: Plinius hatte *duae patriae*, Rom, die rechtliche Heimat, und Comum, die Geburtsheimat. In Comum realisierte er das, was ihm in Rom kaum möglich war: Er wurde als Euerget tätig, um *memoria* und *dignitas* bei den Einwohnern der Stadt, in der er an der Spitze der sozialen Pyramide stand, zu erlangen bzw. zu steigern, und er pflegte

⁷³ Bezüglich des Tempels muß nochmals einschränkend bemerkt werden, daß Plinius diese Stiftung mehr oder weniger "zwangsweise" von seinem Vater übernommen hatte.

⁷⁴ Duncan-Jones 1982², a.a.O. (Anm. 24), 27 ff., besonders 32. Die außergewöhnliche *munificentia* betont auch Gasser 1999, a.a.O. (Anm. 21), 202 ff.

⁷⁵ Eck 2001, a.a.O. (Anm. 25), 235, Anm. 26.

zahlreiche soziale Kontakte. *Vice versa* wurde er hier auch von seinen Landsleuten geehrt. Rom war für ihn nicht viel mehr als ein Arbeitsplatz, ein Ort des *negotium*; so stellt er es zumindest in den Briefen dar, in denen er im übrigen nie explizit von der Stadt Rom, der *urbs*, als *patria* (im emotionalen Sinne) spricht.⁷⁶

Aber ist Comum, die *germana patria*, dann als der Ort des *otium* in den Briefen zu verstehen? Bezugnehmend auf die neuen Erkenntnisse Edward Champlins muß man dies wohl verneinen, denn diese Funktion nahm ganz offensichtlich Tifernum Tiberinum mit den Tuscien ein, das jedoch in den Briefen niemals als *patria* erscheint. Die dortigen Güter erwiesen sich als ein Ort der Entspannung für Plinius, ein Ort, der seinen literarischen Ambitionen förderlich war, wie natürlich auch sein Laurentinum. Comum hingegen hatte wesentlich mehr vertraute Menschen aufzuweisen und die Bauwerke, die Plinius etwas bedeuteten. Dies zeigt er uns sehr deutlich in einem Brief an Calpurnius Fabatus, in dem er berichtet, daß er eher widerwillig einen Tempel in Tifernum Tiberinum einweihen müsse, obwohl er doch viel lieber direkt nach Comum reisen würde.⁷⁷

Dessenungeachtet enthält die Briefsammlung des Plinius durchaus die Stadt Comum betreffende Briefe, die sich ohne weiteres in die Kategorie *otium* einsortieren ließen, wie oben gezeigt wurde.⁷⁸ Und man muß sich sogar fragen, ob nicht doch hin und wieder auch in sein Stadthaus in Rom das *otium* einzog, denn der Schriftsteller Martial warnt in einem seiner Epigramme die Muse Thalia ganz ausdrücklich davor, seinem Gönner Plinius ein von ihm verfaßtes Büchlein zur Unzeit zu überbringen⁷⁹:

“Sed ne tempore non tuo disertam
pulses ebria ianum videto:
Totos dat tetricae dies Minervae,
dum centum studet auribus virorum...”

Berlin, März 2004

⁷⁶ Die Textstellen Plinius Minor, *Epistulae* 4.23.3 und 6.19.4 meinen nicht Rom als Stadt, sondern das Imperium Romanum.

⁷⁷ Plinius Minor, *Epistulae* 4.1.

⁷⁸ Plinius Minor, *Epistulae* 1.3.

⁷⁹ Martialis, *Epigrammata* 10.20.

CULTIC HONOURS FOR BENEFACTORS
IN THE CITIES OF ASIA MINOR

By
J.H.M. STRUBBE

A well-known Greek apophthegm explains: “What is a god?” – “Wielding of power”. Here is a key to the understanding of the ruler cult and emperor cult, but also to the explanation of cultic honours awarded to citizens in Greek cities. The power of these was so great and unmanageable (in succession of or even besides the mighty kings) that it could be conceived and expressed best in religious terms.¹ In fact, the wealthy notable citizens dominated the political life in their cities in the Hellenistic and Roman imperial periods and determined the well-being of their fatherland by their generous benefactions.

I intend to present in this article an overview of the cultic honours given to benefactors in the Greek cities of Asia Minor and above all of the benefactions in reward of which these honours were granted. I limit my subject to benefactors who were citizens. I exclude kings, generals, Roman magistrates and other officials who did not belong to the citizen body.² I leave aside the collective cult of *euergetai* and the cult of the Romans, *koinoi euergetai*.³ Since Asia Minor has produced the largest number of examples, a study of this area might reveal the essentials of the phenomenon.

What a benefactor is, needs no explanation. What cultic honours are, is not so clear. When a benefactor receives a priest, sacrifices, a cult statue in a temple, there can be no doubt. But if there is only a contest or festival named after him or organized in his honour, if sacrifices are offered near his grave on a memorial day, if there is only a public building named after him, the case is not evident. I have limited my overview to the cases which are fairly

¹ S. Price, *Rituals and power. The Roman imperial cult in Asia Minor* (Cambridge 1984), 52; the apophthegm is cited on 234. See also M. Sartre, *L'Orient romain* (Paris 1991), 117.

² To the last category belong Banabelos and Lachares, officials in the service of Achaïos, a member of the Seleucid family (οἰκονομῶν and ἐκλογιστής). They were honoured by the inhabitants of Neon Teichos and Kiddiou Kome near Laodikeia on the Lykos in 267 BC with the yearly sacrifice of a ram for each one of them (Th. Corsten, *I. Laodikeia am Lykos* I, 1).

³ For the *euergetai*, see L. Robert, *Revue des Études Grecques* 94 (1981), 358-360; *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* 50 (1926), 499-500 (= *OMS* I, 63-64); A.D. Nock, *Essays on religion and the ancient world* I (Oxford 1972; reprint of a 1930 article), 244. For the Romans as *koinoi euergetai*, see the studies mentioned in SEG 38, 689 and 47, 2312.

clear, but in course I will also discuss some documents which are dubious in my opinion.⁴

I will present the documents concerning my theme in a chronological order, starting at the beginning of the second century BC.⁵

The second and early first (?) century BC

The first document is a decree found at the Letoon near Xanthos in Lycia.⁶ It is dated during the joint reign of the Seleucid king Antiochos III and his son, Antiochos, that is between 197 and 193 BC, most probably in the 116th year of the Seleucid era, that is in the year 196 BC. The decree honours Lyson, son of Demosthenes, gymnasiarch of the *neoi*, who was re-elected by the *neoi* as a gymnasiarch for the next year. The honours were awarded by the *neoi*, but since the decree was erected at the Letoon, approbation and permission must have been granted by the people of Xanthos. Lyson had rendered many services to the *polis* and to the *neoi*. In particular, as a gymnasiarch he had taken care of the construction or repair work of the gymnasium and had adorned it, spending much money out of his own pocket. The gymnasium may have been damaged by an earthquake or (more probably) by the army of Antiochos III, who captured the city of Xanthos in 197 BC. At the time of the decree the (re)building was probably not yet completed; that was the reason why Lyson was re-elected as a gymnasiarch, namely to guarantee the continuation of the work. Moreover, since Lyson was apparently a partisan of the Seleucids, his election and re-election must have been a political statement of the *neoi*, expressing in that way their loyalty towards the kings. It is not clear whether or not Lyson had played any role in the diplomatic field at the troubled time of the capture of the city; the decree does not mention it. The most important benefaction of Lyson, in fact the only one which is mentioned explicitly in the decree, is the (re)construction of the gymnasium.

⁴ For example the building called Menogeneion at Sardeis, named after the benefactor Menogenes (W.H. Buckler & D.M. Robinson, *I. Sardis* 17); the fire sacrifice of two bulls and the foot race for the deceased Antiochos at Miletos (A. Rehm, *Milet I*, 9 no. 368).

⁵ Outside Asia Minor, cultic honours were probably already awarded to citizens in the latter half of the 3rd century BC, sc. at Athens to Diogenes (229-ca. 220 BC), see Ph. Gauthier, *Les cités grecques et leurs bienfaiteurs* (Paris 1985), 64-66. Diogenes liberated the city; a new gymnasium, called Diogeneion, was constructed, where he was buried.

⁶ Ph. Gauthier, *Revue des Études Grecques* 109 (1996), 1-27 (SEG 46, 1721; cf. Ph. Gauthier, *BE* (1997) 566); recently republished by J. Ma, *Antiochos III and the Cities of Western Asia Minor* (Oxford 1999), 325-327 no. 24 with translation.

Lyson was honoured by the *neoi* with an inscribed statue of bronze (*eikon*), set up in the most conspicuous place in the gymnasium. The *neoi* also decided to erect two altars in the most conspicuous place of the gymnasium, one of Zeus Soter and one of Lyson benefactor (or founder).⁷ They decreed that the yearly elected gymnasiarch had to sacrifice every year an ox (or two oxen?), three years of age, on the altar of Lyson. Apparently the *neoi* provided the sacrificial animal(s) out of certain revenues.

This inscription provides the earliest example of cultic honours for an ordinary citizen in a city of Asia Minor. It is notable that the honours were awarded by the *neoi*, not by the *demos*. At the time of the decree the gymnasium was still independent from the city and the gymnasiarch was not yet a regular magistrate. At the time of the decree, Lyson was still alive.

The following documents in this chronological overview are the honours for Anticharis, son of Amyntas, at Kyaneai in Lycia, and an honorary inscription from Synnada in Phrygia. Both are only roughly dated to the second century BC.

The benefaction of Anticharis probably was the gift of a certain sum of money (the beginning of the text, which is much damaged, mentions six thousand *drachmai*), possibly as a foundation.⁸ The money may have been donated to the gymnasium of the city, since epebes, *neoi* and the gymnasiarch played a role in the honouring. Anticharis received many different honours (golden crown, bronze statue with inscription, *proedria*). It was also decided that the gymnasiarch had to sacrifice an ox on the altar that will be erected.⁹ It is generally accepted that this altar was an altar dedicated to Anticharis; it may have been erected in the gymnasium.¹⁰ Other honours mentioned in the decree, connected with cult, are a procession in which the epebes and *neoi* (?) participated, and contests of men (*andres*), javelin-throwers, archers and shooters with the catapult (?).

⁷ Ll. 40-43: ἰδρύσασθαι δὲ καὶ βωμούς δύο ἐν | [τῷ ἐπιφανε]στάτῳ τόπῳ τοῦ γυμνασίου, τὸ μὲν | [τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Σ]ωτήρος, τὸν δὲ ἄλλον τοῦ Λύσωνος | [τοῦ εὐεργέτου οἰκίστου.

⁸ R. Heberdey & E. Kalinka, *Bericht über zwei Reisen im südwestlichen Kleinasien*, Denkschriften Akad. Wien 45 (1897), 28-29 no. 28; restorations by L. Robert, *Études Anatoliennes* (Paris 1939), 399-405; for the restoration of L. 10, see also M. Launey, *Recherches sur les armées hellénistiques* II (Paris 1950), 833 note 4.

⁹ L. 8: θύεσθαι δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ γυμνασιάρχου βοῦν ἐπὶ τοῦ βω[μ]οῦ τοῦ ἀνατεθ[η]σομένου Τ[--.

¹⁰ Robert 1939, op. cit. (n. 8); Gauthier 1996, op. cit. (n. 6), 22-23. I suggest restoring at the end of L. 8: τ[οῦ Ἀντιχάριδος. But one also expects an indication on the moment and recurrence of the sacrifice.

Again we have an example of cultic honours awarded to a living benefactor apparently in connection with the gymnasium. The honours were granted to Anticharis by the city and by the *neoi* of the gymnasium. The inscription on the bronze statue namely stated that the *neoi* honoured Anticharis as their benefactor.

The inscription from Synnada poses many problems.¹¹ The stone seems to contain two different decrees (Ll. 0-3 and 4-24), the first one for an anonymous man, the second one for Philonides, son of Herodoros, son of Limnaios. Since the decrees are not separated from each other by a blank, it is generally assumed that both decrees concern Philonides and this assumption has influenced the restorations of the text. In fact at the end of the second decree it is said that a marble statue (an *agalma*)(of Philonides) will be erected in the *naos*. The latter word is restored;¹² it is restored on the basis of the reading of the end of the first decree which mentions (in Ll. 2-3) a marble statue (*agalma*) (of the anonymous man) and that (this man) will be *sunnaos* and *sunbomos* with -- (here the text breaks off). The restoration also builds on the idea that an *agalma* is always a cult statue in a temple. S. Price, however, has shown that not all ἀγάλματα were recipients of cult; an ἄγαλμα was essentially an image that belonged to a sacred context.¹³

In an earlier study on consolation decrees I have questioned the date of the Philonides inscription. Philonides is a young man, who is deceased. He has achieved nothing yet in his life (no magistracies, no benefactions); the reasons why he is honoured are his personal qualities and the benefactions of his ancestors, especially his grandfather. The tone of the decree is highly emotional: his parents and the citizens are heavily upset and excessively afflicted at his death. In my view these facts point to the imperial period, the second century AD rather than BC (engraved then in an archaizing style).¹⁴ If that date is correct, it is improbable that young Philonides received cultic honour (as I will argue below). Moreover he does not fit into the scheme of

¹¹ W.M. Ramsay, *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* 7 (1883), 300-302 no. 24; A.E. Kontoleon, *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* 11 (1887), 218-220 no. 13; restored by A. Wilhelm, *Neue Beiträge zur griechischen Inschriftenkunde* I, Sitzungsberichte Akad. Wien, Philos.-hist. Klasse Bd. 166.1 (Wien 1910), 54-61 (= *Akademieschriften* I (Leipzig 1974), 73-80). Cf. K. Buresch, *Rheinisches Museum* N.F. 49 (1894), 436-437.

¹² Ll. 23-24: καὶ ἀγάλ]ματι μαρμαρίνῳι οὗ τὴν ἀνάστασιν γε[νέσθαι ἐν τῷ ναῷ (?); restoration of Wilhelm. Ramsay had restored: γε[νέσθαι οὗ ἂν δοκῆ].

¹³ Price 1984, op. cit. (n. 1), 176-179; εἰκόνες, usually interpreted as honorific images, sometimes received cult too.

¹⁴ J.H.M. Strubbe, *L'Antiquité Classique* 67 (1998), 70.

benefactors who received the very high cultic honours. Therefore I very much doubt whether his statue was erected *inside* the *naos*; I would rather think of a sacred place.

That leaves us with the first decree, in which is explicitly said “that he will be *sunnaos* and *sunbomos* with – ”.¹⁵ There is also mention of a marble statue (*agalma*) and possibly of sacrifices (but the latter word is restored). I wonder whether the first decree may have been issued in honour of an ancestor of Philonides. That may explain why the honorary decree for Philonides is engraved immediately below the first decree and why the heading of the second decree is rather short, as has been observed by previous scholars.¹⁶ If this is right, the first decree may date to the late Hellenistic period. Unfortunately nothing is known about the honorand and the reasons of the reward of the cultic honour, which at least consisted of the erection of an altar in the temple of some (god?).

The following items in the chronological overview are two inscriptions from the Carian cities of Knidos and Keramos. The text from Knidos is the honorary decree for Parasitas; it is dated to the 2nd-1st cent. BC.¹⁷ The text from Keramos is a similar decree for the son of Drakon (possibly named Apollonides); it is dated to the late Hellenistic period.¹⁸

The benefactions of Parasitas are not specified. The honours awarded are multiple: among other things several statues, *proedria*, *sitiesis*, public burial after his death. It is also stated that the *damiorgos* should offer an immaculate sacrifice every year on the first day of a certain month (the text of the inscription is damaged here). This month was perhaps the month in which Parasitas will die; in that case the cultic honours only started after the death of the benefactor. I wonder whether the first day of the month may have been the birthday of Parasitas; possibly the honours started then during his lifetime. I restore the text so that the sacrifice has to be offered on the

¹⁵ Ll. 0-3: -- θυ]σίαις (Ramsay restored here -- δημο]σίαις) [καὶ ταῖς λ]οιπαῖς τιμαῖς καὶ ἀγάλ[μα]τι μ[αρμαρι]νῶι κ[αὶ εἶναι ἀ]ὐτὸν σύνναον καὶ σύνβω[μο]ν τῶ[ι -- (Ramsay restored here τ[ῶ] | δῆ[μῶ τῶν Συναδέων]; his restoration was rejected by Buresch). Wilhelm 1910, op. cit. (n. 11), 58, suggested *exempli gratia* τῶ[ι πατρὶ] (anyway a short word). Could one think of the name of a god, like τῶ[ι Διῖ]?

¹⁶ Already suggested by Wilhelm 1910, op. cit. (n. 11), 58-59.

¹⁷ W. Blümel, *I. Knidos* I, 606; cf. A. Chanotis, *EBGR* (1992) 25, who restored L. 10 (see SEG 46, 1414): καθ'ἑ]καστον ἐν<ι>αυτὸν το[ῦ] μη[νὸς ἐν ᾧ κα μεταλλάξει ? | τᾶι] νομηνίαι.

¹⁸ E. Varinlioglu, *I. Keramos* 9; for the date and the name of the honorand, see Ph. Gauthier & G. Rougemont, *BE* (1988) 21.

altar which will be dedicated (to Parasitas).¹⁹ In a cultic context is also the public torch race of the *neoteroi* and the *andres*, organized to honour Parasitas (ll. 16-22).

The text from Keramos likewise does not specify the benefactions of Drakon's son. He receives many honours, among which a statue with inscription, *proedria*, yearly proclamation of his honours at the *gymnikos agon*, yearly coronation at the first *agon* of the Dionysia, public burial after his death. It is also decided that a ram must be sacrificed to him by the *hieromnemes* every year on the twelfth day of the month Heraion, that is on his birthday, on the altar which will be dedicated (to him).²⁰ As an additional honour in cultic context games must be organized and prizes made available by the *hieromnemes* for the *paides* and the *ephebes*.

When we look back to the cultic honours, awarded in the second and early first (?) century BC, we see that these honours were given – in many cases – for benefactions concerning (the building or rebuilding) of the gymnasium of the city. The benefactions of Parasitas and of Drakon's son are not clearly connected with the gymnasium but the contests in their honour seem to take place there. All benefactors were alive at the time of the honouring and apparently received the cultic honours during their lifetime.

The first century BC

Next I will discuss as a group several benefactors who all received cultic honours in the first century BC. However, the earliest among them I will discuss in some detail. It is the famous Diodoros Paspáros, son of Herodes, from Pergamon. The chronology of the career of Diodoros and the chronology of the decrees in his honour are much debated. I follow here the results obtained by A.S. Chankowski in his study of 1998.²¹

¹⁹ I suggest restoring Ll. 9-12 on the basis of the inscription of Keramos: [κ]αὶ ῥέζειν τῶν δαμιοργῶν καθ' | ἔ]καστον ἐν<ι>αυτὸν το[ῦ] μηνὸς (name of the month?) | τᾶι] νομηνίαι ἱερεῖον τέλειον [ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ τοῦ | ἀπ]οδειχθέντος. Cf. the honours for Drakon's son and the sacrifices for Barkaios in Kyrene, which found place on his birthday (see note 59). Blümel had restored: [κ]αὶ ῥέζειν τ[-- καθ' | ἔ]καστον ἐν<ι>αυτὸν το[ῦ] μην[ὸς -- | τᾶι] νομηνίαι ἱερεῖον τέλειον [ὑπὸ τοῦ δαμιοργῶ ? τοῦ ἀεὶ | ἀπ]οδειχθέντος.

²⁰ Ll. 14-17: θύεσθαι δὲ αὐτῶι κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἕκαστον | [ὑπὸ τῶν ἱερομ]νημόνων ἐν μηνὶ Ἡραίωι τῆι δωδεκάτῃ τοῖς | [γενεθλίοις αὐ]τοῦ κριὸν ἐπὶ βωμοῦ τοῦ ἀποδειχθέν[τος].

²¹ See the recent article of C.P. Jones, *Chiron* 30 (2000), 1-14, who presents earlier bibliography. The study of A.S. Chankowski appeared in *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellé-*

Before discussing the case of Diodoros, it should be noted that perhaps the father of Diodoros, Herodes, had a cult in the gymnasium. A much damaged and restored text seems to mention an *agalma* of Herodes in the gymnasium, by which Diodoros has brought sacrifices as beautiful as possible.²² Nothing is known about the circumstances.

Diodoros Paspáros received cultic honours after his return from an embassy to Rome, between 85 and 73 BC.²³ It was decided that a priest of him should be appointed in the electoral assemblies, when the other priests of the *euergetai* were also elected. A *temenos* for him had to be erected in the Philetairaia-district, named Diodoreion, in which should be built a *naos* of white marble, in which his statue (*agalma*) had to be dedicated.²⁴ The honorary inscription further mentions a procession on the day of the dedication from the *prytaneion* to his *temenos*, with i.a. the gymnasiarch, hypogymnasiarch and the ephebes, and with the *paidonomoi* and the *paides*. A sacrifice, as beautiful as possible, had to be offered.²⁵ Several contests of the *paides*, the ephebes and the *andres* had to be organized every year. Diodoros received still other honours, among which burial on the *agora* of Philetairaia after his death. The embassy of Diodoros to Rome brought relief from some of the indignities suffered by Pergamon in the aftermath of the First Mithridatic War. The city had been punished with the loss of its freedom for having surrendered to the king and for having massacred Roman citizens.²⁶

nique 122 (1998), 159-199. Chankowski adopts the 'low' chronology, now generally accepted.

²² H. Hepding, *Athenische Mitteilungen* 35 (1910), 409-411 no. 3 (cf. Chankowski p. 162-163 no. II); cf. Chankowski p. 190 note 122.

²³ IGR 4, 292 (cf. Chankowski p. 163 no.V); republished by F. Canali De Rossi, *ISE* III 190 with translation and commentary. For the date, see Chankowski p. 169; other scholars date the inscription around or shortly after 69 BC; Canali De Rossi favours a date around 81 BC. Gauthier 1985, op. cit. (n. 5), 62-63, points to the narrow links between the cult of Diodoros and the cults of the Attalids.

²⁴ Ll. 38-39: καθίστασθαι δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἱερέα ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαιρεσίαις, ὅταν | καὶ οἱ ἄλ[λο]ι ἱερεῖς τῶν εὐεργετῶν. Ll. 40-42: ἀνεῖναι δ[ὲ] | αὐτοῦ καὶ τέμενος ἐν Φιλεταιρεῖαι, ὀνομάσαντας Διοδῶ[δω]ρειον, ἐν ᾧ κατασκευασθ[ῆ]ναι | ναὸν λί[θου] λευκοῦ, εἰς ὃν ἀνατεθῆναι τὸ ἄγαλμα. For the restoration of l. 42, see SEG 36, 1125.

²⁵ L. 46: παρασταθείσης θυσίας ὡς καλλίστης.

²⁶ D. Magie, *Roman rule in Asia Minor to the end of the third century after Christ* I (Princeton 1950), 215, 237.

An honorary inscription, issued in the course of Diodoros' office as gymnasiarch, which is dated after 69 BC, mentions a sacrifice for Diodoros to his *agalma*.²⁷

Diodoros Pasparos received cultic honours at a second occasion, his gymnasiarchy of the *neoi* and the *presbyteroi*, which is dated by A. Chankowski, as mentioned before, after 69 BC. An inscription which honours Diodoros for his zeal as gymnasiarch in general and issued at the end of his office, mentions that the *neoi* had voted and erected a marble statue (*agalma*) in the exedra in which the *agalma* of Philetairos is placed.²⁸ Philetairos was probably the founder of the Attalid dynasty and the exedra, no doubt located in the gymnasium, must have been consecrated to the royal cult.

Diodoros was also honoured by *boule* and *demos* at the end of his office, for the renovation of the gymnasium of the *neoi*, which had fallen completely into decay and had become unusable. He also adorned the building with a portico. By doing all this he became the second founder (δεύτερος κτίστης).²⁹ Most scholars interpret that Diodoros was the second founder of the gymnasium; I take it that Diodoros was the second founder of the city, the first founders being the hero Pergamos and Philetairos.³⁰ An exedra was constructed for Diodoros in the gymnasium of the *neoi*, in which a marble statue (*agalma*) of him was dedicated, so that thanks to this *agalma* he was *sunthronos* with the gods of the *palaistra* (these are Hermes and Herakles).³¹ Before this *agalma* an inscription was placed, honouring Diodoros as *euergetes* of his *patris*.

Another decree again, issued some time after the preceding ones, honoured Diodoros because of his diplomatic activities and successes obtained with the (local?) Roman authorities. It mentions that the herald has to pray in the *prytaneion* to Diodoros *euergetes* after praying to Manius Aquil-

²⁷ M. Fränkel, *I.Pergamon* 256 (cf. Chankowski p. 163 no. III), republished by Chankowski p. 171-174 (SEG 48, 1491). L. 14: -- παρὰ δὲ τὸ ἄγαλμα παρασταθῆναι [θ]υσίαν αὐτῶ[ι - -. The same *agalma* is also mentioned in IGR 4, 294 Ll. 33-34.

²⁸ IGR 4, 294 (cf. Chankowski p. 162 no. I). Ll. 35-36: Τῶν δὲ νέων -- [-- καὶ φιλο]τιμότηατα καθιδρυκότων τὸ ψηφισθὲν ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἄγαλμα ἐν τῇ ἐξέδρῃ ἐν ἧι τὸ τοῦ Φιλεταίρου ἄγαλμα καθίδρυται. For this *agalma*, see Chankowski p. 173-174.

²⁹ IGR 4, 293 Col. I (cf. Chankowski p. 164 no. VI-A) Ll. 41-45 and Col. II (cf. Chankowski p. 164 no. VI-D, somewhat later than VI-A) Ll. 60-66 (Ll. 61-62: γενόμενος καθάπερ εἴ τις δεύτερος | κτίστης).

³⁰ J.H.M. Strubbe, *Ancient Society* 15-17 (1984-1986), 260-261.

³¹ IGR 4, 293 Col. I Ll. 43-45: καὶ | [αὐτὸς διὰ τούτου τ]οῦ ἀγάλματος σύνθρονος ἦι τοῖς κατὰ παλ[α]ίστραν | [θεοῖς. For the meaning of σύνθρονος, see Chankowski p. 198-199: *sunthronos* is probably just a synonym of *sunnaos*.

lius, the consul of 129 BC who organized the new province of Asia.³² This shows – by the way – the high rank of the benefactor Diodoros. Lower down in the inscription it is said that all magistrates must well perform their duties towards Diodoros in order that, like he has taken good care of the city in previous times, he may now, being honoured with god-like honours (ἰσόθεοι τιμαί), become more zealous in his devotion, since he has been rewarded with appropriate rewards for his benefactions.³³

The figure of Diodoros Pasparos may be considered a turning point in the award of cultic honours. On the one side he received these honours for his building activities in the gymnasium. On the other side he received cultic honours for obtaining from the Roman authorities favours of a constitutional kind. It should be noted that the honours in gratitude for the reconstruction of the gymnasium were awarded by the *neoi* and by the *polis* independently.

After Diodoros Pasparos comes a group of notables who all received cultic honours during the last two thirds of the first century BC. I will present their cases very briefly.

Gnaius Pompeius Theophanes from Mytilene on Lesbos is identified in an inscription with the god Zeus Eleutherios.³⁴ In that same inscription he is called saviour and benefactor and second founder of his father city. The inscription was probably erected in 36/35 BC, in any case after the death of Theophanes.³⁵ Theophanes was a friend, adviser and biographer of Pompey the Great. He accompanied Pompey on his campaign against Mithridates between 67/66 and 62 BC. He received the Roman citizenship from Pompey in 62 BC and obtained from him in that same year freedom for Mytilene.³⁶ It is not clear whether Theophanes received the cultic honour while alive (shortly after 62 BC) or after his death which occurred between 44 and 36 BC; the last option looks more likely.³⁷

³² IGR 4, 293 Col. II (cf. Chankowski p. 164 no. VI-G). For the date, see Chankowski p. 168. Col. II Ll. 1-42 are republished by F. Canali De Rossi, *ISE* III 191. Ll. 23-24: ἐμ μὲν τῷ πρωτανεΐῳ τὸν ἱεροκήρυκα μετὰ Μάνιον Ἀκύλλιον ἐπεύχεσθαι καὶ Διοδώρῳ Ἡρώδου Πασπάρῳ εὐεργέτῃ; cf. Jones 2000, op. cit. (n. 21), 7.

³³ Ll. 38-39: καὶ νῦν ἰσοθέων ἡξιωμένος τιμῶν ἐκτενέστερος γίνηται τῇ προθυμίᾳ κομιζόμενος τῶν εὐεργεσιῶν ἀξίας τὰς ἀμοιβάς.

³⁴ IGR 4, 55b: [Θ]εῶ Δ[ι]ὶ Ἐλευθε]ρίῳ φιλοπάτριδι Θεοφάνῃ. Recently republished by G. Labarre, *Les cités de Lesbos aux époques hellénistique et impériale* (Paris 1996), 277 no. 19b. For other sources, testifying to the divinisation of Theophanes (Tacitus, coins), see Labarre, 93.

³⁵ For the date, see SEG 35, 906.

³⁶ Strubbe 1984-1986, op. cit. (n. 30), 292; Labarre 1996, op. cit. (n. 34), 93-94.

³⁷ Labarre 1996, op. cit. (n. 34), 98 with note 27.

Gaius Julius Artemidoros from Knidos in Caria³⁸ was honoured with many rewards. An honorary inscription tells that he received among other things several crowns, several statues, *proedria*, *sitesis* and a public burial after his death in a tomb on the most conspicuous place of the gymnasium. The *demos* erected a golden statue (*eikon*) of him, *synnaos* with Artemis Hyakinthotrophos and Epiphanes, put up an altar, and voted sacrifices and a procession and a pentaeteric gymnastic contest, called Artemidoreia, and honoured him with god-like honours (τιμαῖς ἰσοθέοις).³⁹ Artemidoros together with his father had obtained the grant of freedom and exemption from taxation for his city from Caesar, shortly after the battle of Pharsalos in 48 BC.⁴⁰ The inscription then should be dated shortly after 48 BC, when Artemidoros was still alive.

The following case is that of Asklepiades from Kyzikos on the South coast of the Black Sea. His grandson Demetrios was honoured by the people with many rewards; he was also crowned at the contests of the Heroa, which were yearly organized in gratitude, for his grandfather Asklepiades, the founder (*oikistes*), and for those who had fought with him at Alexandria in the war against Ptolemaios.⁴¹ L. Robert interpreted this text that a cult was celebrated in the gymnasium near the tomb of Asklepiades and his companions. These men belonged to the army with which Mithridates of Pergamon liberated Caesar when besieged in Alexandria in 47 BC.⁴² Asklepiades no doubt obtained privileges for Kyzikos, but the nature of these is unknown; for this merit the title of *oikistes* was granted to him and he was

³⁸ W. Blümel, *I. Knidos* 59, who dated the text to the Augustan period.

³⁹ Ll. 11-19: ἐστάκει δὲ | [αὐ]τοῦ καὶ εἰκόνα χρυσεάν σύνναον | [τ]αῖ Ἀρτάμιτι ταῖ Ἰακυνθοτρόφῳι | [κ]αὶ Ἐπιφανεῖ, ἄς καὶ αὐτᾶς ἱερεὺς | [ὑ]πάρχει διὰ βίου· καὶ βωμὸν | ἰδρυσάμενος καὶ θυσίας καὶ πομπὰν | καὶ γυμνικὸν ἀγῶνα πενταετηρικὸν | ψαφ[ι]-ξάμενος Ἀρτεμιδώρεια | τετιμάκει αὐτὸν τιμαῖς ἰσοθέοις.

⁴⁰ So Gauthier 1985, op. cit. (n. 5), 62; I had assumed in op. cit. (n. 30), 300 that Artemidoros' father, Caius Julius Theopompos, had obtained freedom from Caesar after Pharsalos and that Artemidoros had secured it in the time of Augustus. For the grants, see Magie 1950, op. cit. (n.26) I, 406.

⁴¹ IGR 4, 159 Ll. 10-13: ὁμ[ο]ίως δὲ στεφανοῦσθαι αὐτὸν καὶ | ἐν τοῖς κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν τιθεμ[έ]νο[ι]ς εὐχ[α]ριστηρίοις ἀγῶσιν Ἡρώοις τῷ πάππῳ αὐτοῦ Ἀσκληπιάδῃ τῷ οἰκ[ισ]-τῇ καὶ τοῖς συναγωνισαμένοις αὐτῷ κατ' Ἀλεξανδρείαν ἐν τῷ [κ]ατὰ Πτο[λεμ]α[ῖ]ον πολ[έ]μῳ. Cf. L. Robert, *OMS* IV, 103; *Hellenica* VIII (Paris 1950), 96. Asklepiades achieved more than Price 1984, op. cit. (n. 1), 49 note 116 suggests ("he merely served in forces aiding Caesar").

⁴² Magie 1950, op. cit. (n. 26) I, 406, II, 1261 note 11.

honoured with games, either alive or after his death.⁴³ Personally, I wonder whether these games, organized in gratitude, are a sufficient indication of cult.

The honours for Gaius Julius Epikrates and his father Gaius Julius Apollonios from Miletos have been studied extensively by P. Herrmann. Two inscriptions mention that a building has been dedicated to each one of them after their death. It is possible that a heroic cult was celebrated for them in a special construction, possibly a *temenos* (cf. the Diodoreion at Pergamon).⁴⁴ Nothing is known about the father Apollonios. But the son, Epikrates, was *stephanephoros* in the time of the invasion of the Parthians under T. Labienus. Epikrates (possibly together with his father Apollonios?) may have played part in the resistance of Miletos against Labienus. Later an embassy was sent to Rome, which recovered the ancient status of freedom and autonomy (39/38 BC), which had been lost in the time of Sulla.⁴⁵ Epikrates (and his father) may have been members of that embassy; he died some time after 6/5 BC.

The next figures are Euthydemos and Hybreas from Mylasa in Caria. An inscription, found at Mylasa by L. Robert and still unpublished, apparently mentions a priest of the deceased Hybreas and the deceased Euthydemos.⁴⁶ There are three other documents which are often adduced as evi-

⁴³ Gauthier 1985, op. cit. (n. 5), 61 lists Asklepiades among the benefactors who obtained liberty for their city. As far as I know, Kyzikos was free after the First Mithridatic War and this freedom was confirmed in 73 BC after the Third War, see Magie 1950, op. cit. (n. 26) I, 328-330. Only in 20 BC Kyzikos will lose its independence. In 47 BC Kyzikos may have obtained e.g. enlargement of its territory, privileges concerning taxes.

⁴⁴ P. Herrmann, *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 44 (1994), 229-234; idem, *Milet* VI.1, 159 and 156; SEG 44, 942. Both dedications have ὁ δῆμος -- καθιέρωσεν and the name of the (deceased) person in the dative.

⁴⁵ P. Herrmann, in: J.H.M. Strubbe c.s., *ENEPEIEIA. Studies on ancient history and epigraphy presented to H.W. Pleket* (Amsterdam 1996), 4; Magie 1950, op. cit. (n. 26) I, 432. Later, as a friend of Augustus, Epikrates obtained several privileges for the city, see *ibidem*, 5-7.

⁴⁶ The inscription was first mentioned by L. Robert, *American Journal of Archaeology* 39 (1935), 335, but Robert did not mention the priesthood, only the names of the two deceased men and a priest of the god Sinuri. A few years later, concerning his 1947-1948 course at the Collège de France (1950, op. cit. (n. 41), 95 = *OMS* IV, 103), Robert wrote that Hybreas "jouit lui-même après sa mort d' un culte héroïque". A. Akarca, *Les monnaies grecques de Mylasa* (Paris 1959), 28(-29) n. 2 argued that the inscription made known a priest of the hero Hybreas. L. Robert, *L'Antiquité Classique* 35 (1966), 420 (= *OMS* VI, 44) similarly mentioned an heroic cult of Hybreas with a priest of the cult. Only in 1974 Robert wrote concerning his 1973-1974 course at the Collège de France, that Hybreas "à sa mort il fut

dence of a cult of Hybreas: three inscribed altars of Hybreas, deceased (*heros*), are dedicated, one by a group of 18 huntsmen (κυνηγοί, *bestiarii*), another by a group of 23 men, the third by one single man and his sons.⁴⁷ It should be noted, however, that the altars are not dedicated to Hybreas (as with Epikrates) but that several altars of the deceased Hybreas are dedicated. There is no indication that the *kynegoi* acted in honour of Hybreas. It seems more likely, as G. Marasco has suggested, that Hybreas had to do with these men as a magistrate or as *euergetes*, that he had been involved during his life in the organization or the financing of the games, for example through a foundation. I suggest that these games may have been part of the Imperial cult of Roma and Augustus: Hybreas was hereditary high priest, most probably of this cult.⁴⁸

The reasons why Euthydemus and Hybreas received cultic honour is not known. Both were famous orators and leading politicians at Mylasa, opponents of each other. Euthydemus, an almost tyrannical leader, did much good to Mylasa but achieved nothing exceptional, as far as we know.⁴⁹ Hybreas, on the other hand, played an important role in the resistance against Labienus, mentioned before.⁵⁰ Under his leadership the people of Mylasa rebelled and massacred a garrison of Labienus during a feast. In revenge Labienus destroyed the city, which Hybreas and the citizens had left, and the territory. After this episode, Hybreas played an important role in the reconstruction of the city, according to Strabo. G. Marasco has recently argued that the cultic honour was awarded to Hybreas for his reconstruction works

divinisé et eut un prêtre de son culte, tout de même qu' Euthydémos (le prêtre leur était commun)" (*OMS* V, 53). On the inscription, see also G. Marasco, *Fra republica e impero* (Viterbo 1992), 56-58.

⁴⁷ W. Blümel, *I. Mylasa* 534-536. No. 534 starts as follows: Γαίου Ἰουλίου, Λέοντος | ἥρωος υἱοῦ, Ὑβρέου ἥρωος, | ἀρχιερέως διὰ γένους, καθιέρωσαν οἱ κυνηγοί.

⁴⁸ The cult of Roma presumably existed in Mylasa since 188 BC, see R. Mellor, *ΘΕΑ ΡΩΜΗ. The worship of the goddess Roma in the Greek world* (Göttingen 1975), 44. It was replaced later by the new cult of Roma and Augustus, for which a temple was erected and dedicated between 12 and 2 BC (see *ibidem*, and 195). I do not agree with L. Robert, 1966, *op. cit.* (n. 50), 421 n. 7 that the *kunegoi* were a cultic group like the Juliastai at Thyateira (see below) and I consider the translation of the verb καθιέρωσαν by Blümel as "haben den heiligen Dienst vollzogen" as incorrect.

⁴⁹ Strabo 14.2.24; see Marasco 1992, *op. cit.* (n. 46), 38-42. Euthydemus had contact with Cicero, when governor of Asia, concerning a debt of the city, but it is not clear whether this was an important matter.

⁵⁰ For Hybreas, see Marasco 1992, *op. cit.* (n. 46), 37-59 with the critics of H.W. Pleket in SEG 42, 997; cf. also SEG 46, 1424.

either as a magistrate charged with the rebuilding or as *euergetes*. Marasco rejects the opinion of Ph. Gauthier that Hybreas obtained freedom for his city. Mylasa enjoyed independence since the treaty of Apameia (188 BC) and this privilege was never lost or questioned during the Republican period. It is known that Octavian, after his arrival in Asia in 31 BC, received an embassy from Mylasa, asking for help for the reconstruction of the destroyed city. Octavian probably gave help and at the same time perhaps recognized the freedom of Mylasa.⁵¹ Since Gaius Julius Hybreas probably received the Roman citizenship from Octavian, he most probably was a member or the leader of the embassy to Octavian. It is not excluded that cultic honour was awarded to Hybreas for this achievement. Perhaps Euthydemus was associated with him, as another prominent politician and benefactor.

The last inscription of the group comes from Thyateira in Lydia: the people there dedicated the Xenoneion and the grave (?) to Gaius Julius Xenon, deceased (*heros*). It is said that Xenon had conferred the greatest benefactions upon entire Asia; he is called saviour and benefactor (*euergetes*) and founder (*ktistes*) and father of his fatherland. The Juliastai, an association named after him, built the Xenoneion (a *temenos* in which his grave was also situated?) and probably performed his cult. The text is dated before 5 BC.⁵² In an earlier study I have argued that Xenon may have been head of an embassy, sent to Rome, to ask for help for reconstruction after the earthquake of 24 BC.⁵³

All benefactors of the group which I have discussed (with reservation for the case of Asklepiades from Kyzikos) were honoured with a cult in the last two thirds of the first century BC. Characteristic is that almost all intervened with the Roman authorities on behalf of their city; most of them obtained constitutional privileges, the recovery of the lost freedom. Only Xenon from Thyateira obtained material help for rebuilding his city, perhaps especially – I guess – the gymnasium. The action of Euthydemus from Mylasa remains unknown. Several of the benefactors were honoured as founder (*ktistes*). When they received a cult, some were alive, others were

⁵¹ Magie 1950, op. cit. (n. 26) I, 473.

⁵² TAM 5.2, 1098 Ll. 1-4: ὁ δῆμος | τὸ Ξενώνηον καὶ τὴν ἐντο[[μ]ήν [κα]θιέρωσεν Γαίῳ Ἰουλίῳ Ἀπο[λ]λωνίου υἱῷ Ξένωνι ἥρωι. For the date, see M.D. Campanile, *I sacerdoti del koinon d'Asia* (Pisa 1994), 31-32.

⁵³ Strubbe 1984-1986, op. cit. (n. 30), 299; Gauthier 1985, op. cit. (n. 5), 61-62, includes Xenon in his list of benefactors who obtained freedom for their city. As far as I know, Thyateira was never free.

deceased.⁵⁴ It should be noted that there are no women and no children among them.

The end

The last inscription in the series of cultic honours is the honorary decree for Lucius Vaccius Labeo from Kyme in Aiolis, which dates between 2 BC and 14 AD.⁵⁵ The inscription tells that Labeo had held the office of gymnasiarch in a glorious way, that he had built a bath for the *neoi* and had donated lands he possessed in Smarageion for its upkeep, that he had (re)built the gymnasium and that he had finished everything (of the building) splendidly. Therefore the people decided to award him the highest honour and resolved to dedicate to him a temple in the gymnasium, in which the people wanted to erect his statues, to call him founder (*ktistes*) and benefactor (*euergetes*),⁵⁶ and to confer other benefits such as golden statues, public burial after his death and interment in the gymnasium. Labeo, however, adapting his fate to what might be attained by humans, declined what was excessive and suited only to gods and god-like persons, that is the honour of the erection of a temple and of the title of *ktistes*.⁵⁷ So *boule* and *demos* decided to honour him with *proedria*, a golden crown, the erection of statues with inscription in the gymnasium, public burial after his death and interment in the gymnasium. In this text benefactions to the gymnasium, the title of *ktistes* and cultic honour are clearly interrelated.

Labeo declined the cultic honour and the title of *ktistes* because these were suited only to the gods (θεοί) and god-like men (ἰσοῦθιοι). The last word no doubt refers to the Emperor (Augustus).⁵⁸ Labeo put into words the

⁵⁴ Strubbe 1984-1986, op. cit. (n. 30), 290-291 with bibliographical references. Their grave was often located within the city. I am not certain that the statement of Price 1984, op. cit. (n. 1), 50 that from the reign of Augustus onwards at most heroic honours (to deceased people) were awarded, is correct (cf. the grant to Labeo, who was alive).

⁵⁵ H. Engelmann, *I. Kyme* 19; partly republished by G.G. Fagan, *Bathing in public in the Roman world* (Ann Arbor 1999), 330 no. 292 (Ll. 37-41 with translation) and 347 no. 339 (Ll. 39-40).

⁵⁶ Ll. 5-8: καὶ ναυ[ὸ]ν ἐν τῷ γυμ<v>ασίῳ κατείρων προαγρημμένω, ἐν ᾧ ταῖς τεῖμαῖς αὐτῷ κατιδρύσει, κτίσταν τε καὶ εὐεργέταν προσονυμᾶσθεσθαι.

⁵⁷ Ll. 13-17: καὶ προσμετρεις τὰν ἑαυτῷ τύχαν τοῖς ἐφικτοῖσιν ἀνθρώπῳ, τὰν | μὲν ὑπερβαρέα καὶ θεοῖσι καὶ τοῖς ἰσοῦθίοισι ἀρμόζοι|σαν τᾶς τε τῷ ναυῷ κατειρώσις τᾶς τε τῷ κτίστα | προσονυμασίας τεμᾶν παρητήσατο.

⁵⁸ Price 1984, op. cit. (n. 1), 51 with note 129; J.-L. Ferrary, in: *Actes du congrès international d' épigraphie grecque et latine, Nîmes 1992* (Paris 1997), 207 (imitation of the

idea which was no doubt generally diffused among the Greeks, that cultic honours had to be reserved for the deified Emperor because of his supreme position.⁵⁹ Moreover, as an Italian – Labeo no doubt belonged to a family of Roman *negotiatores* established in Kyme – he may have been especially sensitive to the official policy of Augustus, who declined divine honour during his lifetime, and whose words are echoed by Labeo. Parallel to Labeo's case, the last new cult of a Roman governor was established in the last decade BC.⁶⁰

After Labeo not a single benefactor was honoured with cultic honours, publicly celebrated, but the practice of conferring the title of *ktistes* went on, without cultic aspect, however. We must infer that the practice of conferring cultic honours on citizen-benefactors, which existed in Asia Minor since the beginning of the second century BC, came to an end under the influence of the cult of the Emperor and the political situation. We clearly detect here the impact of Empire.⁶¹

Labeo was offered cultic honour for his reconstruction of the gymnasium, just like Lyson, the first benefactor I have discussed. So far, we seem to have two different groups of benefactors, on the one hand those who financed (re)construction works in their city, especially on the gymnasium, on the other hand those who succeeded in winning privileges or constitutional changes for the better from Roman authorities.⁶² Both benefactions, however, were equal. They were considered as the refoundation of the city;

moderation of Augustus). Price 1984, op. cit. (n. 1), 49 note 116 is astonished that Labeo received such high honours, while he “is known only to have repaired the gymnasium”.

⁵⁹ Price 1984, op. cit. (n. 1), 50-51.

⁶⁰ For cultic honours for Roman magistrates, see Ferrary 1997, op. cit. (n. 57), 199-225; cf. the list on 216-218. According to this list the last one was C. Marcius Censorinus, proconsul of Asia between 8/7 and 3/2 BC (attested at Mylasa). G. Thériault, *Cahiers des Études Anciennes* 37 (2001) II, 92 with note 60, however, argues that it was C. Vibius Postumus, proconsul of Asia between 6-9 or 12-15 AD (attested at Samos). Thériault attributes the disappearance of cultic honour for Roman magistrates to the ‘monopolisation’ of that honour by the Emperor and his family and to Augustus' restrictive legislation on the honouring of magistrates in the provinces (p. 92).

⁶¹ Outside Asia Minor the practice ended around the same time. The last award of cultic honours to a civic benefactor took place at Kyrene in 16/15 BC for Barkaios, who was deceased (SEG 9, 4; cf. L. Robert, *Revue de Philologie* (1939), 158-163 (= *OMS* II, 1311-1316)). The gymnasiarch had to bring sacrifices for him every year on his birthday.

⁶² Thériault 2001, op. cit. (n. 60), 91 argues that the civic benefactors, honoured with cultic honours, acted in critical and dramatic circumstances, in which vital interests of their city were at stake (liberty, taxes, financial or other support). He does not point to benefactions to the gymnasium.

both types of benefactors were honoured with the title of *ktistes* (founder). The link between the two benefactions is the fact that in the second and first centuries BC the gymnasium had become the most important place in the city and the symbol of the city itself.⁶³ As *ktistai*, and overpowering all their fellow-citizens, these benefactors deserved the highest cultic honours.⁶⁴

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⁶³ L. Robert has pointed out in many studies that the gymnasium had become a second *agora*; Ph. Gauthier, in: M. Wörle & P. Zanker, eds., *Stadtbild und Bürgerbild im Hellenismus* (München 1995), 1-11. L. Robert had announced a work on the *euergetai* and their cult, i.a. in *OMS* II, 814 n. 3; Thériault 2001, op. cit. (n. 60), 85 n. 1 announces a book on “Les bienfaiteurs grecs et romains et les honneurs culturels dans la cité grecque”.

⁶⁴ Strubbe 1984-1986, op. cit. (n. 30), 290-296.

SUBSTITUTES FOR EMPERORS AND MEMBERS OF THE
IMPERIAL FAMILIES AS LOCAL MAGISTRATES*

By
M. HORSTER

*... et optimus Imperator Hadrianus
Augustus etiam duumviratus hono-
rem suscepit¹*

1. Introduction

This paper deals with honorary office-holding by the emperor or by members of the imperial family in Greek and Roman cities. It also investigates the practice of entrusting substitutes with the tasks for which imperial office-holders were theoretically responsible, and draws attention to a striking contrast in attitudes towards office-holding by such substitutes that can be observed among the urban elites of the eastern provinces and their counterparts in the western half of the empire.

Magistrates and priests not having citizenship in the city in which they held office are first attested in Greek cities in the fourth century BC.² During the same period gods and goddesses were sometimes chosen as eponymous magistrates (*archontes*, *prytaneis*, *stephanephoroi*, or *hieromnamones* etc.).³ In such cases there can be little doubt that the expenses associated with the offices in question were met from the god's property, that is from the funds of his or her sanctuary. A logical corollary of this supposition is that the decision to entrust magistracies to a god or goddess was mostly taken when cities found themselves in difficulties, especially of a financial kind.⁴ This means that even though office-holding by deities need not reflect a general lack of male citizens, it most certainly points to a shortage of male citizens both willing and able to finance the duties and liturgies connected with civic

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¹ CIL 10, 6090 = ILS 6295 = No. 63 (Munic. Formiae, Italy).

² Cf. M. Osborne, *Naturalization in Athens* (Brüssel 1983), passim; M. Horster, 'Die Übernahme von Ämtern und Liturgien durch 'Nicht-Bürger' in spätklassischer in hellenistischer Zeit' (paper in prepress for 2005).

³ Cf. L. Robert, 'Divinités éponymes', *Hellenica* 2 (Paris 1946) 51-61 and 154; R.K. Sherk, 'The eponymous officials of Greek cities V', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 96 (1993), 267-296, esp. 283-285.

⁴ Cf. e.g. Sherk 1993, op. cit. (n. 3), 251; 283.

offices. Probably those men who were sufficiently wealthy to shoulder the necessary expenses were already engaged with other duties. These assumptions may well hold true in many cases of honorary office-holding by gods and goddesses in late classical and Hellenistic times.

In Roman times, however, there is some evidence to suggest that at least in some cases the costs of offices nominally held by deities were borne not by temple funds but by other office-holders. In Chersonesus in the Crimea, for instance, the main goddess of the city, the Parthenos, held the office of βασιλίσσα on a permanent basis.⁵ It is hard to believe that the expenses associated with the eponymous office of *basileus*, which was typical of Megarian colonies, were paid for with the goddess's money for decades. It is more likely that the eponymous office did not entail any real duties during this period and that the other magistrates of the city, such the *archon*, the *hieros* and the *grammateus* (whose names follow that of the *basilissa* in most decrees of the city), had taken over the costs and the duties originally associated with it. Another possible example comes from Rhegion in the territory of Byzantium, where several inscribed stelai referring to the eponymous office of *hieromnamon* were found in the 1930s. The inscriptions, which can be dated to the first half of the second century,⁶ show that on a number of occasions this office was nominally held by the goddesses Nemesis, Demeter, Hera and Nike respectively. The acting magistrate was described as *ιεροποιῶν*. Most of the dating formulas on the stelai begin with ἐπὶ *ιερομνάμονος θεᾶς* (name of a goddess) *ιεροποιοῦντος* (name of a citizen). Interestingly, however, Byzantine inscriptions of this period never name *hieropoiontes* acting as substitutes when the office of *hieromnamon* is held by a citizen or an emperor. This strongly suggests that in those cases where a *hieropoion* acted as a substitute for a divinity the substitute office-

⁵ *IOSPE I* 357-361; 365, 376, 385-387, 699. The inscriptions date to the late first and early second centuries AD. Cf. Robert, *op. cit.* (n. 3), 56 and *id.*, *Études anatoliennes. Recherche sur les inscriptions grecques de l'Asie Mineure* (Paris 1937) 101sq.

⁶ *Belleten* 3, 1939, 437-445, cf. Robert 1946, *op. cit.* (n. 3), 154; R.K. Sherck, 'The eponymous officials of Greek cities III', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 88 (1991), 225-260 esp. 235. The sculptured stelai were found in a Byzantine tomb. They had been brought to this place from the headquarters of a *collegium* of Dionysos and seem to belong to a relatively short period. This epigraphic evidence is supplemented by coin legends from which it appears that Demeter was eponymous in Byzantium for the second time under Hadrian, and Nike for the seventh time under Macrinus and Diadumenius; cf. E. Schönert-Geiß, *Die Münzprägung von Byzantion. Teil II: Kaiserzeit* (Berlin 1972), 17.

holder not only performed the tasks and duties of the *hieromnamoneia* but also shouldered the expenditures connected with that office.⁷

However, gods were not the only non-citizens to be appointed to offices in Greek cities. In the fourth century, king Alexander held offices in cities on a honorary basis. The epigraphical evidence from Miletus includes seven inscriptions listing the names of all eponymous magistrates who held office between 525 BC and the reign of Tiberius – with gaps of course.⁸ From these lists it appears that the eponymous office of *aisymnetes* (*stephanephoros*) had been held by Alexander in 334/33, by Demetrius in 295/94 and by Antiochos I in 280/79 – to name only some. Furthermore the god Apollo turns out to have been the eponymous magistrate of Miletus twenty-nine times during the years 332/31 to 10/9 BC.

Although it makes sense to conjecture that gods tended to be entrusted with eponymous magistracies in difficult times, this explanation does not always apply to other office-holders recruited from outside the civic community. Athenaeus provides an example:⁹ when Ptolemy Euergetes II was elected annual priest of Apollo in Cyrene, his duties consisted *inter alia* in organizing sacrifices and banquets for the Artemisia in Cyrene. Ptolemy duly offered a lavish banquet at which he was personally present. In all likelihood this was one of the very few occasions on which he performed his duties in Cyrene in person. Although Ptolemy is likely to have paid for several other sacrifices and banquets during his priesthood without attending these occasions, this example shows that kings, emperors and other high-ranking men who held offices in Greek cities did not always perform their civic duties *in absentia*. It may even be suggested that the city council's decision to offer a magistracy or a priesthood to a high-ranking outsider was often prompted by the personal presence of this person. In such cases the appointment of non-citizens to honorific office cannot be said to reflect financial difficulties. Similarly, the explanation for other unusual kinds of office-holding in Hellenistic and Roman times need not always be financial. For instance, the decision to appoint women as honorary magistrates or as honorary substitutes for male priests need not always point to a shortage of sufficiently wealthy men.¹⁰

⁷ Already interpreted this way by Robert 1946, op. cit. (n. 3), 57.

⁸ I. Milet I.3, nos. 122-128.

⁹ Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistai* 12, 549e.

¹⁰ Sherk 1993, op. cit. (n. 3), 290-291 on women as eponymous officials; and A. Bielman, 'Femmes et jeux dans le monde grec hellénistique et impérial', *Études de Lettres* (1998), 33-50 on the *agonothesia* and other non-eponymous duties and offices.

Gods, kings and women did not and usually could not perform their duties as magistrates or priests in person. In most cases they merely paid for the duties, sacrifices and banquets that were connected with the office. The assumption of offices on an honorary basis should therefore be seen as a benefaction, a kind of euergetism. Someone else, a substitute, did the real job. Unfortunately, little is known about the designations used to denote such substitutes (e.g. *epimeletes?*) in classical and hellenistic times, let alone about their activities.

2. Substitute office-holders

a) The Republican evidence

In the cities of the Roman West we have no examples of honorific offices before the second half of the first century BC. In republican times several wealthy men allowed themselves to be appointed to offices in more than one city.¹¹ Mireille Cébeillac Gervasoni gives some examples from Latium and Campania, such as C. Quinctius Valgus, who held offices in Pompeii and Frigentium, and Numerius Cluvius who did so in Capua, Caudium and Nola.¹² Since we have no evidence for substitutions, we should assume that these Romans performed most of their duties in person. It must, however, be emphasized that there is also good evidence for honorary office-holding by powerful Romans who are unlikely to have spent much time in the cities in question. Some of this evidence comes from the East: Mark Antony, for example, is known to have been eponymous priest of the goddess Roma in Sardis.¹³ From approximately the same period onwards, we have some early examples of more or less honorary appointments in the Roman West. Thus it appears from Cicero's orations that Cn. Pompeius and L. Calpurnius Piso were *duumviri* of Capua in 58/57.¹⁴ Pompeius is known to have visited Capua and to have passed a decree in the city concerning one of Clodius' laws. Nevertheless, it seems unlikely that either he or Piso presided every session of the city council or performed all religious duties that were connected with the duumvirate.

¹¹ For a description of the obligations, duties and financial burdens entailed by the assumption of civic offices in Italian cities during the Republic, cf. M. Cébeillac Gervasoni, *Les magistrats des cités italiennes de la Seconde Guerre Punique à Auguste: Le Latium et la Campanie* (Paris 1998), 100, 105-133.

¹² Cébeillac Gervasoni, op. cit., 50 f.

¹³ Sardis VII 129.

¹⁴ Cicero, *Post reditum in senatu* 9.29; *Pro Sestio* 8.19.

The principle that civic offices could be held on an honorary basis was established in Greek cities during the late fourth century BC. From that moment onwards we find office-holding gods, men and women who were expected to do no more than pay for the duties connected with their magistracies or priesthoods. It is very likely that the idea of honorary office-holding by a non-citizen (or a woman or a child)¹⁵ came to the western cities from the East. The appointment of substitutes who were to carry out the civic duties entrusted to such people was a logical consequence of this development. In the epigraphic record this change, which is documented in the West from the late 30s BC onwards, is reflected by the appearance of *praefecti* whose task it was to perform the duties of absentee (eponymous) office-holders.

b. Prefects as substitute office-holders under the Empire

Unlike their counterparts in the Greek *poleis* of the East, substitute officials in western cities (and in the Roman colonies of the eastern provinces) were denoted with a special term: *praefectus*. In the West offices held in lieu of the emperor were also included in listings of priesthoods and offices in honorary decrees and epitaphs. A *praefectus* could even be mentioned on a coin in the same way as a regular magistrate.¹⁶

Substitutions for urban magistrates are first mentioned in the *fasti* of Venosa in the year 32 BC.¹⁷ Whenever neither of the *duumviri* was able to carry out his duties or if no *duumvir* could be elected, the city council designated two *praefecti iure dicundo* in order to ensure administrative and jurisdictional continuity. The term of office of these extraordinary officials lasted until new regular elections had taken place. In such cases these *praefecti* were eponymous magistrates. They cannot be regarded as substitutes for regular magistrates. Some time later in the early empire, a *lex Petronia* concerning the appointment of substitute magistrates was passed. Several

¹⁵ Women are attested only in the Greek East and not in the West, cf. note 10 above and L. Casarico, 'Donne ginnasiarco (a proposito di P. Med. inv. 69.01)', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 48 (1982) 117-123, with a list of 41 inscriptions recording female gymnasiarchs in Roman imperial times. On children and adolescents holding offices and priesthoods both in Italian cities and in various cities of the western and eastern provinces, cf. M. Kleijwegt, *Ancient Youth. The ambiguity of youth and the absence of adolescence in Greco-Roman society* (Amsterdam 1991), 318-325; M. Horster, 'Kinderkarrieren?', in C. Klodt, ed., *Satura Lanx*, Festschrift für Werner Krenkel (Hildesheim-Zürich-New York 1996), 223-238.

¹⁶ See below note 47.

¹⁷ CIL 9, 422 = ILS 6123 = I. Ital. 13.1 no. 8.

inscriptions mentioning prefects in Italian cities allude to this law. Unfortunately, its contents remain wholly obscure.¹⁸

The Flavian city laws from Spain contain two chapters concerning *praefecti* acting as substitutes for local magistrates. Chapter 24 of the *leges* of Salpensa and Irni deal with the powers of such *praefecti* as might be appointed as substitutes for the emperor Domitian.¹⁹ Chapter 25 concerns *praefecti* acting as substitutes during the temporary absence of the municipal *duumviri*.²⁰ The main difference was that *praefecti* of the former kind had the same powers as ordinary *duumviri* whereas the powers of those *praefecti* who replaced citizen-*duumviri* on a part-time basis were more limited than those of the regular office-holders. *Praefecti* of the latter variety may be compared to the Roman *praefecti urbi* of republican times and to the *praefectus feriarum Latinarum*, both of whom acted as substitutes for absent consuls. However, unlike the municipal *praefecti* of the imperial period, the republican *praefecti urbi* were regular magistrates who remained in office when the consuls were in Rome.

In most cases we do not know the identity of those local magistrates who were replaced by *praefecti*, for the simple reason that the name of the ordinary magistrate was rarely indicated in inscriptions.²¹ In the few known cases, however, the 'ordinary' magistrates turn out to have been Roman senators.²² Thus L. Domitius Ahenobarbus and P. Sulpicius Quirinus, who

¹⁸ *Praefecti iure dicundo e lege Petronia* are referred to in five inscriptions: cf. the *praefectus iure dicundo ex decreto decurionum lege Petronia* in Pompeii, CIL 10, 858 = ILS 6359. F. Sartori, 'La legge Petronia sui prefetti municipali e l'interpretazione del Borghesi', in: *Bartolomeo Borghesi. Scienza e libertà* (Bologna 1982), 211-222, discusses not only Borghesi's notions but also more recent interpretations.

¹⁹ ILS 6088: *Lex municipii Salpensani cap. 24 : De praefecto imp. Caesaris Domitiani Aug.*

²⁰ *Ibid.* cap. 25: *De iure praef., qui a Ilvir. relictus sit.*

²¹ Cf. for example the bare references to a *praefectus* *pr(o) Ilvir(o)* in the colony of Baeterrae, Gallia Narbonensis, AE 1999, 1034, or to the *praefectus i(ure) d(icundo) pro Ilvir(is) et q(uin)q(uennalibus)* in Ammaedara, Africa Proconsularis, AE 1999, 1787.

²² In the colony of Salona (Dalmatia) a Roman knight was appointed as a substitute for P. Dolabella; the same man is known to have acted as a substitute for Drusus Caesar in the same city, CIL 3, 14172 = No. 27; similarly, a knight with a mixed career of military appointments and civic offices is known to have been appointed as prefect in lieu of T. Statilius Taurus in the colony of Dyrrachium (Macedonia): CIL 3, 605 = ILS 2678. T. Statilius Severus, for whom a substitute was appointed in Capua (CIL 10, 3910), is very likely to have been a senator too. Several prefects acting as substitutes for Roman senators are recorded in the colony of Pisidian Antioch: the examples include C. Caristianus Caesianus Iulius, a Roman knight with a military career, who acted as a substitute for P. Sulpicius Quirinus, and M. Servilius, ILS 9502, 9503, another knight who replaced P.

had accompanied C. Caesar to the East (Tac. *Ann.* 3,48), are known to have been *Ilviri* in the colony of Antioch in Pisidia. In the case of Ahenobarbus the relevant information is supplied by an inscription set up in Antioch by the city of Alexandria to honour the prefect who had replaced him.²³

In his study on *praefecti iure dicundo* in Africa Jacques Gascou listed more than forty *praefecti* who had replaced unknown urban *duumviri*.²⁴ On the basis of a close examination of the career patterns of these prefects he concluded that this *praefectura* was not counted as a regular *honor*. No *summa honoraria* was due, and those who assumed this part-time office usually did so before being elected as regular *duumviri* – a position many of them may never have attained. Maria Silvia Bassignano studied the evidence for *praefecti iure dicundo* in the northern regions of Italy (*regiones* IX, X and XI) and arrived at somewhat different conclusions.²⁵ She listed more than fifty *praefecti* who acted as temporary substitutes for unknown urban magistrates in this part of Italy.

Only those *praefecti* who had been appointed as substitutes for an emperor or a member of the imperial family regularly mentioned the names of those they had replaced. In the West and in the Roman colonies of the East, where high-ranking Roman soldiers were prominent in local political life, *praefecti* who had been appointed as substitutes for an emperor or for members of the imperial families are well documented. Only eleven of those prefects who are known to have held other offices beside the *praefectura*, had exclusively civic careers comprising municipal offices and priesthoods.²⁶

Cornelius Sulla Felix *gener Germanici Caesaris* in 33 AD: AE 1927, 172 (Antioch in Pisidia). For Domitius Ahenobarbus in Antioch, see above and the following note.

²³ The prefect who acted as a substitute for Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus was a Roman knight with a military career: CIL 3, 6809 = ILS 2696.

²⁴ J. Gascou, 'La *praefectura iure dicundo* dans les cités de l'Afrique romaine', in: *L'Afrique dans l'occident romain (I siècle av. J.C.-IV siècle ap. J.C.)*. Actes du Colloque organisé par l'École française de Rome, Rome, 3-5 décembre 1987 (Paris-Rome 1990), 368-180.

²⁵ M.S. Bassignano, 'I "praefecti iure dicundo" nell'Italia settentrionale', in: *Epigrafia*, Actes du colloque international d'épigraphie latine en mémoire de Attilio Degrassi, Rome 27-28 mai 1988 (Rome 1991) 515-537.

²⁶ CIL 2, 1543 = No. 5 and CIL 2, 5120 = No. 6 C. Caesar's substitutes in Baetica; CIL 2, 5120 = No. 6 C. Caesar's substitute in Baetica; CIL 3, 170 = No. 91 Vespasian's substitute in Syria; CIL 11, 421 = ILS 6662 = No. 56 Trajan's substitute in Italy; CIL 14, 376 = No. 69 L. (Aelius) Caesar's substitute in Italy; AE 1916, 34 = 1956, 126 = No. 65 Antoninus Pius' substitute in Numidia; CIL 3, 1497 = ILS 7133 = IDR 3.2, 107 = No. 66 Antoninus Pius' or Caracalla's substitute in Dacia.

The fragmentary state of some other inscriptions makes it difficult or impossible to decide whether the civic offices of the prefects recorded on them were followed by military

Most of these prefects were appointed in the late first and in the second century AD. In contrast, twenty-three of the better known prefects combined local offices with military commands as *tribuni militum* in the legions, or as *praefecti alae* or *cohortis* in the *auxilia*.²⁷ Most of these prefects held the *praefectura* in the first century AD. In the careers of these prefects two distinct patterns can be discerned: while some of them first pursued purely military careers and did not assume any local offices before retiring from the army, others alternated municipal and military appointments. The first of these patterns is especially common during the early Principate. In addition, only in four cases the civic office of *praefectus iure dicundo* is listed among military posts and three of the men recorded as civic prefects are not known to have held any military post other than that of *praefectus fabrum*.²⁸ However, as Saddington has pointed out, there is a methodological problem.²⁹ The order of the offices and appointments “is not easy to discern because of the habit of grouping positions by different categories on inscriptions or of listing certain positions out of order because of their prestige which the

appointments. See e.g. AE 1980, 465 = No. 20 a substitute replacing Germanicus and Drusus in Italy; CIL 10, 7211 = No. 67 Antoninus Pius’ or Caracalla’s substitute in Sicily or CIL 3, 6843 = ILS 7201 = No. 81 Drusus’ substitute in Pisidian Antioch.

²⁷ Military tribunes: CIL 2, 2479 + 5617 and CIL 2, 35 = No. 14 in Lusitania (Augustan times?); CIL 11, 3610 = No. 4 in Italy (C. Caesar); CIL 12, 4230 = ILGN 558 = No. 3 in Gallia Narbonensis (C. Caesar); CIL 11, 969 = No. 17 in Italy (Germanicus Caesar); CIL 9, 3000 = AE 1999, 564 = No. 37 in Italy (Nero Caesar?); CIL 10, 5393 (cf. 5392, 5394) = ILS 6286 = No. 9, 23, 34 in Italy (Ti. Caesar, Drusus Caesar and Nero Caesar); CIL 10, 6101 = ILS 6285 = No. 12, 40 in Italy (Ti. Caesar, Drusus Caesar and Nero Caesar – though the prefect died before he could actually carry out any of his duties); AE 1982, 885 = No. 84 in Pisidia (Tiberius); CIL 14, 2995 = No. 36 in Italy (Nero Caesar); CIL 9, 4968 = ILS 5543 = No. 47 in Italy (Nero); CIL 11, 6955 = ILS 8903 = No. 48 in Italy (Nero); AE 1975, 353 = No. 49 in Italy (Vespasian); CIL 5, 7458 = No. 53 in Italy (Trajan); AE 1971, 367 = No. 68 a *praef. coh.* who later became *trib. legionis* (M. Aurelius and L. Verus, in Dacia).

Auxiliary prefects: CIL 11, 5669 = ILS 2728 (cf. AE 1987, 354) No. 54 in Italy (Trajan); ILS 9491 = No. 98 in Syria (Trajan).

Unknown equestrian ranks in military units: CIL 6, 29715 = No. 31 Italy (Drusus Caesar); a *praefectus equitum* in AE 1984, 293 = AE 1985, 328 = No. 11 Italy (Tiberius Caesar).

For references to five prefects with lower military ranks see note 31.

²⁸ *Praefecti fabrum*: CIL III 14712 = ILS 7160 = No. 27 Drusus Caesar’s substitute in Salona, Dalmatia; CIL 5, 4374 = AE 1992, 744 = No. 39 Nero Caesar’s substitute in Italy; CIL 5, 7567 = ILS 6747 = No. 30 Drusus Caesar’s substitute in Italy.

²⁹ D.B. Saddington, ‘The relationship between holding office in a *municipium* or *colonia* and the *milita equestris* in the early Principate’, *Athenaeum* 84 (1996) 157-181.

holder attached to them.”³⁰ To sum up, most of the *praefecti* had mixed careers. Usually they were appointed as *praefecti alae* or *cohortis*, less often as *tribuni militum legionis* or as *praefecti fabrum*.³¹ Many of them were Roman knights, but only few became procurators.³² Moreover, they are often recorded as *aediles*, *duumviri*, *quatuorviri* or *flamines*, in the very same cities in which they were appointed as *praefecti* replacing imperial magistrates. All in all, there can be no doubt that acting as a substitute for a Roman senator, for a member of the imperial family or for the emperor himself was a highly prestigious duty, at least in Roman-style *municipia* and *coloniae*.³³

In what follows I give a short overview of the evidence we have for emperors and members of the imperial family holding magistracies in western and eastern cities. Although this type of office-holding has attracted a certain amount of attention from other scholars, there exists no comprehensive discussion of this empire-wide phenomenon. For the East the secondary literature exists essentially of a few scattered remarks in the writings of Louis Robert and others. For the West we have Ignazio Didu’s (1983/4) and Giovanni Mennella’s (1988) more thorough studies of *praefecti* replacing imperial magistrates in various Italian and provincial cities.³⁴ There is,

³⁰ Saddington, 168. Only few of the careers that are epigraphically documented have a clear order of offices: e.g. in the Italian *municipium* of Caere a Roman knight had been prefect of Germanicus Caesar and died later during his service as a military tribune: CIL 11, 969 = No. 17.

³¹ Exceptions are lower military ranks: a [*primuspilus*] (more likely than [*trib.*] *leg.*) acting as a substitute for Drusus Caesar in Italy: CIL 11, 7066 = ILS 6598 = No. 28; a *centurio* and *primuspilus* acting as substitute for Nero Caesar in Syria: CIL 3, 14387g = IGLS 6, 2786 = No. 90; a *primuspilus* of several legions acting as substitute first for C. (or L.) Caesar and then for Ti. Caesar in Italy: CIL 9, 4122 = ILS 2644 = No. 7 and 13; a *centurio*, *primuspilus*, *trib. coh.* acting as Claudius’ substitute in Italy: CIL 11, 6224 = No. 46; a *primuspilus* and *tribunus coh.* acting as substitute for an unknown emperor (second century?) in Syria: AE 1958, 162 = No. 100.

³² Roman knights: CIL 9, 3044 = ILS 2689 = No. 19 in Italy – Germanicus Caesar; CIL 3, 170 = No. 90 in Syria – Vespasian; CIL 3, 1497 = ILS 7133 = IDR 3.2, 107 = No. 57 in Dacia – Trajan?; see also the military tribuns, auxiliary prefects and *praefecti fabrum* mentioned in notes 27 and 28. Procurators: perhaps CIL 9, 3000 = AE 1999, 564 = No. 37 in Italy (Nero Caesar?); CIL 11, 5669 = ILS 2728 = No. 54 in Italy (Trajan).

³³ For substitutes replacing senators who had been elected to the eponymous office of *duumvir* in the colony of Antioch, cf. S. Demougin, ‘A propos d’un préfet de Commagène’, *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 43 (1981) 97-109, esp. 107 with a similar conclusion.

³⁴ I. Didu, ‘I *praefecti* come sostituti di imperatori, cesari e altri notabili eletti alle più alte magistrature municipali’, *Annali della Facoltà di Lettere e di Filosofia dell’Università di Cagliari* n.s. 6 (43), 1983/4, 52-92; G. Mennella, ‘Sui prefetti degli Imperatori e dei Cesari

however, no study that takes into account the combined epigraphic and numismatic evidence from both parts of the empire. Didu's main conclusion was that appointments of imperial magistrates and their prefects in the West were usually connected with changes in city status. Mennella called attention to the fact that most of those who were appointed as *praefecti* of emperors or members of their families had no personal relation with the *princeps*. From the decrease in the number of the *praefecti* in the second century and from the creation of the new office of *curator rei publicae* Mennella inferred that the cities were unable to solve their emerging administrative problems using prefects recruited from inside their own citizen-bodies. In my view, this conclusion is unconvincing, if only because the duties of prefects and curators differed from each other in many respects.³⁵ For one thing, prefects are

nelle città dell'Italia e delle province', *Epigraphica* 50, 1988, 65-85; idem, 'I prefetti municipali degli imperatori e dei cesari nella Spagna romana', in *Epigrafia jurídica romana*, Actas del coloquio internacional A.I.E.G.L. Pamplona, 9-11 de abril de 1987 (Pamplona 1989), 377-389. Mennella 1988, op. cit., gives a list of prefects acting as substitutes for imperial office-holders. Some of those included in his list should be rejected: e.g. H. Bloch, *Notizie degli Scavi* 7, 1953, 291 Nr. 54 cf. AE 1982, 132 (Ostia); the conjectures to AE 1980, 441 (Rusellae) are quite insecure. At same time other prefects, such as the one mentioned in CIL 5, 4374 = AE 1992, 744 = No. 39 (Brixia) and AE 1989, 642 = 1990, 872 = No. 86 (Col. Buthroton, Epirus), are to be added. Since Didu's and Mennella's extensive studies only individual inscriptions concerning imperial office-holders or their substituting prefects have been discussed e.g. by G. Pollo, 'Die Germanicus-Inschrift aus Buthrotum', *Tyche* 5, 1990, 105-108; G. Mennella, I Lucilii Gamalae di Ostia in età antonina, *Quaderni Catanesi di cultura classica e medievale* 3 (1991), 159-174; M. Gaggiotti, 'Nota sulla classe dirigente sepinata di età augustea', *Athenaeum* (1991), 495-508; G.L. Gregori, 'Tra epigrafia e papirologia: A proposito dei Papirii Pastores di Brescia', *Aquileia Nostra* 63 (1992), 93-104; G. Ciampoltrini, 'Ancora per L. Titinius Glaucus Lucretianus', *Athenaeum* 80 (1992), 233-236; W. Eck, 'Zu Inschriften von Prokuratoren', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 124 (1999), 228-241, esp. 233ff.; D. Mulliez, 'Notes d'épigraphie delphique VIII. L'empereur Claude témoin et archonte à Delphes', *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellenique* 125 (2001), 289-303. An as yet unpublished book by M.C. Spadoni Cerroni (Perugia) on *Prefetti principis e municipales nell'amministrazione romana dell'Italia* (non vidi) may be expected to address some of the topics discussed in this paper.

³⁵ E. Grueber, 'Les correctores dans la partie hellenophone de l'empire romain du regne de Trajan à l'avènement de Diocletien: étude prosopographique', *Anatolia Antiqua* 5 (1997), 221-248, esp. 244 ff. investigates the assumption that the *eparchoi* and *eparcheia* recorded in several cities of Achaia and Asia were the equivalents of the western *praefecti iure dicundo* and *praefectura* and that these officials were elected by the Roman senate to control the cities of the East. This was first suggested by J.H. Oliver, 'The main problem of the Augustus inscription of Cyme', *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 4 (1963) 115-122; id., 'Augustan, Flavian, and Hadrianic *praefecti iure dicundo* in Asia and Greece', *American Journal of Philology* 84 (1963), 162-165, and id., 'Imperial Commissioners in Achaïa',

known to have carried out regular municipal tasks, while curators had to fulfil extraordinary duties. Furthermore, we have no indication that those prefects who acted as substitutes for imperial office-holders were expected to control and supervise the city in a more rigorous manner than ordinary officials. Similarly, Mennella is no doubt wrong to interpret the lack of evidence for prefects in the Greek *poleis* of the East as indicating that there were no substitute officials in these cities.

c. Substitute office-holders in Greek *poleis* under the Empire

In Hellenistic times it has not been unusual for gods, goddesses, heroes, and Hellenistic rulers to hold eponymous offices and to assume financial responsibility for various civic duties in Greek cities. After the Roman conquest of the East such offices and duties could also be entrusted to illustrious Romans, such as Mark Antony. Similar appointments continued to be made during the early empire. Interestingly, an early imperial inscription reveals that even the deified Roman senate³⁶ might be appointed to civic office in a Greek *polis*. Nevertheless most of the epigraphic evidence concerning office-holding by non-citizens in the East relates to honorary offices held by emperors and by living or dead members of imperial families, including deified empresses.³⁷

Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies 14 (1973), 389-405. Although Oliver's interpretation was more sophisticated than that of Mennella, he saw the civic prefects as forerunners of the *correctores*: cf. Grueber's critical remarks concerning the disputable interpretation of the evidence upon which this theory is based.

³⁶ 'Ἐπὶ ἱερομναμονούσης Ἱερᾶς Συνκλήτου in Pylai (Yalova), a town in the territory of Byzantium: Th. Corsten, 'Neue Denkmäler aus Bithynien', *Epigraphica Anatolica*. 14 (1991), 79-100, esp. 79-87 (= SEG 41, 1102). Corsten, 82, dates the text to the 1st or 2nd century AD. Note that it was the 'deified senate' rather than the Roman senate that fulfilled office of the eponymous *hieromnamon*. This must mean that the expenditure entailed by this office was met from temple funds or at least that the local sanctuary of the deified senate contributed some of the money needed for this purpose. Against this Corsten ventures the unconvincing suggestion (pp. 82-84) that the real senate in Rome was elected and paid for the office. Corsten also argues that even if the local sanctuary of the deified senate was chosen to fulfil the office of *hieromnamon*, the senate in Rome must have been asked for its approval. In my view there are no good reasons for assuming that the senate's permission was needed in this case, even though the town *may* have chosen to inform it of its own will. The same inscription seems to refer to a substitute official holding an unknown magistracy in the town of Pylai (ll. 12 f.): ἐπιμελησαμένου τᾶς ἀρχᾶς.

³⁷ Deified empresses as eponymous officials are so far known only from Byzantium: *Thea Faustina*; see Schönert-Geiss 1972, op. cit. (n. 6), 2057 = No. 113; cf. Agrippina the Elder as gymnasiarch for life: IG 12, 2. 258 = IGR 4, 100 = No. 88a. For a living empress holding

In Sparta a certain P. Memmius Pratolaus was honoured with a statue and an inscription according to which he had acted as a substitute (ἐπιμελητής) for the eponymous *patronomos*, the god Lykourgos, no fewer than four times (IG 5.1, 541). Another inscription from Sparta is a dedication to Artemis in which the dating formula referring to the eponymous *patronomos* is followed by the words ὑπὲρ αὐτὸν Τιβερίου Κλαυδίου Ἀρμονεϊκού (IG 5.1, 275). This probably means that Harmoneikos held office on behalf of the *patronomos* referred to in the first part of the formula.³⁸ By contrast, no substitutes holding eponymous magistracies for emperors or members of the imperial family are recorded either in Sparta or in any other Greek city. Apparently, Greek cities, with their different tradition of civic life, did not set up inscriptions or mint coins mentioning *epimeletai*, *eparchoi* or prefects acting as substitutes for eponymous magistrates.³⁹

In the case of non-eponymous magistracies the picture is completely different. Here there is good evidence for substitutes holding offices and performing liturgies to which members of the imperial family had been appointed. Agrippina the Elder was gymnasiarch for life in Mytilene on Lesbos.⁴⁰ The duties connected with this office seem to have been carried out by a hypogymnasiarch. Titus is known to have been agonothete and gymnasiarch in the colony of Naples with its Greek origins and institutions.⁴¹ As these offices are mentioned in a building inscription of Titus himself, it is only natural that we have no evidence for substitute officials in this case. Several decades later Hadrian is known to have held the gymnasiarchy in

honorary office see IK 32 Nr. 114 = No. 116: Bruttia Crispina, Commodus' wife, as eponymous *hieromnamon*. In the first case the banquets and sacrifices were financed not by a member of the imperial family but by the local sanctuary (or by the priest?) of the imperial cult.

³⁸ Thus the interpretation of R. Sherck, 'The eponymous officials of Greek cities (II)', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 84 (1990) 231-295, esp. 243.

³⁹ For a possible though unlike (as without parallels) counter-example see ILS 8867 as restored by H. Devijver, *De Aegypto et exercitu Romano sive prosopographia militiarum equestrium quae ab Augusto ad Gallienum seu statione seu origine ad Aegyptum pertinebat* (Studia Hellenistica 22) (Leuven 1975), 85 n. 97. Devijver suggests that we should read [Ἔπαρχον Τρ]αιανοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ and assumes that the man honoured in this inscription, a certain Patrocles, acted as the emperor's substitute in holding the archonship in Nicaea, Bithynia.

⁴⁰ Ἀγριππίναν τὰν γυμνασίαρχον ἐς τὸν αἰῶνα: IG 12.2, 258 = IGR 4, 100 = No. 88a, cf. IG 12.2, 211 = IGR 4, 81. Cf. L. Robert, 'Recherches épigraphiques: V Inscriptions de Lesbos', *Revue des Études Anciennes* 62 (1960), 285-315, esp. 208.

⁴¹ CIL 10, 1581 = IG 14, 729 = No. 51.

Athens. Much later a certain L. Memmius was honoured by the Athenians for the many offices and liturgies he had taken upon him. He is praised *inter alia* for having shouldered the *epimeleia*, that is the *de facto* responsibility, in regard to Hadrian's *gymnasiarchia*.⁴² In addition to these examples there is third-century evidence for emperors holding the *agonothesia* and for substitutes carrying out the duties entailed by this office. Those members of the imperial family who allowed themselves to be appointed to such duties are likely to have shouldered at least part of the expenditure of the competitions, festivities and religious ceremonies accompanying these events. An inscription of Laodikeia on the Lykos informs us that the *kyrioi* (i.e. Caracalla and Geta) had been *agonothetai* in the city.⁴³ Together with these two members of the Severan family two *hypagonothetai* are mentioned who seem to have acted as substitutes for the imperial *agonothetai*.⁴⁴

3. Different kinds of evidence – differences in substitutions?

The last part of this paper focuses on differences in the kind of evidence that has been preserved in the Latin and Greek parts of the empire. A chronological list of the epigraphic and numismatic evidence is to be found in the appendix. It should, however, be noted, that many inscriptions and coins cannot be dated to a precise year or even to a decade. Besides, it is not always possible to distinguish between homonymous members of the Augustan family (e.g. Drusus *maior* and Drusus *minor*).

As has already been noted, the distinction between eponymous and non-eponymous magistracies is an important variable. For this reason all non-eponymous officials have been marked by adding an "A" in the enumerative first column. The second column gives the names of the imperial office-holders. The third column specifies the offices held. As a general rule

⁴² Syll.³ 872 = No. 101a. The interpretation of coins that have been interpreted as evidence that Valerian held the *gymnasiarchia* in Anazarbos is not altogether convincing: O. Bernhard, 'Leibesübungen und Körperpflege im Gymnasion auf griechischen und römischen Münzen', *Mitteilungen der Bayrischen Numismatischen Gesellschaft* 47 (1929), 79-100, esp. 98 f. no. 20 with plate VII, though W. Weiser, 'Philippus Iunior als "Ehrenbürgermeister" von Sagalassos und Prostana', *Schweizerische Numismatische Rundschau* 64 (1985), 91-103, esp. 94, both endorses this interpretation and applies it to similar coins of Gallienus in Magydos and Syedra, and of Salonina and Cornelius Valerianus Caesar in Colybrassos.

⁴³ IGR 4, 850 = SEG 48, 1515 = IK Laodikeia am Lykos 60 = No. 119a.

⁴⁴ However, in the first half of the first century a substitute of the *agonothetes* Rhoimetalkes was called *antagonothetes* rather than *hypagonothetes*: IG 10.2, 133, cf. L. Robert, Les inscriptions de Thessalonique, *Revue de Philologie* 48 (1974) 180-246, esp. 210-215.

this was the duumvirate in the colonies of the East and the West and the quattuorvirate or duumvirate in the *municipia* of the West.⁴⁵ In the eastern cities the eponymous office had various names among which *stephanephoros* was the one most commonly used. In the fourth column the name of the city and its status (if known) are given. In the fifth column “X”-s have been used to mark those cases in which there is evidence for substitute office-holders, such as *praefecti*. The last column contains a short description of the kind of evidence that refers to the imperial office-holders and their substitutes.

a. The numismatic evidence

The minting output of cities in the Roman empire consisted of bronze coins of different denominations. The coins mentioning imperial office-holders and sometimes also their substitutes show various motifs on obverse and reverse. They do not always depict the imperial office-holder.

The numismatic evidence in the West is confined to the first decades of the Roman empire, as the civic coinages disappeared in the mid-first century AD. The western issues of Augustan and Tiberian times that are listed in the appendix all mention the emperor or a member of the imperial family as a municipal or colonial *duumvir*.⁴⁶ The names of the *praefecti* who were appointed as substitutes for these honorary office-holders are given on some of the Spanish and African coins.⁴⁷ The names of prefects are also found on coins issued by the eastern colonies and bearing Latin legends.⁴⁸

Greek coins of the second and third centuries AD rarely mention imperial magistrates. The few exceptions include coins referring to Trajan as

⁴⁵ For a short discussion of the names and numbers of the leading officials of the cities and their statuses cf. J. Gascou, ‘Duumvirat, Quattuorvirat et statut dans les cités de Gaule Narbonnaise’, in *Epigrafia. Actes du Colloque international d’épigraphie latine en mémoire de Attilio Degrassi*, Rome, 27-28 mai 1988 (Rom 1991) 547-563.

⁴⁶ *RPC* I, 162-165 = No.1 Augustus and Agrippa, Carthago Nova, Tarrac.; *RPC* I, 610-611 = No. 8 Tiberius Caesar, Paestum; *RPC* I, 166 = No.10 Tiberius Nero, Carthago Nova, Tarrac.; *RPC* I, 325-329 = No. 15 Germanicus, Caesaraugusta, Tarrac.; *RPC* I, 123 = No. 21 Drusus and Germanicus, Carteia, Baetica; *RPC* I, 733-734 = No. 25 Drusus Caesar under Tiberius, Utica, Afr. Procos.; *RPC* I, 731-732 = No. 33 Nero Caesar under Tiberius, Utica, Afr. Procos.; *RPC* I, 179-181 = No. 41 Nero and Drusus Caesares, Carthago Nova, Tarrac.; *RPC* I, 342-343 = No. 42 Nero and Drusus Caesares, Caesaraugusta, Tarrac.; *RPC* I, 362-364 = No. 43 C. Caesar under Tiberius, Caesaraugusta, Tarrac.; *RPC* I, 182-184 = No. 44 C. Caesar under Tiberius, Carthago Nova, Tarrac.

⁴⁷ Nos. 1; 10; 15; 25; 33; 43 (references in note 46).

⁴⁸ *RPC* I, 981-982 = No. 77 Tiberius Caesar with prefect, Col. Cnossos.

eponymous *hieromnamon* of Byzantium and others from which it appears that Severus Alexander and probably also Caracalla held the office of *demiourgos* in Tarsus.⁴⁹

In addition to the explicit testimony provided by coin legends certain iconographic themes on the civic coinages of eastern cities may also point to honorary office-holding by members of the imperial family. Thus it has been suggested that emperors must have held eponymous magistracies in those cities that depict them with a diadem or a laurel-wreath on the obverse of their bronze coins.⁵⁰ Unfortunately, very few studies of these coins have been carried out. They concentrate on a tiny number of Roman provinces (mainly Cilicia and Pisidia) and cover only the late second and early third centuries AD. Hence we cannot rule out the possibility that additional examples of civic coins bearing similar portraits of members of the imperial family will be discovered. In view of the amount of work that remains to be done further studies are perhaps needed before this kind of iconographical interpretation can be accepted. Nevertheless the numismatic evidence from those regions that have already been investigated has been included in the appendix.

b. The epigraphic evidence

In Italy and in the western provinces most inscriptions mentioning *praefecti* acting as substitutes for imperial office-holders are honorary texts set up either during the prefect's lifetime or after his death. In the West some seventeen of these prefects are known through posthumous inscriptions, generally of a honorific kind.⁵¹ In addition to this we have sixteen honorific

⁴⁹ Byzantium: Schönert-Geiss 1972, op. cit. (n. 6), 1334-1342 = No. 96 Trajan three times; 1464-1468. 1525-1529. 1597 f. 1696-1614. 2072-2074 = No. 117 Caracalla; Tarsus: Commodus *SNG* v. Aulock 5996-5997 = No. 115; Caracalla *SNG* v. Aulock 6010. 6017-6019 = No. 118; Severus Alexander *BMC* Lycaonia, Isauria, Cilicia p. 203 N. 214 = No. 121. Cf. the interpretation of the laurel wreath or diadem as evidence for eponymous magistracies (Weiser 1985, op. cit. (n. 42)): Elagabal in Anazarbos *SNG* v. Aulock 5487f. = No. 119; Elagabalus in Tarsus as eponymous demiurg and as ciliciarch *SNG* v. Aulock 6023-6025 = No. 120; Maximus Caesar in Kolophon: J.G. Milne, *Colophon and its Coinage* (New York 1941), 90 N. 214 = No. 122; Philippus Iunior in Kibyra, Prostanna and Sagalassos according to Weiser, op. cit. = Nos. 123-125.

⁵⁰ R. Ziegler, 'Münzen Kilikiens als Zeugnis kaiserlicher Getreidespenden', *Jahrbuch für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte* 27 (1977), 29-67; cf. Weiser 1985, op. cit. (n. 42).

⁵¹ Posthumous: CIL 11, 3610 = No. 4 Caere; CIL 2, 5120 = No. 6 Carmo, Baetica; CIL 10, 6101 = ILS 6285 = No. 12 Formiae; CIL 5, 7567 = ILS 6747 = No. 30 Hasta; CIL 10, 6101 = ILS 6285 = No. 35 and 40 Formiae; CIL 14, 2995 = No. 36 Praeneste; AE 1975, 353 = No. 49 Firmum Picenum; AE 1916, 34 = 1956, 126 = No. 65 Cuicul, Numidia. Funerary

inscriptions that were set up during the prefect's lifetime, in most cases together with a statue.⁵² These data are supplemented by the *Fasti* of the colonies of Ostia, Praeneste and Interamna Lirenas. Although these texts belong to a different genre, they too give the names both of the imperial office-holder and of his *praefectus*.⁵³ Another interesting example of a dating formula containing the name of an imperial office-holder and that of his prefect is found on an altar set up in the precinct of the sanctuary of Diana in the Nemus Dianae. This text refers not only to Trajan as holder of the dictatorship of Aricia but also to other urban officials including a prefect who acted as the emperor's substitute.⁵⁴

Other inscriptions mention the names of imperial office-holders but not those of their substitutes. One example of such a text is a decree passed by the town council of Aricia on the proposal of Drusus. Another is a bilingual building inscription from which it appears that Titus held various honorific offices in Neapolis, including the eponymous *demarchia*, the *agonothesia* and the *gymnasiarchia*, although this information is supplied only by the Greek version of the text. In yet another inscription a *marmorarius* honours the emperor Commodus as *Ilvir quinquennalis* of the colony of Puteoli. Finally, emperors sometimes appear as local office-holders in dating formulas. One such a formula refers to Hadrian as holder of the duumvirate in

inscriptions: CIL 9, 4122 = ILS 2644 = No. 7 and 13 Aequiculi; CIL 11, 7066 = ILS 6598 = No. 28 Volaterrae; CIL 14, 3017 = No. 29 Praeneste; CIL 5, 4374 = AE 1992, 744 = No. 39 Brixia; perhaps also AE 1955,291 = No. 26 Verona. Perhaps also CIL XII 4230 = ILGN 558 cf. AE 1999, 1033 = No. 3 Baeterrae, Narb.; CIL 9, 3044 = ILS 2689 = No. 19 Interpromium; CIL 14, 376 = No. 69 Ostia; CIL 3, 605 = ILS 2678 = No. 90 col. Dium, Macedonia;

⁵² During lifetime: CIL 2, 1534 = No. 5 Baetica; CIL 10, 5392 (cf. 5394) = ILS 6286 = No. 9. 23. 34 Aquinum; CIL 11, 969 = No. 17 Regium Lepidi; CIL 11, 6224 = No. 46 Fanum Fortunae; CIL 5, 7458 = No. 53 Vardagatae; AE 1987, 354 and CIL 11, 5669 = ILS 2728 = No. 54 Attidium; CIL 11, 421 = ILS 6662 = No. 56 Ariminum; CIL 3, 1503 = ILS 7134 = IDR 3.2, 112 = No. 57 Dacia; CIL 3, 1497 = ILS 7133 = No. 66 Dacia; CIL 10, 7211 = No. 67 Sicily; AE 1926, 82 = 1982, 885 = No. 84 col. Antiochia, Pisidia; CIL 3, 14387g = IGLS 2786 = No. 91 col. Baalbek, Syria; CIL 3, 170 = No. 92 col. Berytus, Syria; perhaps also AE 1984, 293 = 1985, 328 = No. 11 Superaequum; CIL 11, 5224 = No. 18 Fulginiae; CIL 9, 3000 = AE 1999, 564 = No. 37 Anxanum.

⁵³ CIL 14, 2964 = No. 22 Germanicus Caesar and Drusus Caesar, Praeneste; CIL XIV 2965 = No. 32 Nero (?) Caesar, Praeneste; CIL 10, 5405b = ILS 6125 = I. Ital 30, p. 267 year 73 = No. 50 Titus and Domitian Caesars, Interamna Lirenas; I. Ital 13.1, p. 204 = No. 64 Hadrian *duumvir* in Ostia for the second time.

⁵⁴ CIL 14, 2213 = ILS 3243 = No. 55.

the colony of Formiae, which was promoted to this status by this very same emperor.⁵⁵

The decree passed by the *municipium* of Aricia on the proposal of Drusus is the only piece of evidence to refer to an imperial office-holder getting personally involved in the administration of the city in which he had assumed a honorary magistracy. Drusus' engagement is quite similar to that of Pompeius in Capua during the 50s BC (cf. above). Nonetheless, even these two men are unlikely to have fulfilled all the duties connected with their magistracies in person. In fact we even cannot be sure that they attended the meetings of the city council in which their proposals were discussed and put to the vote. On the other hand, these allusions to active participation in city politics demonstrate that at least in Italian cities that could easily be visited from Rome office-holding by powerful senators or members of the imperial family was not always purely honorific, at least during the final decades of the Republic and in the early first century AD. It may be suggested that this conclusion applies also to some non-Italian cities in which members of the imperial family spent some time during their journeys.

The evidence from the cities of the eastern provinces is totally different from that originating from the West and the few Roman organised cities in the East. In the East our most important sources of information concerning imperial office-holders are dating formulas in inscriptions referring to such office-holders and lists of eponymous magistrates rather than inscriptions honouring their substitutes. As a result of this substitute office-holders are rarely mentioned.

Thanks to lists of eponymous magistrates from Herakleia on the Latmos, Priene and Miletus we know of nine cases in which an emperor or a member of the imperial family held a local magistracy.⁵⁶ Dating formulas referring to an imperial office-holder are found in five decrees honouring citizens of various *poleis* in Greece and Asia Minor,⁵⁷ in several catalogues

⁵⁵ Drusus: *Eph.Ep.* 7, 1236 = No. 24; Titus: CIL 10, 1481 = IG 14, 729 = No. 51; Commodus: CIL 10, 1648 = No. 70. Hadrian: CIL 10, 6090 = ILS 6295 = No. 63, the text of lines 12-14 are cited in the heading of this paper.

⁵⁶ Herakleia: *OGIS* 459 = No. 71, 74 Augustus (four times) and C. Caesar (twice); I. Priene 208 = No. 78, 83, 85, 88 Tiberius Caesar (twice), Germanicus, Tiberius, Caligula; Miletus No. 72, 75, 79 Augustus (twice), C. Caesar, and Tiberius Caesar.

⁵⁷ IG 12, Suppl. 142 = No. 73 and 76 Tiberius Claudius Nero and C. Caesar in Eresos (Lesbos); IGR 4, 145 = Syll.³ 798 = No. 87 C. Caesar in Cyzicus; IG 5.1, 1314 = No. 107

of *epheboi* and lists of *prytaneis* from Attica,⁵⁸ and in various other inscriptions, such as the *prophetes* and *hydrophoros* inscriptions from Didyma.⁵⁹ The only exception to this pattern is a decree passed by the citizens of Augusta Traiana in Thrace from which it appears that the city set up a statue for the reigning emperor Gallienus in order to thank and honour him as holder of the local archonship.⁶⁰

The inscriptions from the Roman colonies in the East, however, provide a different kind of epigraphic evidence. This evidence is similar to that found in western cities and takes the form of inscriptions honouring prefects acting as substitutes for imperial office-holders – either during their lifetime or after their death.⁶¹

4. Conclusion

One of the aims of this paper has been to argue that the phenomenon of honorary office-holding originated in the Hellenistic *poleis* of the East and spilled over from there to the Roman-style cities of the West. Although the idea of appointing substitutes for regular office-holders was known in republican Italy, honorary office-holding entailing financial obligations only was not. The Roman rules governing temporary substitutions for regular office-holders were adapted to accommodate this new phenomenon. Both during the Republic and under the Empire the designation *praefectus* was used to denote both such men as were appointed to replace regular magistrates and those appointed to carry out the duties of honorary office-holders, despite the

Hadrian in Sparta; Syll.³ 830 and 836 (twice) = No. 104 Hadrian in Delphi; Syll.³ 848 = No. 111 Antoninus Pius in Delphi.

⁵⁸ Ephebes: IG 2², 1996 = No. 94 Domitian; IG 2², 2024 = No. 101 Hadrian; Prytaneis: A.F. Raubitschek, in *Commemorative Studies in Honor of Theodore Leslie Shear*. Hesperia Suppl. VIII (Princeton N.J. 1949) 280-283 = No. 114 Commodus.

⁵⁹ SEG 24, 1026 and 45, 909 = No. 80 Tiberius Caesar in an honorific inscription set up by a religious association in Callatis, Moesia; F.W. Hanslück, *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 24 (1904), 28 N. 28 = No. 82 Drusus as Hipparch in Cyzicus; D. Mulliez, *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* 125 (2001), 295 = No. 89 Claudius archon in Delphi; I. Didyma 293, 318 = Nos. 97, 98a Trajan as eponymous *stephanephoros* and as non-eponymous *prophetes*; IG 5.1, 32 a+b = No. 107 Hadrian in Sparta; IG 12.9, 1260 = IG Bulg 1², 29 (cf. SEG 28, 561) = No. 102 Hadrian in Byzantium (or Dionysopolis); IG Bulg 1², 49 = No. 106 Hadrian in Odessus, Thrace; SEG 33, 1056 = No. 103 Hadrian in Cyzicus; IGR 4, 117 = No. 110 Antoninus Pius in Proconnesus.

⁶⁰ IG Bulg. 3, 1567 = No. 56.

⁶¹ For references see notes 51 and 52.

fact that the Flavian city laws reveal the duties and powers of these two types of substitute to have been quite different.

In the Roman-style cities of the West and in the Roman colonies of the eastern provinces prefects replacing imperial magistrates possessed all the powers that an ordinary magistrate would have had. This kind of *praefectura* was clearly regarded as a highly prestigious position. For this reason it was often held by Roman knights with military careers. Significantly, such appointments were proudly advertised in epigraphic accounts of the careers of these substitutes. In cities with Hellenistic traditions the practice of appointing substitute office-holders replacing imperial magistrates is also securely documented. In these cities, however, such appointments were perceived as being of secondary importance and looked upon as something not worth mentioning.

Their understanding of liturgies, offices and benefactions, developed over centuries, may have led the Greek *poleis* of the eastern provinces to take a view of substitute office-holders different from that taken in the West. In other words, the self-conception and self-consciousness of the members of the eastern elites may have made it inappropriate for them to be presented as substitute office-holders in honorific inscriptions and epitaphs, even when the offices in question had been held in lieu of an emperor or a member of the imperial family.

Rostock, April 2004

APPENDIX

1. Emperors and members of the imperial family as local magistrates in the West

No.	Emperor / imp. family	office	city (West)	praefectus	evidence
1	Augustus & Agrippa	IIviri qq.	Col. Carthago Nova, Tarr.	two praefecti	coins
2	Augustus ?		Col. Ucubi, Baetica	X	mutilated inscription of the praefect
3	C. Caesar Aug. f.	IIvir	Col. Baeterrae, Narbonensis	X	private honour (posthumous ?)
4	C. Caesar		Mun. Caere, reg. VII	X	<i>municipes</i> honour posthumously the praefect
5	C. Caesar	IIvir	Mun. Ullia, Baetica	X two times	<i>municipes</i> honour the praefect
6	C. Caesar	IIIviri	Mun. Carmo, Baetica	X two times	posthum. inscription set up by praefect's wife
7	(C. ?) Caesar	(IIviri) qq.	Mun. Aequiculi	X	posthum. inscription set up by praefect's family
8	Tiberius Caesar	(IIviri)	Col. Paestum, reg. I	X	coins
9	Tiberius Caesar	(IIviri) qq.	Col. Aquinum, reg. I	X	two inscriptions honour praefect <i>decr. decurionum</i>
10	Tiberius Nero	IIviri qq.	Col. Carthago Nova, Tarr.	X	coins
11	? Tiberius Caesar	IIvir qq.	Mun. Superaequum, reg. IV	X	mutilated inscr. (dative case) for praefect
12	Tiberius Caesar	IIviri qq.	Mun. Formiae, reg. I	X	posthum. inscription set up by praefect's wife
13	Tiberius Caesar Aug.	IIviri qq.	Mun. Aequiculi, reg. IV	X	posthum. inscription set up by praefect's wife
14	(Aug. or Tib. ?)	(IIviri)	Col. Scalabitana, Lusitania	X	praefect's building (?) inscription
15	Germanicus	IIvir	Col. Caesaraugusta, Tarr.	X	coins
16	Germanicus Caesar		Col. Hispellum, reg. VI	X	(posthum.) mutilated inscription of praefect
17	Germanicus Caesar	IIviri qq.	Mun. Regium Lepidi, VIII	X	praefect honoured as patron <i>decreto decurionum</i>
18	Germanicus Caesar (Tib. Aug. f.)	(IIviri) qq.	Mun. Fulginiae, reg. VI	X	mutilated inscription (dative case) for praefect
19	Germanicus Caesar	IIIviri qq.	Mun. Interpromium, reg. IV	X	(posthumous ?) inscription honours praefect for building activity
20	Germanicus & Drusus	IIviri qq.	Col. Rusellae, reg. VII	X	mutilated inscription of praefect
21	Drusus & Germanicus	IIIviri	Col. Carteia, Baetica	X	coins

22 Drusus & Germanicus	Ilvir qq	Col. Praeneste, reg. I	X	Fasti
23 Drusus Caesar Ti. f.	Ilvir qq.	Col. Aquinum, reg. I	X	inscription honours prefect <i>decreto decurionum</i>
24 Drusus Caesar	[dictator]	Munic. Aricia, reg. I		decree of the city initiated by Drusus
25 Drusus Caesar	Ilvir	Mun. Utica, Afric.	X	coins
26 Drusus Caesar (Ti.f.?)	Ilvir	Mun. Verona, reg.	X	(funerary?) inscription of prefect
27 Drusus Caesar (Germ. f.)	Ilvir qq.	Col. Salona, Dalmatia	X	Salonitani honour the prefect
28 Drusus Caesar	(Ilvir qq.)	Mun. Volaterrae, reg. VII	X	funerary inscription of prefect
29 Drusus Caesar & (Nero?)	[Ilvir qq.]	Col. Praeneste, reg. I	X	posthum. mutilated inscription of prefect
30 Drusus Caesar (Germ. f.)	Ilvir qq.	Mun. Hasta, reg. IX	X	(posthum.) mutilated inscription of prefect
31 Drusus Caesar	Ilvir qq.	unknown	X	in Rome; mutilated inscription of prefect
32 [Nero?] German. f.	Ilvir qq.	Col. Praeneste, reg. I	X	Fasti
33 Nero Caesar (Germ. f.)	Ilvir	Mun. Utica, Afric.	X	coins
34 Nero Caesar Germ. f.	Ilvir qq.	Col. Aquinum, reg. I	X	inscription honours prefect d.d.
35 Nero Caesar	Ilvir qq.	Mun. Formiae, reg. I	X	posthum. inscription set up by prefect's wife
36 Nero Caesar	[Ilvir qq.]	Col. Praeneste, reg. I	X	posthum. inscription set up by family member
37 ? Nero Caesar (Germ. f.)	[Ilvir qq.?)	Mun. Anxanum, reg. IV	X	inscript. dative case for the prefect
38 Nero Caesar (Germ. f.?)	Ilvir	Col. Bononia, reg. VIII	X	prefect starts work (building inscr.?)
39 Nero Caesar (Germ. f.)	Ilvir qq.	Col. Brixia, reg. X	X	prefect: funerary inscr. for him and his family (testam. fieri iussit)
40 Nero Caesar & Drusus Caes.	Ilvir qq.	Mun. Formiae, reg. I	X	posthum. inscription set up by prefect's wife
41 Nero Caesar & Drusus Caes.	Ilviri qq.	Col. Carthago Nova, Tarr.		coins
42 Nero Caesar & Drusus Caes.	Ilviri	Col. Caesaraugusta, Tarr.		coins
43 C. Caesar (Ti. nep.)	Ilvir	Col. Caesaraugusta, Tarr.	X	coins
44 C. Caesar Ti. nep.	Ilvir qq.	Col. Carthago Nova, Tarr.	X	coins
45 C. Caesar (or as Aug.?)	Ilvir	Col. Pompeii, reg. I	X	inscriptions listing the offices in Pompeii
46 Claudius	Ilvir qq.	Col. Fanum Fortunae, reg. VI	X	inscription honours prefect (building)
47 [[Nero]]	(III)Ilvir	Mun. Cures Sabini, reg. IV	X	building inscription with cursus
48 Nero	(III)Ilvir qq.)	Mun. Luna, reg. VII	X	1) inscription set up by prefect

					in honour of Nero and imperial family members
49	Vespasian	(Ilvir qq.)	Col. Firmum Picenum, reg. V	X	2) prefect honours Nero posthumous inscription honouring prefect (private, l.d.d.d)
50	Titus & Domit. Caesares	IIIviri i.d.	Col. Interamna Lirenas, reg. I	X	Fasti
51	Titus Aug.	demarch	Col. Neapolis, reg. I		bilingual building inscription, offices in Greek
51a	Titus Aug.	non-epon. agonothete, gymnasiarch	Col. Neapolis, reg. I		bilingual building inscription, offices in Greek
52	Domitian Aug.	probably Ilvir	in Irni and Salpensa with prefect		leges municip. Irmit. et Salpensani
53	Trajan	(Ilvir ?)	civ. Vardagatae, reg. IX	X	mutilated inscription (prefect in dative case)
54	Trajan	(Ilvir)	Mun. Attidium, reg. VI	X	vicani honour prefect as patron
55	Trajan	dictator	Mun. Aricia, reg. I	X	dating on ara, private dedication
56	Trajan	Ilvir qq.	Col. Ariminum, reg. VIII	X	vicani honour prefect as patron
57 ?	Trajan	Ilvir qq.	Col. Sarmizegetusa, Dacia	X	prefect honoured by ordo of colony
58 ?	Trajan or Titus	Ilvir qq.	Col. Ostia, reg. I	(X)	mutil. inscr. (pref. honoured ?)
59	Hadrian	demarch	Col. Neapolis, reg. I		literary (HA)
60	Hadrian	Ilvir qq.	Col. Italica, Baetica		literary (HA)
61	Hadrian	Ilvir qq.	Mun. Hadria, reg. V		literary (HA)
62	Hadrian	Ilvir, aedilis etc.	per Latina oppida		literary (HA)
63	Hadrian	Ilvir	Col. Formiae, reg. I	X	postum. inscr. set up by 'amicus'
64	Hadrian	Ilvir (second time)	Col. Ostia, reg. I	X	Fasti
65	Antoninus Pius	Ilvir	Col. Cuicul, Numidia	X	(postum.) statue for prefect of ordo paid by brother
66	Antoninus Pius or Caracalla	Ilvir qq.	Col. Sarmizegetusa, Dacia	X	ordo of the colony honours prefect
67	Antoninus Pius or Caracalla	Ilvir	Mazara / Mun. Lilybaeum, Sic.	X	populus Lilyb. honours prefect
68	Marcus Aurel. & L. Verus	Ilviri qq. (together or each sep.)	Col. Sarmizegetusa, Dacia	X	prefect dedicates ara
69	L. (Aelius ?) Caesar	(Ilvir)	Col. Ostia, reg. I	X	1. decree of public funeral for prefect 2. dating by lictores & servi publici
70	Commodus	Ilvir qq.	Col. Puteoli, reg. I		marmorarius honours imperial Ilvir

(Caracalla: see Ant. Pius in Sarmizegetusa and Lilybaeum: *praefecti Imp. Antonini*)

2. Emperors and members of the imperial family as local magistrates in the East

No.	Emperor / imp. family	office	city (East)	praefectus	evidence
71	Augustus	epon. stephan. (4 x)	Herakleia (Latmos)		list of eponymous magistrates
72	Augustus	epon. stephan. (2 x)	Miletus		list of eponymous magistrates
73	C. Caesar	epon. pryтанis	Eresos (Lesbos)		dating of an honorary decree
74	C. Caesar	epon. stephan. (2 x)	Herakleia (Latmos)		list of eponymous magistrates
75	C. Caesar	epon. stephanephoros	Miletus		list of eponymous magistrates
76	Tiberius (Claud. Nero)	epon. pryтанis	Eresos (Lesbos)		dating of a honorary decree
77	Tiberius Caesar	IIvir (2 x)	Col. Cnossus, Crete	X	coins (Latin)
78	Tiberius Caesar	epon. stephan. (3 x)	Priene		list of eponymous magistrates
79	Tiberius Caesar	epon. stephan.	Miletus		list of eponymous magistrates
80	Tiberius Caesar (Aug. ?)		Callatis, Moesia		dating of a honorary decree
81	Drusus	IIvir	Col. Antiochia, Pisidia	X	mutilated Latin inscription, prefect in nom. case
82	Drusus	epon. hipparch	Cyzicus, Mysia		dating of mutilated inscription
83	Tiberius Caesar (Aug.)	epon. stephanephoros	Priene		list of eponymous magistrates
84	Tiberius Caesar Aug.	(IIvir)	Col. Antiochia, Pisidia	X	colony honours for prefect
85	Germanicus	epon. stephanephoros	Priene		list of eponym magistrates
86	Germanicus Caesar	(IIvir) qq.	Col. Buthroton, Epirus	X	prefect honours Germanicus
87	C. Caesar (Caligula)	epon. hipparch	Cyzicus, Mysia		dating of a honorary decree
88	Caligula	epon. stephanephoros	Priene		list of eponymous magistrates
88a	Agrippina	gymnasiarch (lifetime)	Mytilene, Lesbos		<i>epimeleia</i> inscription honours <i>epimeletes</i>

89 Claudius	archon	Delphi		dating an <i>apolyxis</i>
90 [[? Nero]] Caesar	(IIvir)	Col. Dium, Macedonia	X	mutilated Latin inscr., private honours prefect
91 [[Nero]] Aug.	(IIvir ?)	Col. Baalbek, Syria	X	Latin inscription, private (soldier) honours prefect
92 Vespasian	(IIvir)	Col. Berytus, Syria	X	Latin inscr.: decurions and <i>populus</i> honour prefect
93 Titus	archon	Delphi		dating of a honorary decree
94 Domitian	archon	Athens		literary (Philostratos) catalogue of ephebes with archon date
95 Domitian	epon. hieromnamon (5x)	Byzantium		(unpublished, L. Robert, 1952)
96 Trajan	epon. hieromnemon (3x)	Byzantium		coins
97 Trajan	epon. stephanephoros	Didyma		dating of an inscription of a <i>prophetes</i>
98a Trajan	prophetes	Didyma		dating of an inscription of a <i>hydrophoros</i>
99 Trajan	IIvir	Col. Berytus, Syria	X	private (posthumous ?) honouring of prefect
100 2 nd century	(IIvir)	Col. Berytus, Syria	X	Latin inscription: sets inscription <i>ex testam.</i> of someone else
101 Hadrian (in 112)	archon	Athens		1) inscription honours Hadrian under Trajan in Latin; in Greek date of statue erected in year of him being archon 2) catalogue of ephebes with archon date
101a Hadrian (Aug.)	gymasiarch	Athens		<i>epimeleia</i> inscription honours <i>epimelet</i>
102 Hadrian	epon. hieromnemon	Byzantium, Thrace		dating of dedication to god Dionysos
103 Hadrian	epon. hipparchos	Cyzicus		dating of questioning of Ammon
104 Hadrian	archon (2x)	Delphi		dating of two honouring decrees
105 Hadrian		Clarus, Ionia		(unpublished, L. Robert 1938)

106 Hadrian	? epon. hieromenos	Odessus, Thracia	catalogue ? with dating
107 Hadrian	epon. patronomus	Sparta	1) dating of inscription. of two magistrates (found near Sparta at Thalamae) 2) dating of a honouring inscription
108 Hadrian	epon. hieromnamon (2x)	Dionysopolis, Moesia or Byzantium	dating of mutilated inscription or Byzantium
109 Hadrian	prytanis	Colophon (?)	(unpublished, L. Robert 1938)
110 Antoninus Pius	epon. hipparch (2x ?)	Proconnesus, Propontis	list of games with (eponymous) dates
111 Antoninus Pius	archon	Delphi	dating of mutilated inscription
112 L. Aelius Caesar	prytanis	Clarus, Ionia	(unpublished, L. Robert 1938)
113 Diva Faustina (as goddess)	epon. hieromnamon	Byzantium	coins
114 Commodus	archon	Athens	1) dating of three <i>prytaneis</i> catalogues 2) literary
115 Commodus	demiurg	Tarsus	coins
116 Bruttia Crispina	epon. hieromnamon	Byzantium	inscription concerning worship of Dionysos?
117 Caracalla	archon or archiereus	Byzantium	coins
118 Caracalla	demiurg	Tarsus, Cilicia	coins
118a Caracalla & Geta	agonothetes	Laodiceia on the Lykos	<i>hypagonothetes</i> inscription concerning the games
119 Elagabal	demiurg / Ciliciarch	Anazarbus, Cilicia	coins
120 Elagabal	epon. demiurg	Tarsus, Cilicia	coins
121 Severus Alexander	epon. demiurg	Tarsus, Cilicia	coins
122 Maximus Caesar	epon. strategos	Kolophon	coins
123 Philippus iunior	eponymous	Kibyra, Phrygia	coins
124 Philippus iunior	eponymous	Prostanna, Pisidia	coins
125 Philippus iunior	eponymous	Sagalassos, Pisidia	coins
126 Gallienus	archon	Athens	literary
127 Gallienus	archon	Augusta Traiana, Thracia	decree to set up a statue for Gallienus as archon

* "a" denotes those cases in which members of the imperial family held non-eponymous offices

NOTABLES ET ÉLITES DANS LES TROIS GAULES

Par

M. DONDIN-PAYRE

Parmi les groupes “inférieurs”, qui attirent l’attention depuis quelques décennies, les “élites locales” sont difficiles à cerner, comme le montre le pluriel de cette expression déséquilibrée : “élites” (mot dont la popularité est peut-être en partie imputable à son universalité linguistique) suppose la sélection de ceux qui sortent du lot, mais à quel titre? dans quel cadre, municipal ou provincial? l’adjectif “local”, dévalorisant, implique que les élites restent confinées – aux provinces pour les élites des cités? à l’empire pour les élites provinciales? Il n’y aurait alors d’élites que celles qui partent pour Rome ?¹ Le terme “notables” est mieux adapté : plus souple, moins exclusif, il permet d’évacuer certaines normes qui évincent des groupes sur des critères injustifiés (par exemple les femmes) et, associé à l’adjectif “municipaux”, exprime l’essentiel : le cadre est celui de la cité; les élites provinciales sont des élites municipales, c’est-à-dire civiques; le gouverneur et son entourage ne font pas partie des élites locales, mais des élites d’empire [élites restera utilisé pour varier le vocabulaire].

Sans revenir sur les questions générales, critères de définition, intégration aux ordres supérieurs, prosopographie des élites gauloises, les notables des Gaules seront envisagés sous l’angle de la cité.

Élites et notables gaulois dans l’espace et le temps

La notion de notables n’a pas été, en Gaules, plaquée sur une société où elle était inconnue : les tribus celtiques sont familières du phénomène et les Gaules n’ayant, hors Lyon, pas eu d’implantation coloniale, donc très peu

¹ Voir les variations d’intitulés sur le sujet, par ex., M. Cébeillac-Gervasoni, éd., *Les élites de l’Italie péninsulaire des Gracques à Néron*, coll. EFR 215 (Naples-Rome 1996); T. Kotula, A. Ladamirski, eds., *Les élites provinciales sous le Haut-Empire romain*, Antiquitas XXII (Wrocław 1997) (surtout E. Lyapustina, ‘Élites de la Gaule romaine : les orientations économiques et politiques’, 59-60 : aristocratie ? bourgeoisies municipales ?); M. Cébeillac-Gervasoni, éd., *Les élites municipales de l’Italie péninsulaire de la mort de César à la mort de Domitien entre continuité et rupture. Classes sociales dirigeantes et pouvoir central*, coll. EFR 271 (Rome 2000); M. Navarro Caballerro, S. Demougin, eds., *Élites hispaniques*, Ausonius-Études 6 (Bordeaux 2001); M. Cébeillac-Gervasoni, L. Lamoine, eds., *Les élites et leurs facettes. Les élites locales dans le monde hellénistique et romain*, coll. EFR 309 (Rome-Clermont-Ferrand 2003). Ces ouvrages ont été utilisés, sauf le dernier, trop récent, mais on se définira pas systématiquement par rapport à chacun d’eux.

d'apport de population italienne, aucun élément exogène conséquent ne s'est introduit ni dans les structures ni dans les groupes humains. En dépit de l'effacement de l'idéologie martiale à l'époque romaine, la clientèle, l'échange de cadeaux, de relations positives, la protection s'inscrivent dans une continuité; les élites gauloises se constituent à partir d'un substrat indigène qui s'est adapté.²

Adapté, car qui dit notable dit intégré. Le phénomène d'élite connu à l'époque celtique ne s'est pas perpétué dans l'immobilisme : l'évolution générale des statuts civiques, solidaire de celle des statuts individuels, est inconciliable, sinon de façon très éphémère, avec des notables qui se définiraient dans l'opposition à Rome. Les notables le sont parce qu'ils sont considérés comme tels par leurs concitoyens pour lesquels la reconnaissance consiste en une promotion sociale donc juridique.³ Les élites, produit principal et pivot de l'innovation essentielle du pouvoir romain qu'est la municipalisation, ne se conçoivent qu'au sein de cités, qui, quel que soit leur statut, jouissent d'une autonomie dont l'exercice et la régulation leur reviennent. Les notables locaux étant, par essence, attachés à et actifs dans une cité, on ne saurait dire que ceux d'une "grande" cité ne sont pas comparables à ceux d'une "petite" cité :⁴ les notables, même si leur fortune, leur pouvoir, leurs relations, leur culture sont inférieurs à ceux des membres d'une cité plus prestigieuse, restent des notables parce qu'ils le sont dans leur cité, quelle que soit l'envergure de celle-ci.

Qui dit adaptation dit évolution donc dimension temporelle. Parmi les critères susceptibles de définir les élites, l'ancienneté, donc le renouvellement et sa rapidité, figurent souvent en tête.⁵ La durée du processus d'intégration et la continuité des familles sont liées dans la mesure où la pérennité familiale limite le renouvellement, mais marginalement puisqu'il n'existe pas d'effectifs prédéterminés : parmi ceux qui sont susceptibles d'émerger,

² N. Roymans, 'Romanisation and the transformation of a martial elite-ideology in a frontier province', *Frontières d'Empire, actes de la table-ronde internationale de Nemours 1992* (Nemours 1993), 33-50.

³ Réfutation des élites pré-romaines qui entretiennent massivement une opposition à Rome, M.-Th. Raepsaet-Charlier, 'Diversité culturelle et épigraphie dans le nord de la Gaule', *Actes du XII^e Congrès international d'épigraphie grecque et latine, Barcelone 2-8 septembre 2002* (Barcelone à par. 2004).

⁴ Contra à tort, J. Andreau 1997, 'Les élites provinciales entre leurs cités et l'empire. Conclusions du colloque', *Élites provinciales*, op. cit. (n. 1), 195.

⁵ Critères (à discuter) dans V. Weber 1997, 'Zur Struktur der Munizipalaristokratie des Römischen Reiches', *Élites provinciales*, op. cit. (n. 1), 175-185.

certains mèneront au bout le processus, d'autres, par désintérêt ou par contrainte, matérielle surtout, ne le poursuivront pas.

Repérer le vivier d'où émergent les notables est plus aisé que de déterminer les contours du groupe. La voie d'accès par le droit latin selon lequel l'exercice des magistratures entraîne la concession de la citoyenneté romaine est bien connue, notamment depuis les travaux d'André Chastagnol.⁶ Les études onomastiques récentes confirment sa perspicacité en mettant en évidence les spécificités locales découlant du libre choix des noms solidaire de l'accession individuelle à la citoyenneté caractéristique du droit latin, à la différence des promotions collectives.⁷ D'autres voies vers la notabilité sont plus confuses. Ainsi, les sévirs, même s'ils ne sont pas toujours affranchis, ne font pas partie des élites, mais des notables certainement : acteurs, au nom de la cité, du culte impérial, auteurs d'évergésies, ils sont parfois magistrats eux-mêmes. Le trévire Q. Secundius Quigo n'exerça pas nécessairement les magistratures dans la cité des Éduens où il résidait après son sévirat, comme un couronnement, mais en même temps : sévirat et notabilité ne sont pas indissociables mais ils sont conciliables.⁸

Hasard des trouvailles ou nature de la documentation, le revers du renouvellement, les familles de notables assez fournies et stables pour qu'on ne puisse douter être en présence d'élites, sont rares en Gaules. Toujours on revient aux *Iulii-Magilii*, même si la banalité de leurs caractéristiques implique qu'ils ne peuvent être isolés: Sex. Iulius Thermianus, son épouse Aquilia Flaccila, leur fille Iulia Thermiola, M. Magilius Honoratus son époux et Iulia Regina sa fille, M. Aemilius Nobilis un beau-frère (?), ces

⁶ A. Chastagnol, *La Gaule romaine et le droit latin. Recherches sur l'histoire administrative et sur la romanisation des habitants* (Lyon 1995), notamment 'Considérations sur les gentilices des pérégrins naturalisés romains dans les Gaules et les provinces des Alpes', 155-166.

⁷ M. Dondin-Payre, M.-Th. Raepsaet-Charlier, eds., *Noms, identités culturelles et romanisation sous le Haut Empire* (Bruxelles 2001).

⁸ Sévirs citoyens romains: CIL 13, 1194, Bourges; CIL 13, 3475 = ILTG 358, Hermes, entre Beauvais et Amiens, Bellovaques; Quigo : CIL 13, 2669, Autun; pour E.M. Wightman, *Gallia Belgica* (Londres 1985), 162 il s'est élevé du sévirat aux plus hautes magistratures; *contra* M.-Th. Raepsaet-Charlier 2001, 'Caractéristiques et particularités de l'onomastique trévire', op. cit. (n. 7), 380; affranchis, sévirs et élite : G. Alföldy 2001, 'Intervention', *Élites hispaniques*, op. cit. (n. 1), 44.

magistrats et prêtres sont attestés au chef-lieu de leur cité, Sens, et à Lyon.⁹ Avoir connaissance de la double implantation, civique et provinciale, n'est pas unique, même si l'ignorance du *forum* de Lyon la rend inaccoutumée; l'avoir des ramifications parentales est exceptionnel. La fragilité, biologique, matérielle, constitue un obstacle: si un notable auquel sa *dignitas* donne droit à une certaine position se doit de l'occuper, une famille peut, momentanément ou définitivement, ne pas satisfaire aux exigences censitaires.¹⁰ Elle a alors des chances de disparaître des sources, et ses membres de l'élite à laquelle elle aura cependant appartenu et dans laquelle elle pourra se réinsérer. Ces ruptures sont inévitables; estimer qu'une pérennité familiale sur plusieurs générations est nécessaire pour qu'un individu soit notable municipal revient à exiger plus des élites locales que des élites d'empire: niera-t-on qu'une famille fait partie, temporairement peu importe, de l'élite, dès qu'un seul de ses membres accède au consulat? Inversement, aucun document ne permet d'établir que les élites municipales se renouvellent systématiquement en trois-quatre générations, comptage arbitraire ne résultant que de l'état de la documentation.¹¹ Ce dont attestent les sources est que la valeur symbolique accordée à la durée est exactement la même en Gaules qu'à Rome. L'importance de la continuité, le souci de l'établir ou de la préserver à plus courte échéance y sont banals. Ainsi, certaines familles ont soin d'assurer à leurs fils une adlection parmi les décurions au plus jeune âge;¹² que la mort prématurée annule les effets de cette stratégie familiale n'efface pas la réalité de celle-ci, elle en fait apparaître à la fois la fragilité et l'importance puisque la volonté de continuité, même rompue par le décès du jeune homme, est exprimée. C'est dans cette perspective qu'il faut comprendre les filiations développées (exprimées par les *tria* ou *duo nomina* paternels) dans lesquelles on a voulu voir la marque d'une accession récente à la citoyenneté: le magistrat aurait voulu insister sur l'appartenance de son père au corps des

⁹ CIL 13, 1676, Lyon; 2940, Sens; Chastagnol 1995, op. cit. (n. 6), 171-172, à corriger : Iulia Rufina ne peut être fille de pérégrin puisque son père était flamine; M. Dondin-Payre 2001, 'Onomastique dans les cités de Gaule centrale', op. cit. (n. 7), 220-222.

¹⁰ F. Jacques, *Le privilège de liberté. Politique impériale et autonomie municipale dans les cités de l'Occident romain (161-244)*, coll. EFR 76 (Rome 1984), 607-608; 612: la mention de noms isolés dans l'album de *Canusium* concerne les décurions n'ayant pas le cens pour faire entrer deux membres de la même famille dans l'ordre en même temps.

¹¹ Nécessité de la pérennité, S. Demougin 2001, 'Conclusions', *Élites hispaniques*, op. cit. (n. 1); trois-quatre générations : Weber 1997, op. cit. (n. 5).

¹² Jacques 1984, op. cit. (n. 10), 603-618; T. Kotula 1997, 'Les fils de décurions : "pépinières" des élites municipales', *Élites provinciales*, op. cit. (n. 1), 35-39.

citoyens romains parce que celle-ci, de fraîche date, n'allait pas de soi. Or plus de la moitié des attestations proviennent de l'autel de Lyon et sont accompagnées de la formule *omnibus honoribus functus*: on a affaire à des notables bien établis qui ont parcouru un *cursus* municipal et accédé au conseil fédéral, et, pour l'un d'entre eux, le Cadurque Tib. Pompeius Pompei Iusti fil. Priscus, à l'ordre équestre. L'explication de ces expressions insistantes n'est pas une citoyenneté de fraîche date : si le Santon C. Iulius Marinus C. Iuli Ricoueriugi f., au début de l'Empire, s'enorgueillissait de la citoyenneté paternelle, exceptionnelle à cette date, les magistrats adoptant aux II^e et III^e s. ces nomenclatures volontairement développées ne voulaient pas attirer l'attention sur une *récente* promotion civique dans un cadre, le sanctuaire fédéral, où elle ne pouvait rien avoir de glorieux; mais démontrer que, romanisés depuis longtemps, ils faisaient partie des responsables les plus en vue de leur cité, de lignées citoyennes fermement établies et ne voulaient pas être assimilés à ceux dont les parents n'avaient été propulsés que récemment parmi les citoyens romains.¹³

Ces filiations constituent donc un autre indice du droit latin d'autant que ces notables portent des gentilices de formation patronymique, construction sémantique typique des citoyens d'origine autochtone :¹⁴ dans les Gaules la distinction entre élites locales, celles qui se manifestent dans le cadre de la cité, et élites indigènes, celles qui, à l'intérieur de cet ensemble, sont d'extraction indigène n'est pas pertinente puisque toutes appartiennent à, sont parentes de, et en contact avec les populations indigènes. Cela ne signifie pas que les notables sont statiques, enfermés dans leur cité; ils se déplacent, mais le cadre municipal reste le seul qui soit pertinent pour leur notabilité. Quand ils exercent des responsabilités dans une cité autre que leur cité d'appartenance, ils explicitent leur origine civique, sans se situer dans l'optique de la continuité provinciale : dans ce contexte, les provinces gauloises sont une juxtaposition de cités.¹⁵ Même au niveau supérieur, les relations avec les élites de l'empire passent par la cité plus que par des notables individuellement ou par les provinces : Claudia Varenilla, fille et

¹³ Liste, M. Dondin-Payre, 'Magistratures et administration municipale dans les Trois Gaules', dans M. Dondin-Payre, M.-Th. Raepsaet-Charlier, eds., *Cités, Municipales, Colonies. Les processus de municipalisation en Gaule et en Germanie sous le Haut Empire romain* (Paris 1999), 148.

¹⁴ Dondin-Payre, Raepsaet-Charlier 2001, 'L'onomastique dans l'Empire romain: questions, méthodes, enjeux', op. cit. (n. 7), V-VII.

¹⁵ Voir CIL 13, 1697, autel de Lyon: *L. Lentulius Censorinus Pictauius omnibus honoribus apud suos functus ... Tres prouinciae Galliae.*

épouse de consul, est honorée par la cité des Pictons.¹⁶ Ce lien entre cité et notables explique qu'on connaît peu de chevaliers et presque aucun sénateur certain originaire des Trois Gaules : cette absence, illusoire, se comprend si, ne se pensant pas dans un cadre provincial mais dans celui de leur cité, ne pouvant inclure cette mention qui eût été incongrue à Rome dans le contexte impérial, les sénateurs gaulois ne sont pas identifiables.¹⁷

Cette *ciuitas* des notables gaulois forme un tout : ils ne sont ni originaires du chef-lieu, ni de rang différent selon qu'ils sont issus de la capitale ou du territoire.¹⁸ Une dichotomie entre le *caput ciuitatis* qui serait romanisé et producteur d'élites et le reste du territoire, plus ou moins "barbare", est fréquemment avancée pour les Gaules, alors qu'elles sont, comme les autres provinces, un tissu de cités, souvent beaucoup plus vastes qu'ailleurs, mais de fonctionnement exactement similaire. La juxtaposition de citoyens romains et de pérégrins, qui choque tant certains, découle du droit latin et règne partout, y compris aux chefs-lieux; les notables viennent de n'importe où sur le territoire civique qu'ils administrent en totalité : que les institutions municipales siègent au chef-lieu n'implique ni que les gestionnaires en sont exclusivement originaires, ni que leur juridiction s'y limite. Le reste de la cité ne doit pas être réduit aux *uici* et *pagi*, très mal connus, qui seraient des enclaves indigènes soumises au pouvoir de "notables locaux", alors qu'ils relèvent du statut juridique unique du territoire et qu'aucune subdivision n'a de structure administrative indépendante attestée, donc ne sécrète de notables inférieurs à ceux des capitales de cités, qui seraient, eux, les élites municipales.¹⁹ A Nérès, et sans doute aussi à Vendoeuvres-en-Brenne, dans la cité des Bituriges Cubes dont la densité en

¹⁶ CIL 13, 1129, Poitiers; l'origine pictone de la famille est une hypothèse: Y. Burnand, 'Senatores Romani ex provinciis Galliarum orti', *Epigrafiya e ordine senatorio* II, Tituli 5 (Rome 1982), 424. M. Sartre 1997, 'Vie municipale et intégration des notables dans la Syrie et l'Arabie romaines', *Élites provinciales*, op. cit., (n. 1), 15.

¹⁷ Il faudrait tenir compte de ce facteur quand on assimile élites provinciales et élites de l'empire : Andreau 1997, op. cit. (n. 4), 191. Les chevaliers des Gaules, Dondin-Payre 1999, op. cit. (n. 13), 174-177; les sénateurs, Burnand 1982, op. cit. (n. 16), 387-437 ; sur 55 sénateurs gaulois, 16 seraient originaires des Trois Gaules.

¹⁸ La problématique de *Élites provinciales* 1997, op. cit. (n. 1) est à revoir: Andreau 1997, op. cit. (n. 4), 198, "les élites des agglomérations secondaires par rapport à celles des cités" [ce sont les mêmes]; et dissociation complète entre le statut du chef-lieu et celui du territoire dans L. Mzozewicz, 'Kleinorteliten in den Nordprovinzen des römischen Reiches im 1.-3. Jahrhundert', 115-122.

¹⁹ Dondin-Payre 1999, op. cit. (n. 13); en dernier lieu M. Tarpin, *Vici et pagi dans l'Occident romain*, coll. EFR 299 (Rome 2002).

agglomérations reflète plus un hasard documentaire qu'une spécificité, Iulius Equester, magistrat municipal et prêtre, et ses fils, prêtres, offrent des équipements urbains coûteux, en précisant, dans le premier cas au moins, qu'ils oeuvrent pour bien de la cité (*res publica*) autant que pour les habitants du lieu (*uicani*).²⁰ Il est inutile d'invoquer, pour expliquer leur intervention, la possession de biens, un flaminat qui serait attaché à au sanctuaire, une origine locale (cette dernière raison ne pourrait expliquer qu'une des localisations); magistrats et/ou prêtres pour toute la cité, ils agissent en tant que tels partout. La série des dédicaces faites par des notables municipaux en l'honneur de la *domus diuina*, de Mars Mullo et de divers *pagi* trouvée, au Mans, chef-lieu de *ciuitas*, apporte le même témoignage d'une unité administrative et religieuse des notables de la cité.²¹ Cette homogénéité est une évidence pour d'autres provinces : les décurions de *Cirta* résident dans tout le territoire, les mausolées des élites hispaniques sont tous éloignés des centres urbains, les bouleutes de *Bostra*, répartis sur l'ensemble du territoire, y possèdent fermes, propriétés et tombeaux²². Pourquoi en irait-il différemment en Gaules? Le critère de hiérarchie des notables qu'on y introduit selon leur lieu d'extraction, de résidence et d'attestation est une aberration contraire à la documentation.

Doit-on, cependant, les distinguer selon leur aire d'influence? Y a-t-il des notables ès qualité? Des notables plurivalents qui seraient supérieurs aux autres? Une élite de l'élite émergeant d'un croisement de critères ?²³

Quels notables?

Poser la question de savoir s'il existe des notables ès qualité oriente l'attention vers deux catégories, les citoyens romains et les décurions.

Très souvent on réserve aux citoyens romains une place privilégiée, comme s'ils étaient si rares que leur statut suffit à les distinguer. Or, si l'on

²⁰ CIL 13, 1376 à 1380, 11151; F. Dumasy, *Les agglomérations secondaires - La Gaule Belgique, les Germanies et l'Occident romain* (Paris 1994), 186; bibliographie dans R. Bedon, *Atlas des villes, bourgs, villages de France au passé romain* (Paris 2001), 233-235, 320-321.

²¹ Chastagnol 1995, 'L'organisation du culte impérial dans la cité à la lumière des inscriptions de Rennes', op. cit. (n. 6), 29-35.

²² *Cirta* : H.G. Pflaum, 'Onomastique de *Cirta*', *Scripta Varia I Afrique romaine* (Paris 1978), 100-101; Espagne: M.L. Cancela Ramirez de Arellano 2001, 'Los monumentos funerarios de las elites locales hispanas', *Élites hispaniques*, op. cit. (n. 1), 105-120; *Bostra*: Sartre 1997, op. cit., (n. 16), 167.

²³ Andreau 1997, op. cit. (n. 4), 191.

peut penser que, tant que la cité est pérégrine, les citoyens constituent une élite sociale, la ligne de partage de la notabilité ne passe pas par la citoyenneté romaine : faire partie des citoyens romains ne désigne pas comme notable, on peut faire partie des notables sans être citoyen romain. Sinon, prendrait-on si fréquemment le risque d'une confusion de statut en exprimant dans les énoncés onomastiques la filiation par le *cognomen* du père citoyen quand cette pratique renvoie d'ordinaire au nom unique d'un pérégrin?²⁴ Sinon, les curateurs des associations de citoyens romains seraient-ils indifféremment des citoyens ou des affranchis?²⁵ Par conséquent, dans les cités de droit latin où les décurions ne sont pas nécessairement citoyens il est paradoxal d'en faire systématiquement une élite, ce qu'ils ne sont que collectivement, par rapport à l'ensemble de la plèbe libre.²⁶

Au fur et à mesure que la réflexion sur les élites progresse, les critères de définition s'affinent et se multiplient. Il est impossible de les analyser en détail, même souvent de différencier les conditions de notabilité de leurs conséquences.

La participation à la vie publique est un critère de notabilité admis partout, sauf en Gaules où on a cru remarquer la pénurie de carrières municipales classiques.²⁷ Les élites administratives n'y existeraient pas, ce qui est invraisemblable puisque le système civique, identique en Gaules et ailleurs dans l'empire, induit la coopération des autochtones. C'est confondre la réalité et son expression, c'est oublier les nombreuses attestations collectives de vie municipale – la plus élémentaire étant *d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)* – et le fait que, dans les épitaphes, gisement documentaire le plus riche, les *cursus* sont omis, et qu'ils sont gommés par la formulation très souvent compacte des dédicaces (*omnibus honoribus functus*) : ce laconisme, loin de refléter une indifférence, révèle que la carrière municipale est une évidence qui peut

²⁴ Dondin-Payre 2001, op. cit. (n. 9), 219; Sartre 1997, op. cit. (n. 16), 160-161: prudence bienvenue sur l'interprétation de la filiation par un nom unique; rappelons que le statut civique découle seulement de la nomenclature et n'a rien à voir avec la catégorie linguistique.

²⁵ W. van Andringa, 'Observations sur les associations de citoyens romains dans les Trois Gaules', *Cahiers Glotz* 9 (1998), 167.

²⁶ J. Scheid 'Aspects religieux de la municipalisation. Quelques réflexions générales', dans Dondin-Payre et Raepsaet-Charlier 1999, op. cit. (n. 13), 398: "l'élite qui siège au conseil décurional" (396, 399: les décurions établissent le budget religieux, qui est *subordonné* au calendrier fixé par les duumvirs).

²⁷ A la suite de J.F. Drinkwater, 'A note on local careers in the Three Gauls under the early Empire', *Britannia* 10 (1979), 89-100, suivi par Lyapustina 1997, op. cit. (n. 1), 60.

être résumée. Il est également illégitime d'invoquer à l'appui de cette théorie l'absence de colonies car le statut colonial est indifférent pour la romanisation, ainsi que la désignation fréquente des cités comme *ciuitates* qui ne renvoie pas à un statut pérégrin.²⁸ Adhérer à cette illusion, en déduire que les élites gauloises ne sont pas concernées par le système municipal, qu'elles ont constitué un frein de la romanisation, que ce désintérêt a entraîné un retard dans la diffusion de la citoyenneté en Gaules est sans fondement.²⁹ On a fait justice plus haut d'une des conséquences de ce prétendu manque d'investissement des notables gaulois dans la vie publique : l'apparente pénurie de Gaulois dans les classes supérieures de l'empire.³⁰ La proximité de provinces très pourvoyeuses de notables identifiables au niveau de l'empire (Narbonnaise, Espagne) renforce ce trompe-l'œil, qui n'est pas sans parallèle : la Syrie et l'Arabie, où règne une sélection similaire dans les informations exprimées, présentent, par rapport à l'Asie mineure, le même cas de figure.³¹ On ne saurait donc adhérer à l'affirmation que le rôle des élites en Gaules est plus social qu'institutionnel.³²

L'engagement administratif constitue-t-il une condition incontournable, ou des élites peuvent-elles répondre à d'autres critères?³³

Il est inutile de se demander si les élites sont religieuses puisque prêtres et magistrats se superposent, comme se superposent prêtres et fidèles des cultes indigènes et du culte impérial. Deux nuances sont à apporter : prendre en compte la participation aux cultes publics réintègre les femmes qui, sinon, seraient injustement exclues de la notabilité³⁴; et les magistratures et prêtrises ne se confondent pas, les *honores* n'incluent pas les sacerdoces,

²⁸ Dondin-Payre 1999, op. cit. (n. 13), 132-141.

²⁹ Moindre romanisation des Gaules, Lyapustina 1997, op. cit. (n. 1); encore P. Le Roux 2001, *Élites hispaniques*, op. cit. (n. 1), 201.

³⁰ Lyapustina 1997, op. cit. (n. 1), 55.

³¹ Faible proportion d'accession aux ordres supérieurs et intégration des notables en Syrie, Sartre 1997, op. cit. (n. 16), 154 : "si les cités abondent (...) la plupart, même les plus grandes, ont laissé une documentation épigraphique qui est apparue si peu abondante en ce qui concerne la vie civique que l'on a parfois douté de la réalité des institutions municipales pour quelques unes d'entre elles"; sur l'accession aux ordres supérieurs, n. 17.

³² Andreau 1997, op. cit. (n. 4), 193.

³³ La subtilité des critères: Alföldy 2001, op. cit. (n. 8), 44.

³⁴ W. van Andringa 1999, 'Prêtrises et cités dans les Trois Gaules et les Germanies au Haut Empire', dans Dondin-Payre et Raepsaet-Charlier 1999, op. cit. (n. 13), 425-446; T. Derks, 'The perception of the Roman pantheon by a native elite : the example of votive inscriptions from Lower Germany', dans N. Roymans, F. Theuws, eds., *Images of the Past. Studies on Ancient Societies in Northwestern Europe* (Amsterdam 1991), 251.

la précision *cum sacerdotio* qui complète *omnibus honoribus functus* en fait foi.³⁵

L'armée aurait-elle, par l'exploitation de l'idéologie martiale à travers la promotion à la citoyenneté romaine des commandants auxiliaires et le recrutement dans leurs clientèles, assuré, au I^{er} s. au moins, la continuité entre les élites tribales et romaines? Avancé pour les corps bataves et les levées locales, ce schéma ferait des corps militaires une pépinière de notables; mais sa validité a été, à juste titre, réfutée.³⁶ L'absence de garnisons en Gaules, Lyon mis à part, interdit d'envisager une influence immédiate des *canabae* autant que le prétendu rôle, fondamentalement contestable, des vétérans démobilisés installés sur place et systématiquement impliqués dans la vie publique.³⁷ La notabilité octroyée par l'armée ne peut être en Gaules qu'un phénomène marginal : les *opifices lorricari*, fabricants d'armes (qui n'énumèrent pas leurs noms), expriment la notabilité du centurion M. Ulpius Auitus en l'honorant, mais qu'en est-il de la leur?³⁸ Un geste isolé, même s'il reflète – ou copie – une attitude de notables, ne suffit pas à assurer l'appartenance au groupe; incursion dans le monde des élites n'est pas insertion.

Si, en Gaules comme partout, une assise économique solide est le corollaire de l'appartenance aux élites, elle n'y suffit pas plus qu'ailleurs à assurer l'intégration parmi elles, quoiqu'on ait expliqué par leur focalisation sur la richesse le désengagement politique dont on a crédité les notables.³⁹ Faute de documentation, on ne peut savoir de quoi est composée leur fortune, notamment si leurs revenus fonciers sont complétés par d'autres; ce n'est que probable. Mais la théorie selon laquelle ils auraient été, après la révolte de 70, composés d'artisans et de commerçants se désintéressant de la

³⁵ AE 1978 502, Boulogne, Morins : *Tib. Auitius Genialis Sulp. Auiti f. omnibus [honoribus et ci]uilib. municip. cum sacerdoti(o) functus.*

³⁶ N. Roymans, 'Romanization, cultural identity and the ethnic discussion', dans J. Metzler et al., éd., *Integration in the Early Roman West. The Role of Culture and Ideology*, doss. Mus. art Hist. 4 (Luxembourg 1995), 47-64; revu M.-Th. Raepsaet-Charlier 1999, 'Les institutions municipales dans les Germanies sous le Haut Empire: bilan et questions', dans Dondin-Payre et Raepsaet-Charlier 1999, op. cit. (n. 13), 278-282.

³⁷ Par ex. S. Demougin 1999, 'Les vétérans dans la Gaule Belgique et la Germanie inférieure', dans Dondin-Payre et Raepsaet-Charlier 1999, op. cit. (n. 13), 355-380.

³⁸ CIL 13, 2828, Brèves, Éduens.

³⁹ Lyapustina 1997, op. cit. (n. 1), 60 reprend la théorie de J. J. Hatt, *La tombe gallo-romaine. Recherches sur les inscriptions et les monuments funéraires gallo-romains des trois premiers siècles de notre ère* (Paris 1951) que Andreau 1997, op. cit. (n. 4), 197 réfute avec raison.

vie administrative officielle et de l'investissement foncier qui en est solidaire, est, à juste titre, contestée. Cette dissociation en principe abandonnée ressurgit sous d'autres formes : la dichotomie, fondamentalement injustifiée, entre les élites des agglomérations, adonnées à l'artisanat et au commerce, et celles des cités (on entend par là celles du chef-lieu), terriennes.⁴⁰ De façon surprenante (puisque'il n'associe à la campagne que ceux qui vivent dans la ville) on tient le raisonnement inverse : une maison ou une villa d'envergure, n'importe où dans la cité, est toujours qualifiée de "demeure aristocratique", sans que rien ne conforte cette attribution, puisque "aristocratique" renvoie aux élites sociales et administratives dont la richesse n'est pas l'apanage. Ainsi, le monument d'Igel témoigne-t-il d'une richesse commerciale et foncière, mais il ne suffit pas à lui seul à désigner ses commanditaires comme des notables, sans qu'on puisse dire qu'ils ne l'étaient pas.⁴¹ Les signes sociaux du désir d'appartenance aux notables ne sont pas pertinents seuls et sont difficiles à décrypter car ils s'adaptent au contexte, en Orient surtout les créations de concours gymniques, en Gaules et en Afrique les constructions publiques.⁴²

La relation avec le langage, donc avec la culture, est plus valable puisque être notable c'est être capable de se faire connaître, donc maîtriser les moyens de communication, donc le latin. De là à calquer la diffusion du latin sur la délimitation des élites comme s'il leur était réservé, à l'exclusion d'autres langues et d'autres groupes sociaux, on ne saurait franchir le pas. Les notables gaulois, qui, dans la sphère officielle, utilisent nécessairement le latin, en sont des agents de diffusion, sans l'imposer et sans en avoir l'exclusivité. La concentration de boîtes de sceaux dans des sites ruraux bataves a été interprétée comme la preuve de la correspondance qu'entretenaient les membres des troupes auxiliaires avec leurs familles.⁴³ Ces soldats en service ne sont pas des notables; et leurs destinataires? Sans appartenir aux élites, ils étaient à même de comprendre ces messages écrits qui, sinon, n'eussent pas été envoyés : l'équation notables = latin écrit n'est

⁴⁰ Andreau 1997, op. cit. (n. 4), 198.

⁴¹ En dernier lieu, J. France, éd., *La colonne d'Igel, Société et religion au III^{ème} siècle*, dans *Annales de l'Est*, 51, 2001.

⁴² Sartre 1997, op. cit. (n. 16), 164; H. Jouffroy, *La construction publique en Italie et dans l'Afrique romaine* (Strasbourg 1986).

⁴³ T. Derks, N. Roymans, 'Seal-boxes and the spread of Latin literacy in the Rhine delta', dans A. E. Cooley, éd., *Becoming Roman, Writing Latin? Literacy and Epigraphy in the Roman West*, Supplement of the Journal of Roman Archaeology 48 (Portsmouth, Rhode Island 2002), 87-134, surtout 101.

pas pertinente. Dans le même registre, des fusaïoles inscrites de phrases en partie latines en partie celtes révèlent la familiarité quotidienne des milieux aisés avec le celtique : le critère culturel, perçu à travers l'expression linguistique, est inadéquat pour identifier les notables gaulois.⁴⁴

En revanche attirer le regard des autres est une marque de notabilité : les notables se sentent et sont désignés comme tels, honorent *et* sont honorés (à la différence des affranchis qui honorent seulement). De même qu'à l'époque tribale la clientèle et l'échange de cadeaux coexistent avec la domination par la force, après la conquête les relations ne s'établissent pas en sens unique, du haut vers le bas, mais remontent du peuple vers ceux auxquels un rôle de représentation est reconnu. Les formules telle *ex postulatione populi* le montrent; loin d'être sans signification, elles témoignent que le peuple identifie certains comme dignes de parler en son nom : ce sont les décurions qui ont décerné à Sex. Ligurius les ornements du duumvirat, c'est le *populus* qui a manifesté sa volonté de le voir proclamé duumvir.⁴⁵ Ces personnes méritant d'être distinguées sont les notables au sens propre, ce qui explique une pratique qui leur est réservée : les manifestations écrites et publiques d'auto-célébration, ou de célébration mutuelle à l'intérieur d'un groupe. Si les femmes évoquent les carrières de parents faites dans un cadre dont elles sont exclues, si les membres de collectivités, inconnus individuellement, énumèrent leurs noms quand ils font acte d'évergétisme, c'est parce que l'insertion dans un groupe, même s'il est banal en lui-même (un collège), leur confère la qualité de notables qu'ils n'auraient pas seuls; les décurions, notables collectivement, parfois mais pas systématiquement individuellement, n'énumèrent pas leurs noms, qu'ils se présentent comme *ordo* constitué ou en groupe informel⁴⁶ : la notabilité collective décurionale assurée prime sur une notabilité individuelle aléatoire.

Se pose la question de savoir si, pour une réelle intégration, il faut, outre une certaine persévérance, une convergence de préoccupations et de

⁴⁴ Dondin-Payre 2001, op. cit. (n. 7), 318-327, 333-341; eadem, 'Épigraphie et acculturation : l'apport des fusaïoles inscrites', *Le monde romain à travers l'épigraphie : méthodes et pratiques* (Lille, à par. 2004).

⁴⁵ CIL 13, 1921, Lyon: *Sex. Ligurius Sex. fil. Galeria Marinus Iluiralib. ornamentis suffrag. sanct. ordinis honoratus, Iluir designatus ex postul(atione) populi*.

⁴⁶ Les femmes: M. Navarro Caballerro 2001, 'Les femmes de l'élite hispano-romaine entre la famille et la vie publique', *Élites hispaniques*, op. cit. (n. 1), 194-195; les décurions: W. Eck, 'Der Euergetismus im Funktionszusammenhang der kaiserlichen Städte', *Actes du X^e Congrès international d'épigraphie grecque et latine, Nîmes, 4-9 octobre 1992* (Paris 1997), 316.

comportements qui ferait des notables une classe. Mise à part la famille senone des *Iulii-Magilii* déjà évoquée, on n'a pas de témoignages de croisement entre l'exercice de fonctions administratives et religieuses et des stratégies de prestige : la fille de Iulia Thermiola et de M. Magilius Honoratus se nomme Iulia Regina car à celui du père, moins illustre, a été préféré le gentilice maternel, qui, banal dans la province, désignait dans la cité une lignée éminente de magistrats et prêtres fédéraux. Ce cas, qui n'est unique que par hasard documentaire, égale les élites des Gaules à celles de l'empire et montre que l'insertion dans leurs cités ne les éloigne pas de ces dernières.

Les notables entre administration locale et pouvoir central

Il appartient aux notables civiques d'établir le dialogue avec le pouvoir provincial et impérial. Élément de l'encadrement non spécialisé de l'empire romain, les notables assurent, au-delà d'un rayonnement local, le relais avec le personnel administratif inférieur de l'empire, dans le cadre de la province en premier lieu : des missions aussi terre-à-terre mais essentielles que l'entretien et la sécurisation de la voirie mettent nécessairement en jeu la coordination provinciale.⁴⁷

Il est peu vraisemblable que les conflits, bien documentés en Méditerranée orientale, entre gouverneurs et provinciaux, dans lesquels les notables servent d'intercesseurs, aient été inconnus en Occident : même en l'absence de témoignages explicites, des personnages comme T. Sennius Sollemnis sont susceptibles, capables en tous cas, d'avoir joué ce rôle.⁴⁸ L'idée selon laquelle les notables résistent passivement au pouvoir central est infondée :⁴⁹ par essence la vocation des notables est de coopérer avec l'empire, de préserver l'équilibre des relations avec Rome. Garants des intérêts du pouvoir central pour lequel, selon les mots d'Aelius Aristide, ils "gardent leur patrie" (*Rome*, 64), protecteurs de celle-ci, ils sont la passerelle entre les deux mondes. Familiers des élites provinciales et impériales avec lesquelles ils coopèrent, les notables municipaux assurent le dialogue entre ces groupes : le rapprochement entre neuf entités, qui aboutira à la création de la province de Novempopulanie sous Dioclétien, fut plaidé à Rome devant

⁴⁷ J. France, 'Remarques sur les *tributa* dans les provinces nord-occidentales du Haut-Empire romain (Gaules, Germanies, Bretagne)', *Latomus* 60 (2001), 359-379.

⁴⁸ CIL 13, 3162 = ILTG 341 = AE 1949 136-137, 214; 1959 95, Torigny-sur-Vire, Viducasses.

⁴⁹ Andreau 1997, op. cit. (n. 4), 192.

l'empereur par le magistrat *municipal* (on ne lui connaît aucune responsabilité provinciale) Verus, qui s'était déplacé dans ce but.⁵⁰

En finançant, par des gestes, volontaires ou dictés par la coutume, les activités et les équipements collectifs, les notables, même si les évergésies ne leur sont pas réservées, agissent au profit de leurs cités mais aussi de l'empire. Semblables à ceux de l'empereur, leurs gestes sont aussi essentiels aux cités que les premiers le sont aux provinces et à l'empire. Ressource régulière et importante, l'impressionnante générosité des notables allège considérablement la charge de l'aménagement du territoire civique; elle n'est pas qu'une manifestation à but de propagande personnelle ou de gloriole sociale, elle a une utilité:⁵¹ en améliorant le fonctionnement municipal, dont dépend celui de l'empire, les notables permettent à celui-ci d'être accepté par les provinciaux, donc de maintenir la paix. Contribuant à la bonne marche du système fiscal impérial, ils le régulent et en compensent la pression en limitant les dépenses publiques. Maîtrisant la répartition de l'assiette des impôts, veillant à l'application des exemptions, caution envers le pouvoir central représenté par le gouvernement provincial de la collation des sommes, envers la cité de leur répartition entre les contribuables, épargnant à l'administration une intervention risquant d'être ressentie comme brutale et arbitraire, ils agissent pour le double profit de leur communauté et de la stabilité de l'empire en évitant les affrontements.⁵²

Conclusion

Assurant le fonctionnement municipal, le dialogue avec les autorités provinciales et impériales, transmettant et faisant appliquer les lois romaines, intercesseurs fiscaux, détenteurs mais non accapareurs de la richesse, diffuseurs de la culture latine sans renier leurs racines celtes, les notables jouent en Gaules un rôle d'intermédiaire entre deux époques et deux mondes. A quelque niveau qu'ils interviennent, ils ne sont ni locaux ni coupés de l'empire ; insérés dans les cités sans y être cantonnés, ils les représentent au

⁵⁰ CIL 13, 412, Hasparren, Tarbelles.

⁵¹ Y. De Kisch, 'Tarifs de donation en Gaule romaine d'après les inscriptions', *Ktéma* 4 (1979), 271; Eck 1997, op. cit. (n. 46), 307-315.

⁵² J. France, 'Le personnel subalterne de l'administration financière et fiscale dans les provinces des Gaules et des Germanies', *Cahiers Glotz* 11 (2000), 193-221, surtout 195; J. France, *Quadragesima Galliarum. L'organisation douanière des provinces alpestres, gauloises et germaniques de l'Empire romain (I^{er} siècle avant J.-C. – III^e siècle après J.-C.)*, coll. EFR 278 (Rome 2001); P. Ørsted 1997, 'Locatio publicorum and the economy of the provincial cities', *Élites provinciales*, op. cit. (n. 1), 139-150, surtout 147.

niveau de la province. Les notables municipaux sont les indispensables agents et le produit d'une romanisation qui, pour respecter les antécédents autochtones, n'en est pas moins profonde.

Paris, décembre 2003.

ENTRE AMPHION ET ACHILLE
RÉALITÉ ET MYTHOLOGIE DE LA DÉFENSE D'ATHÈNES
DU III^E AU IV^E SIÈCLE APRÈS J.-C.

Par
MARCO DI BRANCO*

Dans son récent recueil des inscriptions d'Athènes et de l'Attique,¹ Erkki Sironen a réédité deux textes provenant du "post-Herulian Wall" d'Athènes et relatifs à sa construction:² le premier, découvert près d'une porte sur le flanc nord-est du rempart, mentionnait le nom de son bâtisseur: Illyrius,³ l'autre, retrouvé sur le flanc occidental, est très fragmentaire,⁴ mais devait certainement contenir lui aussi le nom d'Illyrius, identifié d'un commun accord avec le proconsul d'Achaïa Claudius Illyrius – fils de l'archonte éponyme Claudius Teres et petit-fils du proconsul Claudius Leonticus⁵ – auquel la ville d'Athènes dédia deux statues honoraires sur l'Acropole.⁶ L'activité d'Illyrius est datée indiscutablement par rapport avec celle de l'*epimélètes* de ces deux dédicaces, Marcus Iounius Minucianus, que le lexique de Souida place *epi Galienou*.⁷ En outre, dans une inscription de Chypre, Illyrius est honoré pour avoir rebâti les fortifications de Lapethos,⁸ et à Corinthe il est célébré en qualité de gouverneur, philosophe, bâtisseur et évergète.⁹

En analysant ces données, nous entrevoyons le rôle de premier plan d'Illyrius dans l'organisation de la résistance antibarbare, et en même temps

¹ E. Sironen, *The Late Roman and Early Byzantine Inscriptions of Athens and Attica* (Helsinki 1997).

² Sur la question du "post-Herulian Wall" voir notamment A. Frantz, *The Athenian Agora XXIV. Late Antiquity: A.D. 267-700* (Princeton, N.J., 1988), 5-7; P. Castrén, 'General aspects of life in post-Herulian Athens', dans P. Castrén, ed., *Post-Herulian Athens. Aspects of Life and Culture in Athens A.D. 267-529* (Helsinki 1994), 1-14; et I. Baldini Lippolis, 'La monumentalizzazione tardoantica di Atene', *Ostraka* 4. 1 (1995), 169-190.

³ IG II² 5199 = Sironen 1997, op. cit. (n. 1), n° 30.

⁴ IG II² 5200 = Sironen 1997, op. cit. (n. 1), n° 31.

⁵ PIR² II, n° 892.

⁶ IG II/III² 3689-90 = Sironen 1997, op. cit. (n. 1), n° 5-6.

⁷ *Souda Lexicon*, M 1087.

⁸ J. & L. Robert, *Bulletin épigraphique* (1951), n° 10, 206-209.

⁹ J.H. Kent, *Corinth 8.3. The inscriptions 1926-1950* (Princeton, N.J., 1966), n° 118, avec émendations par J. & L. Robert, *Bulletin Épigraphique* (1966), 740-742.

l'ombre protectrice de l'empereur Gallien, dont la visite à Athènes de 264 ou de 265 après J.-C. eut essentiellement des motifs militaires.¹⁰ Le tableau qui vient à se dresser montre une classe dirigeante athénienne qui, lorsque l'armée des Hérules menace la ville, est solidaire, sans distinctions, avec son empereur.

Le nom du proconsul Illyrius s'ajoute donc à ceux des autres défenseurs d'Athènes déjà connus par les sources historiques et épigraphiques: le célèbre P. Erennius Dexippe, Panathénus et Minucianus. À sujet de Dexippe, l'«historien combattant», membre de la noble famille des *Kerykes* et protagoniste de la résistance des Athéniens contre les Hérules, on a beaucoup écrit.¹¹ Il était sans doute un important représentant de l'aristocratie athénienne, mais ceux qui voient en lui le plus influent entre ses concitoyens sont exagérément charmés par le discours magnifique prononcé par Dexippe au moment décisif du siège des Hérules:¹² dans ce passage, qui contient de nombreuses réminiscences thucydidiennes, l'historien semble vraiment donner corps à l'esprit de l'Athènes de Miltiade et de Themistocle; sa figure solitaire et titanique, qui harangue les deux mille courageux Athéniens, en les exhortant à se souvenir de la tradition de la patrie et à devenir exemple de vertu et de liberté pour les Grecs, exerce une grande suggestion sur le lecteur. Et toutefois, la réalité doit avoir été différente.

On sait que la célèbre inscription qui accompagnait la statue de Dexippe ne fait aucune mention du rôle de l'historien pendant la bataille contre les Hérules;¹³ les savants se sont souvent interrogés à l'égard de cette 'contradiction', sans pourtant essayer une solution de l'énigme.¹⁴ Pour comprendre la situation, il faut abandonner le miroir déformant du texte de Dexippe et considérer le contexte dans lequel les événements de 267 après

¹⁰ D. Armstrong, 'Gallienus in Athens, 264', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 70 (1987), 235-58.

¹¹ Voir notamment F. Millar, 'P. Herennius Dexippus: The Greek world and the third-century invasions', *Journal of Roman Studies* 59 (1969), 12-29; S. Mazzarino, *Il pensiero storico classico*, 2. 2 (Bari 1966), 211-213 et. 263-310; E. Kapetanopoulos, 'Some remarks on Athens of about 270', *Archaïologhikà analekta ex Athenôn*, 16-17 (1983-4), 55; G. Fowden, 'City and mountain in late Roman Attica', *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 108 (1988), 50-52, Idem, 'The Athenian Agora and the progress of Christianity', *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 3 (1990), 494, n. 1, et E. Sironen, 'Life and administration of late Roman Attica', dans P. Castrén 1994, op. cit. (n. 2), 17-20.

¹² Jacoby, *FGrH* 100 F 28.

¹³ IG II/III² n° 3669 = Sironen 1997, op. cit. (n. 1), n° 4.

¹⁴ Cf. par exemple Kapetanopoulos 1983-84, op.cit. (n. 11), 51 et Sironen 1994, op. cit. (n. 11), 17-19.

J.-C. se déroulent. La vérité c'est que Dexippe n'a pas été l'unique 'héros' : avec lui, il y avait certainement Minucianus, qui appartenait à une des plus nobles familles athéniennes, qui descendait de Plutarque, et qui était ambassadeur chez Gallien dans les moments difficiles qui précédaient le sac des Hérules;¹⁵ il y avait aussi avec lui Cleodamus *signo* Panathénus, envoyé par Gallien *instaurandis urbibus muniendisque*;¹⁶ enfin, il y avait le proconsul Claudius Leonticus, *signo* Illyrius, le personnage le plus important, au moment de cet événement, pour la charge même qu'il occupait. Bien que le caractère fragmentaire de la conservation de l'ouvrage de Dexippe et le charme extraordinaire de son discours aient obtenu l'effet d'éclipser le rôle du proconsul et d'exalter celui de l'historien, les données épigraphiques auxquelles nous avons fait allusion plus haut semblent au contraire confirmer l'existence d'un rapport de subordination entre Dexippe et Illyrius : en effet, il est extrêmement difficile de retrouver dans l'inscription honoraire dédiée à Dexippe n'importe quelle référence à l'héroïsme de Dexippe à l'occasion de l'attaque des Hérules ; ça pourrait indiquer que l'historien et sa famille étaient conscients du fait qu'il n'avait été ni le principal ni l'unique héros athénien en cette circonstance ; à ce propos, il faut souligner que Dexippe est honoré seulement par ses fils, tandis que ce fut la polis qui dédia deux statues à Illyrius en tant que bienfaiteur d'Athènes, et il ne semble tout à fait arbitraire de relier cet honneur aux événements de 267 après J.-C.

Les choses étant ce qu'elles sont, il est plausible de penser à Illyrius comme à celui qui sut accomplir des tâches fondamentales dans une crise difficile, pas seulement en organisant la construction du rempart intérieur de la ville, mais aussi en coordonnant les opérations défensives.

On a remarqué que les aristocrates athéniens du III^e siècle après J.-C. suivent deux parcours différents dans leur carrière politique : quelques-uns d'entre eux choisissent de se 'romaniser' même formellement, en entrant dans le sénat (c'est le cas d'Illyrius) ; d'autres, au contraire, de rester dans le milieu de la polis (c'est le cas de Dexippe et de Minucianus).¹⁷ Pendant la défense d'Athènes ces deux catégories s'unissent au nom des anciennes traditions civiques. En effet, le centre de la résistance contre les barbares est le milieu lié à Eleusis : Dexippe aussi bien que Minucianus appartiennent à des familles qui exerçaient un monopole séculaire sur les mystères d'Eleusis, et qui en tiraient prestige et autorité. De plus, comme Andreas Alföldi a mis

¹⁵ O. Schissel, 'Die Familie des Minukianos', *Klio* 21 (1927), 361-373.

¹⁶ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae, Vita Gallieni*, 13.6.

¹⁷ Voir Millar 1969, op. cit. (n. 11).

justement en évidence, dans ce contexte l'élément fondamental est le platonisme, qui est strictement lié aux mystères d'Eleusis.¹⁸ Dans la famille de Dexippe aussi bien qu'en celle de Minucianus nous constatons la présence de nombreux sophistes et un strict rapport avec le milieu néoplatonicien d'Eleusis.¹⁹ L'*exemplum* mythique choisi pour honorer le bâtisseur du rempart intérieur est révélateur des tendances platoniciennes des défenseurs d'Athènes. En effet, dans la première inscription, on établit une comparaison entre Illyrius et le Thébain Amphion, fils de Zeus et d'Antiope et *protos heuretés* des arts musicaux: de même qu'Amphion érigea les murs de Thèbes au son de la lyre, ainsi Illyrius a bâti le rempart d'Athènes en se laissant guider par la muse à la douce voix. Dans cette analogie il y a certainement une allusion à la rapidité d'exécution des travaux, mais pour comprendre à fond son importance il faut considérer brièvement la figure d'Amphion et les valeurs dont elle est chargée dans la culture grecque.²⁰

Homère rappelle qu'Amphion, avec son frère Zéthos, bâtit les murs de Thèbes;²¹ Hésiode²² et Eumelos²³ racontent l'histoire de la prodigieuse construction au moyen des instruments musicaux; le thème occupe une place importante dans l'*Antiope* d'Euripide, qui représentait la querelle entre Zéthos, guerrier et agriculteur, et Amphion, qui était entièrement voué à la musique.²⁴ Dans la spéculation platonicienne, la querelle entre les deux frères au moment de l'érection des murs thébains symbolise le conflit entre 'vie active' et philosophie, et naturellement Platon prend le parti d'Amphion.²⁵ Dans l'époque hellénistique, Apollonios de Rhodes offre la représentation la plus vive de l'épisode, en comparant l'énorme fatigue de Zéthos à la grâce et légèreté d'Amphion, qui remue les pierres au moyen du son de

¹⁸ A. Alföldi, *Studien zur Geschichte der Weltkrise des 3. Jahrhunderts nach Christus* (Darmstadt 1967), 246.

¹⁹ Voir Schissel 1927, op. cit. (n. 15).

²⁰ Cf. W.H. Roscher, *Lexicon der Mythologie*, 1.1 (Leipzig 1884), 308-16; F. Vian, *Les origines de Thèbes* (Paris 1963), 69-75; M. Rocchi, *Kadmo e Harmonia: un matrimonio problematico* (Roma 1989), 47-51; A. Hurst, 'Bâtir les murailles de Thèbes', *Presenza e funzione della città di Tebe nella cultura greca. Atti del Convegno Internazionale, Urbino, 7-9 Luglio 1997* (Pisa-Roma 2000), 63-81.

²¹ *Odyssea*, 11.260-265.

²² Frg. 182 Merkelbach-West.

²³ Frg. 3 EGF = 13 PEG.

²⁴ Frgg. 184-188 Nauck.

²⁵ *Gorgias* 485e; 500c; 506b. Cf. A.M.J. Festugière, *Contemplation et vie contemplative selon Platon* (Paris 1950), *passim*, et A. Grilli, *Il problema della vita contemplativa nel mondo greco-romano* (Milano-Roma 1953), *passim*.

sa lyre.²⁶ Dans la littérature de la première époque impériale le thème est diversement traité par maintes auteurs: Horace et Propertius proposent pour la première fois le parallèle entre Amphion et Orphée, qui sera couronné de succès.²⁷ Nous trouvons une comparaison assez précise pour l'inscription d'Illyrius dans des vers de la *Silva* de Stace dédiée à la villa de l'aristocrate Pollius Felix à Sorrente:²⁸ dans ce cas aussi, il y a un parallèle entre un bâtisseur (Pollius Felix) et Amphion, et le contexte est encore une fois celui de l'éloge de la 'vie contemplative' et philosophique, qui constitue le *modus vivendi* de Pollius Felix. Une comparaison ultérieure vient encore du milieu athénien et ça montre qu'ici l'*exemplum* d'Amphion eut du succès: en effet, dans une oraison d'Himerius le proconsul Cervonius est célébré comme nouvel Amphion.²⁹

À partir du II siècle après J.-C. les auteurs qui narrent les vicissitudes de la construction des murs de Thèbes s'intéressent surtout aux pouvoirs surnaturels d'Amphion et aux vertus magiques de la musique; le parallèle entre Amphion et Orphée revient bien souvent, et le fils d'Antiope donne encore corps à l'idéal de vie du philosophe.³⁰

Dans l'antiquité tardive, Amphion est donc représenté aussi bien comme philosophe que comme magicien qui, au moyen de sa musique, modifie la réalité environnante. Dans l'élaboration de cette figure, la spéculation néoplatonicienne et néopythagoricienne exerce une influence fondamentale. On sait que ce courant de pensée considère la musique comme un véritable pouvoir magique: puisque entre les éléments et les corps il y a une relation musicale, la musique révèle les rapports qui forment l'âme individuelle et universelle, et elle est capable d'agir aussi sur la nature et sur les hommes.³¹ De plus, la musique – et en particulier celle de la lyre, qui selon

²⁶ *Argonauticae* 1.735-741.

²⁷ Horatius, *Odae* 3.11.2 et *Ars poetica* 394-396; Propertius 1.9.10 et 3.2.2-10. Cf. G. Mader, 'Amphion and Orpheus in Propertius, I 9?', *Antiquité classique* 61 (1992), 249-254, et C. Riedweg, 'Orfeo', *I Greci*, 2.1 (Torino 1996), 1278, n. 120.

²⁸ Statius, *Silvae* 2.2.56-62.

²⁹ Himerius, *Orationes* 38.9 Colonna.

³⁰ Voir notamment Pausanias 6.20.18; 9.5.6-8; 9.17.7; Apollodorus 3.5.5; Philostratus, *Imagines*, 1.10; Ps.-Plutarchus, *de Musica* 3; Macrobius, *In Somnium Scipionis* 2.3.1-10; Nonnus, *Dionysiaca* 25.414-28; Apuleius, *Florida* 17; Lucianus, *Imagines* 14; Clemens Alexandrinus, *Protrepticus* 1.1 et 3.1, et Iulianus, *Epistulae* 16.

³¹ Cf. Ps.-Plutarchus, *De Musica* 42-44; Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae* 14.18; Iamblichus, *de Mysteriis Aegyptiorum* 3.9; Aristides Quintillianus, *De Musica* 3.16-25. Sur le rapport entre musique et magie voir notamment E. Dodds, *The Greeks and the Irrational* (Berkeley-Los Angeles 1951), 102-107; W.K.C. Guthrie, *Orpheus and Greek Religion* (New York 1952),

la tradition aurait été inventée par Amphion – produit l’élévation et la purification de l’âme (selon Plotin le musicien s’élève en comprenant l’harmonie intelligible).³²

Après ce bref examen, le sens du parallèle entre Amphion et Illyrius est plus compréhensible: il s’agit d’un hommage du milieu néoplatonicien d’Eleusis au proconsul bienfaiteur de la ville qui est exalté comme philosophe et même – bien qu’à demi-mots – comme magicien. Dans cette caractérisation d’Illyrius on peut voir celle que Paul Zanker a défini l’“auto-stylisation” de la classe dirigeante athénienne, qui a la tendance à se montrer consacrée à la philosophie et à se rapporter avec ostentation à sa tradition culturelle.³³

Toutefois, un éloge centré sur les thèmes de la ‘vie contemplative’ pourrait paraître peu indiqué pour le rôle d’Illyrius et pour les circonstances, état donné qu’il n’y a pas la moindre allusion aux vertus ‘pratiques’ du proconsul pendant l’attaque des Hérules. Pourtant, la lecture de la seconde inscription du rempart fait émerger une nuance différente. Ici, en effet, l’œuvre d’Illyrius est célébré en faisant allusion pas seulement à Amphion, mais aussi aux Cyclopes, et ça place le proconsul dans un centre idéal entre deux extrêmes opposés: si Amphion représente le *mousikós anér*, et si les Cyclopes sont des êtres primitifs, dont l’unique qualité c’est la force physique,³⁴ Illyrius, qui est un intellectuel mais un homme d’action aussi, représente la synthèse parfaite des vertus de ceux personnages mythiques.

Mais pourquoi, entre ces nombreux modèles mythiques disponibles, on a privilégié celui d’Amphion? Il n’est pas possible de répondre en toute certitude à cette question. Bien sûr, le thème de la magie de l’*amphionis phorminx* était souvent utilisé dans les exercices de rhétorique, mais il faut surtout réfléchir sur un élément: on sait que Amphion est un héros qui est associé dès sa naissance au milieu béotien; si on considère que Minukianos – l’*epimelétes* des dédicaces à Illyrius – descendait d’une famille illustre

19-21; E.A. Lippman, *Musical Thought in Ancient Greece* (New-York-London 1964), 78-90; C. Segal, ‘La magia di Orfeo e le ambiguità del linguaggio’, *Musica e mito nella Grecia antica* (Bologna 1995), 289-301.

³² Plotinus, *Enneades* 1.3.20. Cf. F. Cumont, *Recherches sur le symbolisme funéraires des Romains* (Paris 1942), 18 et 262.

³³ P. Zanker, *Die Maske des Sokrates. Das Bild des Intellektuellen in der antiken Kunst* (München 1995), 249-250.

³⁴ Cf. Roscher 1884, op. cit. (n. 20), 2.1, c. 1687-89, et H.I. Marrou, *Mousikos anér. Étude sur les scènes de la vie intellectuelle figurant sur les monuments funéraires romains* (Grenoble 1938), *passim*.

originaire de la Béotie, et que au milieu du III siècle après J.-C. il y avait à Athènes au moins une autre importante famille de la même origine,³⁵ il est difficile de ne pas établir une connexion entre les deux faits, surtout quand on songe à l'importance des traditions locales dans l'antiquité tardive.³⁶ De plus, cette hypothèse semble renforcée par les données archéologiques. Selon la reconstitution qui a été proposée par les savants américains, dans le rempart intérieur d'Athènes s'ouvraient sept portes:³⁷ il ne semble pas impossible que le parallèle entre Illyrius et le mythique bâtisseur des murs de Thèbes ait été évoqué dans le milieu aristocratique athénienne par cette particulière coïncidence numérique.

Comme et peut-être encore plus du sac des Hérules à Athènes, la descente d'Alaric en Grèce de 395/6 après J.-C. a été objet d'interprétations opposées. En ce cas, toutefois, la diversité des opinions exprimées par la critique semble de quelque façon justifiée par les versions radicalement discordantes que les sources donnent de cet événement, ainsi que par l'ambiguïté de la documentation archéologique. Selon Zosime, qui est notre source principale sur la campagne grecque d'Alaric, tandis que le reste de la Grèce subit l'occupation de l'armée des Goths, Athènes et l'Attique restèrent intactes en vertu des prodiges – en particulier l'apparition d'Athéna et Achille sur les murs de la ville – qui y eurent lieu juste au moment de l'attaque d'Alaric.³⁸ Toutefois, d'autres sources brossent un tableau moins idyllique: en effet, Claudianus, Gerôme et Philostorge affirment que Alaric conquérait Athènes avec la violence;³⁹ et Synèse de Cyrène, qui y se rendit en août 399 après J.-C., décrit la décadence de la ville, mais ne fait aucune allusion aux destructions d'Alaric.⁴⁰

Les interprétations des spécialistes ont reproduit cette dichotomie des sources, en mettant en valeur le récit de Zosime ou bien les notices données par les autres auteurs.⁴¹ Dans la littérature archéologique on trouve pareil-

³⁵ Millar 1969, op. cit. (n. 11), 18. Cf. J.H. Oliver, 'Selected Greek inscriptions', *Hesperia*, 2 (1933), 510-511.

³⁶ Voir G.W. Bowersock, *Hellenism in Late Antiquity* (Cambridge 1990), 3.

³⁷ Frantz 1988, op. cit. (n. 2), 138-141.

³⁸ Zosimus, 5.5.5-8 et 5.6.1-5.

³⁹ Hieronymus, *Epistulae* 60.16 et Philostorgius, *Historia ecclesiastica* 12.2.

⁴⁰ Synesius, *Epistulae* 56 et 136. Cf. D. Roques, *Études sur la correspondance de Synésios de Cyrène* (Bruxelles 1989), 99-103 et Idem, *Synésios de Cyrène, Correspondance*, II (Paris 1990), 162-163, n. 3.

⁴¹ Cf. notamment O. Seeck, *Geschichte des Untergangs der antiken Welt*, V (Berlin 1913), 552; F. Paschoud, *Zosime, Histoire Nouvelle*, 3.1 (Paris 1986), 94-98, nn. 9-10; F.

lement deux tendances opposées: la première nie qu'il y ait des preuves de la conquête violente d'Athènes par l'armée d'Alaric; la seconde est au contraire plus inclinée à admettre un véritable sac de la ville et essaie de retrouver les traces des destructions des Goths dans le tissu urbain.⁴²

L'examen des diverses positions relatives à la question de la conquête d'Athènes mène de toute façon à réduire la portée de l'impact des barbares sur la ville. De ce point de vue, la 'fable païenne' de Zosime se révèle plus croyable qu'on ne pense; néanmoins, on a l'impression que même dans le récit de celui-ci la réalité soit dans une certaine mesure altérée par la propagande politique et religieuse. Au passage de Zosime sur Athènes on peut relier ce que le même auteur écrit à propos de l'échec de l'essai de sauver Rome en recourant aux rites païens pendant le siège d'Alaric – échec provoqué par la classe dirigeante chrétienne de la ville.⁴³ En rapportant cet épisode, Zosime compare implicitement Rome et Athènes, à tout avantage d'Athènes qui est sauvée par sa fidélité au paganisme: dans un monde où les dieux n'hésitaient pas à accourir en aide des villes dévotes, les païens avaient beau jeu à attribuer les sacs des barbares, ainsi que la décadence de l'empire, à l'abandon des divinités et des rites traditionnels, et à considérer, au contraire, le salut des villes comme le signe de la bienveillance des anciens dieux envers leurs adeptes. Les chrétiens aussi étaient très sensibles à ce sujet: récemment, Augusto Fraschetti, en examinant le fameux chapitre des *Historiae contra paganos* de Orose sur le sac de Rome de 410 après J.-C.,⁴⁴ a montré que le but principal de l'historien chrétien était de convaincre ses lecteurs du fait que beaucoup de malheurs avaient frappés Rome bien avant

Gregorovius, *Geschichte der Stadt Athen im Mittelalter*, I (Stuttgart 1889), 112, et S. Mazzarino, *Stilicone. La crisi imperiale dopo Teodosio* (Roma 1942), 260, n. 2.

⁴² Cf. C. Wachsmuth, *Die Stadt Athen im Altertum*, I (Leipzig 1874), 715; H.A. Thompson & R.E. Wycherly, *The Athenian Agora XIV. The Agora of Athens* (Princeton, N.J., 1972), 210; J.-M. Spieser, 'La ville en Grèce du III^e au VI^e siècle', in *Ville et peuplement dans l'Illyricum protobyzantin. Actes du colloque organisé par l'École française de Rome, Rome, 12-14 mai 1982* (Roma 1984), 322 = Idem, *Urban and Religious Spaces in Late Antiquity and Early Byzantium* (Aldershot etc. 2001), n° 2, 322; Frantz 1988, op. cit. (n. 2), 138-141; Rügler, 'Die Datierung der "Hallenstrasse" und des "Festtores" im Kerameikos und Alarichs Besetzung Athens', *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Athen* 105 (1990), 288-289; P. Castrén, 'Paganism and Christianity in Athens and vicinity', *The Idea and Ideal of the Town between Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages* (Leiden-Boston-Köln 1999), 211-223.

⁴³ Zosimus, 5.41.1-3.

⁴⁴ Orosius, 7.39.

des *Christiana tempora*.⁴⁵ En effet, le récit d'Orose sur le sac de Rome est le pendant chrétien du récit païen de Zosime sur le raid d'Alaric à Athènes: si pour Zosime les défenseurs de la ville sont Athéna et Achille, pour Orose les *pignora* du salut de Rome sont les *vasa* de Pierre et les saintes reliques de l'apôtre, sur lesquelles se lève la basilique où les Romains dans cette circonstance se réfugièrent; si le sac d'Athènes se transforme selon Zosime en un banquet d'Alaric avec les notables de la ville, le sac de Rome devient pour Orose une procession aux lieux saints. Zosime raconte aussi qu'à la mort de Valentinien I la Grèce fut frappée par un violent tremblement de terre et beaucoup de villes en furent sérieusement endommagées, à l'exception d'Athènes et de l'Attique, qui avaient été protégées grâce à un rite théurgique effectué par l'hiérophante Nestorius à la suite d'une vision prémonitoire.⁴⁶ Ce rite a été mal compris par les savants qui l'ont examiné: François Paschoud – dans un curieux accès de rationalisme – le définit “un subterfuge ingénieusement imaginé mais un peu risible”,⁴⁷ tandis que Étienne Evrard a essayé captieusement de nier son appartenance à la sphère de la théurgie.⁴⁸ En effet, tout en sous-estimant l'influence de Jamblique sur le premier néoplatonisme athénien, Evrard cherche à prouver que Nestorius et surtout son petit-fils Plutarque, le premier philosophe néoplatonicien d'Athènes, n'ont pas de rapports avec les doctrines professées par le philosophe syrien et par son école, en particulier avec la théurgie; toutefois, après avoir longuement soutenu que le rite opéré par Nestorius ne peut pas se représenter comme un rite théurgique, Evrard accepte l'hypothèse contraire, et, en conclusion il affirme que Nestorius a répandu la pratique de la théurgie dans les milieux philosophiques d'Athènes.⁴⁹

Pour ce qui en est de l'influence de Jamblique sur tels milieux, Alan Cameron a montré que pendant les années de la formation philosophique de Plutarque il y eut un “revival of interest” à l'égard des doctrines et de la personnalité de Jamblique: une preuve importante de ce que Cameron affirme est la dédicace athénienne à un Jamblique homonyme du philosophe (et il aussi philosophe), ami de Libanius et petit-fils du sophiste Sopatre, honoré

⁴⁵ A. Fraschetti, *La conversione. Da Roma pagana a Roma cristiana* (Roma-Bari 1999), 276-284.

⁴⁶ Zosimus, 4.18.1-4.

⁴⁷ F. Paschoud, *Zosime, Histoire Nouvelle*, 2.2 (Paris 1979), 368, n. 138.

⁴⁸ E. Evrard, ‘Le maître de Plutarque d'Athènes’, *Antiquité Classique* 29 (1960), 108-133 et 391-406.

⁴⁹ *Ibidem*, 133.

avec un hermès pour sa collaboration à la restauration et au renforcement des murs de la ville peu de temps avant de l'invasion d'Alaric.⁵⁰ Témoignage ultérieur de l'influence de Jamblique sur les philosophes athéniens est sans doute le rite célébré par Nestorius: en effet il s'agit d'un rite théurgique, et plus précisément d'un rite téléstique. But de l'art téléstique est l'*éllampsis*, c'est-à-dire l'animation d'une statue par un dieu,⁵¹ mais il ne s'agit pas seulement d'évocation: la téléstique n'est pas une simple technique humaine d'animer les statues, mais plutôt l'art divin de conférer les *synthémata*, c'est-à-dire les symboles invisibles et ineffables que les dieux ont disséminés (et par lesquelles on peut opérer les rites de la théurgie); c'est grâce à ces symboles ineffables que la téléstique rend les statues capables de recevoir la divinité.⁵² Même Evrard met en évidence les analogies entre le rite effectué par Nestorius et celui que Julien le Théurge célébra pendant la guerre contre les Marcomans,⁵³ et il faut souligner que Zosime, pour indiquer l'acte de modeler la statue d'Achille, se sert du verbe *demiourghêin*, un verbe qui est souvent utilisé dans un sens technique à propos de statues magiques.⁵⁴ Le lien de Nestorius avec la théurgie paraît très fort: Marin, dans sa *Vie de Proclus*, dit que celui-ci avait appris les rites des mystères et l'initiation théurgique d'Asclépigénie, fille de Plutarque, qui les avait reçus à son tour par le "grand Nestorius".⁵⁵ Hans Lewy considère donc justement Nestorius comme l'intermédiaire le plus important entre Jamblique et les Athéniens en matière de théurgie, qui constitue une partie fondamentale de la doctrine du philosophe syrien: c'est justement Jamblique qui fait de la théurgie un

⁵⁰ A. Cameron, 'Iamblichus at Athens', *Athenaeum* 45 (1967), 143-153.

⁵¹ Proclus, *In Timaeum*, 1.25-27; 2.28-29.

⁵² Voir notamment H. Lewy, *Chaldean Oracles and Theurgy* (Le Caire 1956), 69-71 et 247-249; P. Boyancé, 'Théurgie et téléstique néoplatoniciennes', *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, 147 (1955), 189-209; Dodds 1951, op. cit. (n. 31), 288-326, et C. van Liefferinge, 'La théurgie des Oracles Chaldaïques à Proclus', *Kernos* suppl. 9 (1999), 93-96.

⁵³ Cf. Evrard 1960, op. cit. (n. 48), 125-127, et G. Fowden, 'Pagan versions of the rain miracle of A.D. 172', *Historia* 36 (1987), 83-95.

⁵⁴ Jamblique consacre à la *demiourghia* un important chapitre de son traité *de mysteriis Aegyptiorum* (3.28-29).

⁵⁵ Marinus, *Vita Procli* 28. Cf. Proclus, *In Rempublicam* 2.324.11-13. Voir aussi F.R. Trombley, *Hellenic Religion and Christianization*, c. 370-529, I (Leiden-New York-Köln 1993), 14-15, et M.W. Dickie, *Magic and Magicians in the Greco-Roman World* (London-New York 2001), 316-319.

véritable instrument de réhabilitation philosophique et politique du paganisme.⁵⁶

À coté de Nestorius Zosime nomme Syrianus, auteur d'un hymne à Achille qui célébrait le 'miracle' opéré par Nestorius. Protégé de Plutarque et son successeur dans le scholarcat, Syrianus est un disciple des doctrines de Jamblique: on lui attribue une tentative d'harmoniser les idées d'Orphée, Pythagore et Platon avec les Oracles Chaldéens,⁵⁷ et aussi une grande expérience dans le domaine de la théurgie, de la téléstique en particulier. C'est bien lui qui éclaircit définitivement le rôle de la téléstique et ses rapports avec la théologie et la philosophie.⁵⁸ Entre la fin du IV et le début du V siècle après J.-C. les pratiques théurgiques – qui avaient reçu le fondamental soutien de l'empereur Julien – étaient donc très importantes dans le néoplatonisme athénien. Pour ce qui concerne la classe dirigeante de la ville dans cette période, la situation est plus complexe par rapport à celle du III^e siècle après J.-C., lorsque ses membres étaient imbus de platonisme sans aucune distinction: si l'athénien Jamblique, bienfaiteur et philosophe néoplatonicien, rappelle de près Illyrius, si l'activité de Nestorius, hiérophante d'Eleusis, met en évidence l'accord entre tradition platonicienne et milieu éléusien, il faut toutefois souligner que entre l'époque d'Illyrius et celle de Nestorius un remarquable changement s'est produit: la plupart des autorités de la ville semble maintenant éloignée du milieu néoplatonicien paganisant.

⁵⁶ Lewy 1956, op. cit. (n. 52), 69, n. 9. Cfr. G. Fowden, *The Egyptian Hermes* (Oxford 1986), 131-41; B. Nasemann, *Theurgie und Philosophie in Jamblichs de Mysteriis* (Stuttgart 1991), 231-282 et van Liefferinge 1999, op. cit. (n. 52), 208-210.

⁵⁷ *Souda Lexicon*, S 1662. Cf. H.-D. Saffrey, 'La théurgie comme phénomène culturel chez les néoplatoniciens (IV^e-V^e siècles)', *Koinonia* 8 (1984), 161-171 = Idem, *Recherches sur le néoplatonisme après Plotin*, 1 (Paris 1990), 51-61; Idem, 'La theurgie comme pénétration d'éléments extra-rationnels dans la philosophie grecques tardive', *Wissenschaftliche & ausserwissenschaftliche Rationalität. Referate und Texte des 4. Internationalen Humanistischen Symposiums 1978* (Athens 1981), 153-169 = Idem 1990, op. cit. 33-49; Idem, 'Les néoplatoniciens et les oracles chaldaiques', *Revue des Études Augustiniennes* 27 (1981), 209-225 = Idem, 1990, op. cit., 63-79; Idem, 'L'Hymne IV de Proclus, prière aux dieux des oracles chaldaiques', *Néoplatonisme. Mélanges offerts à Jean Trouillard* (Fontenay aux Roses 1981), 297-312 = Idem, *Recherches sur le néoplatonisme après Plotin*, 2 (Paris 2000), 193-206; Idem, 'Accorder entre elles les traditions théologiques: une caractéristique du néoplatonisme athénien', *On Proclus & his Influence in Medieval Philosophy* (Leiden 1992), 35-50 = Idem, 2000, op. cit., 143-158, et Idem, 'Semeion/Signum dans la littérature néoplatonicienne et la théurgie', *Signum. IX Colloquio internazionale, Roma, 8-10 Gennaio 1998* (Firenze 1999), 23-38 = Idem 2000, op. cit., 127-141.

⁵⁸ O. Ballériaux, 'Syrianus et la téléstique', *Kernos* 2 (1989), 13-25. Cfr. van Liefferinge, 1999, op. cit. (n. 52), 93-95.

En effet, Zosime dit que quand Nestorius rapporta sa vision aux notables athéniens, ils réagirent avec indifférence et dérision. Le récit de Zosime révèle l'existence d'une rupture au cœur de la classe dirigeante de la ville, certainement à relier aux premières manifestations du conflit entre paganisme et christianisme. Le morceau de Zosime sur les événements de 375 après J.-C. montre la tendance modérée de l'élite athénienne, qui est le fruit d'un compromis entre les représentants des deux religions: dans une société pour laquelle la publicité d'un rite est essentielle à son efficacité, Nestorius est forcé à célébrer ses pratiques théurgiques à titre privé, en profitant de la tolérance qui était encore accordé au culte d'Athéna (il effectue ses rites pendant la célébration des sacrifices à la déesse). Le conflit se maintient de toute façon en un bas niveau d'intensité: affirmations comme celle de Jean Bidez, selon lequel "il suffisait de posséder un exemplaire d'un livre de Jamblique sur la théurgie pour s'exposer à une accusation de magie",⁵⁹ à la lumière du récit de Zosime se révèlent complètement erronées; du reste, la théurgie était tolérée dans tout l'empire, même si la dure condamnation morale des hiérarchies ecclésiastiques et des élites politiques christianisées plane sur elle.

Les interprétations de l'épisode de l'apparition d'Achille et Athéna proposées par les savants jusqu'ici se révèlent pour beaucoup des raisons peu satisfaisantes et même fourvoyantes. En effet, les *epiphanéiai* d'Athéna et Achille appartiennent eux aussi à la sphère de la théurgie. Pour comprendre mieux l'importance de la théurgie dans ces événements il faut s'arrêter un instant sur les réflexions de Jamblique et de Proclus à l'égard des apparitions d'êtres surnaturels. Dans son traité *De mysteriis Aegyptiorum*, Jamblique aborde le problème des *epiphanéiai* des dieux et des héros, et soutient que les apparitions des dieux donnent le salut, tandis que celles des héros encouragent aux entreprises généreuses et magnifiques:⁶⁰ la vision d'Athéna et Achille décrite par Zosime fait partie intégrante de ce tableau. De plus, Jamblique établit un rapport de cause à effet entre les évocations et les apparitions surnaturelles: l'*autophanéia* – divine ou héroïque qu'elle soit – est la conséquence de l'évocation du théurge, à qui les dieux et les autres êtres supérieurs accordent leur bienveillance puisque il détient les *apórreta symbola* de la science hiératique.⁶¹ Selon Proclus aussi, c'est le théurge qui peut évoquer les esprits divins, au moyen d'objets ou d'êtres vivants; en plus

⁵⁹ J. Bidez, 'Le philosophe Jamblique et son école', *Revue des études grecques* 32 (1919), 38.

⁶⁰ Iamblichus, *de Mysteriis Aegyptiorum* 2.6.

⁶¹ *Ibidem*, 3.28-31 et 4.1-4.

de ça, quelques théurges sont possédés par la divinité, en restant sans connaissance ou même lucides.⁶² Si on lit les extraits du commentaire de Proclus sur la philosophie chaldéenne qui se sont conservés, on comprend que dans cet ouvrage le philosophe arrêtait longuement son attention sur le problème de la différence entre les genres d'évocation et indiquait les moyens pour provoquer correctement la *parousia* des esprits. À la lumière de ces témoignages, il est clair que le 'miracle' de 375 et celui de 396 après J.-C. ont la même origine: bien que le premier soit le produit d'un rite téléstique, et le second soit le fruit d'une évocation, cependant l'un et l'autre appartiennent à la sphère de la théurgie. Zosime, en décrivant l'apparition d'Athéna et Achille, met en évidence son analogie avec l'épisode du tremblement de terre, que dans cette circonstance il rappelle à la mémoire des lecteurs. À ce propos, il semble tout à fait plausible supposer que la source de Zosime pour le 'miracle' de 396 a été l'hymne à Achille par Syrianos.⁶³ De toute façon, il faut souligner que Syrianos considérait Achille un grand théurge et interprétait comme rites hiératiques chaque opération que le héros effectuait à l'occasion des funérailles de Patrocle.⁶⁴ Dans le milieu où la tradition des 'miracles' athéniens s'est formée, la connexion entre Achille et la théurgie était donc une donnée bien connue et indiscutable. D'autre part, dans l'antiquité tardive la pensée théurgique entreprend une radicale remise en valeur de la tradition hellénique et le rétablissement symbolique des mythes homériques. Pour Proclus, par exemple, tandis que les mythes philosophiques du genre platonicien ont surtout une fonction éducative, les mythes d'Homère conviennent parfaitement à l'art hiératique: comme la téléstique, ces mythes produisent l'union avec la divinité.⁶⁵ Dans ce sens, le récit de l'apparition de la déesse poliade et du plus important des héros grecs sur les murs d'Athènes constitue un exemple typique de l'utilisation du mythe classique par la pensée théurgique. Pour ce qui concerne Athéna, s'il est superflu de rappeler son ancien rôle de divinité patronne des villes, il faut au contraire remarquer qu'elle entretient une relation particulière avec les théurges: Marinus rapporte que la déesse apparaissait souvent à Proclus, qui

⁶² E. Des Places, ed., *Oracles Chaldaïques, avec une choix de commentaires anciens* (Paris 1971), 41-47; 202-212; 219-221. Cf. A. Sheppard, 'Proclus' attitude to theurgy', *Classical Quarterly* 32 (1982), 212-224, et Fowden 1986, op. cit. (n. 56), 126-131.

⁶³ Cf. G. Fowden, 'Late Roman Achaëa: identity and defence', *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 8 (1995), 557.

⁶⁴ van Liefferinge 1999, op. cit. (n. 52), 127-129, n. 124; 170-172; 249-266, et Lewy 1956, op. cit. (n. 52), 184-185.

⁶⁵ van Liefferinge 1999, op. cit. (n. 52), 244-246.

était sous sa particulière protection,⁶⁶ et Proclus même avait composé un hymne à Athéna qui est pétri d'atmosphères néoplatoniciennes et théurgiques, et qui fait pendant à l'hymne à Achille par Syrianos; dans son ouvrage Proclus célèbre la déesse comme rempart contre les souffrances, les adversités et la misère et comme suprême défense de l'essence individuelle du Nous divin.⁶⁷ La présence d'Achille à côté d'Athéna s'explique par son caractère de héros-théurge, mais aussi par l'extraordinaire fortune de sa figure dans la culture de l'antiquité tardive, qui voit en lui l'exemple parfait de *theïos anér*.⁶⁸

Le récit de la défense victorieuse d'Athènes contre les dangers humains et naturels par une déesse et un héros contient un explicite message de 'propagande'. Dans la conception des aristocrates "outsiders" de la communauté païenne d'Athènes qui ont élaboré cette tradition, la défense de la ville s'identifie désormais totalement avec la défense du paganisme; et seulement le paganisme peut garantir le salut de la ville, de l'empire et de l'*oikoumène*: pour ces philosophes, qui descendent de familles anciennes et nobles mais sont désormais relégués aux marges de la société, l'engagement religieux est une forme extrême d'engagement civil.

Sur le plan iconographique, on saisit un reflet de cette volonté de propagande dans la décoration du célèbre "Achilles Plate" du trésor de Sevso.⁶⁹ Selon Marlia Mundell Mango, ce *missorium* aurait été produit à Athènes vers 400 après J.-C.;⁷⁰ dans ce cas, il pourrait bien s'agir d'un objet qui célébrait le succès des négociations avec Alaric, succès qui les divinités tutélaires de la ville avaient favorisé. Les protagonistes de l'apparat iconographique de l'"Achilles Plate" sont en effet les deux sauveteurs d'Athènes du récit de Zosime: il y a là une représentation de la naissance d'Achilles et du moment où le héros s'arme pour prendre parti à la guerre de Troie, aussi bien que de la victoire d'Athéna contre Poséidon dans la célèbre querelle

⁶⁶ Marinus, *Vita Procli* 6; 9; 15; 29, et 30.

⁶⁷ Proclus, *Hymni* 7.10-15; 40-52. Cfr. H.-D. Saffrey, 'Quelques aspects de la spiritualité des philosophes néoplatoniciens', *Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques* 68 (1984), 175-176 = idem 1990, op. cit. (n. 56), 219-220.

⁶⁸ D. Stutzinger, *Die spätantiken Achilleusdarstellungen – Versuch einer Deutung, in Spätantike und frühes Christentum: Ausstellung im Liebieghaus Museum alter Plastik, Frankfurt am Main* (Frankfurt am Main 1983), 175-179 et 586-594.

⁶⁹ M. Mundell Mango, 'The Achilles Plate', in eadem & A. Bennett, *The Sevso Treasure*, I, *Journal of Roman Archaeology Suppl.* 12 (1994), 153-180. Cfr. Fowden 1995, op. cit. (n. 63), 557.

⁷⁰ Mundell Mango 1994, op. cit. (n. 69), 180.

pour la possession de l'Attique. La signification symbolique de cette dernière scène est tout à fait évidente, puisque déjà dans le fronton du Parthénon le conflit entre Athéna et Poséidon fait allusion au plus grand conflit entre la grécité et la barbarie,⁷¹ mais la présence d'Achille aussi est parfaitement compréhensible: son rôle est celui du héros sauveteur, le même rôle qu'il joue non seulement dans le récit de Zosime mais dans une oraison d'Himerius aussi où l'auteur compare à Achille le proconsul Basile, qui, comme le héros, se portait garant du salut des Grecs.⁷²

Il reste à voir si l'œuvre de propagande de la communauté païenne d'Athènes ait eu quelque effet. À ce propos, on remarque que, dans la période successive à l'invasion d'Alaric, à Athènes il y a un bref "revival" païen: un groupe d'inscriptions, qu'on peut dater entre la fin du IV et le début du V siècle après J.-C., montrent un temporaire changement des rapports à l'intérieur de la classe dirigeante athénienne dans un sens favorable à l'élite païenne.⁷³ La dédicace la plus intéressante est celle à Herculus, préfet d'Illyricum de 408 à 410 après J.-C. dont la statue fut placée à côté du simulacre d'Athéna *Promachos*: Herculus y est défini *prómachos thesmôn* et comparé explicitement à Athéna.⁷⁴

Toutefois, ce changement dans le climat politique et religieux d'Athènes, qui est en rapport au succès des négociations avec Alaric, a seulement un caractère temporaire: en effet, au V siècle le polythéisme athénien reste complètement en dehors de la sphère publique, même si il est bien vif dans la dévotion privée.⁷⁵

Paradoxalement, on peut attribuer à cette phase d'expansion du paganisme athénien la contre-offensive chrétienne, qui portera à l'affirmation définitive du christianisme comme religion 'officielle' de la ville: même la naissance du culte athénien de la *Theotokos* et des martyrs locaux au début

⁷¹ Cf. L. Beschi, 'L'Atene periclea', *Storia e civiltà dei Greci*, II 4 (Milano 1979), 581.

⁷² Himerius, *Orationes* 46.9-10 Colonna.

⁷³ Cf. Sironen 1997, op. cit. (n. 1), n° 20; 21; 22 et 25; voir aussi Sironen 1994, op. cit. (n. 11), 37-54.

⁷⁴ Sironen 1997 op. cit. (n. 1), n° 23. Cf. L. Robert, 'Épigrammes relatives à des gouverneurs', *Hellenica* IV (Paris 1948), 41; 60-62; 73; 95-97; A. Frantz, 'Herculus in Athens: pagan or Christian?', *Akten d. VII. International. Kongr. f. Christl. Arch. Trier*, 5.-11. Sept. 1965 (Città del Vaticano 1969), 527-530; eadem, 'Did Julian the Apostate rebuild the Parthenon?', *American Journal of Archaeology* 83 (1979) 395-401; eadem 1988, op. cit. (n. 2), 64-66.

⁷⁵ Fowden 1990, op. cit. (n. 11), 499-501, et A. Karivieri, 'The so-called library of Hadrian and the Tetraconch Church in Athens', dans Castrén 1994, op. cit. (n. 2), 89-113.

du V siècle après J.-C. est en rapport avec la volonté des chrétiens d'Athènes de donner rapidement à la ville des nouveaux protecteurs, en substitution des démons païens qui, peu d'ans auparavant, avaient obtenu leur dernier grand succès.⁷⁶

En conclusion, nous pouvons voir clairement le parcours évolutif de l'imaginaire pertinent à la défense d'Athènes entre III^e et IV^e siècle après J.-C.: dans la formation des valeurs des défenseurs de la ville le rôle de la pensée néoplatonicien et de la tradition magique est très important. Au moment du sac des Hérules, dans l'autorépresentation de l'élite athénienne ce sont les aspects purement philosophiques qui prévalent, l'allusion à la magie n'étant qu'une partie du jeu rhétorique; par conséquent, le modèle mythique des défenseurs d'Athènes est Amphion, un magicien mais surtout un philosophe, qui est évoqué à titre de comparaison et n'intervient pas directement à conditionner les événements avec ses pouvoirs: le destin de la ville est encore solidement dans les mains des hommes qui la gouvernent et son salut dépende de leur vertu.

Un siècle après, lorsque l'armée d'Alaric menace Athènes, la situation est très différente: le néoplatonisme est désormais imbu de théurgie et de magie et les Athéniens ont perdu leur confiance en soi: par conséquent ils s'en remettent à Athéna et Achille, pour qu'ils protègent la ville contre l'ennemi aux portes.

La distance entre ces deux attitudes est la même qui sépare la pensée de Proclus de celle de Porphyre à l'égard de la magie: tandis que Porphyre est parfois intéressé à les pratiques de l'occultisme, de la démonologie et de la théurgie, mais plus souvent il partage le scepticisme de Plotin, Proclus est un partisan convaincu de la théurgie et recherche dans la sphère surnaturelle une solution aux problèmes quotidiens.

En ce qui concerne la politique, la différence entre la réaction de la ville face à l'invasion des Hérules et à celle d'Alaric est évidente. Dans le premier cas, tous les membres de la *polis* se coalisent contre l'ennemi; dans le seconde, derrière les pratiques de la théurgie et les apparitions magique, nous entrevoyons les divisions de la classe dirigeante athénienne: l'élite païenne impose la négociation avec Alaric et tous les autres subissent ses initiatives religieuses et politiques, en un silence plein de rancune.

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⁷⁶ Fowden 1995, op. cit. (n. 63), 558.

L'ELITE, LES FEMMES ET L'ARGENT DANS LES PROVINCES HISPANIKES

Par
MILAGROS NAVARRO CABALLERO

Les travaux que je mène sur la place des femmes dans l'élite hispanique se donnent comme but de systématiser et d'isoler leurs conduites et leurs rôles dans la sphère publique hispanique.¹ Dans ce contexte, ils peuvent ici éclairer le contexte économique dans lequel se réalisent les actions publiques des *feminae*. La documentation épigraphique hispanique que j'ai pu rassembler, très abondante, montre une activité importante des femmes *in publico*,² prêtresses ou non, notamment dans le cas de l'érection des monuments honorifiques et dans la réalisation de donations évergétiques. En plus, quelques-unes ont été honorées en public par des monuments portant leur effigie sculptée.³ Tous ces textes mettent en exergue leur position socio-économique et conduisent à réfléchir sur les raisons qui poussaient ces femmes, alors qu'elles étaient exclues de la vie politique,⁴ à dépenser ainsi leurs biens et, par conséquent, à revenir sur les moyens économiques qui leur permettaient d'agir de cette façon.

Rappelons que les femmes de l'élite hispanique étaient représentées dans les inscriptions publiques en tant que mères, épouses et filles, c'est-à-

¹ Voir M. Navarro Caballero, 'Les femmes de l'élite hispano-romaine, entre la famille et la vie publique', dans M. Navarro Caballero et S. Demouglin, eds., *Elites Hispaniques*, Ausonius Publications, Etudes 6 (Bordeaux 2001), 191-201 et *eadem* 'Femme de notables: statut et pouvoir dans les cités de Hispania impériale', dans *Structures et sociétés dans la péninsule Ibérique impériale. Table-Ronde Internationale (Madrid, 2000)*, à paraître.

² Le corpus est composé à l'heure actuelle de presque 400 inscriptions. Il comprend quatre catégories de textes épigraphiques. La première concerne les hommages destinés à une femme (140). La seconde prend en compte les inscriptions honorifiques dont une femme a été la dédicante (151 textes). La troisième est composée des inscriptions qui rappellent la participation financière des femmes à différents aspects de la vie publique: donations de monuments, réalisation de jeux, donations alimentaires. La quatrième comprend les textes mentionnant des sacerdoces occupés par des femmes, seuls postes officiels qu'elles ont occupés dans la partie occidentale de l'Empire. La plupart de ces textes sont à placer entre la fin du I^{er} siècle et le début du III^e siècle.

³ Un premier recueil sur les hommages funèbres rendus aux femmes hispaniques fut réalisé par M. del H. Gallego Franco, '*Laudationes, impensa funeris, locus sepulturae*: la mujer y los honores funerarios en Hispania', *Hispania Antiqua* 19 (1994), 267-275.

⁴ Sauf quelques liturgies en Orient, R. van Bremen, *The Limits of Participation. Women and Civic Life in the Greek East in the Hellenistic and Roman Periods* (Amsterdam 1996).

dire, avec le rôle social et familial qui leur était attribué dans la sphère publique par la mentalité collective romaine : piliers de leur famille, piliers de la *pietas* et de la *devotio* romaine. Elles étaient, en somme, garantes de la romanité.⁵ Et c'est dans ce cadre familial qu'il faut considérer les hommages aux femmes car, dans leur majorité, il ne s'agissait pas de monuments isolés. Au contraire, ils faisaient souvent partie d'une série de portraits presque toujours familiaux, de plus en plus abondants au fil du temps dans les espaces publics des cités hispaniques.⁶ En effet, à partir de la fin du Ier siècle et tout au long du IIe siècle ap. J.-C., l'exposition publique du prestige local se présente souvent dans le cadre de la famille. Il faut donc imaginer les cités hispaniques décorées par des ensembles des portraits familiaux, surtout érigés à frais privés, au voisinage des hommages impériaux et religieux. Nous avons donc devant nous une page de la vie urbaine du IIe siècle ap. J.-C. qui semble typique de la péninsule Ibérique, car ces données sont rares dans les autres régions occidentales de l'empire.⁷

À ce propos, signalons, par exemple, la série de portraits sur piédestaux ronds, réalisés par la cité d'Iliberris, en Bétique, en hommage au consul de l'année 91 ou 112 ap. J.-C., Valerius Vegetus,⁸ enfant de la ville, et à sa famille.⁹ Généralement d'intérêt plus local, la plupart des séries statuaire représentent des personnes résidant dans la cité et rarement au-delà de la troisième génération. Le plus souvent, ces *stirpes* entourent un prêtre ou un magistrat local, notamment dans les nouveaux municipes flaviens de droit latin. Ainsi, parmi d'autres exemples, le tétrapyllon érigé à l'époque flavienne dans le forum du nouveau municeps de Capera par un magistrat *ex*

⁵ Navarro Caballero 2001, op. cit. (n. 1).

⁶ Navarro Caballero sous presse, op. cit. (n. 1).

⁷ En effet, s'il est possible de trouver de séries familiales dans d'autres provinces, comme celle des *Caecili Caeciliani* à Volubilis, cf. S. Lefebvre, 'Hommages publics et histoire sociale: les Caecilii Caeciliani et la vie municipale de Volubilis (Mauritanie tingitane)', *Mélanges de la Casa de Velazquez* 28-1 (1992), 19-36 ou encore celle des *Otacilii* et de *Macrii* à Avenches, cf. A. Biemann et M. Blanc, 'Le forum d'Avenches: inscriptions et monuments', *Etudes de Lettres* 2 (1994) 83-92.

⁸ A. Caballos Rufino, *Los senadores hispanorromanos y la romanización de Hispania (siglos I-III)*. I, 1 et 2. *Prosopografía*, Monografías del departamento de Historia antigua de la Universidad de Sevilla (Ecija 1990), 165-166.

⁹ CIL 2, 2074; ILER 1657; ILPG 37; CIL 2 ²/₅, 624: [*C*]orneliae / *P*(ubli) f(iliae) *S*euerina[e], / *f*laminicae / *A*ug(ustae), *m*atr[i] / *V*alerii *V*egatii / [*c*]onsulis, / [*F*lo]rentini *I*liberri[t(ani)], / *d*(e)creto *d*(e)curionum). CIL 2, 2077; ILER 1300; ILPG 40; CIL 2 ²/₅, 625: *E*tri[lia]e / *A*frae / *V*alerii *V*egati / *c*onsulis, / *F*lorentini *I*liberri[t(ani)], *d*(e)creto *d*(e)curionum).

testamento en honneur de sa famille,¹⁰ ou l'ensemble des statues sur piédestal élevé sur le forum de Singilia Barba par Acilia Plecusa, épouse d'un chevalier et magistrat local à la fin du I^{er} siècle,¹¹ ou encore l'ensemble honorifique de la curie de Labitolosa, réalisé par disposition testamentaire de Cornelia Neilla sous le règne d'Adrien.¹² Les étrangers et les affranchis manifestent de la même façon leur désir de légitimité civique et leur désir de s'insérer dans la cité. Pour cela, ils utilisèrent souvent ces dédicaces de portraits gentilices pour manifester leur appartenance à une *gens* autochtone et libre.¹³

Les statues honorifiques gentilices exposées dans les espaces publics des cités hispaniques, surtout au II^e siècle, suivent les modèles iconographiques et les caractéristiques dynastiques de celles de la famille impériale:¹⁴ comme les femmes de la *Domus Augusta*,¹⁵ les femmes de l'élite hispanique étaient représentées comme source de légalité car le pouvoir familial se transmettait souvent grâce à elles. Outre ce contexte social, idéologique et iconographique, l'enquête sur le rôle économique des femmes doit tenir compte de quelques éléments juridiques bien connus, mais dont le rappel est

¹⁰ Sur le monument, cf. A. Nünnerich-Asmus, *El arco cuadrifronte de Cáparra (Cáceres). Un estudio sobre la arquitectura flavia en la Península Ibérica*, Anejos de Archivo Español de Arqueología 16 (Madrid 1996) et sur la disposition des inscriptions et des statues, cf. A. García y Bellido, 'El tetrapylon de Capera (Cáparra, Cáceres)', *Archivo Español de Arqueología* 45-47 (1972-1974), 45-90.

¹¹ CIL 2^{2/5}, 784 (son mari), 795 (son fils), 796 (sa fille), 802 (son petit-fils), 803 (sa petite-fille). Sur le sujet, voir A.U. Styłow, 'Las estatuas honoríficas como medio de autorrepresentación de las élites locales de Hispania', dans Navarro Caballero & Demougin 2001, op. cit. (n. 1), 153.

¹² M.A. Magallón Botaya, P. Sillières et M. Navarro Caballero, 'El *municipium* de Labitolosa y sus notables: novedades arqueológicas y epigráficas', *Archivo Español de Arqueología* 68 (1995), 107-130.

¹³ Le pourcentage des membres extérieurs est très élevé parmi les dédicants des hommages aux femmes (18%). Un exemple significatif est celui d'un Boletanus dans la cité voisine de *Barbotum*, où il habita et épousa une femme de l'élite. Il érigea une série de statues sur piédestal en l'honneur des membres de la famille de sa femme, M. Navarro Caballero, M.A. Magallón Botaya et P. Sillières, '*Barb(otum ?)*: una ciudad romana en el somontano pirenaico', *Salduie* 1 (2000), 35-62.

¹⁴ Selon des idées dynastiques et iconographiques copiées des familles royales hellénistiques, voir J.-Ch. Balty, 'Groupes statuaires impériaux et privés de l'époque julio-claudienne', dans *Ritratto ufficiale e ritratto privato. Atti della II conferenza internazionale sul ritratto romano (Roma, 1984)* (Rome 1988), 31-46.

¹⁵ M. Corbier, 'La Maison des Césars', dans *Épouser au plus proche. Inceste, prohibitions et stratégies matrimoniales autour de la Méditerranée* (Paris 1994), 243-291.

nécessaire ici. On sait que les ressources économiques des femmes romaines dépendaient de leur position juridique et donc familiale¹⁶ qui, à l'époque impériale, pouvait être soit la soumission à la *potestas* de leur père¹⁷ ou de leur mari,¹⁸ soit en dehors de cette *potestas*, donc en tutelle,¹⁹ soit l'indépendance de celle-ci grâce au *ius liberorum*.²⁰ Dans chacune de ces situations, la possession et surtout l'administration de leur patrimoine étaient bien différentes. Rappelons aussi les trois sources principales de revenus pour une femme à l'époque romaine:²¹ l'héritage,²² la dot,²³ le négoce.²⁴

¹⁶ D. Gourevitch et M.-T. Raepsaet-Charlier, *La femme dans la Rome antique* (Paris 2001), 65-86.

¹⁷ R.P. Saller, 'I rapporti di parentela e l'organizzazione familiare' dans E. Gabba et A. Schiavone, éd., *Storia di Roma vol. IV* (Roma 1988), 515-555 et R.P. Saller, *Patriarchy, Property and Death in the Roman Family* (Cambridge 1994), 102-153.

¹⁸ La bibliographie sur le mariage romain est très abondante. Signalons cependant E. Volterra, 'La conception du mariage à Rome', *Revue internationale des droits de l'Antiquité* 2 (1955), 365-379; B. Rawson, éd., *Marriage, Divorce and Children in Ancient Rome* (Oxford 1991); S. Treggiari, *Roman Marriage. Iusti Coniuges from the Time of Cicero to the Time of Ulpian* (Oxford 1991).

¹⁹ M.J. Casado Candelas, *La tutela de la mujer en Roma* (Valladolid 1972). *Lex Ursonensis*, rubrique 109; *Lex Irnitana*, rubrique 29; Gaius, *Institutes* 1.157 ; 171-173 ; 185 ; 190-191; *Dig.* 26.1.7; 26.3.1; *CTh* 3.17.2; *CJ* 5.30.3.

²⁰ Gaius, *Institutes*, 1.194-196; voir J.F. Gardner, *Women in Roman Law and Society* (London 1986), 20.

²¹ R. van Bremen, 'Women and wealth', dans A. Cameron & A. Kuhrt, eds., *Images of Women* (London 1983), 223-24; J.A. Crook, 'His and hers: what degree of financial responsibility did husband and wife have for the matrimonial home and their life in common in a Roman marriage', dans J. Andreau et H. Bruhns, eds., *Parenté et stratégies familiales dans l'Antiquité romaine*, Actes de la Table Ronde Paris 1986, Coll. EFR 129 (Rome 1986), 153-172.

²² Les femmes pouvaient être désignées comme héritières dans un testament. Déjà Cicero, *de Republica* 3.10. Sur la présence des femmes dans les héritages, cf. M. Corbier, 'Les comportements familiaux de l'aristocratie romaine (IIe siècle avant J.-C. - IIIe siècle après J.-C.)', *Annales (ESC)* 42/6 (1987), 1267-1285. Gardner 1986, op. cit. (n. 20). Cependant, les femmes pouvaient recevoir des biens post décès par d'autres circuits légaux, destinés à surmonter les difficultés inhérentes aux lois de l'héritage, qui favorisaient les enfants par rapport aux veuves, et aux lois matrimoniales avec leurs contraintes pour hériter: les legs d'*usus fructus*, les fidéicommiss, généralement de restitution auprès des enfants ou encore les *donationes mortis causa* ont été très utilisées (sur les donations *Dig.* 24.1), cf. M. Humbert, *Le remariage à Rome. Étude d'Histoire juridique et sociale* (Milan 1969), 207-245; Gardner 1986, op. cit. (n. 20), 163-203; J. Pölonen, 'The division of wealth between men and women in Roman succession (ca 50 BC - AD 250)', dans P. Setälä et alii, eds., *Women, Wealth and Power in the Roman Empire*, Acta Instituti Romani Finlandiae 25 (Rome 2002), 147-179, avec la bibliographie récente et toutes les sources littéraires et juridiques.

Mais l'incidence de cette situation sur les inscriptions hispaniques du corpus est imperceptible: les renseignements économiques y sont pratiquement inexistants, à l'exception des expressions comme *sua pecunia* ou *ex testamento* et encore ces formules ne sont-elles pas très abondantes. Cette absence d'informations économiques est, me semble-t-il, volontaire : dans ce contexte prestigieux, où les femmes sont présentées comme des modèles de comportement, ce n'est pas le lieu d'évoquer des questions économiques. Il faut signaler une exception : dans une cité de Lusitanie dont le nom antique est inconnu, située sous l'actuelle Bobadela (Oliveira do Hospital, CO), l'épouse d'un *flamen* de la province de Lusitanie érige une statue à une divinité directement liée à la famille, la *Pietas*. Elle le fait pour honorer sa *gens*, la *Iulia*, mais aussi pour honorer la famille de son époux, Sex. Aponius Scaevus Flaccus; pour cette dernière raison, une donnée économique figure dans le texte : *ex patrimonio suo*.²⁵ Mais, en général, dans les textes épigraphiques, la position économique des femmes semble s'insérer dans un contexte de *pietas* et de concorde familiale, sans qu'aucun élément de contrariété vienne troubler ce havre de moralité. Leur participation financière aux activités publiques de la cité se réalise au sein de la famille et avec un ou plusieurs hommes de cette famille.

Le contexte funéraire

Pour contourner la difficulté liée au manque d'informations économiques directes, il est nécessaire aller au-delà du message épigraphique officiel. Puisque, comme on l'a déjà rappelé, la position familiale de la femme est directement liée à sa situation financière, l'analyse de la première doit permettre de relever des éléments significatifs pour la seconde. Si l'on regarde de près tous les documents épigraphiques recensés, on remarque que, dans plus d'un tiers, la présence d'une femme s'inscrit dans un contexte

²³ Gaius, *Institutes* 1.178. S. Dixon, 'The marriage alliance in the Roman elite', *Journal of Family History* 10 (1985), 353-378.

²⁴ Sur le sujet, voir Gaius, *Institutes* 1.190; 2.85; S. Treggiari, 'Jobs for women', *American Journal of Ancient History* 1 (1976), 76-104; Garder 1986, op. cit. (n. 20), 233-237; A. Buonopane et F. Cenerini, eds., *Donna e lavoro nella documentazione epigraphica. Atti del i Seminario sulla condizione femminile nella documentazione epigrafica* (Bologne, 2002), *Epigrafia e Antichità* 19 (Verone 2003).

²⁵ CIL 2, 396 et A.E. Maia do Amaral, 'Inscrições da Bobadela', *Conimbriga* 21 (1982), 103-132: *Pietati sacrum, / Iulia Modesta, ex patrimonio suo, / in honorem gentis Sex[tii] Aponi / Scaevi Flacci, mariti sui, flaminis / prouinc[iae] Lusit[aniae] et in honorem / gentis Iuliorum, parentum suorum.*

funéraire. Dans le cas des textes commémoratifs d'évergésies, le pourcentage est encore plus important.²⁶ Ainsi, Annia L. f. Victorina a financé une partie de l'aqueduc (les ponts, les tuyaux, les fontaines) de sa cité d'Ilugo en Bétique, *ob memoriam* de son mari et de leur fils.²⁷ Ou encore à Batora, Annia Severa fit ériger la statue de l'empereur Marc Aurèle, que son mari décédé avait promise lors de son accession au pontificat.²⁸

Ce constat se renforce quand on analyse la première activité publique des femmes, c'est-à-dire, l'érection de statues de membres de leur famille, notamment les mâles, en particulier leurs fils et leurs maris : dans un tiers des exemples, le contexte *post mortem* est clairement spécifié.²⁹ Citons à cet égard, parmi beaucoup d'autres, la dédicace inscrite sur un dé appartenant à un piédestal tripartite de Barcino. Ce monument fut érigé pour un jeune édile dans un espace public (on conserve la mention *LDDD*), par sa mère. Il n'y a pas de doute de son décès : non seulement on trouve la mention de l'âge, mais aussi l'expression *post mortem*.³⁰

Il est possible de déduire les mêmes circonstances pour presque la moitié des autres textes, où l'on trouve le même code sémantique que dans les épitaphes, avec des épithètes laudatives particulières, qui donnent une image publique exemplaire des liens familiaux entre dédicant et dédicataire.³¹ Par exemple, toujours à Barcino, il nous semble assez vraisemblable que le mari de Sergia Fulvianilla, magistrat de Barcino, honoré en public par

²⁶ Plus de la moitié. Un dossier important concerne les donations *ex testamento* des femmes. Sur ces documents, voir M. Navarro Caballero, 'Les dépenses publiques des notables des cités en Hispania Citerior sous le Haut-Empire', *Revue d'Études Anciennes* 99 (1997), 109-140.

²⁷ CILA 6, 245.

²⁸ CILA 6, 69.

²⁹ CILA 2, 46 ; 169 ; 225 ; 239 ; 246 ; 1084; CILA 3, 609; CIL 2, 913 ; 1956 ; 5409; CIL 2²/5, 296 ; 638 ; 754 ; 798; CIL 2²/7, 271 ; 274 ; 282 ; 290 ; 799 ; 800; CILA 6, 47 ; 48 ; 97 ; 101 ; 300 ; 335; IRC 2, 19 ; 35 ; 39 ; 53; IRC 3, 9 ; 47 ; 51. IRC 4, 55 ; 68 ; 69 ; 71 ; 130; IRPC 77 ; 507; Sillières, Magallón Botaya et Navarro Caballero 1995, op. cit. (n. 12), 115-122; RIT 343.

³⁰ CIL 2, 4523; ILER 5555; IRB 49; IRC 4, 55: *Q(uinto) Calpurnio / Q(uinti) fil(io) Gal(eria) / Flauo, ann(or)um XXIX, / aed(ili), Iluiro, cu[i] / post mortem, ordo / Barcin(onensium) honores / flaminales decreuit, / Cominia Nereis, / mater, / l(oco) d(ato) d(ecurionum) d(ecreto).*

³¹ L.A. Curchin, 'Familial epithets in the epigraphy of Roman Spain', *Cahiers des Etudes Anciennes* 14 (1982), 179-182; E.P. Forbis, *Municipal Virtues in the Roman Empire. The Evidence of Italian Honorary Inscriptions* (Stuttgart et Leipzig 1996), 56-59; eadem, 'Women's public image in Italian inscriptions', *American Journal of Philology* 3 (1990), 493-512.

son épouse avec ses titres et les qualificatifs de *marito optimo, benignissimo et rarissimo*, n'était plus de ce monde au moment de la rédaction d'un tel panégyrique.³²

Le contexte funéraire est encore plus important si l'on pense qu'une partie de notre corpus est composée par des bases de statues d'une divinité, généralement auguste, érigées en public³³ en souvenir d'un défunt (une vingtaine environ).³⁴ Une autre partie du dossier est composée par les inscriptions gravées sur des piédestaux qui soutenaient des statues érigées aux frais des cités, mais dont la dépense a été assumée par un membre de la famille de la personne honorée, très souvent à cause du décès de celui-ci (une quarantaine environ). Comme il a déjà été signalé, ce phénomène semble être typique de la Bétique.³⁵ C'est donc dans un contexte *post mortem* que les femmes de l'élite ont participé en plus grand nombre à une activité publique, inscrite dans la mémoire collective par un texte épigraphique.

L'héritage de la mémoire et du patrimoine

Le constat funéraire intéresse particulièrement la recherche économique car les femmes y figurent à cause des successions et de leur autonomie financière. Il est vrai qu'on a fréquemment affaire à des héritières d'une mémoire familiale mais, surtout, d'une fortune. En effet tout d'abord, ces *feminae* de l'élite hispanique reçoivent en héritage le devoir de mémoire. Et je voudrais lier ce devoir avec les données exposées au début : dès la fin du Ier siècle ap.

³² IRC 4, 64

³³ Il n'est pas rare de voir apparaître la mention d'un emplacement public dans ces textes, par exemple, dans celui de *Aquae Calidae*, CIL 2, 6181; ILS 3232; ILER 172; IRC 3, 8: *Apollini / Aug(usto), ho/nori mem/oriaequae L(uci) / Aemili L(uci) fil(i) / Quir(ina) Celati/ani, Porcia / Festa, fili (sic) / karissimi (sic), / I(oco) d(ato) d(ecurionum) d(ecreto)*.

³⁴ Acci, ILPG 63; Aeso IRC 2, 19; *Aquae Calidae*, IRC 3, 8; *Barbesula*, IRPC 80; *Collippo*, CIL 2, 351; *Emerita Augusta* CIL 2, 5261; *Manzanilla*, CILA 1, 83; *Mirobriga*, IRCP 145 et 147; *Munigua*, CILA 2, 1055; *Pax Iulia*, CIL 2, 46; *Scallabis*, CIL 2, 332; *Saetabis*, HEp 3, 1993, 385; *São Bartolomeu de Messina*, IRCP 60; *Tarraco*, RIT 35 ; 36 ; 45 et 47.

³⁵ S. Dardaine, 'La formule épigraphique *impensam remisit* et l'évergétisme en Bétique', *Mélanges de la Casa de Velazquez* 16 (1980), 39-55. Acci, ILPG 73; *Arva*, CILA 2, 225; *Aurgi*, CIL 2 ²/5, 49; *Baessuci*, CILA 6, 47 et 48; *Batora*, CIL 2 ²/5, 610; *Callet*, CILA 2, 1220; *Castulo*, CILA 6, 100; *Cartima*, CIL 2, 1955, 1958; *Conobaria*, CILA 2, 994; *Corduba*, CIL 2 ²/7, 271 ; 282 ; 290 ; 302 ; 370 ; 799 ; 800; *Cisimbrium*, CIL 2 ²/5, 296; *Hispalis*, CILA 2, 28 et 38; *Igabrum*, CIL 2 ²/5, 311; *Illiberis*, CIL 2 ²/5, 638; *Ilurco*, CIL 2 ²/5, 681; *Lacilbula*, IRPC 507, 509; *Laelia*, IRPC 512; *Malaca*, CIL 2, 1973; *Munigua*, CILA 2, 1079; *Nescania*, CIL 2 ²/5, 847; *Ondara*, CIL 2, 3598; *Ossigi*, CILA 6, 47 et 48; *Regina* CIL 2 ²/7, 985; *Singilia Barba*, CIL 2 ²/5, 796 ; 798 ; 800; *Tarraco*, RIT 343.

J.-C., et surtout tout au long du IIe siècle, l'identité culturelle de l'élite hispanique passe par ses représentations dynastiques dans les espaces publics des cités. Dans cette perpétuation de la mémoire, le contexte funèbre constitue un bon prétexte pour s'honorer en honorant sa famille et ses amis. La femme semble y avoir joué un rôle central.

En effet, des défunts, souvent des hommes, mais aussi des femmes, exprimaient dans leur testament le souhait de voir érigée à leur frais leur statue avec celles des membres de leur famille. Les statues honorifiques privées, vraisemblablement réalisées dans un contexte *post mortem*, souvent en famille, très souvent par des femmes, sont si abondantes dans les espaces publics des cités hispaniques, notamment au IIe siècle, que l'on arrive à se demander si leur érection n'était pas devenue, dans certains cercles hispaniques, un élément presque obligatoire parmi les frais et les célébrations funéraires. Les femmes semblent être les principaux acteurs de cette perpétuation publique de la mémoire familiale puisqu'elles sont très souvent à l'origine de l'érection des statues honorifiques *post mortem* aux membres de leurs familles. Pour gérer ce devoir dynastique, il faut de l'argent, ce qui nous entraîne à examiner le cas de ces héritières supposées d'une fortune léguée par le défunt.

Certes, la condition d'héritier, exprimée par le mot *heres*, n'est pas souvent indiquée, que ce soit pour un homme ou une femme dans les inscriptions hispaniques : seuls les individus qui agissaient *ex testamento*,³⁶ homme ou femme, donc par disposition testamentaire, énonçaient leur condition d'*heredes*.³⁷ Cependant, étant donné le dossier épigraphique, il semble probable que la personne chargée de conserver la mémoire de la famille, en l'occurrence souvent une femme, a été aussi très souvent l'un des principaux destinataires des biens du défunt³⁸ ou la mère des enfants qui les ont reçus et

³⁶ CILA 2, 168 ; 233 ; 246 ; 169 ; 208 ; 993 ; 1048 ; 1084 ; 1203 ; CILA 6, 80 ; 97 ; CIL 2, 359 ; 438 ; 834 ; 938 ; 981 ; 1947 ; 2819 ; CIL 2^{2/5}, 713 ; 742 ; 754 ; 963 ; 1165 ; 1166 ; CIL 2^{2/7}, 69 ; 274 ; 975 ; 983 ; 984 ; HEp 3 1993, 479-2 ; IRC 2, 31, 39 ; IRC 3, 47, 51 ; IRC 4, 68 ; 69 ; IRCP 154, 160 ; IRPC 77, 501 ; CIL 2^{2/14}, 793 ; CIL 2, 1951 ; 1952 ; Navarro *et al.* 2000, op. cit. (n. 13) ; RIT 196, 312, Sillières *et al.* 1995, op. cit. (n. 29).

³⁷ CILA 2, 168 ; 169 ; 208 ; 1048 ; 1203 ; 1055 ; CILA 6, 80 ; 101 ; CIL 2, 359 ; 438 ; 1947 ; CIL 2^{2/5}, 294 ; 754 ; 963 ; 1165 ; 1166 ; CIL 2^{2/7}, 274 ; HEp 3 1993, 479-2 ; IRC 2, 39 ; IRC 4, 68 ; 69 ; IRCP 154 ; 160 ; IRPC 77 ; 501 ; CIL 2, 1951 ; 1952 ; Navarro *et al.* 2000, op. cit. (n. 13) ; RIT 178 ; 183 ; 196 ; 312 ; 322 ; Sillières *et al.* 1995, op. cit. (n. 29).

³⁸ Les circuits légaux nous échappent dans cette enquête épigraphique. Comme on l'a signalé auparavant, la situation de la femme dans les successions peut être juridiquement très variée, voir *supra* n. 22.

dont elle est chargée d'administrer le patrimoine. D'ailleurs, dans ce contexte d'héritage, on comprend mieux certains rapports familiaux existants entre dédicants et dédicataires dont, en apparence, seuls l'amour et la *pietas* semblent être la raison d'être. Par exemple, un texte, sur le dé monolithique parallélépipédique d'un piédestal tripartite découvert à *Barcino*, nous informe que Herennia Optata commanda l'érection d'une statue à son frère, magistrat de la colonie.³⁹ Cet acte d'amour fraternel et de *pietas* se comprend mieux quand on sait, par ailleurs, que le frère n'avait pas d'enfants et qu'il avait épousé une cousine riche, veuve et mère d'un enfant, décédé peu après elle au début de sa vie adulte.⁴⁰ La sœur responsable de l'hommage était donc très probablement l'héritière d'un frère veuf et sans enfants. C'est aussi dans un contexte funéraire et de partage de l'héritage que l'on comprend certaines associations parmi les dédicants : ainsi, un texte sur une base de statue d'Aeso spécifie que les héritiers du magistrat défunt honoré sont sa mère, sa sœur, puis, son plus proche agnat, son oncle paternel.⁴¹

Le veuvage et la transmission du patrimoine

Dans la transmission de la mémoire et surtout du patrimoine, la femme de l'élite hispanique semble donc avoir un rôle prédominant, parce qu'elle est parfois source de légitimité familiale et parce qu'elle a souvent un avantage démographique. En effet, les démographes ont depuis longtemps constaté que les femmes, à toutes époques historiques confondues, vivent plus longtemps que les hommes.⁴² Ainsi, malgré la haute mortalité au moment de l'accouchement, elles survivent souvent à leur mari, d'autant plus qu'elles arrivaient au mariage plus jeunes que leur époux.⁴³ Orphelines d'un père

³⁹ CIL 2, 4525; AE 1957, 36; ILER 3955 ; 5558; IRB 54; IRC 4, 61: *M(arco) Her[ennio] / C(ai) f(ilio) G(al(eria)) / Seuero, / aedili, Iluir(o), / flam(ini) Aug(usti), / Herennia C(ai) [ff](lia) / Optata, / fratri optim[o]*.

⁴⁰ AE 1957, 36; IRB 47; IRC 4, 52: *M(arco) Aemilio / L(uci) fil(io) Gal(eria) / Optato, / priuigno, annor(um) XIII, / huic ordo / Barc(inonensium) aedilic(ios) / et Iluirales / gratuit(os) honores / d(ecreuit). / M(arcus) Herennius Seuerus t(utor)*. Sur les liens de parenté entre les *Aemili* et les *Herenni* de *Barcino*, voir les commentaires de IRC 4 à ce propos.

⁴¹ IRC 2, 39: *[C(aio) Aemilio C(ai) f(ilio)] / Q[uir(ina) ---o], / Fabia C[---], / mater, / Aemilia Press[a], / soror, / L(ucius) Aemilius C(ai) f(ilius) / Crescentinus, / patruus, / her(edes) ex test(amento)*.

⁴² J.-Cl. Chesnais, *La démographie*, PUF (Paris 2002, 5^e éd.), 37-50.

⁴³ Un exemple dans R.S. Bagnall et B.W. Frier, *The Demography of Roman Egypt*, Cambridge Studies in Population, Economy and Society in Past Time 23 (Cambridge 1994), 110-134.

dont elles héritaient, elles se trouvaient souvent veuves d'un mari qui leur avait laissé des enfants avec un patrimoine à gérer, ou parfois même avec l'héritage direct. Ce double héritage père-mari donnait aux femmes de l'élite une position économique privilégiée au sein de leurs familles.

Associées à leur mari et à leur père s'ils sont en vie dans certaines manifestations publiques concernant la *pietas* et la dynastie, comme les montrent les inscriptions, elles ont agi seules après leur disparition. Souvent survivantes, elles se sont chargées de la perpétuation de la mémoire de la *gens*, exprimée par les statues de leurs maris et de leurs enfants défunts et même parfois d'autres membres de leur famille ou de leur belle-famille grâce à la fortune qu'on leur avait transmise. Ainsi s'explique le fort pourcentage de veuves dans la documentation épigraphique – 50 % des femmes répertoriées. Appartenant à l'élite, elles sont riches.

Le rôle de *mater familias* est souvent explicite dans certains textes épigraphiques retenus. Il s'agit d'un rôle social dépourvu d'assises juridiques:⁴⁴ ces femmes, souvent elles-mêmes sous tutelle, n'ont pas la tutelle de leurs enfants. Cependant, leur rôle culturel de formation des enfants (la *custodia* décrite par Horace:⁴⁵ *ut piger annus pupillis, quos dura premit custodia matrum*), le maintien de la cohésion familiale, et, surtout, la gestion du patrimoine dont parlent les sources littéraires et juridiques sont présentes dans les inscriptions. En effet, *sub tutorum cura usque ad quartum decimum annum fuit, sub matris tutela semper*.⁴⁶ Désignées comme héritières, bénéficiaires de fidei-commis, ou encore de donations *mortis causa*, avec toutes les variantes, elles ont géré un *patrimonium* pour préserver le futur de leur famille, du moins c'est ce qu'elles ont voulu faire comprendre dans les inscriptions.

Pour conclure cette enquête, il faut d'abord reconnaître que la documentation ne permet pas de répondre à toutes les questions qui peuvent être posées sur la situation économique des femmes de l'élite hispanique. Les sources ont les limites propres à l'aspect public et du prestige qui les

⁴⁴ V. Vuolanto, 'Women and the property of fatherless children in the Roman empire', dans: Setälä P. et al., eds., *Women, Wealth and Power in the Roman Empire*, Acta Instituti Romani Finlandiae 25 (Rome 2002), 245-270. R.P. Saller, 'Pater familias, mater familias, and the gendered semantics of the Roman household', *Classical Philology* 94 (1999), 182-197.

⁴⁵ Horatius, *Epistulae* 1.1.21. Le suivi direct de la mère dans la relation du *tutor* avec ses propres enfants est signalé par les auteurs anciens: Cicero, *in Verrem* 2.1.90-93; *Dig.* 26.1.18; 26.7.5.8; 26.7.47.1. Ces faits ressortent aussi de certaines décisions de lois, transmises par les papyri égyptiens, cf. Vuolanto 2002, op. cit. (n. 44), 224.

⁴⁶ Seneca, *ad Marciam de consolatione* 24.1.

caractérisent. Cependant, contournant ce handicap, il nous semble que cette enquête économique apporte des compléments importants à l'étude du rôle sociale de la femme hispanique dans la sphère publique des cités et, donc, à la vie des cités elles-mêmes. En effet, outre le rôle d'intermédiaires entre les hommes de leur famille et la communauté, elles assument aussi un rôle dans la continuité civique des groupes familiaux car, à la *dignitas* s'ajoute le patrimoine, celui qu'elles héritent et celui dont elles sont dépositaires. Grâce à leur avantage démographique, leur situation de filles, mais surtout de mères, donc d'épouses, leur a donné une place économique, celle de la transmission du patrimoine à la mort de leurs père, mari et même enfants. Ce rôle, assumé après un décès, transparait dans l'expression épigraphique publique du transfert de la mémoire et du prestige.

La péninsule Ibérique, terre riche en documentation épigraphique, n'a pas conservé de traces des conflits juridiques de partage héréditaire des biens, qui ont dû affecter les femmes de l'élite,⁴⁷ étant données les caractéristiques compliquées et changeantes de la législation romaine à ce sujet. Au contraire, l'épigraphie ne présente que la situation issue d'éventuels conflits, eux-mêmes gommés au profit d'une image publique, idyllique, d'une famille unie et pieuse, donc, semblable à la famille impériale. Dans ce cadre, la femme tient un rôle central. La compréhension du rôle économique, donc social et symbolique que les femmes adoptent après les décès des hommes de leurs familles éclaire le phénomène d'auto exaltation dans la romanité des notables hispaniques, manifesté par les séries de portraits gentilices érigés dans les espaces publics des cités. En effet, le contexte funéraire était propice à l'entrée en scène publique des femmes et créait un climat favorable au développement des monuments honorifiques dynastiques privés *in publico*. Tout cela est conforme à l'image qui donne Pline des dédicaces honorifiques, souvenirs des grands hommes au même titre que leurs épitaphes,⁴⁸ de sorte qu'il est parfois difficile de différencier les textes honorifiques et des textes funéraires.

⁴⁷ T. Saavedra, 'Women as property-owners in Roman Spain and Roman Egypt: some points of comparison', in H. Melaerts et L. Mooren, eds., *Le rôle et le statut de la femme en Égypte hellénistique, romaine et byzantine*. Actes du colloque international Bruxelles-Leuven 1997, *Studia Hellenistica* 37 (Paris 2002), 297-312.

⁴⁸ *Excepta deinde res est a toto orbe terrarum humanissima ambitione, et in omnium municipiorum foris statuæ ornamentum esse coepere propagarique memoria hominum et honores legendi ævo basibus inscribi, ne in sepulcris tantum legerentur. Mox forum et in domibus priuatis factum atque in atriis: honos clientium instituit sic colere patronos*, Plinius Maior, *Naturalis Historia*, 34. 9.17.

Les inscriptions hispaniques manifestent que, y compris dans le Registre économique, les femmes ont tenu le rôle social public conforme à la mentalité collective romaine. Les *feminae* hispaniques semblent avoir fait leurs mots de Sénèque à propos de sa mère, une femme hispanique : “tu t’es montrée dans l’administration de nos biens aussi active que si tu avais travaillé pour toi, aussi scrupuleuse que si ces biens eussent été ceux d’un étranger”.⁴⁹

CNRS, Ausonius-Bordeaux III, 2004

⁴⁹ Seneca, *ad Helviam matrem de consolatione* 14.3.

METHODISCHE ÜBERLEGUNGEN ZU FRAUEN IN ANTIKEN VEREINEN

Von
V.E.HIRSCHMANN

Die *inventio* eines Themas kann bekanntlich auf mehreren Wegen stattfinden. In diesem Fall wurde das Interesse am antiken Vereinsleben durch die Mitarbeit im Projekt zum griechisch-römischen Vereinswesen im Rahmen des Münsteraner Sonderforschungsbereich 'Funktionen von Religion im Vorderen Orient geweckt'.¹ Zentrale Aspekte der damaligen Forschung waren nicht nur die paganen religiösen und beruflichen Gemeinschaften, sondern auch die christlichen Gemeinden und ihre Strukturen. Der regionale Schwerpunkt lag auf Kleinasien, dessen kulturelle Struktur durch den Zusammenfluß verschiedenster ethnischer Gruppen besonders interessant ist. Die Ergebnisse zeigten Gemeinsamkeiten zwischen paganem Verein und christlicher Gemeinde.

In den vergangenen Jahren wurden verstärkt soziale Verflechtungen, Vorgänge der Identitätsbildung und gesellschaftliche Strukturen ins Blickfeld althistorischer Forschung gerückt. In diesem Zusammenhang erschien die Frage nach der Einbettung der Frau in das Vereinsleben und damit in einen nicht unwesentlichen Teil der antiken Gesellschaft reizvoll.

Umso erstaunlicher ist es deshalb, daß trotz verschiedener Studien zum Vereinswesen und Neuerscheinungen zur Geschichte der Frau in der Antike die Beschäftigung mit dem Thema *Frauen und Vereine* fehlt. In der 2001 erschienen Arbeit von Alfred Schäfer und Ulrike Egelhaaf-Geiser *Religiöse Vereine in der römischen Antike* von wurde das Stichwort Frauen im Register nicht aufgenommen.²

Andere Arbeiten, die sich speziell mit der Lebenswelt der antiken Frau auseinandersetzen wie *Frauenwelten in der Antike*, von Thomas Späth und Beate Wagner-Hasel herausgegeben (2000)³, oder auch die Untersuchungen von Sarah Pomeroy zu Frauen in der Antike klammern das Vereinsleben

¹ Ich möchte an dieser Stelle Herrn Stefan Sommer M.A. für zahlreiche weiterführende Diskussionen und Anregungen danken.

² U. Egelhaaf-Geiser und A. Schäfer, Hgg., *Religiöse Vereine in der römischen Antike* (Tübingen 2002).

³ Th. Späth und B. Wagner-Hasel, Hgg., *Frauenwelten in der Antike* (Darmstadt 2000).

aus.⁴ Das 1995 von Barbara Levick und Richard Hawley publizierte Werk *Women in antiquity* beschäftigt sich ebenfalls nach bekanntem Muster – Frau in der Familie, im Kult – mit der Rolle der Frau in der antiken Gesellschaft, aber nicht in den antiken Vereinen.⁵

So könnte man in der Aufzählung weiter fortfahren und käme schließlich zu dem Ergebnis, daß Vereinsforschung im Bezug auf die antike Frau auf den ersten Blick ein Feld zu sein scheint, dessen Kultivierung sich nicht lohnt und dessen Ertrag nicht sicher wäre. Diesen Schwierigkeiten sah sich schon Franz Poland gegenüber, als er 1909 seine bis heute grundlegende Arbeit *Geschichte des griechischen Vereinswesens* verfaßte. Er widmete immerhin den Frauen ein Unterkapitel.⁶ Dort werden verschiedene Vereine aufgezählt, die, inschriftlich belegt, Frauen in ihren Reihen aufwiesen. Gleichzeitig differenzierte er die Ergebnisse seiner Fachkollegen, die in seinen Augen zu voreilig die Bedeutung der Frauen für die griechischen Vereine betont hätten.⁷ Dabei sei – so Poland – die rechtliche Stellung der Frau innerhalb der Vereine zu wenig oder gar nicht beachtet worden. Zu Recht argumentierte er, daß nicht jede Erwähnung eines weiblichen Namens in einer Vereinsinschrift bedeutet, daß die betreffende Frau Mitglied war, geschweige denn Aufgaben in dieser Gruppe wahrnahm. Am Schluß des Unterkapitels schließt er die Ausführungen zu Frauen in Vereinen mit der Mutmaßung, Frauen strebten eine rechtskräftigen Mitgliedschaft gar nicht an,⁸ sondern überließen nur zu gerne Gatten und Söhne der Männerwelt des Vereins.

Der Überblick Polands und seine Thesen sind bis heute nicht erweitert oder neu diskutiert worden. Das ist umso notwendiger als ein Widerspruch zwischen seiner abschließenden Mutmaßung und den von ihm zuvor auf-

⁴ S. Pomeroy, *Frauenleben im klassischen Altertum* (Stuttgart 1985).

⁵ B. Levick und R. Hawley, Hgg., *Women in Antiquity* (London-New York 1995).

⁶ F. Poland, *Geschichte des griechischen Vereinswesens*, Preisschrift der Fürstlich Jablonowskischen Gesellschaft (Leipzig 1909, unver. Nachdr. Leipzig 1967). An dieser Stelle muß auf die z.T. sehr ungewöhnliche Fußnotenkennung bei Poland hingewiesen werden, die Zahlen und Zeichen verwendet.

⁷ Poland 1909, a.a.O. (Anm. 6), 289 und Anm. **). Siehe auch E. Ziebarth, *Das griechische Vereinswesen*, Preisschrift der Fürstlich Jablonowskischen Gesellschaft 34 (Leipzig 1896); J.P. Waltzing, *Études historique sur les corporations professionnelles chez les Romains. Depuis les origines jusqu'à la chute de l'Empire d'Occidente*, 4 Bde. (Brüssel 1895-1900, Nachdruck Hildesheim-New York 1970), 1, 348 f.; 2, 360ff.; 4, 254 ff.; P. Foucart, *Des associations religieuses chez les grecs. Thiasos, éranes, orgéons avec les textes des inscriptions relatives à ces associations* (Paris 1873), 6.

⁸ Poland 1909, a.a.O. (Anm. 6), 298.

gezählten Beispielen besteht, die ein Interesse der Frau am gesellschaftlichen Mitwirken durch oder mit einem Verein, andeuten (z.B. Stiftungen an gymnasiale Gruppen oder Handwerkergenossenschaften etc.). Polands Thesen wirken bis heute. Obwohl es Quellen zu weiblicher Vereinstätigkeit gibt, werden sie nicht in einem entsprechenden Kontext ausgewertet.⁹

Hält man Polands Fragestellung nach der rechtskräftigen Mitgliedschaft als einziges Untersuchungskriterium aufrecht, so ist man aufgrund der oft fehlenden Mitgliederlisten sicherlich schnell am Ende jeglicher Überlegungen. Bei genauerem Hinsehen forderte aber auch bereits Poland eine stärkere Differenzierung weiblichen Wirkens in oder an Vereinen. Deshalb sollte künftig durch die Untersuchung des tatsächlichen Bezuges, den eine Frau zu einem Verein hatte und der sich daraus ergebenden Handlungsmöglichkeiten für Frauen die Einschränkung auf die Mitgliedschaft als Grundkriterium aufgeben werden.

Das Vereinsleben stellte im 2. und 3. Jhdt. einen festen Bestandteil der antiken Gesellschaft dar. Für Kleinasien existieren epigraphische Zeugnisse, die aufzeigen, daß Vereine intensiv am Leben ihrer Stadt beteiligt waren und ihre Mitglieder z.T. städtische wie auch vereinsinterne Ämter wahrnahmen. In diesem Kontext muß die Untersuchung des Bezuges einer Frau zu einem Verein verortet werden. Als Einstieg in das Thema bieten sich einige grundlegende Fragen an, die an die Quellen gestellt werden könnten:

1. Warum treten Frauen einem Verein bei – soweit überprüfbar oder anhand von Indizien erweisbar?
2. Welche Möglichkeiten und Handlungsspielräume stehen Frauen durch den Bezug zu einem Verein offen? Und im Anschluß an diese Frage, welche Bezüge – außer der Mitgliedschaft – lassen sich ausmachen?
3. Was sagt die Beziehung, die eine Frau zu einem Verein hat über ihr Rollenverständnis und damit auch über ihre Identität aus? Gibt der Verein einer Frau möglicherweise die Chance ihre Rolle zu verändern, oder spiegelt ihr Agieren im Verein das klassische Rollenverhalten in Gesellschaft und Familie wider?

⁹ Jüngere Untersuchungen wie die Arbeiten von Imogen Dittmann, *Die Berufsvereine in den Städten des kaiserzeitlichen Kleinasien*, Theorie und Forschung Bd. 690, Geschichte Bd. 10 (Regensburg 2001), oder Carola Zimmermann, *Handwerkervereine im griechischen Osten des römischen Imperiums* (Mainz 2002), übergehen weibliche Vereinsmitglieder entweder ganz oder streifen die Thematik nur kurz.

Die Suche nach den Antworten auf diese Fragen muß differenziert auf zeitliche, regionale und sozial-kulturelle Aspekte betrachtet werden. Jeder Teilaspekt bestimmt weibliches Rollenverhalten und gesellschaftlichen Aktionsradius mit. Besonders hervorzuheben ist der letzte Punkt, die soziale Determinante. Zu klären wäre, ob schichtspezifische Frauenbilder existieren; es ist zu vermuten, daß Frauen der Unterschichten andere Ansprüche an einen Verein stellten als sozial höherstehende. Doch wäre dies schon die Vorwegnahme eines Ergebnisses, das die genaue Erforschung absichern oder entkräften müßte.

Sicher ist, daß es viele wohlhabende Frauen gab, die ihr Vermögen und die persönliche Identifikation mit ihrer Heimatstadt durch Stiftungen und/oder kultische Ämter ausdrückten, wie es das gutdokumentierte Beispiel der berühmten Plancia Magna aus Perge zeigt.¹⁰ Diesen Frauen muß der Aktionsradius von Geschlechtsgenossinnen der niedrigeren Schichten gegenübergestellt werden.

Poland hat in seiner Arbeit keine Betrachtungsschwerpunkte gesetzt, sondern das in seiner Zeit vorhandene Material aufgenommen. Seine Beobachtungen zu weiblichen Vereinsmitgliedern werden weder vor einem regionalgeschichtlichen noch vor einem zeitgeschichtlichen Hintergrund ausgewertet. Die Frage des Frauenbildes unterbleibt ebenfalls weitgehend. Da sich das Material seit Poland aber unzweifelhaft stark vermehrt hat, muß zukünftig nach den genannten Fragestellungen differenziert werden. Sinnvoll ist aufgrund der Unterschiede in der kulturellen Entwicklung gerade auch eine regionale Betrachtung. Eine abschließende Gegenüberstellung des Materials würde zeigen, ob sich in der Kaiserzeit die Ergebnisse aus Rom mit denen aus Griechenland und Kleinasien vergleichen lassen oder ob hier vielleicht verblüffende Diskrepanzen auftreten.

Die archäologischen und literarischen Zeugnisse zeigen ab dem Hellenismus eine quantitativ verstärkte Wahrnehmung der weiblichen Existenz.¹¹ Seit dieser Zeit beobachtet auch Poland die ersten greifbaren Zeug-

¹⁰ W. Eck in *Realenzyklopädie der Klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*, Suppl. 14 (1974), 386, s.v. Plancia Magna; M. Boatwright, 'Plancia Magna of Perge: Women's roles and status in Roman Asia Minor', in S. Pomeroy, Hg., *Women's History and Ancient History* (Chapel Hill 1991), 249-272. Zu den Möglichkeiten wohlhabender Frauen: H.C. van Bremen, 'Women and wealth', in A. Cameron und A. Kuhrt, Hgg., *Images of Women in Antiquity* (Detroit 1983).

¹¹ Pomeroy 1985, a.a.O. (Anm. 4), 190, siehe auch IG 2.1, 550. Auch in Athen, nicht nur in den Städten des Ostens, betritt das weibliche Element öffentlichen Boden. Vgl. die Ehrung

nisse weiblicher Vereinstätigkeit im weitesten Sinne.¹² Wenngleich die erhöhte Quantität vor allem auf die ansteigende Ausbreitung des Griechentums zurückzuführen ist, bleibt bestehen, daß ab dem Hellenismus bessere Einblicke in das Dasein der Frau außerhalb Athens und Spartas möglich sind. Das öffentliche Leben in den griechischen Städten wurde zunehmend auch für Frauen zugänglich und in Einzelfällen verlieh man ihnen Auszeichnungen oder Ämter.¹³

Diese Tendenzen ab der hellenistischen Zeit betont auch Mary Boatwright 1991 in ihrem Aufsatz 'Plancia Magna von Perge'. Sie weist auf Diskrepanzen zwischen den Aussagen der literarischen und der epigraphischen Quellen hin.¹⁴ Die literarischen Zeugnisse zeichneten noch bis in die Kaiserzeit hinein ein traditionelles Frauenbild, daß sich angesichts der inschriftlichen und archäologischen Belege nicht halten lasse.¹⁵ Eine zukünftige Vereinsforschung unter einer weiblichen Perspektive, sollte die aufgeführten Thesen berücksichtigen. Inwieweit das alte Ideal der tugendamen, von der Öffentlichkeit separierten Frau tatsächlich hinfällig ist oder wird, muß am Einzelfall entschieden werden und kann keinesfalls pauschal für die weibliche Rolle ab der Zeit des Hellenismus beantwortet werden. Zur Erhellung dieser Problematik könnte die Vereinsforschung ebenfalls interessante Ergebnisse liefern.

Das Erscheinen von Frauen in griechischen Vereinen stellt Poland für folgende Gruppen fest: 1. In den sog. θίασοι. Dies sind Vereinigungen, die verschiedenen Götter huldigen können, hauptsächlich aber dem Dionysos dienen.¹⁶ Grundsätzlich werden mit θίασοι (oder θιασῶται) Gemeinschaften

eines Vaters für seine Tochter, die zusammen mit anderen Mädchen den *peplos* für Athena herstellte, IG 2.5, 477d.

¹² Dabei tritt die Frau zumeist in der traditionellen kultischen Rolle im Verein auf. Poland mutmaßt, daß diese Priesterinnen wohl religiöse Aufgaben im Verein wahrnahmen, selbst aber keine Mitglieder waren, Poland 1909, a.a.O. (Anm. 6), 290.

¹³ R. van Bremen, *The Limits of Participation. Women and Civic Life in the Greek East in the Hellenistic and Roman Periods* (Amsterdam 1996). Siehe auch J. und L. Robert in *Bulletin Épigraphique* 76 (1963), Nr. 170.

¹⁴ Boatwright 1991, a.a.O. (Anm. 10), 258.

¹⁵ E.A. Hemelrijk, *Matrona Docta. Educated Women in the Roman Elite from Cornelia to Julia Domna* (London-New York 1999), 116-122.

¹⁶ Poland 1909, a.a.O. (Anm. 6), 16. Der Begriff des θίασος darf jedoch nicht nur auf den Gott Dionysos eingeschränkt werden, so führt Poland auch Artemis-Thiasoten auf (291).

bezeichnet, die ihre Gottheit mit Umzügen feierten.¹⁷ Dabei steht θίασος nicht synonym für Verein, sondern zeigt vielmehr – so Poland – als ein *pars pro toto* die Ausrichtung der Zusammenkünfte an. Daher kann eine schwärmende Gemeinschaft durchaus auch als κοινὸν τῶν θιασωτῶν gefaßt werden.

Schon bei Euripides in den *Bakchen* 680 wird der θίασος mit Frauen in Verbindung gebracht (ὄρω δὲ θιάσους τρεῖς γυναικείων χορῶν).¹⁸ Das ist ein Punkt, der im Rahmen unseres Themas im Auge zu behalten ist. Im kleinasiatischen Gebiet¹⁹ sind Gruppierungen dieser Art häufig vertreten, gilt doch das Land gemeinhin als Ursprungsgebiet des Dionysos.²⁰ Für Poland ist es ein Charakteristikum der θίασοι, daß die Namen von Frauen und Männern gleichberechtigt nebeneinander zu finden sind.²¹ Nur als Randbemerkung mit Blick auf den Bacchanalienprozeß in Rom sei hier erwähnt, daß diese Vereine sowie die Teilnahme an ihnen völlig legal waren.

Mitgliederlisten solcher θίασοι zeigen, daß Frauen aktive Vereinskollegen sein konnten.²² Obwohl man sich hüten muß, allzu sicher über die Abläufe der Mysterienfeiern zu sein, kann der Kult des Dionysos als ein fundamental vegetativer dargestellt werden. Es sei daher die Vermutung erlaubt, daß sich Frauen, die der Gott von jeher zu seinem engsten Gefolge zählte, deshalb einer solchen Gruppe anschlossen, weil diese ihnen die Freiheit bieten konnte, außerhalb des gesellschaftlichen Rahmens völlig legal einen Rollenbruch zu vollziehen. Innerhalb einer thiasotischen Vereinigung, die den Mythos des Dionysos und seine fruchtbarkeitsbezogenen Aspekte nachvollzog, spielte die Frau sicherlich nicht die Rolle der liebenden Familienmutter, die sich gehorsam einer männlich dominanten Gesellschaft beugte, so schildert es schon Euripides.

¹⁷ Poland 1909, a.a.O. (Anm. 6), 291, weist hier auf Analogien zu den bei Euripides (*Iphigeneia A.* 1059) beschriebenen θίασος ἱποβάτας und den ἀσπιδοφέρμονα θίασον (*Phoinissai* 796) hin.

¹⁸ So werden für Tomoi βάρχοι erwähnt, die sich allein nach einer Frau benennen, vgl. Poland, 1909, a.a.O. (Anm. 6), 26.

¹⁹ Poland 1909, a.a.O. (Anm. 6), 25.

²⁰ Poland 1909, a.a.O. (Anm. 6), 23, nennt bereits Knidos, Halikarnassos, Teos, Smyrna, Magnesia a. Mäander oder die Gegend zwischen Thyatira und Gordos und Akmonia.

²¹ Poland 1909, a.a.O. (Anm. 6), 27, für Nikaia oder Kallatis. Siehe auch Poland 1909, a.a.O. (Anm. 6), 290-291. Für den Verein der Artemisthiasoten aus Athen siehe Poland 1909, a.a.O. (Anm. 6), 188.

²² Poland 1909, a.a.O. (Anm. 6), 291.

Die Anerkennung des Gottes in der griechischen Welt – regierte er doch zusammen mit keinem geringeren als Apollon das delphische Jahr – legalisiert den hier unterstellten Rollenbruch. Im Mythos des Dionysos wird gelehrt, daß die Ablehnung des Gottes keinen guten Ausgang hatte. Die Bedeutung der Mythologie für die griechische Welt sollte nicht von vorneherein als eine rein formale bewertet werden. So ist es wohl auch falsch wie Poland es vermutet, als weibliche Mitglieder nur Angehörige der unteren Schichten anzunehmen oder sie sogar in den Kreis der Hetären einzuordnen.²³ Sicherlich haben nicht nur Frauen, die sozial nichts mehr zu verlieren hatten, die Nähe des Gottes gesucht.²⁴ Hier würde sich z.B. eine genaue Untersuchung des kleinasiatischen Materials anbieten.

2. Ein anderer Typ von Vereinigungen, in denen Frauen zu finden sind, besitzt ebenfalls religiösen Charakter. Es handelt sich um *σύνμυσται* oder nur *μύσται*. Dem Wort *μύσται* kann sich auch der Name eines Gottes anschließen. Mysterenvereinigungen können rein private, nach innen gerichtete Zusammenschlüsse sein. Es gibt aber auch Beispiele, in denen Mysterenvereinigungen in einer Stadt den kultischen Dienst an einer Gottheit übernahmen. An dieser Stelle muß unbedingt die Stadtgeschichte sowie die Bedeutung der Gottheit für die Stadt in die Auswertung der Quellen einbezogen werden. Gerade bei einer weiblichen Gottheit übten Frauen für den Verein die priesterliche Funktion aus,²⁵ oft übernahmen auch Ehepaare diesen Part.²⁶

3. Eine gesonderte Gruppe bilden die sog. Familienvereine. Familienvereine weisen Exklusivität als natürliche Bedingung auf und eben-so naturgemäß ist ihnen die Partizipation weiblicher Mitglieder. Es handelt sich um Zusammenschlüsse, die meist alle männlichen und weiblichen Deszendenten sowie deren Nachkommen einschließen.²⁷ Die Verwandtenvereine

²³ Siehe hier Poland 1909, a.a.O. (Anm. 6), 290 zu einem bakchischen Verein von Thera, der den Nachkommen und Ehefrauen seiner geehrten Mitglieder die Mitgliedschaft an dem Verein automatisch verleiht.

²⁴ Gegen Poland 1909, a.a.O. (Anm. 6), 291.

²⁵ Poland 1909, a.a.O. (Anm. 6), 293.

²⁶ Poland 1909, a.a.O. (Anm. 6), 294. Siehe auch van Bremen 1996, a.a.O. (Anm. 13), 115-125.

²⁷ Poland 1909, a.a.O. (Anm. 6), 87. Ein gut belegtes Beispiel ist der im Jahre 208 v. Chr. gegründete Verein der Epikteta auf Thera, IG 12, 3, 330. Dazu A. Witteburg, *Il testamento di Epikteta* (Triest 1990); H. Müller und M. Wörrle, 'Ein Verein im Hinterland von Pergamon zur Zeit des Eumenes II', *Chiron* 32 (2002), 191-235. Die Gründung eines Vereins durch eine Frau scheint nicht so selten gewesen zu sein. Es bleibt aber immer wieder die Frage, ob die Gründerin gleichzeitig auch Mitglied war. So wäre dies bei dem

organisieren z.B. Feierlichkeiten in der Familie oder setzen fest, wer in der Familiengruft mit einem vom Verein ausgerichteten Begräbnis bestattet werden darf.²⁸

4. Eine eigene Welt stellen die Gruppierungen dar, die sich um das Gymnasium bildeten: Gemeint sind die ἔφηβοι, νέοι und γέροντες. Inwiefern man unter diesen Begriffen tatsächliche Vereinigungen verstehen darf, rätselte schon Poland.²⁹ Die Aufsicht über das Gymnasium bzw. vor allem die Ausrichtung der Festlichkeiten wie Umzüge oder Agone, hatte der Gymnasiarch inne. Die ursprüngliche athenische Leiturgia wurde ab der hellenistischen Zeit eine freiwillige Aufgabe. Als Gymnasiarchen sind auch Frauen belegt.³⁰ Die Titulatur des Amtes und der damit verbundenen Aufgabenbereich (vor allem die wirtschaftliche Potenz) werden Männern wie Frauen gleichberechtigt zugestanden. Die Frau tritt in der Öffentlichkeit als Investorin analog zu ihren männlichen Kollegen auf.³¹

Ein Überblick wie Poland ihn für das zu seiner Zeit vorliegende griechische Material liefert, fehlt für die Vereinstätigkeit von Frauen in der römischen Gesellschaft. Frank Ausbüttel, der die Vereine im Westen des römischen Reiches untersuchte, hat die Beteiligung der Frau an beruflichen Vereinen nicht miterwogen.³² Seiner Ansicht schließt sich auch jüngst Carola Zimmermann an, die für den Osten die Bedeutung von Frauen für die Berufskollegien verneint.³³ Eine Gegenüberstellung griechischer und römischer Zeugnisse (nicht nur für die Berufsvereine, sondern auch für religiöse Gruppen) wäre u.a. deshalb wichtig und interessant, da sich das Rollenverhalten in beiden Kulturen unterschiedlich entwickelt hat.³⁴

Ephebenverein, den eine gewisse Akraipha zu Ehren ihrer verstorbenen Kinder gründete, zumindest fraglich, IG 2, 1147, siehe für andere Gründungen durch Frauen Poland 1909, a.a.O. (Anm. 6), 295

²⁸ Poland 1909, a.a.O. (Anm. 6), 88.

²⁹ Poland 1909, a.a.O. (Anm. 6), 90-91.

³⁰ Boatwright 1991, a.a.O. (Anm.10), 257.

³¹ Poland 1909, a.a.O. (Anm. 6), 296, weist gerade für das kaiserzeitliche Kleinasien auf Frauen als *Euergeten* hin, die mit Stiftungen und Zuschüssen das gesellschaftliche und agonale Leben in der Stadt stärkten.

³² F. Ausbüttel, *Untersuchungen zu den Vereinen im Westen des Römischen Reiches* (Kallmünz 1982).

³³ Zimmermann 2002, a.a.O. (Anm. 9), 92 und 93.

³⁴ Obwohl Frauen *de iure* bis in die Zeit Diokletians unter männlicher Vormundschaft standen und vor Gericht einen Rechtsvertreter benötigten, wurde dieses Gesetz *de facto* immer mehr ausgehöhlt. Unter Augustus erlangte eine Frau, die drei freigeborene Kinder in die Welt gesetzt hatte, die Freiheit von der Vormundschaft. Dazu Columella, *De re rustica*

Wenn es heißt, daß Kaiser Claudius freigelassenen Frauen, die ihr Geld auf dem römischen Getreidemarkt anlegten und so zum Nutzen der Bevölkerung handelten, dieselben Privilegien wie einer Mutter von vier Kindern gewährte,³⁵ so läßt sich daraus schließen, daß vermögende Frauen dieser Schicht sich selbständig in Geldangelegenheiten bewegten und darüber hinaus als Berufstätige im Ansehen den Müttern und damit dem alten Idealbild der angesehenen Frau gleichgestellt werden. Der Beschluß des Kaisers weist auch auf eine größere Anzahl solcher Frauen hin, die aufgefordert werden, ihr Geld zum Wohle des ganzen Volkes einfließen zu lassen; Einzelfälle wären hier unauffällig geblieben.

Die berufstätige Frau war im handwerklichen oder kaufmännischen Gewerbe tätig. Wohlbekannt sind die verschiedenen Ziegelstempel mit weiblichen Namen, die auf Frauen im Baugewerbe hinweisen. Aus dem Baugewerbe stammt auch ein Zeugnis über eine Frau namens Eumachia aus Pompeji, die Schirmherrin der Zunft der Walker war. Diese hatten ihr zu Ehren ein Standbild errichtet.³⁶ Daß eine Frau Schutzherrin eines *collegiums* war, ist kein Einzelfall, auch wenn die Zeugnisse aus der Kaiserzeit eher gering sind.³⁷ Allerdings, um eine voreilige Präjudizierung emanzipatorischer Spuren zu dämpfen, läßt es sich nicht nachweisen, daß die Frauen, die einer Männerzunft vorstanden, auch gleichzeitig ein Mitglied derselben waren, wie es jüngst Carola Zimmermann für die Handwerkervereine im Osten des Imperiums dargelegt hat.³⁸ Auch wenn Zimmermann auf diese Weise die Ergebnisse Polands über die Mitgliedschaft unterstützt, so ist für die römischen *collegia* eine Einschränkung auf die alleinige Feststellung des Rechtsstatus im Verein nicht angebracht. Eine systematische Suche nach weiblichem Wirken in den römischen *collegia* müßte auch hier die verschiedenen Bezüge, die die Frauen zu einer Gruppe suchen und haben auswerten.

12, Cato, *De agricultura* 143.1. Für eine umfassende Diskussion, siehe S. Treggiari, *Roman Marriage. Iusti Coniuges from the Time of Cicero to the Time of Ulpian* (Oxford 1991), A. Mette-Dittmann, *Die Ehegesetze de Augustus. Eine Untersuchung im Rahmen der Gesellschaftspolitik des Princeps*, *Historia Einzelschriften* 67 (Stuttgart 1991).

³⁵ P.A. Brunt, *Italian Manpower 225 B.C.-A.D. 14* (London 1971), 565.

³⁶ Pomeroy 1985, a.a.O. (Anm. 4), 311.

³⁷ Waltzing 1895-1900, a.a.O. (Anm. 7), 1, 348-349 und 4, 254-257. G. Clemente, 'Il patronato nei collegia dell'impero romano', *Studi classici e orientali* 21 (1972), 142-229.

³⁸ Zimmermann 2002, a.a.O. (Anm. 9), 92 und 93, vgl. hier P. Oxy. 1414. Frauen, so Zimmermann, sind am Produktionsprozeß beteiligt und werden auch in Verhandlungen vermerkt. Eine Mitgliedschaft kann jedoch nicht nachgewiesen werden.

In Kleinasien, das sowohl unter griechischem als auch unter römischen Einfluß stand, gehören Vereine zur städtischen Kultur der Kaiserzeit und zum gesellschaftlichen Leben der Stadt; nicht selten sind sie wirtschaftliche Stützen. Sie richten Feste aus, organisieren die Zünfte in der Stadt oder übernehmen kultischen Dienste.³⁹ Alle drei Elemente sind für das Ansehen und die Identität einer Stadt wichtig. Man findet Vereine aber auch als Mitgestalter des öffentlichen Lebens in den ländlichen Gemeinden, wie es Christof Schuler 1998 in *Ländliche Siedlungen und Gemeinden im hellenistischen und römischen Kleinasien*, dargelegt hat.⁴⁰ Eine Aufnahme weiblicher Vereinstätigkeit auf dem Lande, soweit nachweisbar, wäre im Vergleich zur Situation in den Städten interessant. Nur als These sei hier zu überlegen, ob die geringere Bevölkerungszahl einer ländlichen Gemeinde und ihre kulturell eher homogene Bevölkerung wirtschaftlich engagierten Frauen mehr Spielraum für eine Vereinstätigkeit ließen, die dem Bedarf der Gemeinde entgegenkam.

Zwei Beispiele sollen hier als Anschauung dienen. Das erste stammt aus Smyrna.⁴¹ Zu datieren ist die Inschrift ins 1./2. Jhdt. n. Chr.

Ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος καὶ ἡ σύνοδος τῶν τῆς θεοῦ μυστῶν ἐτείμησαν
Κλαυδίας Ἀντωνίας Σαβεῖναν Προκλιανὴν καὶ Ἰουλιανὴν ἀδελφάς,
τάς θεολόγους, πάντα τὰ περὶ τὴν εὐσέβειαν τῆς
θεοῦ καὶ τὴν τῶν μυστῶν ἑορτὴν ἐκτενῶς παρασχούσας·
στήσαντος τὰς τειμὰς Κλ. Ἀντωνίου Λάμου τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτῶν,
ἐπὶ ταμιῶν Τι. Κλ. Ζήνωνος⁴² καὶ Μ. Βεῖβίου θεοδώρου.⁴³

Der Rat und das Volk und der Verein der Mysteren der Göttin (Demeter) ehren die Schwestern Claudia Antonina Sabina Prokliane und Iuliane, die Theologoi, die alles für die Verehrung der Göttin und für das Fest der Mysteren in vollem Umfang bereitgestellt haben. Aufgestellt hat die beiden Statuen ihr Vater, Claudius Antoninus Lamos, unter den Kassenwarten Titus Claudius Zenomos und Marcius Vibius Theodorus.

³⁹ M. Wörle, *Stadt und Fest im kaiserzeitlichen Kleinasien. Studien zu einer agonistischen Stiftung aus Oinoanda* (München 1988).

⁴⁰ 238-241.

⁴¹ G. Petzl, Hg., *Die Inschriften von Smyrna* (Bonn 1987) 2.1, 653.

⁴² Die Datierung nach den Schatzmeistern entweder des betreffenden Vereines oder auch der Stadt, ist durchaus üblich, vgl. Petzls Kommentar zur vorliegenden Inschrift.

Die genannten Schwestern übten im ortsansässigen Kult der Demeter und Kore die Funktion der *Theologoi* aus.⁴⁴ Diese, so vermutet Georg Petzl in seinem Kommentar zur Inschrift, würden bei den Kultfeierlichkeiten vielleicht Festreden auf die Götter halten oder die Rollen von Demeter und ihrer Tochter in einem Festspiel übernehmen. Geehrt werden die Frauen von Rat und Volk der Stadt und von ὁ σύνοδος τῶν τῆς θεοῦ μυστῶν. In Smyrna fallen zwei Vereine quantitativ durch ihre Inschriften auf: Der Verein der Mysteren und Techniten des Dionysos, der sich auch um den Kult des Gottes kümmerte, (bezeichnet als Διόνυσος πρὸ πόλεως, also als Schutzgott der Stadt) und der Verein der Mysteren der Demeter und Kore, dem diese beiden Schwestern angehörten. Beide Vereine unterstützten für die Stadt bedeutende Götter durch Kultpflege und Festlichkeiten.

Den Schwestern setzte ihr Vater die Inschrift. Gelobt wird ihr wirtschaftlicher Einsatz für Fest und kultischen Dienst. Die Frauen wirkten aber nicht nur von außen als Wohltäterinnen in den Verein hinein, sondern waren selbst im Kult als θεολόγοι engagiert. Eine tatsächliche Mitgliedschaft erscheint hier wahrscheinlich, obwohl der Beweis dafür aufgrund fehlender Mitgliederlisten aussteht. Da der Vater die Inschrift setzt, könnte man weiterhin überlegen, ob er nicht Vereinsmitglied war und seine Töchter als weibliche Patromysteren aufgenommen worden waren. Dies wäre für sie nicht unbedeutend, denn als Patromysteren, also erbliche Mitglieder, hätten sie eine geringe Aufnahmegebühr und geringere Mitgliedsbeiträge zu zahlen gehabt.⁴⁵

Im Kontext des regen smyrnäischen Vereinslebens und der wirtschaftlichen Funktion der beiden genannten Vereine für die Stadt, gestaltet der Verein der Demetermysteren das städtische Leben aktiv mit. Das bedeutete, daß hier wirtschaftliche und damit auch gesellschaftliche Macht durch einen Verein ausgeübt würde. Die Schwestern waren eingebunden in diese machtwirksamen Strukturen. Die so entstehende Hebelwirkung aus wirtschaftlichem Potential und gesellschaftlicher Vergütung, wenn man es so nennen darf, kann in Relation zum Rollenverständnis gesehen werden: Die kultische Aufgabe der Frau wurde in diesem Fall von den beiden Schwestern in traditioneller Art wahrgenommen, aber vermögende Frauen der Oberschicht, die in einem für die Stadt bedeutenden Kultverein mitwirkten, könnten eine politische Größe durch den "Hintereingang" der kultischen Vereinstätigkeit

⁴³ Petzl 1987, a.a.O. (Anm. 41), vermutet hier einen M. Vibius.

⁴⁴ *PIR*² 1070.

⁴⁵ Poland 1909, a.a.O. (Anm. 6), 303.

werden. Das alte Rollenverständnis löste sich im wirtschaftlich/gesellschaftlichen *do ut des* auf.

In einem anderen Beispiel vom Ende des 2. Jhdts. n. Chr. aus Termessos wird Atalante, eine verwitwete Wohltäterin, vom Demos der Stadt und von den Techniten jeweils durch eine Statue geehrt.⁴⁶ Die beiden Statuen standen – wie es in dem Inschriftentext selbst heißt – an einer gut sichtbaren Stelle der Stadt, in der Nähe der Attalos-Stoa, neben den Inschriften für die die siegreichen Knaben der gymnischen Wettkämpfe (*ἀνατεθῆναί τε τῆν εἰκόνα ἐν ἐπισήμῳ τῆς πόλεως τόπῳ*). Gelobt wird die gute Herkunft der Frau und ihre *σωφροσύνη*. Der Begriff der *σωφροσύνη* ist mit den typisch männlichen Tugenden verbunden. Doch nicht nur dies loben die Techniten, sondern auch, daß sie *καὶ πᾶσαν γυναικείαν ἀρετὴν ἀποδεικνυμένη*. Auf den ersten Blick nichts Ungewöhnliches, denn das Hervorheben der weiblichen Tugenden einer Frau gehört zum guten Ton und ist vor allem aus Grabschriften bekannt. Atalante, eine vornehme Frau, stammte aus einer Familie, die sich oft für die Belange der Stadt eingesetzt und während einer Hungersnot Getreide spendete. Soweit entspricht Atalante dem bekannten weiblichen euergetischen Muster, auf das schon Poland hinweist.⁴⁷

Der Aufstellungsort und die Vereinigung der Techniten bilden einen Rahmen, der sonst eher dem männlichen Teil der Bevölkerung zukommt. Atalante setzt die Tradition ihrer Vorfahren fort (genannt sind Vater und Großvater) und handelt als Wohltäterin der Stadt. Es ist zu vermuten, daß vielleicht ihre Vorfahren dem Technitenverein von Termessos angehört haben. Vielleicht war Atalante selbst Mitglied in diesem Verein.

Die zwei hier exemplarisch aufgeführten Quellen geben einen kleinen Einblick in die Art des Materials und seiner Informationen. Die Untersuchung der weiblichen Partizipation am Vereinsleben läßt auf vertiefende Einblicke in die Strukturen des städtischen wie des sozialen Lebens hoffen. Das Hauptproblem Polands, die Frage nach einer handlungswirksamen und rechtskräftigen Mitgliedschaft bleibt die schwierigste Aufgabe innerhalb dieses Themas. Die sonstigen Bezüge zu einem Verein können dagegen von der Mitgliedschaft unabhängigen Aufschluß über den Handlungsspielraum und die Wahrnehmung der Frau in der Öffentlichkeit geben, wie das Beispiel der Atalante deutlich macht.

⁴⁶ TAM 3.1, 4 = Waltzing 1895-1900, a.a.O. (Anm. 7), 3, 109 und für die Handwerker siehe TAM 3.1, 62 = Waltzing 1895-1900, a.a.O. (Anm. 7), 3, 110. Siehe van Bremen 1996, a.a.O. (n. 13), 189-190 und 260.

⁴⁷ Poland 1909, a.a.O. (Anm. 6), 298.

Im Vordergrund sollte die Frage nach dem Grund stehen, den eine Frau für die Hinwendung zu einem Verein oder den Beitritt haben könnte. Bereits angesprochen wurde die Möglichkeit, daß Frauen ihre gesellschaftliche Rolle durch Vereinszugehörigkeit bzw. Förderung wirksam verändern können. Bisher wurden diese Fragen ausschließlich an pagane Vereinigungen gestellt. In der Kaiserzeit muß aber auch die weibliche Präsenz an alternativen Gruppen untersucht werden. Gerade im Hinblick auf das Christentum, ist eine Gegenüberstellung weiblicher Handlungsmuster in den paganen und christlichen Gemeinschaften wichtig und aufschlußreich.

Weiter wäre zu fragen, inwieweit das Christentum, das sich als Ritual- und Mahlgemeinschaft konstituierte, als Alternative zu den paganen Vereinen zu verstehen ist. Eine neue Dissertation aus Erlangen, *Die Attraktivität früher christlicher Gemeinden. Die christliche Gemeinde von Korinth im Spiegel griechisch-römischer Vereine*, von Eva Ebel untersucht, ob Verein und christliche Gemeinschaft in Konkurrenz zueinander zu verstehen waren.⁴⁸ Beides waren kultische Gruppierungen, jedoch unterschied sie zunächst der wirtschaftliche Aspekt. Ein Verein war eine mit einem finanziellen und hierarchischen Gerüst versehene Gemeinschaft, die ihren Mitgliedern Beiträge abverlangt bzw. wirtschaftliche Leistungen einforderte, z.B. bei Festen. Es existierten Satzungen und eine Gerichtsbarkeit. Ein Verein konnte eine starke Außenwirkung ausüben. Das gesellschaftliche Reglement wurde innerhalb der meisten Vereine aufrechterhalten, oft spiegelt die Organisation die staatliche Ordnung wider.

Die christlichen Gruppen basieren dagegen auf einer Gleichheit ihrer Mitglieder, die vom sozialen Status abstrahierte, und in der Anrede Bruder oder Schwester ausgedrückt wurde.⁴⁹ Das signalisierte gesellschaftliche Offenheit. Hinzu kam, daß finanzielle Voraussetzungen oder Einschränkungen aufgrund der Geschlechtszugehörigkeit für die Aufnahme in der christlichen Gemeinschaft fehlten.

Ebels These ist, daß allein aufgrund der häufigeren Zusammenkunft der christlichen Gemeinde zum gemeinsamen Mahl, bereits eine Alternative zu einem paganen Verein gegeben war. Vor allem sozial schwache Schichten in der Bevölkerung dürften die fehlenden Mitgliederbeiträge und eine

⁴⁸ E. Ebel, *Die Attraktivität früher christlicher Gemeinde: die Gemeinde von Korinth im Spiegel griechisch-römischer Vereine*, Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 2, vol. 178 (Tübingen 2004).

⁴⁹ Ebel 2004, a.a.O. (Anm. 48), 141.

häufige Tischgenossenschaft interessiert haben.⁵⁰ Die Attraktion der christlichen Gemeinden für Frauen erwähnt Ebel in einem Ausblick am Schluß ihrer Arbeit. Im Gegensatz zu den größtenteils aus männlichen Mitgliedern bestehenden paganen Vereinen, bot das Christentum einen unbeschränkten Zugang an.⁵¹ Es wäre interessant zu überprüfen, ob für weibliche Mitglieder die christliche Gemeinschaft einen größeren oder kleineren Spielraum bot als ein paganer Verein.⁵² Ein wesentlicher Unterschied steht freilich jetzt schon fest: Wer dem Christentum beitrug, konnte nicht hoffen, mit diesem Schritt eine innerstädtische Politik auszuüben, sondern spielte oft genug mit seinem Ansehen oder gar dem Leben. Frauen, die sich unter diesen Umständen in einer Gemeinde engagierten, verfolgten andere Ziele als ihre Geschlechts-genossinnen in einem paganen Verein.⁵³

Die Gegenüberstellung der unterschiedlich ausgerichteten Vereinigungen spiegelt das Leben in der kaiserzeitlichen Gesellschaft. Im Gegensatz zur bisherigen Vereinsforschung, die entweder nach Berufs- oder Kultvereinen trennte oder aber christliche Gemeinden ohne Einbeziehung der paganen Vereine untersuchte, soll der hier diskutierte Ansatz den Vergleich dieser unterschiedlichen Interessensgemeinschaften ins Auge fassen. Regional auf Kleinasien beschränkt, ist es sinnvoll, städteweise weibliche Verhaltensmuster in den genannten Gruppen zu erforschen. Das so entstehende Gesamtbild leistete einen Beitrag sowohl zur Rolle der Frau im Verein als auch in der Gesellschaft der Kaiserzeit.

Heidelberg, 2003

⁵⁰ Ebel 2004, a.a.O. (Anm. 48), 148, A 25 und 150; vgl. Apostelgeschichte 20,7 und 1. Korintherbrief 16,2. Dazu H.-J. Klauk, *Herrenmahl und hellenistischer Kult. Eine religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung zum ersten Korintherbrief*, Neutestamentliche Abhandlungen 15 (Münster 1982).

⁵¹ Ebel 2004, a.a.O. (Anm. 48), 198.

⁵² Dazu U. Eisen, *Amtsträgerinnen im frühen Christentum. Epigraphische und literarische Studien* (Göttingen 1996).

⁵³ Um den Vergleich zwischen Frauen in Vereinen und in christlichen Gruppen zu vervollständigen, müsste auch die Rolle der Frau in den jüdischen Gemeinden eingebracht werden. Zu Führungsrollen von Frauen in den jüdischen Gemeinden siehe B. Broton, *Women Leaders in Ancient Synagogue. Inscriptional Evidence and Background Issues*, Brown Judaic Studies 36 (Atlanta 1982).

PATRONAGE OF CITIES: THE ROLE OF WOMEN

By

EMILY A. HEMELRIJK

In the third century AD Oscia Modesta, a woman of a senatorial family, was honoured with a public statue by what appears to have been her native city in Roman northern Africa. She received this honour by decurial decree “because of her conspicuous merits in rendering illustrious her city of origin” and is proudly advertised as its *civis et patrona*.¹ One wonders what *merita* earned her this statue and what may have been the city’s reason for choosing her as its *patrona*. Were her merits only financial and are we to assume that she was merely a benefactress who beautified her native city by putting up statues or public buildings? Or does the term *patrona* point to a more wide-ranging activity on behalf of the city?

Patronage of cities, during the Empire, is known almost exclusively from inscriptions. Consequently, our understanding is rather limited. Though much of the procedure surrounding the cooptation of a patron was laid down in municipal law², the precise nature and function of city patronage are unclear. Earlier studies, notably that of Paul Veyne, regard it as a honorific title bestowed in gratitude for, and in expectation of, financial benefactions,³ but this view has now mostly – and, to my mind, rightly – been abandoned in favour of the opinion that promotion of the city’s interests and intervention with the central government in Rome were the essential duties of a city

¹ AE 1898, 112 = CIL 8, 23832 (Avioccata in Africa Proconsularis, around AD 240-50): *[O]sciae Modes/[tae Valer?]iae / [---]n[---]iae Corneliae [P]a[t]rui/nae Publicanae / c(larissimae) f(eminae) civi et patr(onae) / ob insign(ia) eius me/rita quibus in/lustrat originis suae patriam / civitas Avioccal(ensis) d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) p(ublica) p(ecunia)*.

² See the *Lex Coloniae Genetivae*, titles 97 and 130: M.H. Crawford, ed., *Roman Statutes I*, BICS Suppl. 64 (London 1996), 393-454 nr. 25, the *Lex Malacitana*, title 61: Th. Spitzl, *Lex municipii Malacitani* (München 1984), 20-1 and 76-9, and the *Lex Irnitana*, title 61: J. González, ‘The *Lex Irnitana*: a new copy of the Flavian municipal law’, *Journal of Roman Studies* 76 (1986), 147-243.

³ P. Veyne, *Le pain et le cirque. Sociologie historique d’un pluralisme politique* (Paris 1976), 349 n. 219 and 767 n. 311. Also B.H. Warmington, ‘The municipal patrons of Roman North Africa’, *Papers of the British School at Rome* 22, n.s. 9 (1954), 47, regards construction and repair of public buildings as one of the main duties of a city patron during the Empire.

patron.⁴ City patrons acted as a kind of brokers between the local town and the central government, especially the emperor. Inscriptions speak of the protection the patron was expected to offer his client-city: a patron was coopted “to protect the city” or addressed as “patron and defender of the public cause”.⁵ Apart from giving legal support in conflicts in which their client-city might be involved, a patron could procure privileges and immunities for his client-city through his connections in the capital.⁶ Therefore, influence with the central powers in Rome, especially the emperor, and a wide social network were the chief assets of a city patron.⁷ In addition to this, a high-ranking patron brought fame to the city by associating his name with the city. Of course, financial benefactions were expected as well, but in this respect – as has been convincingly argued by R. Duthoy⁸ –, there was no difference between a city patron and other members of the (local) elite. To put it briefly: in recent studies mediation and promotion of the city’s interests are given precedence over munificence in defining the tasks of the city patron. Yet, as is well known, Roman patronage is a flexible institution and the terminology used is often deliberately vague. It is, therefore, not inconceivable that different services were expected from different patrons depending on their age, gender or social status.

⁴ See R. Duthoy, ‘Sens et fonction du patronat municipal durant le principat’, *Antiquité Classique* 53 (1984), 145-156, B. Salway, ‘Prefects, *patroni*, and decurions: a new perspective on the album of Canusium’, in A.E. Cooley, ed., *The Epigraphic Landscape of Roman Italy*, BICS Suppl. 73 (London 2000), 140-148. Speaking of the Greek East C. Eilers, *Roman Patrons of Greek Cities* (Oxford 2002) 84-108, argues that mediation was the main function of city patrons during the late republican and early imperial periods. I do not agree with his assumption that in the course of the imperial period city patronage became increasingly honorific.

⁵ CIL 8, 1548 (Agbia, Afr.Proc., 2nd c. AD): a patron elected *ad tuendam rem publicam suam ex consensu decurionum omnium*; CIL 8, 26597 (Thugga, Afr. Proc., 2nd c. AD) in honour of *patroni et defensoris causae publicae*; ILT 1514 (Thugga, Afr. Proc., 2nd c. AD) a patron addressed as *patrono et advocato eloquentissimo*, cf. also Tacitus, *Dialogus* 3 and Fronto, *ad Amicos* 2.11; CIL 8, 8837 (a bronze tablet from Tubusuctu in Maur., 1st c. AD): *eosque patrocinio suo tuendos recepit* (i.e. the decurions and citizens of the town); see also the bronze *tabulae patronatus* CIL 9, 10 = ILS 6113: *tutos defensosque praestiterit* (Neretum, It., 4th c. AD) and CIL 9, 259 = ILS 6115: *quod tanta familiaritate et industria singulos unibersosque tueatur et fobeat* (Genusia, It., 4th c. AD).

⁶ For some examples see R.P. Duncan-Jones, ‘Patronage and city privileges. The case of Giufi’, *Epigraphische Studien* 9 (1972), 12-16.

⁷ See also A. Lintott, *Imperium Romanum. Politics and Administration* (London 1993), 171-3.

⁸ Duthoy 1984, op. cit. (n. 4).

In this paper I shall deal with city patronage exercised by women. Two questions will be my guide: first, what was expected of city patronesses by their client-cities and did female city patrons differ in this respect from their male counterparts? And second, what public image was created of these city patronesses by the statues and inscriptions set up for them? But before entering upon these questions the main evidence regarding female city patrons should be briefly outlined.

Compared to male patrons female city patrons were exceptional: against roughly 1,200 male patrons of communities recorded in Italy and the western provinces during the first three centuries AD there are only nineteen women (mentioned in eighteen inscriptions) whose patronage of a city is beyond reasonable doubt.⁹ The size and status of their client-cities do not essentially differ from those of male patrons, but their geographical and chronological distribution is more limited: patronesses of cities are attested only between the mid-second and the early fourth century AD and their client cities are restricted to Italy and North Africa. Of course, when dealing with such small numbers any new find may greatly alter our judgement, but on the basis of the present evidence it should be noted that no city patronesses are recorded in Roman Spain despite the marked epigraphic presence of women in the Spanish provinces,¹⁰ nor are any city patronesses attested before the middle of the second century AD.

⁹ For a detailed discussion of the evidence, see E.A. Hemelrijk, 'City patronesses in the Roman Empire', *Historia* 53 (2004), 209-245.

¹⁰ See M. Navarro Caballero, 'Les femmes de l'élite Hispano-Romaine, entre la famille et la vie publique', in M. Navarro Caballero and S. Demougin, eds., *Élites Hispaniques* (Paris 2001), 191-201, and the numerous benefactresses mentioned by L.A. Curchin, 'Personal wealth in Roman Spain', *Historia* 32 (1983), 227-244. A quick count of the honorific inscriptions on public statue bases in the *conventus Tarraconensis*, studied by G. Alföldy, 'Bildprogramme in den römischen Städten des Conventus Tarraconensis: das Zeugnis der Statuenpostamente', *Revista de la Universidad Complutense (Homenaje a Garcia Bellido IV)* 18 (1979), 127-275, teaches us that more than twenty percent of these inscriptions mention women either as dedicants or as honorands, or otherwise (for instance, when a statue was erected 'also in the name of' a woman). The evidence for male city patrons in the Spanish provinces is contradictory: of the thirty well-preserved *tabulae patronatus* discussed by J. Nicols, 'Tabulae patronatus: a study of the agreement between patron and client-community', *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* II.13 (1980), 535-561, thirteen stem from Baetica and Tarraconensis in Roman Spain and fourteen from northern Africa which causes the author to remark (on p. 538) that: "the overwhelming majority of the client-communities were in the African and Spanish provinces". Yet, this does not agree with the list of city patrons given by L. Harmand, *Un aspect social et politique du monde*

The most remarkable difference between male and female patrons, however, lies in their social status, which, for female city patrons, is both more uniform and notably higher than that of their male peers. Apart from a patroness from the imperial family fourteen patronesses are of senatorial status, – at least ten of them are the wives and daughters of consuls – and the remaining four are of equestrian status or stem from the most prominent families of the local elite. The social status of male patrons is more varied: it ranges from an occasional imperial freedman to members of the senatorial order.¹¹ Most city patrons are attested in the second century.¹² There are indications that, in the third century AD, the number of the most coveted type of patrons – men who were both citizens of the client-city and of the highest (= senatorial) rank – decreased.¹³ In Italy, this led to a gradual decline from predominantly senatorial and equestrian patrons in the first two centuries AD to a greater share of members of the municipal elites in the third century.¹⁴ Thus, male and female patrons show an opposite trend and we may perhaps assume that because of the gradual decline in the numbers and social status of male patrons, some cities preferred to coopt a woman of the highest status.

Romain: le patronat sur les collectivités publiques des origines au Bas-Empire (Paris 1957) who lists only few (25) patrons of Spanish communities, mainly in the first two centuries AD.

¹¹ Nevertheless, senators and, especially, equestrians form the bulk of the evidence. For a detailed discussion of the social status of city patrons see R. Duthoy, 'Le profil social des patrons municipaux en Italie sous le Haut-Empire', *Ancient Society* 15-17 (1984-6), 121-154.

¹² Duthoy 1984-6, op. cit. (n. 11), 130 and Harmand 1957, op. cit. (n. 10), 286. Judging from the list of patrons given by Warmington 1954, op. cit. (n. 3) the peak in the number of city patrons in the African provinces was somewhat later (in the late 2nd – early 3rd c. AD). However, we should be cautious in using these numbers, since they may reflect changes in the epigraphic production rather than in the actual number of patrons.

¹³ Duthoy 1984, op. cit. (n. 4) convincingly argues that in choosing a city patron two criteria were of primary importance: the patron was to be a person of the highest possible status and, preferably, a citizen of the client-city. With the apparent decline in the availability of male patrons who were both citizens and of the highest (=senatorial) rank, the cities took more and more recourse to citizen-patrons of decurial or equestrian rank (in Italy) or to high-ranking officials who were not citizens (northern Africa). Both in Italy and in northern Africa the shortage of male patrons who were both citizens of the client-city and of senatorial rank may have caused some cities to choose a female citizen of the highest rank.

¹⁴ Duthoy 1984-6, op. cit. (n. 11). Warmington 1954, op. cit. (n. 3), 39-55, notices a change in the status of city patrons in Roman northern Africa from the beginning of the third century AD onwards: since the number of Africans who reached a senatorial career in Rome declined, patronage shifted from this group to governors and other administrators serving in Africa.

This brings me to my first question: what was expected of city patronesses and did female city patrons, in this respect, differ from their male counterparts? The occurrence of women among civic office-holders in the Greek East has sometimes been taken as proof of the ceremonial nature of their office. According to this view, the essential duty of a woman chosen as a city patron was to spend her wealth for the benefit of her client-city.¹⁵ Most authors writing on Roman city patronage, however, do not pay any attention to gender, or to the nature and duties of female city patrons, gladly leaving the matter unresolved.¹⁶ Only J. Nicols, in a comprehensive article on city patronesses, tries to explain the occurrence of female city patrons by pointing to the “unparalleled” power of the women of the Severi.¹⁷ However, this explanation is hardly convincing since some city patronesses predate the Severi. To my mind, the occurrence of female city patrons cannot be explained by a change in the status of women under the influence of ‘powerful’ women of the imperial family, nor is there any evidence to suggest that a city patroness was coopted on account of her father or husband who exercised the duties belonging to it, whereas she herself only bore the title. In what follows I shall argue that city patronesses were coopted for their own sake and that, within certain limits, the same duties were expected of city patrons irrespective of their sex.

In studying the question of what was expected of city patronesses we have to make clear distinctions between different types of inscriptions. Most evidence consists in honorific inscriptions on statue bases. Though mentioning the patronage of the honorand, these inscriptions were usually not set

¹⁵ Speaking of the Greek East, Veyne 1976, op. cit. (n. 3), 276, 357 n. 261, classes public offices held by women together with those held by gods, minors and deceased persons, *i.e.* offices that require only wealth, but do not entail duties. For the same kind of reasoning, see D. Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor to the End of the Third Century after Christ* (Princeton, N.J. 1950), 649-50, who groups women, children, deceased persons and deities together as “those who were obviously unable to perform the functions attached to them” (p. 650). I suspect that similar unfounded assumptions underlie the relative silence on patronesses of cities in some of the studies mentioned in the following note. For a balanced appraisal of female office-holders in the Greek East, see H.C. van Bremen, *The Limits of Participation. Women and Civic Life in the Greek East in the Hellenistic and Roman Periods* (Amsterdam 1996).

¹⁶ Warmington 1954, op. cit. (n. 3), Harmand 1957, op. cit. (n. 10), 281-2, who groups female patrons under the heading “patronats divers”, F. Engesser, *Der Stadtpatronat in Italien und den Westprovinzen des römischen Reiches bis Diokletian* (Freiburg 1957) and Duthoy (1984-6), op. cit. (n. 11).

¹⁷ J. Nicols, ‘*Patrona civitatis*: gender and civic patronage’, in C. Deroux, ed., *Studies in Latin Literature and Roman History V*, coll. Latomus 206 (Brussels 1989), 122 ff. and 139.

up *because of* it. Instead, they were mostly set up in gratitude for some financial benefaction (or perhaps in the hope for more). An example is the inscription on a statue base in Bulla Regia of the early third century, which praises Julia Memmia “because of the extraordinary magnificence of her work, the baths, by which she beautified her native city and contributed to the health of the citizens”.¹⁸ The last surviving line of this inscription, which was found in the baths she built, mentions her patronage almost as an afterthought. No direct connection is made between her patronage of the city and her benefaction, but of course, mentioning her patronage added to her prestige. As in the case of men, benefactresses of cities are much more common than patronesses;¹⁹ apparently, there was felt to be a clear difference between the two. At a closer view, benefactresses and city patronesses appear to be only partly overlapping: though most city patronesses were praised for their benefactions,²⁰ only very few benefactresses were also elected as city patronesses. Thus, benefactions were not decisive; something else was expected of a city patroness. In other words, the honorific inscriptions on statue bases praising city patronesses for their benefactions should not be regarded as an adequate source for studying the nature and duties of their city patronage.

To get a clearer view of what was expected of a city patroness we should turn to another class of inscriptions: the *tabulae patronatus*. These are bronze tablets, which record the decree of the local council to coopt a certain person as a patron of the city and summarize the reasons for this decision. These tablets were displayed publicly and a copy was offered to the patron to commemorate the cooptation. Among the thirty odd tablets that have been preserved in some detail,²¹ there is one for a female patron. This tablet records the decision of the council of the small town of Peltuinum Vestinum in

¹⁸ ILAfr 454 = AE 1973, 578 = AE 1921, 45 (Bulla Regia in Africa Proconsularis, AD 200-210): [Iul]iae Me[m]mia[e] / [Prisc?]cae Ruf[ae] Aemi/[liana]e Fidia[nae] claris/[simae et sanctis]s[imae] f[eminae] / [C(ai) Memmi Fidi I]ul(i) Albi consularis / [viri patr]oni et alumni fil(iae) ob / [praeci]puam operis sui thermarum / magnifi[centiam] qua et patriam / [suam e]xornavit et saluti civium / [sumptu magnif?]ico consulere / [dignat]a est / [---] bene et eius / [--- pa]tronae et [alumnae] ----

¹⁹ In my corpus of over 750 inscriptions showing upper-class women in a public function in the Western part of the Roman Empire during the first three centuries AD (mainly priestesses, civic benefactresses, and patronesses of cities or *collegia*) 281 inscriptions were set up for civic benefactresses.

²⁰ See Hemelrijk 2004, op. cit. (n. 9).

²¹ Nicols 1980, op. cit. (n. 10) discusses thirty of the better-preserved *tabulae patronatus* from the period between 50 BC and AD 250.

Italy to coopt a senatorial woman, Nummia Varia, as their *patrona*. In support of their cooptation the decurions mention the following considerations:

Nummia Varia, a woman of senatorial rank, priestess of Venus Felix, has started to act with such affection and good-will towards us, in accordance with her custom of benevolence, just as her parents have always done, that she should rightfully and unanimously be made *patrona* of our *praefectura*, in the hope that by offering this honour, which is highest in our city, to her so illustrious excellency, we may be more and more renowned by the repute of her benevolence and in all respects be safe and protected (...) All members of the council have decided to bestow on Nummia Varia, a woman of senatorial rank, priestess of Venus Felix, in accordance with the splendour of her high rank, the patronage of our *praefectura*, and to ask from her excellency and extraordinary benevolence, that she may accept this honour we offer to her with willing and favourable inclination and that she deigns to take us and our *res publica*, individually and universally, under the protection of her house and that, in whatever matters it may reasonably be required, she may intervene with the authority belonging to her rank and protect us and keep us safe.²²

Apart from the tone of deference, which stresses the social distance between the high-ranking patroness and the decurions and which was, evidently, meant to flatter her, the decree expresses definite expectations as to her activities, which do not markedly differ from those expected from male patrons. First of all, like male patrons, she was to protect and defend her client-city – to underline their importance the words *tuti ac defensi* are mentioned twice. This protection she was to render by intervening on behalf of the city, with the central government in Rome we may suppose. As the *tabu-*

²² CIL 9, 3429 = ILS 6110 (AD 242): *Nummiam Variam c(larissimam) f(eminam) sacerdotem Veneris Felicis, ea adfecti/one adque prono animo circa nos agere coepisse pro instituto / benevolentiae suae, sicut et parentes eius semper egerunt, ut/ merito debeat ex consensu universorum patrona praefecturae / nostrae fieri, quo magis magisque hoc honore, qui est apud nos potissimus, tantae claritati eius oblato dignatione benignitatis eius glori/osi et in omnibus tuti ac defensi esse possimus, (.....) Placere universis conscriptis Nummiae Variae, c(larissimae) f(eminae) sacerdoti Veneris/ Felicis, pro splendore dignitatis suae patrocinium praefecturae nos/trae deferri petique ab eius claritate et eximia benignitate, ut hunc/ honorem sibi a nobis oblatum libenti et prono animo suscipere/ et singulos universosque nos remque publicam nostram in cl/ientelam domus suae recipere dignetur et in quibuscumque / ratio exegerit, intercedente auctoritate dignitatis suae, tutos defensosque praestet.*

la patronatus suggests in the last line quoted, her intervention on behalf of the city was expected to be successful because of the authority – which I interpret as ‘unofficial power’ – she derived from her lofty status (*auctoritate dignitatis suae*). Being a woman she could not give legal assistance in her own person nor favour the city by means of an office in the imperial administration, but she could prompt others to take action on behalf of the city. Like their male peers, women of the foremost Roman families had widespread social connections through which they could wield great power – though their power was informal. As can be learned from various sources, women of distinguished families could exert public influence not only through male relatives, but also through their own social contacts with men and women of their rank: for instance, Fulvia went round the houses of the most important senators to gain support for Antony, Servilia undertook to secure changes in a senatorial decree appointing her son Brutus to the corn commission, and in the inscription known as the *Laudatio Turiae*, ‘Turia’ pleaded for her husband with Lepidus.²³ The tablet for Nummia Varia should be interpreted in this context of female “lobbying” and mediation. Apart from this, the decurions expressed the expectation that she would bring fame and renown to the city by associating her name with it. As a woman of a consular family, and a municipal priestess, Nummia Varia had great prestige and authority, both locally and in the capital, and the city evidently hoped to profit from it by electing her as its patroness.

Thus, it is quite clear what was expected from Nummia Varia: she was to act as a kind of ambassador on behalf of her client-city protecting it by her authority and bringing it fame by her lofty status. What about the other city patronesses? Does what we know of them confirm this conclusion? Unfortunately, no *tabula patronatus* for any of them has been preserved. Honorific inscriptions on statue bases are our sole evidence. Though such inscriptions are no adequate source for studying the nature and duties of city patronage, they do shed light on my second point: the public image of city patronesses.

²³ Fulvia: Appianus, *Bella Civilia* 3.51, Servilia: Cicero, *Epistulae ad Atticum* 15.11. For ‘Turia’, see E.A. Hemelrijk, ‘Masculinity and femininity in the *Laudatio Turiae*’, *Classical Quarterly* 54.1 (2004) 185-197, for her encounter with Lepidus: A. Gowing, ‘Lepidus, the proscriptions and the *Laudatio Turiae*’, *Historia* 41 (1992), 283-296. The most striking example is Livia’s influence (leading to the acquittal of Plancina in the Piso-process) on Tiberius and the senate, which was openly acknowledged in the *Senatus Consultum de Cn. Pisone Patre*, lines 113-119, see the text and translation by D.S. Potter and C. Damon in ‘The *Senatus Consultum De Cn. Pisone Patre*. Text, translation, discussion’, *American Journal of Philology* 120.1 (1999), 13-41.

In about half of the inscriptions the public honour bestowed on these women is justified by referring to their virtues. Unlike most inscriptions in the Greek East, which stress the traditional virtues of female office-holders, it is the civic virtues of the patronesses that count most.²⁴ Traditional female virtues are mentioned only twice and then together with civic virtues. The merits, benefactions and liberality (*merita*, *beneficia* and *liberalitas*) for which some are praised, probably refer to material benefactions, conferred or expected, but the *amor* and *adfectio* attributed to them point to a more general attitude of goodwill: they were the mark of the ideal citizen.²⁵ This could, of course, find expression in benefactions or political intervention, but these words also indicate an emotional tie between the city and its patron or patroness. They are a symptom of what has been called the “domestication of public life”, a tendency to present the relation between members of the elite and the people of municipalities in terms of affectionate family relations.²⁶ The relationship between the patron and the city is depicted as a warm and loving one: the patron or patroness, like a parent, shows a personal interest and an emotional involvement in the well-being of the citizens and of the city as a whole. Besides, the inscriptions parade the high rank of the patronesses, their lofty family relations and their intimate connections with the client-city even when – strictly speaking – this is not completely true.²⁷ This image of the patronesses as highly prestigious and dutiful citizens who care for the city and add to its splendour and renown agrees with the expectations the decurions of Peltuinum Vestinum expressed when coopting Nummia Varia.

Unfortunately, no statue belonging to the honorific inscriptions has survived. However, public statues of women in the imperial period were more or less standardized: they consisted in a heavily draped body-type, usually somewhat over life-size, combined with a portrait head, which is sometimes

²⁴ For female office-holders in the Greek East, see Van Bremen 1996, op. cit. (n. 15). For this difference in the language of praise between honorific inscriptions for women in Italy and the Greek East, see also E.P. Forbis, ‘Women’s public image in Italian honorary inscriptions’, *American Journal of Philology* 111.4 (1990), 493-512.

²⁵ See, for instance, CIL 11, 6354 = ILS 6655, CIL 9, 4894 = ILS 6554, CIL 11, 4180 and AE 1964, 106 discussed by Hemelrijk 2004, op. cit. (n. 9).

²⁶ Cf. Van Bremen 1996, op. cit. (n. 15), 156-170.

²⁷ For instance, ILAlg 2, 4661: the small town of Thibilis in Numidia poses as the *patria* of Vibia Aurelia Sabina, daughter of the late emperor Marcus Aurelius, whereas – in fact – it was the native city of her late husband, L. Antistius Burrus, who is not even mentioned, see Hemelrijk 2004, op. cit. (n. 9).

slightly idealized.²⁸ The dignified and restrained pose of these statues, together with their heavy and complicated drapery, conveyed several messages at once: wealth, high status and – last but not least – traditional female virtue. Yet, one wonders how the ancient public reacted to these statues, which – in the West – were quite uncommon for women outside the imperial family, at least during their lifetime. For instance, did they regard the statuary patronesses just as the women they met in the streets, or did the heavily draped statues towering above them on their high pedestals impress them as hardly human, almost as goddesses? It seems to me that in the eyes of the ancient public they were sharply distinct from actual women. Not only were they dressed in elaborate, almost unmanageable drapery, very different from contemporary everyday dress,²⁹ but their standardized bodies and sometimes idealized heads made it impossible to think of them as ordinary women. The fact that these women received a public statue, which was essentially a male honour, may have made them, in a sense, even ‘masculine’ in the eyes of the ancient public.³⁰ In short, the public honour bestowed on city patronesses set them apart from other women.

So far, no essential difference has been found between male and female patrons as regards the activities expected from them or the way in which they were honoured, apart from the obvious fact that women could not give legal assistance but had to act indirectly. Yet, the small number of female as compared to male patrons and their limited geographical and chronological range seem to point to some hesitation on the part of the client-cities to choose a woman for this prestigious public function. Most patronesses were coopted in the third century when the number and social status of male patrons were in decline, which may have incited some cities to look for feasible alternatives. Also the fact that only women of the highest ranks were coopted – in contrast to the more varied social range of male patrons – sug-

²⁸ See, for instance, H.-J. Kruse, *Römische weibliche Gewandstatuen des zweiten Jahrhunderts n. Chr.* (Göttingen 1975) and J. Trimble, ‘Replicating the body politic: the Herculaneum women statue types in early imperial Italy’, *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 13 (2000), 41-68.

²⁹ For the thorny question of the relation between statues of women and contemporary everyday dress, see P. Zanker, ‘Statuenrepräsentation und Mode’, in S. Walker and A. Cameron, eds., *The Greek Renaissance in the Roman Empire. Papers from the Tenth British Museum Classical Colloquium*, BICS suppl. 55 (London 1989), 102-107, who interestingly, but unconvincingly, suggests that the classicising dress of female statues of the imperial period influenced contemporary dress.

³⁰ Cf. M.W. Gleason, ‘Elite male identity in the Roman Empire’, in D.S. Potter and D.J. Mattingly, eds., *Life, Death, and Entertainment in the Roman Empire* (Ann Arbor 1998), 67-84.

gests that female patrons were considered second choice. But the evidence makes it clear that, once coopted, male and female patrons were treated as equals shouldering the same responsibilities and receiving the same public honour, such as *tabulae patronatus* and public statues.

For women, this is remarkable. In fact, the public prominence of city patronesses is in stark contrast with the low social valuation of women in general, which was expressed, for instance, by the place assigned to them among beneficiaries of civic distributions of food or money. As is well known, such distributions confirmed the internal hierarchy of a town: the decurions were at the top of the pecking order and received most, whereas the people near the bottom of the list received a much smaller amount. Women – if mentioned at all – are invariably mentioned last and receive least.³¹ Thus, the public prominence and political authority of certain eminent women, such as city patronesses, should be set against the background of the social subordination of women in general. To understand this contrast between the happy few and the masses of the female population the patronesses may perhaps be regarded as “honorary men”. Their social prominence and public honours resembled those of men of their class, but their fully draped statues presented them as women of traditional virtue. Keeping a precarious balance between their male and female qualities, such “honorary men” were set off clearly from other women; thus, they posed no threat to the established social order.³²

But perhaps we may speculate a bit further and consider the fact that recent studies of social behaviour of primates show a similar pattern: in so-called “despotic” societies of monkeys and apes the overlap in rank between the sexes is much higher than in so-called “egalitarian” societies. In “despotic” societies of primates, which like Roman society are characterized by aggression and a strong hierarchy, some females are dominant over both males and the masses of females, whereas in the “egalitarian” ones all males are dominant over all females.³³ The evidence for female city patrons strong-

³¹ For one example, out of many: CIL 9, 109: *ob dedica/tione huius statue dedit de/curionibus liberisque eorum /singulis HS VIII n(umorum), [Augusta]lib(us) / liberisque eorum [sin]gul(is) / HS VI n, populo viritim HS IIIII/ n. feminis HS II n.* “because of the dedication of this statue he gave the decurions and their sons 8 sesterces each, the Augustales and their sons 6 sesterces each, the male population 4 each and the women 2 each”.

³² See Hemelrijk 2004, op. cit. (n. 23).

³³ C.K. Hemelrijk, ‘An individual-oriented model of the emergence of despotic and egalitarian societies’, *Proceedings of the Royal Society London B: Biological Sciences* 266

ly suggests that, comparable to the “despotic” societies of primates, women’s relation to public life in Roman society was complex and ambiguous entailing public prominence and a high social status for some women – not only those of the imperial family –, which went hand in hand with a low social valuation of women as a sex.

To conclude: the view that female city patronage was a merely honorific title bestowed on a woman because of her willingness to spend her wealth on behalf of her client-city is misleading, since it overlooks the difference in function and purpose between the honorific inscriptions on statue bases and the *tabulae patronatus*. As we have seen, within certain limits, city patronesses were expected to fulfil the same duties and received the same public honour as their male counterparts. Though city patronesses were rare, their occurrence shows that women were not, by definition, barred from public prominence and positions. The restrictions imposed upon their sex could be overruled by high birth, wealth and standing, and by the prestige and social connections that went with them. Without abandoning the general principle that women, because of their sex, were excluded from a public career, they could, in practice, be chosen as city patronesses for reasons that transcended their gender. There is no reason for assuming that this was brought about by the possible influence of powerful women of the imperial family. Rather, the compatibility of the “male” qualities of public honour and good citizenship (stressed in the inscriptions) with the traditional “female” virtues (expressed by the statues) seems to point to a greater acceptance of the public prominence of women – and a less rigid attitude as to the exclusion of women from public life – in the local towns than is usually assumed. Of course, these towns had much to gain by acknowledging the prominence and authority of high-ranking women. They hoped to profit from their social connections and from their wealth, and expected that the prestige of these women would reflect on them.

Lastly, what about the patronesses themselves? What did they think of their patronage? To my mind, for the senatorial women among them, who lived

(1999), 361-369, provides a new model based on the principle of self-organisation to explain the differences in behaviour – especially in the relations between the sexes – between these societies of primates, which seems more widely applicable than earlier explanations focussing on female cooperation such as are given by B. Thierry (1990) ‘Feedback loop between kinship and dominance: the macaque model’, *Journal of theoretical Biology* 145 (1990), 511-21, and A.R. Parish, ‘Sex and food control in the “uncommon chimpanzee”: How bonobo females overcome a phylogenetic legacy of male dominance’, *Ethology and Sociobiology* 15 (1994), 157-179.

most of their lives in Rome and whose exalted position went far beyond the local level, the patronage of their native towns was a favour they bestowed on the city because they felt morally obliged, rather than a source of pride. For Oscia Modesta at least, the woman with whom I began, her patronage of her native Avioccala and her “conspicuous merits” for that town seem to have counted for little in the end. In an epigram, which she probably composed herself for her own burial in Rome, neither Africa nor her patronage of her native town is mentioned.³⁴ Grief for the early death of her husband and children and pride in her *Romanitas* and her high birth, which she deceptively traces back to the Scipiones, were what mattered to her. Compared to this her patronage of a small town in Africa was of little account.

Utrecht, October 2003

³⁴ IGUR 1311 = IGR 1, 336 = IG 14, 1960 = Kaibel *Epigr. Gr.* 674 discussed by Hemelrijk 2004, op. cit. (n. 9), 232-233.

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Fig. 5a. Köln, Grabbau eines Dispensator Augusti. A. Smadi.

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Plates V

N. de Haan, Living like the Romans? Some remarks on domestic architecture in North Africa and Britain

Fig. 1. Basement of the Maison de la Chasse at Bulla Regia. Photo N. de Haan.

Fig. 2. Walls of limestone framework (*opus africanum*) in the Maison du Trifolium at Dougga. Photo N. de Haan.

Fig. 3. Entrance of the Maison de la Cascade at Utica. Photo N. de Haan.

Fig. 4. Fishpond in the Maison aux Travaux d’Hercule at Volubilis. Photo N. de Haan.

PLATES I



- Fig. 1. The depiction of the capture of Decebalus on the gravestone of Ti. Claudius Maximus (drawing by Th. Bruun after Rossi 1971, op. cit (n. 46), pl. II fig. 3).
- Fig. 2. The emperor Trajan standing with one foot on a human head or bust (BMC Trajan 243 rev., *aureus*. By permission from the British Museum).
- Fig. 3. The Roman goddess Pax standing with one foot on a human head or bust (BMC Trajan 212 rev., silver *denarius*. By permission from the British Museum).

PLATES I



Fig. 4. Decorated fragment of Gallic terra sigillata mentioning Decebalus (CIL 13, 10013.39, drawing by Th. Bruun, after A. Vernhet in Labrousse 1981, *op. cit.* (n. 70), Fig. 1).

PLATES I



Fig. 5. A more recent find of a terra sigillata vessel, with inscriptions referring to both Decebalus and the Parthians (drawing by Th. Bruun, after A. Vernhet in Labrousse 1981, *op. cit.* (n. 70), Fig. 4).

PLATES II



Fig. 1. Funerary stele of M^o. Gallenius and Ostiala Gallenia. Padua, late 1st century BC (Museo Civico agli Eremitani, Padua. Reproduced by permission of the Soprintendenze per i Beni Archeologici del Veneto)

PLATES II



- 2: Funerary stele of Grania Phelikla. Naples, 1st century BC (Museo Nazionale, Naples. Reproduced by permission of the Soprintendenze per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Caserta)

PLATES II



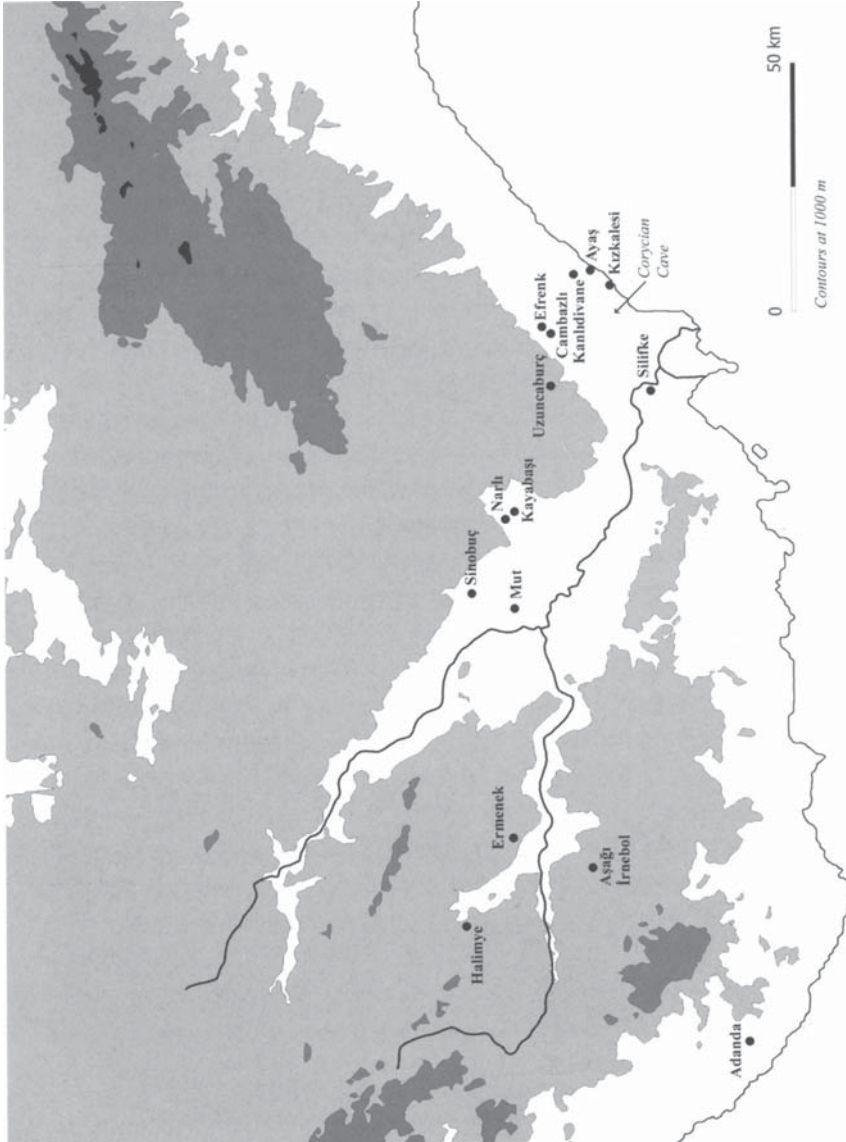
Fig. 3: Funerary stele of Mamos Mamou. Naples, early 1st century AD (Museo Nazionale, Naples. Reproduced by permission of the Soprintendenze per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Caserta)

PLATES II



Fig. 4: Funerary stele of Lamiskos Lamiskou. Naples, 1st century BC (Museo Nazionale, Naples. Reproduced by permission of the Soprintendenze per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Caserta)

PLATES III



Map 1. Places where funerary inscriptions appealing to the Underground Gods and the Sun and/or the Moon have been found

PLATES IV



Fig. 1. Bonn, Rheinisches Landesmuseum, Grabstein des M. Caelius. Foto Museum.

PLATES IV



Fig. 2. Mainz, Landesmuseum, Grabstein des Gnaeus Musius. Foto Museum.

PLATES IV

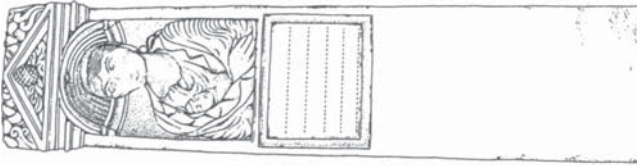


Fig. 3d. Mainz, Landesmuseum, Grabstein des Blussus, Vorder- und Rückseite. Reinach, *Rep. Rel.* II, 71.

Fig. 3e. Köln, Römisch-Germanisches Museum, Grabstein der Bella. Noelke 1980, op. cit. (Anm. 41), 130 Abb. 2,1.

PLATES IV

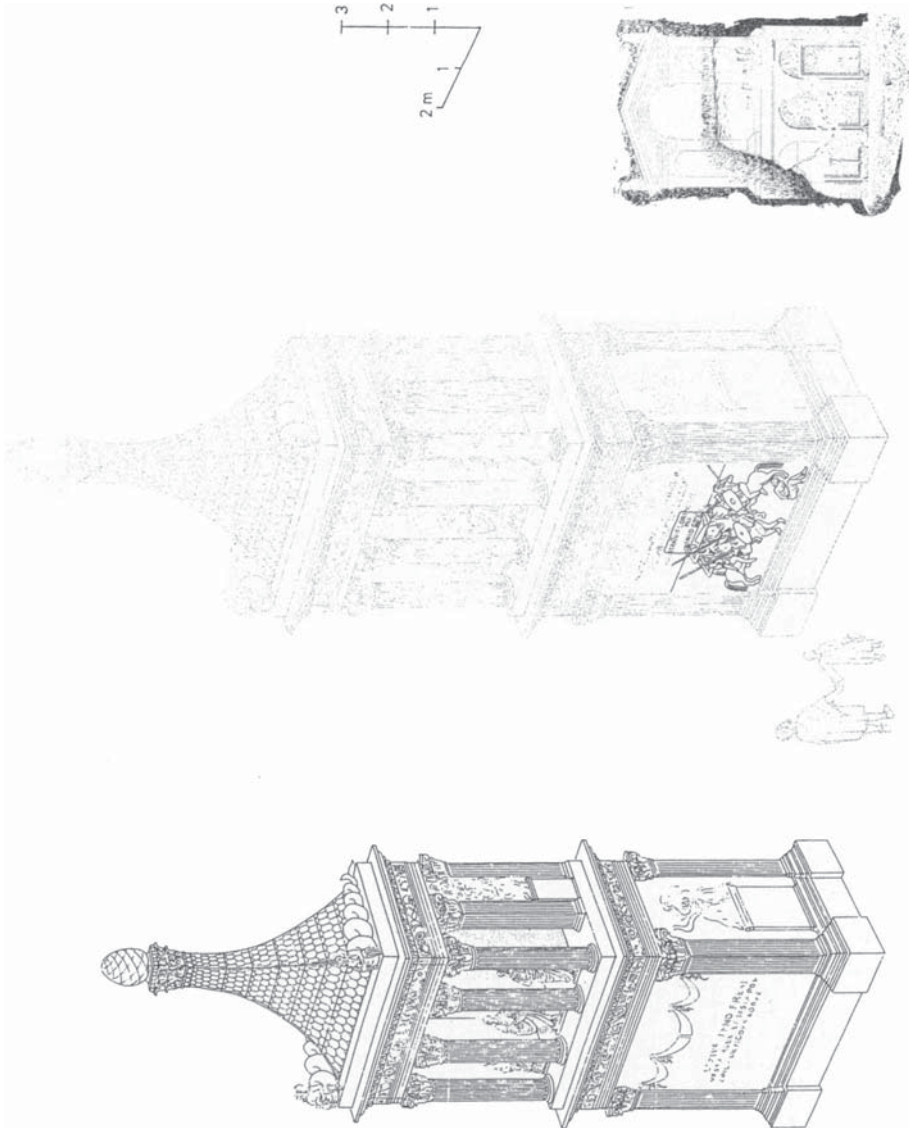


Fig. 4a. Köln, Grabmal des Publicius. Panhuysen 1996, op. cit. (Anm. 35), Taf. 5.

Fig. 4b. Maastricht, Grabmal mit Reiterkampfdarstellung. Panhuysen 1996, op. cit. (Anm. 35), 272 Abb. 108.

Fig. 4c. Schweinschied, Grabmal (4a-c im gleichen Maßstab). Krencker 1921, op. cit. (Anm. 34), 109 Abb. 7. Taf.

PLATES V



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