

Aspects of the Relationship between Rome and the Greek Cities of  
Southern Italy and Campania under the Republic and Early Empire

Thesis submitted for the degree of Ph.D.

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## Abstract

### Aspects of the Relationship between Rome and the Greek Cities of Southern Italy and Campania during the Republic and Early Empire

The purpose of this study is to analyse the relations of Rome with the Greek cities of Southern Italy during the Republic and the Early Empire, in order to create a "case study" of the processes of political expansion and Romanisation. The first part of this project utilises the historical sources, while the second is an analysis of the epigraphic evidence. No detailed consideration of archaeological material has been included since there has been extensive recent excavation of the area in question, and it is not possible to produce a complete synthesis of available material within the scope of a doctoral thesis.

The first section of this project is a reassessment of the historical evidence for the contacts between Rome and the Italiote Greeks in the 4th and 3rd centuries B.C., together with a study of the behaviour of the Greek cities during the Punic Wars and the post-war period. The legal and diplomatic aspects of the relationship built up by Rome with the Greek communities are also reassessed. This seems to indicate that Roman control of Southern Italy developed relatively slowly, with little contact before 200 B.C., and seems to follow a pattern similar to that of Roman expansion in the East.

The second section is a survey of the epigraphic evidence for the Greek cities of Southern Italy, undertaken to clarify the social, linguistic and administrative changes occurring as a result of the

Roman conquest. It is used to build up a profile of each of the cities studied, including a prosopography of named individuals and studies of changes in language, religious cults, municipal administration, and social composition. This allows some evaluation of the differences in their response to Roman influence. The evidence indicates that Roman influence took root in the South by the 1st century A.D., but that awareness of Greek culture remained strong, and was actively cultivated. The diverse epigraphic habits of the area indicate the extent to which the differences between cities may reflect their differing responses to Romanisation.

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## Introduction

The subject of Roman relations with the Greek cities of Southern Italy, and of the development of the Greek South is an extremely diverse one, but also one which provides valuable insights into the processes of Roman expansion within Italy, and the subsequent Romanisation of Southern Italy. The great differences between the Greek communities of the South and the other peoples encountered by Rome during the conquest of Italy serve to illuminate the adaptability of Rome in dealing with the other areas of Italy, and also to underline the importance of regional factors in the development of Italy under Roman rule. Thus, despite the relative lack of evidence in comparison with some other areas, study of Magna Graecia provides some fascinating insights into the processes by which Italy came under Roman control and also into the gradual Romanisation which took place subsequently.

The history of the Roman expansion in Italy, and the gradual absorption of Roman influences and way of life by the Italian communities, is an extremely complex subject, both in its chronological scope, and in the number and diversity of the factors which must be taken into consideration. The nature of the process also differs greatly between the various regions of Italy, and thus can only be adequately approached from the basis of detailed studies of individual areas, which can then be used to draw more general conclusions. As such, the Romanisation of Magna Graecia<sup>1</sup> should be regarded as a "case study", in which a single area of Italy, albeit a large and diverse one, is examined with a view to providing some detailed information about the ways in which an area of this sort responded to the political and cultural expansion of Rome<sup>2</sup>.

This area is of particular interest specifically because of its economic, political and geographic diversity and the fact that it is an area of non-Italian culture, language and political structure, and also possessed a well-established tradition of urban organisation. As such, it approximates only to Etruria, among other areas of Italy, and is very different in character from much of the rest of Southern Italy.

Within these bounds, it would theoretically be possible to limit the subject by either geographical or chronological considerations, but in this instance, there are good reasons for rejecting both these possibilities. The geographical diversity of the region is a feature which can provide valuable insights into the ways in which the differing backgrounds of communities, even within the same area, can make a great difference to the response to Roman influence and also to the ways in which Rome responded to contacts with communities of differing locations and backgrounds. It would be feasible to limit the studied to a single city, but work of this type has already been undertaken for individual cities, and the intention of this study is to provide a comparative assessment of the whole region. In chronological terms, the patchy nature of the evidence makes it difficult and undesirable to narrow down the subject. Literary sources provide only intermittent information about the Roman conquest of Magna Graecia and subsequent contacts with the area. Epigraphic sources are limited, at least in comparison with most cities in the Aegean, and also with many other Italian *municipia*. Such documents as have survived are, like the literary sources, spread unevenly over a comparatively long period of time. The majority which can be dated<sup>3</sup> are of the 2nd/3rd century A.D.,

although there are lesser quantities of texts from the 1st century A.D. and from the later Empire. Thus to obtain sufficient evidence for a detailed study of the area, a long chronological period is necessary. For chronological purposes, the period covered will begin with the end of the Pyrrhic War in 270 B.C. The *terminus ante quem* varies according to the evidence available for each city studied. In most cases, there is very little material which can be dated later than the 3rd century A.D., and this provides the *terminus* for most sites. Where later evidence exists, it has been included but will not be discussed in great detail.

In terms of evidence, this study will concentrate to a large extent on the epigraphic evidence for the later history of Magna Graecia.<sup>4</sup> However, a certain number of purely historical problems exist, principally pertaining to the Republic rather than the Empire, which also require investigation. These have been treated in broadly chronological order, but are not intended to provide a detailed chronological account of relations between Rome and Magna Graecia, and will touch only incidentally on the motives for Roman expansion in the South and its political or military background. This is a wider issue, which needs to be discussed in a broader context than that of a "case study" of a particular area. In particular, this type of emphasis can easily have the effect of creating a very "Romano-centric" view of history. While the emphasis on the Roman point of view is to some extent inescapable, given the nature of the sources available, it is necessary to try to counteract this by considering the Italian point of view, in this case by attempting to consider the Greek cities and their actions in the light of the local context. The complex cultural, linguistic and political character of



Southern Italy provides a good illustration of the need to consider the interaction between Rome and Italy on a regional basis, giving due weight to local considerations, before attempting to develop an overview for the whole of Italy. Throughout the period studied, the Greek cities of Southern Italy appear to have maintained a distinct local identity and to have been influenced very largely, in their response to events, by local factors. This is graphically illustrated by the events of the 2nd Punic war, in which local alliances or rivalries, and considerations of internal politics, frequently overshadowed the wider issues raised by Hannibal's invasion. Similarly, the development of Magna Graecia in the 2nd and 1st centuries B.C., and the reactions of the Greeks to the events of the Social War, indicate a continuation of local identity and an aloofness from many of the issues which concerned other Italian communities. This can in part be ascribed to the continuing Greek character of many of these cities, reinforced by the contacts with the Eastern Mediterranean, which continued to be maintained, by conflict with their Italian neighbours, and also by the physical isolation of much of the South from Rome. Indeed, there seems to be reason to suspect that until the 2nd century B.C., Rome took little interest in Southern Italy, beyond the maintenance of some degree of peace and order, and that the centralising influence of Rome under the Republic, and even the Early Empire, has been considerably overemphasised. It is also notable that although the Greek cities seem to have retained a separate identity to some extent, this must be regarded as the retention, or further development, of a local identity within Italy, not as the result of the continuing Greek nature of these cities.

The question of the continuing Hellenism of Southern Italy after the Roman conquest, and of the whole concept of "Magna Graecia", is one of considerable diversity. Given the political, economic and geographic diversity of the region, it is inevitable that there can be no single answer to the questions of the extent and nature of the survival of Greek culture in the area, and of the date at which it can be said to have disappeared. There is an enormous degree of variation between cities in the way in which Greek culture changed and Roman influences were absorbed. However, it is clear that although the Greek language, culture, and religious practices continued to some extent in some cities until at least the 1st century A.D., and in places as late as the 3rd century, the nature of Greek culture in Italy appears to have changed profoundly, to some extent reflecting changes in the Greek East. Where Greek features are present, they seem to be largely ceremonial in character, and do not reflect the continuing use of Greek language and customs in major fields such as civic administration or politics. However, the presence of features of Greek civic life, even as artificial survivals divorced from the main apparatus of government, indicate a continuing consciousness of Greek origins within these cities. In some cases, it seems that the continuation of Greek elements was a phenomenon encouraged rather than discouraged by the ruling classes at Rome, at least indirectly.<sup>5</sup> This can be seen most clearly at Naples, Velia and Rhegium.

There is no doubt that under the Republic, most of the cities of Magna Graecia were very conscious of their Greek background, and were profoundly influenced by this. As already noted, the behaviour of the Greek cities of Apulia and Calabria during the 3rd century B.C. was

influenced to a great extent by internal politics, and by local rivalries between the Greeks and their Italian neighbours. For the 2nd and 1st centuries B.C., the evidence is much less adequate. However, the evidence which does exist suggests that Greek identity was still strong in most cities, although Rome was indubitably strengthening control over distant areas of Italy and was actively interfering in the affairs of some communities in the South. It seems likely that it was during this period that Rome introduced a more defined series of treaties, and made full use of her legal and diplomatic claims to extend administrative control and introduce closer supervision of potentially troublesome cities. However, Greek aloofness from both Rome and the anti-Roman coalition at the time of the Social War suggests a continuing distance from Rome, and an indifference to the question of citizenship.

The question of Greek contacts with the Aegean and the Hellenistic kingdoms of the Eastern Mediterranean poses a dilemma, when attempting to analyse the extent to which Magna Graecia still had a Greek identity, in its own eyes, as well as those of Rome.<sup>6</sup> The problem partly arises out of the sketchy nature of the evidence for the nature of earlier contacts. These were clearly strong, and involved diplomatic contacts with Greece, as well as contacts with the major Panhellenic sanctuaries. There are a large number of Italiote victors at various games during the 7th and 6th centuries, with Tarentines and Crotoniates featuring prominently<sup>7</sup>. A number of Italiote and Siceliote cities had treasuries at Delphi, and made state dedications there<sup>8</sup>, as well as at other major sanctuaries. Diplomatic activity is well-attested for the period of the Peloponnesian War, during which the sympathies of the Italiote states

polarised dramatically<sup>9</sup>, and also during the 4th century, when Tarentum, in particular, cultivated connections with Hellenistic monarchs and employed Greek commanders and mercenary armies in the wars against the Italians.

The connection with the Greek world appears to continue throughout the Republic, arguing for a continuity of Greek identity, but is rather changed in nature. The contacts with Olympia cease almost entirely<sup>10</sup>, although other Italians, including Romans, continued to participate in the the games. The Italiotes are now found principally in Boeotia, Athens and the Aegean, with a large concentration on Delos. This distribution mirrors that of other Italians and Romans who are found in the East, and they seem to have taken part in similar activities. This can in part be explained by the changing nature of international contacts, both on a diplomatic and an individual level, in the Hellenistic period, but it also suggests that the Greeks may not have been readily distinguishable from other South Italians. The lack of distinction, in Greek eyes, between Romans and Italians, is well-attested<sup>11</sup>, but there is no direct evidence which has any bearing on the Italiotes. The only Italiote explicitly referred to as *Ῥωμαῖος* is a Cumaean<sup>12</sup>, who may by this date have been of Italian rather than Greek origin. It is noticeable that almost all Italiotes retained their Greek names, which would suggest that they did remain distinct from the Italians to some extent<sup>13</sup>, and also that Italiote exiles in the 3rd century migrated to Greece rather than other parts of Italy. Further to this, there is evidence, which increases in volume in the early Empire, that the Italiote cities extended their citizenship widely among the Aegean Greeks and attracted a large number of Greeks from

the Eastern Empire who wished to migrate to Italy. Thus it seems that many Italiote cities continued to be perceived as Greek by the rest of the Greek world, at least until the early Empire.

The concept of Romanisation, as applied to other areas of Italy, requires discussion and definition. It is clear from studies of various regions of Italy that Romanisation cannot be regarded as synonymous with the political unification which was the result of the extension of the citizenship in 90/89 B.C. It is even doubtful whether the process can be regarded as complete by the Augustan period in Southern Italy, although there is evidence elsewhere in Italy for the gradual abandonment of local cults and shrines, local dialects and other local customs at this period.<sup>14</sup> Clearly, the spread of Roman influence must have been facilitated by the political unification, and the need for administrative coherence led to a greater degree of uniformity in municipal government, but even here, considerable variations remained. In both this, and other fields, the traditions of the different areas of Italy, their political and social organisation, distance from Rome, language and numerous other factors have a profound influence on the ways in which Roman influence was assimilated. Even within the area under consideration, the communities studied are very diverse, with only a very general linguistic and cultural unity. This can be seen in the vast differences in their treatment by Rome, and their responses to it, from the early, and complete, assimilation of Cumae and Paestum, to the long continuity of Greek language and culture at Naples and Rhegium.

The converse of this is also true, namely that Roman attitudes to

Italian communities varied widely, and were in themselves a factor which influenced assimilation. It also seems likely that the degree of uniformity enforced by Rome, both in diplomatic contacts before the Social War and in municipal administration after 90 B.C., can be overemphasised. There is evidence that the nature of relations with Rome before the extension of the franchise had considerable impact on later assimilation of Roman influences. For instance, Cumae, which had a large number of Italian inhabitants and acquired *civitas sine suffragio* at an early date, and Paestum which was also Italicised and had colonial status, are both communities which show a very high degree of Romanisation in their social structure and civic life. There are also other instances in which cities were drawn into contact with Rome by reason of Roman influence. Cumae is known to have benefitted due to Augustus' interest in the cult of Apollo and the Sibyl, while Naples gained a considerable amount of imperial patronage as a result of official interest in the Greek games. Thus it can be seen that Romanisation is not a single concept but must be regarded as a complex process of cultural interaction between Rome and other Italian communities, proceeding on a number of different levels, both political and personal.

One final question which must be discussed is that of the concept of Magna Graecia, or Μεγάλη Ἑλλάς, and what it signifies in the sources.<sup>15</sup> The term, as used to describe the Western Greek colonies, first appears in the sources at a relatively late date, and also lacks any defined meaning. A number of ancient authors use it, but there is little consensus as to which areas actually constitute Magna Graecia. It could vary between denoting the whole of Italy,<sup>16</sup> or various portions of Southern Italy, and referring to specific coastal

areas colonised by the Greeks.<sup>17</sup> Even within this latter definition, which roughly corresponds to the modern meaning of the term, there were variations. Strabo<sup>18</sup> clearly included Sicily as a constituent part of Magna Graecia, but other authorities take a more restricted view, applying the name only to the coastal settlements between Tarentum and Cumae,<sup>19</sup> or between Tarentum and Locri.<sup>20</sup> The scope of this study corresponds to the definition of Servius, which includes the Greek coastal settlements between Cumae and Tarentum, but omits Sicily.

Recent research suggests that the term Μεγάλη Ἑλλάς first occurred in the 6th century, although the exact date is disputed.<sup>21</sup> It has been argued that since the most extensive use of the term, as a description of Southern Italy, is found in those sources which could be regarded as having a Pythagorean bias, either directly or through their use of earlier authorities, and that the first recognition of Magna Graecia as an area with some geographical or cultural unity may be attributable to the Pythagoreans, and to have come into widespread use during the mid 4th century.<sup>22</sup> However, since there is little agreement, either among ancient authors, or among modern scholars, as to the significance of the introduction of this term, it is difficult to make such an attribution with any degree of certainty.

The conflicting views as to the nature of the term, and the reason why it arose, are of some interest since the origins and definition of the term have a bearing on the questions of Greek unity and sense of identity in the South. Some of the evidence suggests that the term arose out of a sense of the difference between the

Greeks and the Italians. The initial factors which appear to have signalled this are their legal and political structures, and their material wealth and cultural tradition.<sup>23</sup> It is possibly this theme in literature which later became debased as the topos of Italiote luxury and decadence.<sup>24</sup> It is also possible that the implied comparison is with the Greek cities of the Aegean, indicating that the cities of the West were richer and more populous than those of Greece. However, this sense of Greek separateness is complicated by another tradition, stronger in some of the later sources, which suggests that the whole of Italy was once Greek and conflates the notions of Μεγάλη Ἑλλάς and Ἰταλία.<sup>25</sup> This gives rise to a number of problems. Evidence from other sources is sufficient to indicate that this cannot be taken as proof of a lack of consciousness of Greek identity as separate from the rest of Italy. Although there are many examples of strife between the Greek cities, the existence of the Italiote League, and the long series of conflicts with the Italians, continuing at least to the end of the 3rd century, indicate that there was some measure of conscious unity among the Greeks, and a sense of division between Greeks and Italians.

There appear to have been a large number of variants on this theme, ranging from claims that all of Italy constituted Magna Graecia, and that Rome was in fact a Greek city, to claims on behalf of more restricted areas of the South.<sup>26</sup> These appear to reflect changes in political attitudes, and in cultural diffusion. There is considerable archaeological evidence for the growing Hellenisation of some areas of Bruttium, Lucania and Apulia,<sup>27</sup> and for the tendency of some Italians, during the 4th century, to adopt an urban organisation based on the Greek polis,<sup>28</sup> and for the absorption of Italians into



some Greek cities.<sup>29</sup> There is also literary evidence, principally of imperial date, of Greek foundation myths, mainly concerning Herakles or Homeric heroes, which become attached to Italian cities, such as Petelia.<sup>30</sup> Although this interpretation appears as early as the 4th century, it is given most weight by Roman authors, or Greek authors of the Roman period, a fact which is significant in the light of Roman promotion of Italiote Greek culture in the late Republic and under the Empire. It is possible that the readiness to accept Italy as being to some degree Greek reflects both a greater diffusion of Greek culture and a conscious attempt to create a Greek ancestry on the part of some Italian cities. This seems to be similar to the better-documented attempts of many cities in the Eastern Empire to adopt Greek foundation myths and histories in the 2nd century A.D., a phenomenon which was encouraged by Rome.<sup>31</sup> The trend must also reflect an acceptance of the power of Rome and an attempt to create a greater degree of integration between the Greeks and the rest of Italy. It may be possible to see the adoption of the definition of Magna Graecia as related to *Italia* by later Roman authors as a reflection of the changing nature of Greek culture and identity in Magna Graecia after the Roman conquest, a feature which is reflected by the epigraphy of the region, and by literary evidence for growing Roman interest in the Greek culture of Italy in the later Republic and Early Empire.

## Magna Graecia in 270 B.C.: A Historical Outline

### Introductory Comments

The purpose of this chapter is to summarise the major themes relating to the Roman conquest of the Greek South which appear to be relevant to the study of the later history of Magna Graecia, and to indicate the state of the area at the start of the main period to be studied. Relations with Rome up to 218 will also be discussed. However, it is intended to concentrate on the themes which appear to be directly related to the question of the later development of relations with Rome, and also the history of the region, rather than to provide a detailed chronological consideration of the events of the Samnite and Pyrrhic Wars or a discussion of the possible motives for Roman expansion.

The history of Magna Graecia during the 4th century poses a somewhat different set of problems to those of the 3rd century. In many ways the Pyrrhic War belongs more naturally to the period of the Hellenistic condottieri, following the death of Archytas in c.350 B.C., and if considered in detail, would need to be analysed in this context rather than in the context of later developments. However, this period does exhibit some of the same themes which are found later, in particular during the Punic Wars, and is of interest for this reason. These include the political instability within some of the Italiote cities, the diplomatic divisions between the Italiote cities, and the overriding importance of Italiote relations with their Oscan neighbours. It is also of interest from the point of view of the basis of relations with Rome in 270 B.C. The question of treaties and diplomatic relations will be discussed in detail in Chapter 3, but some reference will be made below. The sources for

this period are very sketchy, and principally much later in date than the events described, and thus it is difficult to reconstruct events, particularly those of the later 4th century and the outbreak of the Pyrrhic War, in any detail.

### The Sources

The sources for this period are almost exclusively literary, with the important exception of the archives of the Olympeion at Locri.<sup>1</sup> They principally comprise Plutarch, Appian, Dio and Justin, supplemented by a certain amount of evidence in Livy, Polybios and Diodoros. Thus all sources are considerably later than the events described, and all have a clear pro-Roman and anti-Tarentine bias which must be taken into consideration.<sup>2</sup> The source of this bias has been the subject of a considerable amount of recent research<sup>3</sup>, and a number of scholars have suggested that much of the anti-Tarentine sentiment is reflecting the views of Timaeus, whose work is known to have been popular amongst Romans,<sup>4</sup> and whose view of the Tarentines would naturally be congenial to Roman historians. Further to this, it has been suggested that sources for the history of Magna Graecia with Rome after 270 also reflect Timaeus' bias, projecting his analysis of the problems of the 4th century onto more recent events.<sup>5</sup> Although it is likely that a certain amount of Timaeian prejudice has found its way into the sources for the Pyrrhic war, and possibly also the Punic wars, it seems unwise to dismiss all the sources for the period up to 200 B.C. as being merely a reflection of Timaeus. In particular, the similarities in some instances between the behaviour of some of the Italiotes states in 280 and in 218-200 is not sufficiently marked as to suggest a tendency to view events solely in terms of Timaeus' "Pythagorean" views of history. There are some important variations,

and it should also be noted that where there are broad similarities, these are not implausible in the context of the development of Southern Italy and its relations with Rome. The aspect which is most likely to have been derived from Timaeus, namely the adverse moral judgements on the Italiotes, and the anti-Tarentine invective, is clearly recognisable as propaganda, and as such, can be discounted.

#### Contacts Between Rome and Magna Graecia up to 270 B.C.

There is evidence for contact between Rome and the Greek South, in particular with the Campanian cities, from a very early date. Literary sources imply contact with Cumae from the 6th century,<sup>6</sup> and the accounts of later relations frequently imply that there had been earlier contacts. As would be expected, Campania was the area which first fell under more direct Roman control when Rome seriously began to expand southwards.<sup>7</sup> Details of relations with Cumae are not recoverable, but the city clearly had some sort of relationship with Rome by the date of the Latin War, although it is not certain whether it was in any sense regarded as a member of the Latin Confederation. However, the loyalty displayed by Cumae resulted in a grant of *civitas sine suffragio* in 338 B.C., the only grant of this kind made to a Greek city.<sup>8</sup> There is no further substantial evidence for Cumæan history between this point and the events of the 2nd Punic War, a fact which presumeably reflects fairly harmonious relations with Rome during the period of the Samnite and Pyrrhic Wars.

Naples provides a rather better-documented case. The treaty with Rome was clearly the result of the events of the 2nd Samnite War, the main issue at stake being whether the Neapolitans should support Rome or should join the Samnites in harassing the Roman

the first contact between the two cities, since the Romans apparently based their protest about Neapolitan behaviour on the fact that they were breaking their *amicitia* with Rome.<sup>9</sup> This would seem to indicate that the relationship was not that of a treaty, by implicit contrast with the later *foedus*, and was loose enough to be considered not binding by the Neapolitans.

Livy and Dionysios<sup>10</sup> give rather differing accounts of the war with Naples, but there do not seem to be any fundamental incompatibilities. The salient points seem to be that there was a political division within Naples, centering on the ethnic division between the Greek and Oscan communities within the city, and that pressure was brought to bear both by Tarentum and by the Greek Cumaeans who had migrated to Naples to support the Samnites against Rome. This combination of internal divisions and pressure emanating from relations with neighbouring Italians is a feature of Italiote history which can be traced in the events of the 2nd Punic War and later. Dionysios<sup>11</sup> gives the more detailed account of the negotiations between Naples and the Samnites, and possibly had access to a Neapolitan or Campanian source. Frederiksen suggests, correctly, that the central portion of the account, which gives details of the negotiations with the Samnite ambassadors, is probably drawn from a Greek source, while the later portions of the account follow the same source as Livy. Dionysios' version is noticeably less anti-Greek, than that of Livy, although it ultimately favours the Roman point of view, and, unlike Livy, places less emphasis on the the division between "good" aristocrats and "bad" democrats in describing the political aspects of the crisis.

One point which emerges from both accounts is that Tarentum clearly had an alliance with Naples,<sup>12</sup> and it seems likely that Naples was a member of the Italiote League, despite its isolation from the other League members.<sup>13</sup> It is possible that it was this isolation which made it difficult for Tarentum to supply the assistance promised. However, it is also possible that the League as a whole, and Tarentum in particular, were not yet willing to declare open support for the Samnites. The Oscans of the South were the hereditary enemies of the Greeks, and it is possible that the League had more to gain by a war which would keep their forces engaged in further North than by a peace which would free their forces or a rapid victory which would strengthen their position. There is also no evidence that Tarentum had any need to be concerned about Roman expansion at this date, or had any reason for conflict, while the presence of Alexander of Epirus in Italy in 331 and Agathocles in 325 indicates that Tarentum was having problems with various Oscan tribes. Thus the early development of Tarentine hostility to Rome can be seen as part of the anti-Tarentine tradition found in Roman sources. Equally, the suggestion of bad faith<sup>14</sup> in the failure to send troops to assist Naples may reflect a reluctance to become involved in a fairly distant conflict and a consequent degree of reservation in the Italiote League's response to the crisis, rather than a firm guarantee of help which was explicitly broken.

The political divisions, as described by both Dionysios and Livy,<sup>15</sup> do not fit a simple pattern of Greek community versus the Oscans. The leaders of the coup which led to the surrender of the city to Rome appear to represent both ethnic groups, and it is possible that the coup was mounted by an aristocratic faction with

members of both nationalities. There is a strong likelihood that in this case, the Livian identification of the aristocratic faction as supporters of Rome is correct,<sup>16</sup> although this pattern does not always hold good for other cities or at other periods of history. However, contacts between the Campanian and Roman nobilities seem to have been long-established.<sup>17</sup> The leaders of the revolt against the Samnites are described merely as *principes civitatis*,<sup>18</sup> which suggests that they were influential, but not necessarily holders of public office. It has been suggested,<sup>19</sup> plausibly, that the revolt may have been instigated largely by the class which provided the cavalry, which would indicate the largely aristocratic nature of the pro-Roman party.

The nature of the treaty with Naples will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 3, but it seems certain that the terms were exceptionally favourable.<sup>20</sup> However, the conclusion of this treaty, and the failure of Tarentum and/or the Italiote League to supply military assistance may have ended Neapolitan involvement with the League, as far as is known.

The main Greek cities of Lucania, Paestum and Velia, are very badly-documented, and little is known of their relations with Rome. By the end of the 4th century, Paestum was, like Cumae, dominated by Oscans. Literary evidence<sup>21</sup> suggests that the Lucanian takeover was violent, and that the Greeks were oppressed, being unable to openly retain their Greek identity. However, archaeological evidence<sup>22</sup> does not indicate a destruction phase, as would be expected if this were true, and it has been suggested that the Oscanisation was more gradual and peaceful. The circumstances under which Paestum came

under Roman control are unknown, but the city may have been involved in a war against Rome. Whatever the circumstances, the city received a Latin colony in 273 B.C.,<sup>23</sup> bringing it into close contact with Rome. Similarly, Velia<sup>24</sup> is known to have fought against Rome during the Samnite Wars, and was conquered by Carvilius in 293 B.C.

The history of relations between Rome and the cities further south is dominated by Tarentum and the Tarentine-dominated Italiote League. The League is a relatively obscure body, and little is known about its organisation.<sup>25</sup> It appears to have been formed in the 6th century, as a means of co-ordinating Italiote forces against the Italians, and may originally have had its meeting place at the pan-Italiote sanctuary of Hera Lacinia, in the territory of Croton.<sup>26</sup> However, the its headquarters was later moved to Herakleia, a colony of Tarentum, and in the 4th century, Tarentum, under the leadership of Archytas, was securely in control of the League.<sup>27</sup>

During the period following the death of Archytas, Tarentum adopted a policy of paying mercenary generals from Greece to fight against the Italian tribes who threatened Tarentine interests, using largely mercenary armies with some assistance from Tarentine levies. This is the subject of considerable disapproval by most authors, who take it as an indication of Tarentine decadence, and possibly an indication of the weakness of the city.<sup>28</sup> Certainly it does not seem to have been successful in military terms, since there was no effective means of making these condottieri accountable for their actions and there was frequent dissent between Tarentum and its generals.<sup>29</sup> Thus it is difficult to determine to what extent the policies pursued by Cleonymus, Alexander etc. were those favoured by



the Italiote League and by Tarentum.<sup>30</sup> The likelihood is that their actions cannot be taken as an indication of official policy, and it is possible that they were not hired as agents of the League or of Tarentum, but as independent agents to distract and harass the Oscan tribes of the interior. This policy would have had the benefits of conserving Italiote manpower, and of avoiding the necessity of overtly taking sides in the conflict. It is notable that the part played by Tarentum in the war between Rome and Naples is characterised by an unwillingness to become involved in the conflict between Rome and the Samnites.

The extent to which there was a pro-Samnite *volte-face* in Tarentine foreign policy after the death of Archytas is debatable.<sup>31</sup> Certainly, the anti-Tarentine tradition in Roman historiography has contaminated the sources to a great extent, biasing the evidence available towards a picture of a rabidly anti-Roman Tarentum taking every opportunity to oppose Rome and assist Rome's enemies.<sup>32</sup> Assessment of the evidence is also complicated by the difficulty of knowing how far the actions of the Greek condottieri employed by Tarentum coincided with Tarentine, or Italiote League, foreign policy, since they seem to have acted with a good deal of freedom, and sometimes in opposition to Tarentum.

Frederiksen<sup>33</sup> argues strongly for the view that after c.350 B.C., Tarentum adopted a firmly pro-Samnite and anti-Roman foreign policy, thereby shocking the rest of the Greeks in Italy and eventually inducing them to look to Rome rather than Tarentum as *hegemon*. This can be seen in the sources for the war with Naples in 326. One of the allegations made against the pro-Samnite faction in

Naples was that they were behaving in a manner unworthy of Greeks in proposing to make an alliance with the Oscans.<sup>34</sup> However, this appears to reflect the general tone of moral disapproval adopted by Roman historians in dealing with the Italiotes, and may not necessarily signify any more than this. In fact, there is evidence that Tarentum had friendly connections with the Samnites earlier in the 4th century. Archytas seems to have cultivated connections with some members of the Samnite nobility,<sup>35</sup> and the anecdotal evidence of this type for the Hellenisation of the Oscan nobility is corroborated by archaeological evidence for an increasing degree of Hellenisation among the Oscans of Southern Italy.<sup>36</sup> Rather than the Samnites, it is the Lucanians and Bruttians who generally feature as the enemies of Tarentum and the Italiote League,<sup>37</sup> and there is no reason to see Graeco-Samnite relations as polarised between hostility under Archytas and friendship after his death. As mentioned above, Tarentine/League support for Naples brief pro-Samnite initiative seems to have been only lukewarm, and there is no obvious reason why Tarentum should have wished to see an immediate Oscan neighbour strengthened or should have unnecessarily provoked Roman hostility. Since there is evidence that Tarentum was under increasing pressure from the Lucanians and Bruttians in the late 4th century,<sup>38</sup> it seems unlikely that Tarentum would wish to provoke an avoidable war. Equally, the view that Tarentum was trading opposition to Rome and support for the Samnites for Samnite assistance in wars against other Oscans<sup>39</sup> is not borne out by the evidence. There is no direct evidence for the Samnites assisting Tarentum, but there are references which suggest that the Samnites may have suffered at the hands of some of the Tarentine-employed condottieri.<sup>40</sup> In general, the evidence for Tarentine policy seems to indicate that it was aimed

at maintaining Tarentine supremacy by means of encouraging divisions and instability among the neighbouring Oscan tribes, rather than adopting a consistent stance over the question of the Romano-Samnite conflict. The part played by the Tarentines in disrupting the alliance between Rome and the Lucanians in 326/5 is presented by the sources as an example of Tarentine hostility to Rome,<sup>41</sup> but it would seem more likely that it was motivated by a wish to destabilise the Lucanians by setting the pro- and anti-Roman factions against each other, to protect the Tarentine sphere of interest and to remove a possible means of support for the Lucanians.<sup>42</sup>

A similar trend can be observed in an incident in 320, when Tarentum attempted to arbitrate between Rome and the Samnites.<sup>43</sup> By this time, the conflict had moved much further towards Tarentine territory, and Rome was showing clear signs of expansion in Apulia.<sup>44</sup> This possible threat to the Tarentine sphere of influence may have inspired a policy of more direct action, and the incident can be seen as an attempt by Tarentum to take control of the situation. It also contradicts the view expressed in the Roman historical tradition that Tarentine hostility to Rome was unprovoked and had existed from an early date. Far from opposing Rome and showing preference for the Samnites, Tarentum attempted to force both sides to negotiate and offered to act as an arbitrator, only joining the Samnites after Rome had finally refused to discuss a settlement.<sup>45</sup> Given that the Samnites were historically far more likely to be on bad terms with Tarentum, despite the evidence for some degree of Hellenisation among them, and of contacts between the Samnite and Tarentine nobility,<sup>46</sup> it was more in the interest of Tarentum to join Rome in curbing Samnite power, than to have a strong immediate neighbour as a result

of a Samnite victory. There is no record of the actual outcome of this incident, although the Tarentines may have joined the Samnites, who were defeated in the ensuing battle.

This incident may form the context for the first documented treaty between Rome and Tarentum.<sup>47</sup> This is known only from a brief reference relating to the outbreak of the Pyrrhic War, which indicates the violation, by a Roman commander, of an agreement that the Roman fleet should not sail further East than Cape Lacinium.<sup>48</sup> There has been considerable scholarly debate concerning the dating of this agreement,<sup>49</sup> which is clearly designed to delimit the respective spheres of interest of Rome and Tarentum. Appian refers to it as being an ancient agreement, raising the question as to whether an agreement of forty years standing or less could be described in these terms.<sup>50</sup> However, it is possible that Appian, writing long after the event, did not know the date of the original agreement, and his evidence cannot be regarded as a conclusive reason for rejecting any of the proposed dates in the late 4th century. The incident of 320 seems to be the first indication of a direct conflict of interest between the two main powers in Italy, and thus provides a plausible context for an agreement seeking to remove the grounds for possible conflict, although there are references to raids on the coast of Latium by Greek pirates in 349.<sup>51</sup> The sources do not indicate whether these were Italiote, but it seems very possible that they were, and if so, this would indicate an increase in tension. It is also possible that the treaty could be dated to the period following 320 since there is also some evidence for a conflict between Rome and Tarentum in 306, as a result of Cleonymus' campaigns in the South.<sup>52</sup> Thus it seems that the period between 320 and 306 was marked by an

increasing number of incidents in which Tarentine and Roman spheres of interest coincided, indicating the need for a formal agreement which defined those spheres of interest more precisely, which may have been negotiated in 311, or shortly afterwards.

The Pyrrhic War, which marks the entry of Rome into permanent contact with Magna Graecia, also illustrates the importance of political considerations and of the local questions of relations with immediate neighbours in relations between Rome and the South. The accounts of the war differ in their assessment of the cause, but are not incompatible. The particular incident which led to the declaration of war is that discussed above, namely the breaking of an agreement that Roman warships should not enter Tarentine waters, and the subsequent sinking of the Roman fleet.<sup>53</sup> Roman demands for reparation were rejected by the Tarentine assembly which was swayed, according to the sources, by irresponsible and rabidly anti-Roman demagogues.<sup>54</sup> In fact, it seems more likely that Tarentum reacted violently because Rome had apparently threatened Tarentine control of the seas, which represented a direct threat to both security and trade, and also because Roman influence was eroding control of the main Tarentine power base, namely the Italiote League. This is indicated by the fact that Thurii, presumably a member of the League, had appealed to Rome rather than Tarentum for assistance in a war against the Lucanians.<sup>55</sup> This had been granted, and a garrison had been established at Thurii, setting a dangerous precedent for Tarentum and leaving a permanent military presence within the Tarentine sphere of influence. This garrison was rapidly ejected, and Thurii was forcibly returned by Tarentum to the Italiote League.<sup>56</sup> It seems likely that these two incidents represent an

gradual escalation of tension between Rome and Tarentum, which culminated in war after the sinking of the Roman fleet.

The extent of contact between Rome and other cities in the South at this period, is not known. It would be surprising if there were none, but the first evidence of this is the defection of a number of the Italiote cities from the Italiote League, either before or immediately after Pyrrhus' arrival. The exact date at which this took place is uncertain, and many sources attribute the appeals for Roman help to distaste for Pyrrhus, but in the case of Rhegium, there is also evidence that the Roman garrison may have arrived in 282, well before the Tarentine invitation to Pyrrhus. This seems a more plausible date, and may represent problems within the Italiote League, as well as greater Roman interest in the South. The principal cities which elected to join Rome were Thurii, Locri and Rhegium.<sup>57</sup> Of these, Locri may have been subject to some degree of political unrest, since the city seems to have changed sides a number of times, and clearly felt the need to make a public affirmation of loyalty to Rome after the war by the issue of a coin series with the legend ΠΙΣΤΙΣ.<sup>58</sup> References to an otherwise unnamed βασιλευς<sup>59</sup> in the archives of the Olympeion are probably an indication of support for Pyrrhus. Rhegium seems to have been the city which suffered most serious damage, since it was taken over by a renegade group of Campanian mercenaries who were garrisoning the city on behalf of Rome.<sup>60</sup> The sources present this as a gratuitous act of violence on the part of the Campanians, which was subsequently punished. However, the fact that the garrison continued to act on behalf of Rome and also that Rome appears to have been very slow to put down the insurrection,<sup>61</sup> which was a clear act of mutiny, even after the

greater part of the fighting was over, may indicate that the issue was not clear cut. In view of the frequent changes of sides by a number of other Italiote cities, it is possible that the takeover originated as an over-enthusiastic response to a projected change of loyalties on behalf of Rhegium.

Thus, in 270 B.C., the whole of Magna Graecia fell within the Roman sphere of influence. However, very little is known about the settlements concluded at the end of the war. The evidence for this will be discussed more fully in Chapter 3, but the overall impression given is that the terms were comparatively lenient, and may have amounted to agreements of *amicitia* rather than *foedera* with more binding provisions.

#### The Post-war Period: Magna Graecia 270-218 B.C.

The period following the end of the Pyrrhic war is characterised by an almost total lack of evidence, and is impossible to discuss in detail. The Roman victory probably involved some degree of political change in most cities,<sup>62</sup> although in most cases, there is no certain evidence of actual changes to the constitution. There is a certain amount of evidence for the exile of some anti-Roman politicians, particularly at Tarentum,<sup>63</sup> but it is debatable whether the war was responsible for any large-scale emigration.<sup>64</sup> Clearly, the cities which had opposed Rome, which included almost all of the Greek cities at some point, must have suffered some loss of manpower and economic depression. However, there seems to be no reason to suppose that many did not recover fairly quickly.<sup>65</sup> In particular, Tarentum appears to have recovered, and to have been in a position to consider expansion at the time of the outbreak of the 2nd Punic War.<sup>66</sup> Such

evidence as there is suggests that there were no major military impositions on the Greeks, even during the 1st Punic War.<sup>67</sup> The only reference to military contributions is to a fleet of transports and supply ships which were borrowed from Naples, Tarentum and Locri for the initial crossing to Sicily in 264,<sup>68</sup> and the Greeks are notably absent from Polybios' list of allied forces available in 225 B.C.<sup>69</sup> Given the apparent lack of Roman interest in the South before 218, and the ambivalence of some Roman politicians towards a policy of southern expansion,<sup>70</sup> it seems likely that the Italiotes had little contact with Rome in this period, that diplomatic independence was preserved,<sup>71</sup> and that Roman control was not consolidated.



## The Second Punic war and After: Magna Graecia and Rome 218-90 B.C.

### Introductory Comments

Relations between Rome and Magna Graecia receive their most detailed treatment from the sources concerning the period of the 2nd Punic War, but beyond this, there is little information on the development of relations between Rome and the Greeks, even during the period of the Social War. For this reason, if for no other, the period 218-200 B.C. is of vital importance for the study of Roman relations with the Italiotes in that it provides a number of relatively detailed "case studies" of reactions by the Italiote cities to Rome and also their sources of discontent and reactions to Hannibal. However, there are a number of problems in studying the source material for this period. Our principal source of information is Livy, supplemented by Polybios, Appian, Justin and Plutarch. Thus, all the information is drawn from sources which were composed a considerable time after the events and are likely to have had a strong pro-Roman<sup>1</sup> bias. As discussed above, there is also the possibility that the historical tradition had absorbed an anti-Italiote, and particularly anti-Tarentine, bias from 4th century historians, notably Timaeus. There have been attempts to trace the concept of *τροπή*<sup>2</sup>, which are particularly prominent in Pythagorean historiography, in the handling of Italiote history by Roman authors. However, while it seems certain that many of the features found in accounts of Italiote relations with Rome can be regarded as having become literary *topoi*, it is by no means certain that these can all be traced back to Timaeus and pro-Pythagorean bias. In particular, the question of internal political instability cannot be readily explained by assuming that it is a reiteration of a theme found in Timaeus' work on the 4th century<sup>3</sup>. Beneath the Livian oversimplification, which

seems to owe more to the 1st century divisions between *optimates* and *populares*<sup>4</sup> than to Timaeus' views on 4th century democracy, the picture is clearly a much more complex one, which needs to be examined in detail.

A second major aspect of the period of the defections from Rome in 213/2 is the influence of the Italians of the South on Greek actions. Greek relations with the Lucanians, Bruttians, Messapians and Iapygians had been strained to some extent throughout most of the history of the Greek colonies, although there had been periods of co-operation on the part of various cities<sup>5</sup>, but in a number of cities, the local issues of relations with the neighbouring Italians seem to have overshadowed the wider issues raised by the presence of Hannibal. It seems entirely possible that given the slight nature of Roman contacts with the South in the post-Pyrrhic period, the issue of relations with Rome were a consideration of lesser importance than those with the neighbouring tribes, a factor which Hannibal seems to have recognised and played on.

Whatever the reasons for the defections of the Greek cities, they can hardly be attributed to direct Roman action, since Roman involvement in the area seems to have been very slight in the 3rd century, although few details are known. The settlements after the Pyrrhic war do not seem to have been onerous, and relations may have been based on the concept of *amicitia*/φιλία rather than on treaties in many cases. This model of Roman diplomatic relations has recently been proposed for early relations between Rome and the Hellenistic East<sup>6</sup>, but there is evidence to suggest that it could also be applied to relations with Magna Graecia. This question, and that of the

exact treaty obligations of the Greek allies, will be discussed in Chapter 3. It is also notable that the Italiote Greeks maintained a steady presence in the East in the period before and after the Punic Wars, which may suggest that many cities saw their major diplomatic connections as being with Greece rather than Italy<sup>7</sup>. Most of the Greek cities appear to have held aloof from the events of the 1st Punic War, although Locri, Tarentum and Velia are known to have assisted with some ships<sup>8</sup>, and there is no reason to suspect bad relations with Rome at this point. However, it is notable that at the outset of the 2nd Punic war, Tarentum was one of the first cities to be garrisoned<sup>9</sup>, and hostages were taken from Tarentum and Thurii<sup>10</sup>, if not from any of the other cities. This would seem to argue that there had been some degree of unrest or disaffection in the South in the period immediately before the war, possibly connected with a change in the ruling party in these two cities. It is not possible, however, to make assertions which are valid about the whole of Magna Graecia, even at the beginning of the war. There is no evidence to assume that there was any perceptible anti-Roman feeling elsewhere, and the cities of Campania<sup>11</sup> seem to have been notable for their loyalty during the war. Before any conclusions can be drawn, the conduct of each city must be examined individually.

#### Magna Graecia during the 2nd Punic War

The Greek cities of Campania are comparatively badly documented during the period of the 2nd Punic War, in contrast to those further south. This may reflect the bias of Livy's sources, or simply the fact that their behaviour was less anti-Roman than that of either their Oscan neighbours or the Greek cities of the South coast. It is also possible that the perceptible difference in treatment of the

Campanian cities created a climate of closer attachment to Rome than that current in other cities, and were both politically more stable and on better terms with their Italian neighbours, thus being free from the three main causes of tension elsewhere.

Cumae, unlike other Greek cities, was partially incorporated in the Roman state by this date. Some sort of contact with Rome clearly occurred at an early date<sup>12</sup>, although the nature of this is not clear, but Cumae was brought into a closer connection by the award of *civitas sine suffragio*, along with a number of other Campanian cities, in the aftermath of the Latin War, the most probable date being 338 B.C.<sup>13</sup> Although the exact meaning of *civitas sine suffragio* and the status which it entailed are in doubt, it seems clear that it brought the holders of this status into closer contact with Rome than most other communities<sup>14</sup>. The other features which set Cumae apart from the other cities of Magna Graecia is its predominantly Oscan character, attested by both literary and epigraphic evidence<sup>15</sup>, and apparent internal stability<sup>16</sup>. However, most of these factors were also true of the Oscan cities of Campania, many of whom did revolt<sup>17</sup>. Thus the reasons for Cumaean loyalty to Rome, at time when much of the Greek South seceded, remains somewhat inexplicable, other than by the fact that it was very much on the fringes of the Greek area of Italy, being Oscanised to a large extent, but may never have been fully absorbed by the network of Oscan cities in Campania. Certainly it seems to have held aloof from the coalitions of Oscan cities which tended to form during the Samnite Wars, and later<sup>18</sup>. There is little specific information about the behaviour of Cumae during the war, other than in the strictly military sense, but it seems to have been under considerable

pressure from Hannibal to defect at a number of points in the war. After his failure to capture Naples, he is recorded as being anxious to capture Cumae, or persuade it to secede, in order to obtain a port on the Campanian coast<sup>19</sup>, and to have attempted to do this by means of reattaching Cumae to the main group of Campanian cities<sup>20</sup>. However, Cumae seems to have had both a strong Roman military presence at this time, and a stable pro-Roman government, and there is no evidence that Hannibal made any impact on the city's loyalty to Rome.

The evidence for the behaviour of Naples is remarkably similar in character, although a little more detailed. Unlike Cumae, Naples was still distinctively Greek<sup>21</sup> in character and had maintained close connections with other Greek cities until at least 327<sup>22</sup>, having possibly been a member of the Italiote League. However, the foedus concluded in 327/6<sup>23</sup> seems to have guaranteed the city's loyalty to Rome throughout the period between its negotiation and the Social War. Indeed, the concept of Naples as a notably faithful ally of Rome appears to have become one of the literary commonplaces associated with Magna Graecia<sup>24</sup>. Certainly, there is no evidence that Neapolitan loyalty to Rome was in question at any stage during Hannibal's invasion. However, the city does not seem to have made much direct contribution to the Roman war effort in terms of troops, although there is evidence that a large amount of gold plate from the city's treasury was donated to Rome to assist in covering the costs of the war<sup>25</sup>. It is possible that the favourable nature of Naples' treaty with Rome lay in an exemption from military impositions<sup>26</sup>, but the description of this incident given by Livy seems to suggest that this was a gesture on the part of Naples which was accepted at the

discretion of the Senate. It is notable that a similar offer from Paestum was refused, and the city was forced to continue providing military support<sup>27</sup>. Like Cumae, the city was under extreme pressure from Hannibal during his operations in Campania, principally due to his desire to gain control of a port in this area<sup>28</sup>, but showed no inclination to disloyalty. However, the city does seem to have been very marginal to the Roman war effort, apparently fighting campaigns on its own account when necessary, but contributing little other than occasional donations of money and grain to the Roman forces<sup>29</sup>.

Paestum poses something of a problem for study of this period, since it appears to be acting in a number of different capacities. Like Naples and Cumae, it had a closer connection with Rome than most of the cities further South, having received the status of a Latin colony in 273 B.C.<sup>30</sup>, although it remains debatable as to whether the Greek city of Poseidonia was incorporated into it administratively or not<sup>31</sup>. The fact that the city is known to have been requested to supply ships *ex foedere*<sup>32</sup>, despite the fact that it was also supplying troops as a Latin colony<sup>33</sup>, suggests that Livy was in some confusion about its status. In point of fact, it does not seem to have been unusual for there to be a degree of administrative separation between an existing urban settlement and a colony, since the latter tended to be founded in the territory of a city. This was certainly the case for the colonies founded in the 2nd century, such as Copia, Valentia, and Neptunia, which only became fully incorporated with the existing cities of Thurii, Vibo and Tarentum after the Social War<sup>34</sup>. However, whether Paestum was considered as one city or two for military purposes, it clearly retained considerable loyalty to Rome. It is known to have supplied

contingents of troops to the Roman army, as did other Latin colonies, rather than fighting independent campaigns, like most of the other Greek cities, and also to have been one of the Latin colonies which supplied troops throughout the war<sup>35</sup>. The request for ships in 210 is not necessarily contradictory to this since Roman procedure for requesting naval help does not appear to have been in any way related to anything other than the needs of the particular campaign<sup>36</sup>, and there is nothing inherently difficult in the idea of one city providing both troops and ships. As with Naples and Cumae, Paestum had a history of good relations with Rome, and also of integration with the Lucanians.

The literary sources imply that there was a Lucanian conquest of the city, after which it lost its Greek character and became Oscanised to the extent where Greek culture was forcibly suppressed and Greek festivals had to be celebrated in secret<sup>37</sup>. This is in contradiction of the evidence for almost all other cities which received a substantial number of Oscan settlers<sup>38</sup>, and it has been suggested that it represents an over-dramatised version of the truth. Certainly, both Naples and Cumae retained some elements of Greek culture, although this is true to a much greater extent in Naples, where Oscans remained a minority, than in Cumae, which was conquered and where the Oscans were in the majority. It also seems that the model proposed by Pugliese Caratelli,<sup>39</sup> of a more gradual influx of Lucanians into Paestum, rather than a military takeover, is supported by the archaeological evidence, which suggests that the material remains of an Italian nature appear gradually, over a period of time, rather than as a single phase.

Apart from the contributions made in ships and man-power made in 210 and 209, the only reference to Paestum in connection with Rome concerns a donation of plate from the state treasury, which was offered to the Senate<sup>40</sup>. Although this came shortly after the acceptance of a similar offer by Naples, it was refused. Livy does not give any reason for this discrepancy, but it is possible that Naples, as an ally, was able to offer money instead of military service, but that Paestum, as a Latin colony was regarded as too integral to the Roman war effort, and therefore was not.

Velia appears on only one occasion in the sources relating to the Punic war. However, it had close religious connections with Rome<sup>41</sup>, and appears to have remained loyal. It is known to have supplied warships to the Roman fleet on one occasion<sup>42</sup>, but this is the only military contribution known, again suggesting a rather marginal role in relation to Rome.

Rhegium was the only one of the Greek cities of the far South to remain loyal throughout the war, and was a major Roman base for operations in Sicily. As such, it was of major importance to Rome, particularly since the defection of most of the other Italiotes along the South coast left Rome very short of access to harbours. There is no mention of political dissent, as there is elsewhere, but this may simply be a Livian omission. However, it may be significant that Rhegium may not have been part of the Tarentine hegemony of the 4th century<sup>43</sup>, and had enjoyed a closer diplomatic relationship with some areas of Sicily, owing to its geographical situation, than with most other areas of Magna Graecia. Thus it is possible that the patterns of alliance in the late 3rd century were, to some extent, mimicking



those of the 4th century, with the group of cities under Tarentine influence defecting to Hannibal, and the rest remaining loyal. The intervention of Rome in 270<sup>44</sup> to free the city from the rebel Campanian garrison may also have given an opportunity to establish a more solidly pro-Roman government than was the case in many other cities which had not experienced direct Roman intervention during the period following the Pyrrhic war. Like the Campanian cities, Rhegium does not seem to have taken much active part in the war, although it acted as a major Roman base for the campaigns in Sicily<sup>45</sup>. It did, however, supply some ships for Decimus Quinctius' fleet in 210<sup>46</sup>. The fact that Rhegium was actively fighting Hannibal, although on its own account, not as part of the Roman army, is indicated by the reference to a group of 4,000 criminals, sent by the Roman commander at Agathyrna to assist the Rhegines in their war against the Bruttians. This passage seems to imply a considerable degree of ongoing guerilla warfare<sup>47</sup>. It also provides some evidence that the Italiote cities may have seen the war as being to a large extent a renewal of the traditional conflict between the Greeks and their Italian neighbours.

One of the fullest accounts given by Livy<sup>48</sup> of the behaviour of any city concerns Locri. It is of interest for two reasons, namely that it provides the most detailed evidence for collusion between two cities and because it preserves an account of the settlement made when the city reverted to the Roman alliance. The secession here, is closely linked to that at Croton, and Livy<sup>49</sup> seems to imply some sort of diplomatic connection, possibly a treaty, between the two cities. It is also an instance in which Livy<sup>50</sup> suggests that political instability was a major cause. In this case, it seems very likely

that this was a major factor, since a number of pro-Roman politicians are known to have been exiled to Rhegium. However, it is debatable whether this episode of *stasis* can be explained in the terms which Livy employs, which are essentially those of the 1st century B.C.<sup>51</sup> In this instance it does seem likely, as Livy asserts, that the exiles were some sort of aristocratic group, since both Locri and Rhegium, to which the exiles fled, are thought to have oligarchic constitutions at this time<sup>52</sup>. However, this model does not work for all the cities<sup>53</sup> for which Livy suggests this pattern, nor does it imply that the democrats necessarily gained power. The fact that the majority of the population were originally against supporting Hannibal rather suggests that they did not. The other factor which seems to have been influential is the animosity between Locri and the large number of Bruttian troops in Hannibal's army<sup>54</sup>. As in the case of Croton, it seems to have been fear of a Bruttian attack which was a decisive factor. The significance of the political situation is further underlined by the fact that the decision to revert to the Roman alliance was caused by a further bout of *stasis*, culminating in the recapture of the city by the Locrian exiles on their own initiative,<sup>55</sup> rather than by Roman troops. This, and the replacement of the pro-Carthaginian party by the exiles as the governing body strongly suggests that the politics involved the use of foreign policy as a platform by two conflicting political factions rather than the democratic/oligarchic division suggested by Livy.

The settlement which followed this second change of allegiance involved a period of martial law<sup>56</sup> under the governorship of Pleminius, possibly to support the new regime. The final settlement, made after complaints to the Senate regarding the conduct of

Pleminius, involved the affirmation of the liberty and autonomy of the city and recognition of the new government as *viros bonos sociosque et amicos*<sup>57</sup>. In addition, compensation was paid for the damage caused by Pleminius, the Roman garrison was withdrawn and the sanctuary of Proserpina, which had been desecrated during the occupation, was purified. Thus, despite the initial occupation, there seems to have been recognition of the decisive part played by the change of government.

In many respects, the factors which influenced the Locrian decision to defect are also influential in the case of Croton. The presence of political factions seems to have been important, but the major factor here seems to have been fear of Hannibal's Bruttian allies<sup>58</sup>. Apart from the divisions between political factions, there appears to have been a division within the anti-Roman faction as to whether to negotiate with the Bruttians or to insist of dealing only with Hannibal, the overwhelming majority favouring the latter option.<sup>59</sup> In fact, the question of the Bruttians seems to have been the decisive factor. The Bruttians seem to have taken the opportunity to pursue their traditional hostility to the Greeks in the area<sup>60</sup>, and it seems quite likely that their presence had decisive effect on the decisions made by each city, although it is not true to say, as Livy does<sup>61</sup>, that they were more likely to remain allied to Rome after the defection of the neighbouring Bruttians. This appears to be true of some cities, possibly Rhegium, but not of Croton and Locri. In these cases, Hannibal seems to have been able to play on local conflicts and rivalries to gain more allies<sup>62</sup>. Although the actual defection of much of the city took place as a result of stasis, the Bruttian question was central to the negotiation of an

agreement and the surrender of the party beseiged in the citadel. In particular, there seems to have been great hostility to the possibility that Hannibal would repopulate the city by means of introducing Bruttian colonists<sup>63</sup>. It is notable, however, that the political division appears to centre on the issue of the Bruttians rather than on support for Rome or Carthage. This is particularly reflected in the fact that the Crotoniates who chose to leave the city elected to move to Locri, which was by this time a Carthaginian ally, rather than moving to a city which was still under Roman control.

The effect of the secession of Croton was to give Hannibal access to the wealth of the sanctuary of Hera Lacinia<sup>64</sup>, a shrine which also had great symbolic importance for the whole of Southern Italy, as well as control of the city itself. The manner of the secession, involving the removal of the anti-Bruttian party to Locri, may have contributed to Croton's staunch loyalty to Carthage during the later stages of the war. The city was a major Carthaginian base during the retreat into Bruttium during 204 and 203<sup>65</sup> and there appears to have been a major redistribution of the population. However, Livy's statement<sup>66</sup> that the city was entirely evacuated is unlikely to be true. The departure of some of the population to Locri seems to be the result of the political divisions, and it is likely that they returned after the war, as did the exiles in other Greek cities.<sup>67</sup>

The secession of Thurii is closely connected with that of Tarentum, but the sources disagree on the extent to which one was a direct result of the other. Livy and Appian appear to follow

different traditions. Livy<sup>68</sup> ascribes the decision to join Hannibal to the execution of Thurian hostages in Rome, whose relatives organised an ambush of Roman troops and negotiated a settlement with Carthage. Appian,<sup>69</sup> however, ascribes it to Tarentine pressure, using the crews of some captured Thurian ships as hostages to ensure that Thurii seceded. In both these cases, the pressure to secede seems to have come from the Tarentines, which argues strongly that Tarentum was actively pro-Carthaginian<sup>70</sup>, in a way that most of the other Italiotes were not. It also suggests a possible revival of the enmity between Tarentum and Thurii which was a major factor in the outbreak of the Pyrrhic war<sup>71</sup>, and may also be an indication that Tarentum was attempting to reassert the hegemony which was lost in 270. Certainly the Carthaginians do not feature as a significant factor in either tradition. In fact, the two accounts are not totally unreconcilable, although the version preferred by Appian seems to be influenced by a more anti-Tarentine tradition than that of Livy. The escape of the Tarentine and Thurian hostages referred to by Livy is described in terms of Tarentine duplicity, but the existence of this group of hostages and of Tarentine envoys rather suggests that relations with Rome were already strained and that this incident is not an escape engineered to provide a *casus belli* but part of a declaration of hostilities. The apparent contradiction in the Thurian action of supplying grain to the Roman garrison at Tarentum<sup>72</sup> may reflect some division within the city, the Tarentines using the incident to put pressure on the pro-Roman faction. Other references to Thurian action during the war suggest continued support for Hannibal,<sup>73</sup> which would be unlikely in the case of a city which had been forced to change alliance against its will.

Herakleia is one of the least well documented cities of the South at this period, and its attitude to Carthage is known from only one reference by Appian<sup>74</sup>. Like Metapontum, Tarentum and Thurii, it seceded from Carthage in 212 B.C., apparently from fear, rather than from positive hostility to Rome, although it is not specified whether this was fear of the Carthaginians, the Italians or the neighbouring Italiote states which had seceded.

Metapontum also defected in 212, following the removal of a large part of the Roman garrison to Tarentum<sup>75</sup>. Here, there seems to have been strong anti-Roman feeling. The defection seems to have occurred as soon as there was a suitable opportunity, and the Roman garrison were massacred, something which did not occur elsewhere. There is a consistent record of Metapontine hostility to Rome throughout the war, and many Metapontines elected to abandon the city and follow Hannibal into Bruttium rather than surrender to Rome<sup>76</sup>. However, sources are not detailed, and there is no evidence of internal division or of reaction to the Bruttians which is such a strong factor among the cities in Calabria.

The sources for the secession of Tarentum, also in 212, are more detailed than those for other Greek cities, but there are conflicting traditions<sup>77</sup>. All agree that Tarentum was the first of the more Easterly Greek cities to defect, and that this had the effect of provoking several other secessions. As at Metapontum, the factors which influenced the cities to the West were largely absent. There is no evidence of particular animosity towards the surrounding Italians and the Carthaginian army does not appear to have been near the city when the first moves against Rome were made. Clearly, the

defection was a spontaneous act on the part of Tarentum<sup>78</sup>, not undertaken in response to external pressure. It is possible to argue, on the slight evidence available, that Tarentum had enjoyed considerable prosperity during the 3rd century<sup>79</sup> and had largely repaired the damage caused by the Pyrrhic war. Thus the city was in a position to enter a more expansionist phase, and may have been attempting to reassert Tarentine authority in the South-East of Italy. The fact that it was garrisoned very early in the war, and also had to give hostages, suggests that it was an area of suspect loyalty as early as 218<sup>80</sup>. However, the approach made to Hannibal is clearly linked with a political coup. Livy's model of pro-Roman aristocracies and anti-Roman demagogues in the South does not work in the case of Tarentum, since the conspirators who made the approach to Hannibal were young aristocrats<sup>81</sup>. It has been suggested that this incident is merely a projection forward, by Livy or his sources, of earlier political trends involving the 4th century Pythagoreans<sup>82</sup>. The description of the conspirators as νεανιωκοι, or *nobiles iuvenes*,<sup>83</sup> recalls the young aristocrats who took a large part in the Pythagorean politics of the 4th century<sup>84</sup>. However, this does not necessarily indicate that the incident can be dismissed as a doublet of some earlier political coup described by Timaeus or one of the other 4th century Greek historians. The political pattern described is common in the Greek world, and not implausible. Given the continued strength of Pythagoreanism as a political force at Tarentum even after the war,<sup>85</sup> it is not at all impossible that the conspirators were a group of Pythagorean aristocrats who were intent on overthrowing the democracy. The fact that the motive for secession was largely one of internal politics, the group of aristocrats having used opposition to Rome as a political platform, is made clear by

Polybios<sup>86</sup>. Livy cites the execution of the Tarentine hostages in Rome as the initial cause, but this is more likely to be simply a *casus belli* and it is open to doubt as to whether the incident was deliberately engineered, as Livy suggests, or was a Roman act of aggression consequent on Tarentum breaking off diplomatic relations<sup>87</sup>. However, Rome clearly did retain contact with the exiles from Tarentum, and seems to have had a policy, in this case and that of Locri, of exploiting internal divisions in order to secure a reversion of these cities to alliance with Rome. In particular, there were negotiations with a group of exiles at Olympia in 207<sup>88</sup>, and there seems to have been a contingent of Tarentine troops in the Roman army.<sup>89</sup>

The evidence for Tarentine behaviour in the later part of the war is fuller than that for most of the Italiotes. In 210, a joint Romano-Greek fleet was defeated very decisively by the Tarentines, and a successful blockade was mounted against the Roman garrison, which was besieged in the citadel, together with a group of Tarentines who had refused to accept the alliance with Carthage<sup>90</sup>. The recapture of the city by Rome in 209 appears to be less influenced by political considerations than was that of Locri. Livy<sup>91</sup> ascribes it to the blackmail and subversion of the commander of the Bruttian units of the garrison, but it is unlikely that the city was betrayed by him single-handed. However, it is notable that most of the Tarentines were unwilling to revert to Rome and put up a considerable degree of resistance, culminating in the sack of the city<sup>92</sup>. Little is known about the settlement made with Rome, but the city was left under military rule for a considerable period of time. The initial feeling in the Senate was in favour of imposing the same



settlement on Tarentum as on Capua<sup>93</sup>, but in the end, the terms appear to have been considerably more lenient<sup>94</sup>. It is possible that the delay may have allowed more moderate opinion to prevail. The evidence for Tarentum in the 2nd century seems to indicate that its alliance with Rome was on very similar terms to those of other cities in Italy and Greece, with occasional, although not heavy, military contributions. There was, however, a considerable amount of land confiscation, as the amount of *ager publicus* in the area appears to have been high<sup>95</sup>. In effect, it is likely that the settlement was very similar to that made with Locri.

Thus, the evidence for Magna Graecia in the 2nd Punic War indicates a number of common factors. In general terms, the response of these cities to Hannibal's attempt to undermine Roman alliances was very mixed. In some cases, it is clear that the Carthaginians were attempting to play on local rivalries and grievances, both in internal politics and in relations between Greeks and Italians, in order to bring about a revolt against Rome, but there seems to be no sense in which his policy of presenting Carthage as a rival to Rome as a protector of the Italians was valid for the Greek South. Most of these cities seem to have been very isolated from Rome, and even those who remained loyal were not closely connected with the Roman war effort, being left to fight their own campaigns, but not included in the Roman army on a large scale. Most of the sources reveal an almost complete lack of interest in the wider issues at stake on the part of most of the Greek states, a fact which is not surprising given that they had apparently had little contact with Rome since 270 and also that the presence of the Carthaginians as a major factor in foreign affairs was a familiar feature in Magna Graecia and Sicily.

The likelihood that the settlements made in the 270's had been fairly lenient and that many of the cities of the South had enjoyed some resurgence of prosperity seems to have created conditions in which at least one city, Tarentum, was able to pursue a more expansionist foreign policy. The sources are not sufficient to allow this to be argued in detail, but it does seem that Tarentum was instrumental in provoking the secession of at least one other city, and probably more, as well as being one of the few to voluntarily open negotiations with Hannibal.

#### Magna Graecia 200-90 B.C.

The period following the Hannibalic war is very badly documented in terms of literary evidence and unlike the period following the Civil wars, there is no reasonable quantity of epigraphic evidence to supplement this. There have been a number of attempts to synthesise the evidence for this period<sup>96</sup>, and thus it will be discussed only briefly. However, it is a period of crucial significance for the question of Romanisation, as there is evidence, as discussed above, that it was during this period that Rome's relations with southern Italy became closer. There is also evidence for increasing interference by Rome in the affairs of the allies in the 2nd century, and it has been argued that 90 B.C. should be seen as a cultural, as well as a political, watershed, marking the end of the Hellenistic period in Magna Graecia<sup>97</sup>. This is a contentious issue, particularly as there is no agreement over the definition of the Hellenistic period in the context of Magna Graecia, and it has even been suggested that the term has no real meaning for the cities of Southern Italy<sup>98</sup>. However, it seems more accurate to view the questions of Hellenism and Romanisation in the South as a process of

gradual change on a number of different levels, rather than as something which can be pinpointed chronologically. The number of contacts with the Eastern empire which were maintained by some of the cities of Magna Graecia argue that these cities were recognisably Hellenistic<sup>99</sup>, at least until 90 B.C., if not later. It is also notable that some cities retained elements of the Greek language and Hellenistic culture even after the Augustan period, which is widely regarded as the date by which Italy can be regarded as fully "Romanised"<sup>100</sup>. Thus it seems inaccurate to regard 90 B.C. as a chronological watershed in anything other than a purely political sense.

There is little evidence for legal changes in the status of even the secessionist communities in the South in the period after 200 B.C., but there is evidence for an increasing amount of interference in the South by Rome, and an exercise of greater central control, which argues that Rome was attempting to strengthen connections. There were also economic impositions which must have had an effect on the social stability and economic standing of these communities. Tarentum was sacked in 209<sup>101</sup>, and seems to have suffered considerable loss of wealth and population. There is less in the way of explicit evidence for land confiscations, but the amount of colonisation in the South in the early 2nd century, and the fact that the area was a target for the Gracchan land commissioners and also the site of a number of Gracchan colonies, suggests that the amount of land which was confiscated as *ager publicus* must have been high<sup>102</sup>. Cities affected by this include Tarentum, Croton, Scolacium, Vibo, Buxentum and Thurii<sup>103</sup>. Thus it is inevitable that the Greek South should have been affected to some extent by the

agrarian changes of the 2nd century B.C., although the concept of Magna Graecia as an area depopulated to the point of desertion as the result of the emergence of *latifundia* is clearly a gross oversimplification<sup>104</sup>. The *elogium* from Polla<sup>105</sup>, which has, on occasion, been used to justify the theory that arable farming was replaced by pasturage, which was then forcibly replaced again by small arable farms as a result of the Gracchan legislation, is somewhat misleading if viewed in this light. In fact, pasturage and herding were important parts of the economy of the South<sup>106</sup>, and the removal of herdsmen to make way for farmers would represent an innovation, not a return to a previous situation. Further economic change is also likely to have occurred as a result of the loss of the right to coin money by most of the Italiote cities<sup>107</sup> in the period following the 2nd Punic War. This was also a measure which must have had a centralising effect. However, it should be noted that some of the Italiote cities continued to coin money for a considerable period after the end of coin sequence in neighbouring Italian cities. There were some exceptions to this disappearance of coinage, notably Paestum, which continued to issue bronze coinage until the reign of Tiberius<sup>108</sup>, but it is debatable whether this had a primarily economic purpose<sup>109</sup>.

Much of the South seems to have been in a considerable state of unrest in the period following the departure of Hannibal, and there are indications of an upsurge of brigandage. There are a number of reports of "conspiracies" of slaves and herdsmen in Apulia in the 190's and 180's which were serious enough to require the appointment of a special praetor to deal with them<sup>110</sup>. In particular, Tarentum was the base for these commissioners and for a Roman garrison<sup>111</sup>,

which illustrates the fact that the area was still seen as unstable and strategically sensitive. The Bacchanalian conspiracy, and Rome's handling of it<sup>112</sup>, further illustrates the restlessness of the South at this date. It is of interest that the cult of Dionysos was prominent in a number of Italiote cities, notably Naples<sup>113</sup> and Tarentum<sup>114</sup>, and these may be the points from which the cult was diffused.

There are several other features which must have contributed to the development of increasingly close contact and of central control, notably the colonisation which was mentioned above, and the increase in road building. The decline of some of the cities along the coast between Tarentum and Rhegium<sup>115</sup> may be explicable in terms of the fact that they were now distant from the major lines of communication between Rome and the South, the Via Appia and the Via Annia/Popillia, while Rhegium, Tarentum and the coastal cities of Campania and Lucania retained greater access to the main system of land transport and communications. Immigration and colonisation certainly took place during this period, but it is not possible to ascertain to what extent the influx of Roman and Italian settlers changes the character of the Greek communities. It seems unlikely that the communities which were colonised would have escaped totally unchanged, but it is notable that most of the colonies in the South were very small<sup>116</sup> and were also in many cases, unsuccessful, with many of the colonists leaving the area after only a few years<sup>117</sup>. In some areas, the more lasting and influential factor may have been the gradual influx of individual Romans and Italians into these communities. There was a certain amount of viri-tane assignment in many areas of the South<sup>118</sup>, and also a relatively large-scale seasonal migration of wealthy

Romans to certain areas of Campania. This principally affected the area around the Bay of Naples<sup>119</sup>, and was not nearly such a prominent feature of the area in this period as it became in the 1st century B.C., but there is evidence that the trend was beginning in the 2nd century<sup>120</sup>, and also that the same phenomenon can be observed, although to a lesser extent, in other areas<sup>121</sup>. Despite this, the Greek South does not seem to have become "Romanised" in any great sense<sup>122</sup>. As will be demonstrated in the second section of this study, the epigraphy of the area indicates a continuity of Greek culture, at least on some levels, in a number of cities until a much later date. It also conclusively disproves the assertion found in some of the later Roman sources that Magna Graecia was depopulated and that some cities were virtually deserted<sup>123</sup>. While it is true that the population of the area seems to have fallen from the levels of the 4th century, it seems likely that the idea of decline and desertion had become a literary commonplace with only a limited bearing on reality<sup>124</sup>.

One of the most problematic aspects of an attempt to write a history of the Greek South is a complete absence of any evidence for the attitudes of the Italiote cities during the Social War. The only indication of possible attitude is contained in a brief reference to Naples and Herakleia<sup>125</sup>, both of which expressed a preference for remaining allies, rather than accepting Roman citizenship. However, as far as is known, the Italiote cities did not participate in the war on either side. This marks a considerable change from the foreign policy of some states during the 3rd century, which tended to be hostile to Rome, in as far as there was any contact, and would have suggested that many of the Southern cities were likely to be hostile

to Rome. In view of the lack of evidence, it is only possible to hazard guesses at the reasons for Italiote quiescence and apparent lack of interest in grievances which had become very pressing for many of the allies<sup>126</sup>, but there seem to be two major factors which are significant. The first of these is that the greatest hostility to Rome is found amongst the Oscan peoples who were the traditional enemies of the Greeks<sup>127</sup>. As in the 2nd Punic war, it is possible that ongoing local rivalries influenced the behaviour of the Greeks, at least in the South. The second is implied by Cicero's assertion that Naples and Herakleia expressed a preference for alliance rather than citizenship. It seems significant, in the light of this, that the concept of citizenship extended on a large scale in this manner and at the cost of local autonomy is not one which is found in Greece and the Hellenistic world<sup>127</sup>, and that it appears to have been a uniquely Roman development. If this reluctance of Naples and Herakleia is set against this background, it is possible to argue that the Roman concept of extended citizenship was so far removed from the Greek concept of citizenship, even when this included *isopoliteia*<sup>129</sup>, that the main issue of the war was regarded as largely irrelevant by the Italiotes. As with the major events of the 3rd century, Italiote actions seem to indicate an isolation from, and indifference to, the main issues which preoccupied Rome, as well as a possible difference of concept on the question of citizenship.

The *Socii Navales*: A Reassessment of Roman Alliances and Diplomacy  
in Southern Italy

The nature of the diplomatic contacts between Rome and the Italiote Greeks, and the legal basis of Romano-Italiote relations, have been the subject of a certain amount of recent research. However, in many respects, this area has not been sufficiently clarified, being treated by many modern authorities as a side issue to other questions of the nature of Roman control in Italy. This chapter has two aims, namely to examine in detail the evidence for the treaty obligations of the Italiote allies and attempt to define the nature of these alliances, and to reassess the patterns of alliance in Southern Italy in the light of recent research on the mechanisms of Roman diplomacy in Greece and the Hellenistic East.

In the most general terms, the Italiote cities were, for the most part, incorporated into the system of alliances built up by Rome, although one or two received rather different treatment<sup>1</sup>. This in theory implied the continuation of local autonomy, with a bilateral agreement for the granting of military assistance, on the part of both Rome and the ally concerned, in the event of a defensive war. However, there was a tendency for the military aspect of alliance to become the predominant one. The Italiote allies have usually been seen as differing rather from this pattern, since their military contributions, where specified, appear to have been ships, rather than troops. Since this difference is highlighted by both ancient and modern sources, as is the prominence of the military aspects of alliance, it is intended to discuss the military obligations of the Italiote allies, and modern comment on the subject, first, to be followed by an examination of the evidence for



the treaties and their nature on a more general level.

a) The *Socii Navales*

The term *socius navalis*, as used by many modern authorities, is something of a misnomer. It occurs primarily in Livy, and is used frequently as a term to describe those allies who provided ships rather than troops as their military assistance to Rome<sup>2</sup>. By implication, these allies are principally the Greek cities of Southern Italy. In fact, the Livian usage of the term is of a rather different nature, as demonstrated in an examination of the evidence by Milan<sup>3</sup>. Livy's *socii navales* are not the states which provided ships for the Roman navy, but the marines and crews of Roman warships. By the period in which Livy was writing, the phrase seems to have become a generic term for certain types of naval personnel, who may or may not have been of allied origin.

The exact definition of the term is in some doubt, as Livy uses it to describe naval personnel of all dates and nationalities. There seems to be some distinction between *milites*, who appear to have been legionaries serving as marines, and *socii navales*, who seem to have been troops who habitually served on board ship<sup>4</sup>, but the actual definition is not clear. There are references to Carthaginian, Rhodian and Pergamene<sup>5</sup> crews as *socii navales*, as well as to Roman ones. There are also references to the crews of Roman ships in 310 B.C. as *socii navales*<sup>6</sup>, a date at which the Roman fleet was restricted to two *dumviral* squadrons, and included no allied ships, as far as is known. It seems likely that here Livy is applying later terminology to a period of Roman history when it would not necessarily have been in use, particularly since Roman naval interests

are known to have been limited at this period. Policy towards defeated maritime states such as Antium involved destruction or confiscation of their ships<sup>7</sup> rather than incorporation as naval allies. However, the use of the term here is an indication that the *socii navales* have no integral connection with the Greek allies of the South, since it refers to a period before the formation of most of the alliances in this area. Thus it seems that *socii navales* could be either marines or ship's crew, and could potentially be Roman, allied or entirely non-Italian. The degree of specialisation by troops used on board ship is also in doubt, although it seems possible that a distinction was made between troops who served as marines and those who normally served as legionaries.

The question of which groups exactly constituted the *socii navales* remains uncertain, and in many respects is peripheral to the question of the Greek allies and their military obligations. However, Thiel's conjecture<sup>8</sup> that *socii navales* were originally crews composed of allies in the strictest sense, and only later acquired a more generalised meaning, seems to be a likely solution. The Livian evidence gives very little information on the recruitment of naval personnel, but it seems likely that the majority of *socii navales* were allied troops levied by the usual methods and then detailed for naval service, rather than specially recruited units. The passages which deal with the raising of crews in Rome in 214 and 210 both deal with exceptional incidents in time of crisis, involving the paying and feeding of crews by private subscription rather than by the State<sup>9</sup>. It is possible that Roman citizens were recruited on these occasions, but it seems more likely that the majority of those levied were slaves and freedmen. However, the few specific

references to the origins of groups of *socii navales* indicate that they were not necessarily drawn from areas with a naval tradition, and were certainly not all drawn from the states which provided ships, as suggested by Thiel<sup>10</sup>. Orosius and Zonaras<sup>11</sup> indicate that on one occasion a group of Samnite and Paelignian troops were detailed to man the fleet sent to Sicily in 259, and the level of inexperience<sup>12</sup> of the Roman fleets of the 1st Punic War strongly suggests that the crews were not drawn from cities with a strong naval tradition.

b) Military Obligations of the Greek Allies: The Evidence for the Contribution of Naval Forces.

The modern discussions of Rome's naval allies have been few, with only one comprehensive study of the subject<sup>13</sup>. This suggests that the conquest of Magna Graecia marked a major change in Roman naval policy.<sup>14</sup> The new fleet was only a little larger than the old *duumviral* squadrons but was composed of allied ships, co-ordinated by *Quaestores Classici*, and intended mainly to police the Italian coast and control piracy. It is assumed that the small size of the fleet was dictated to some extent by the decline of the cities of Magna Graecia to the point where they had only a small naval capacity<sup>15</sup>, and also conjectured that after the formation of the Roman fleet in the 260's, the Italiote naval contribution was commuted, except on a few occasions, to the provision of crews and harbour facilities. There is no evidence that these allies were chosen to provide crews for Roman warships, in preference to other allies with less in the way of a naval tradition<sup>16</sup>, and the evidence for the nature of Italiote naval contributions suggests that these were primarily small contingents of ships, provided at infrequent intervals, rather than a

regular supply of crews for the Roman fleet. However, Thiel's view<sup>17</sup> that the Italiote allies did not form a separate category of allies, distinct from Rome's other allies does seem likely, particularly in view of the fact that there is evidence that the Greek cities made contributions to Roman land forces, as well as to the fleet.

It has been argued<sup>18</sup> that the contribution of the Greek allies to the Roman fleet during the 1st Punic War was rather larger than the surviving sources would suggest, and also that it was given in excess of the normal treaty obligations. While it is true that the Roman annalists, who formed Polybios' main sources<sup>19</sup>, may have wished to obscure any contribution which would detract from Roman achievement in winning the war, it is also true that the level of naval contribution in the 1st Punic War, as recorded by Polybios, is perfectly consistent with that recorded by Livy for the post-war period. Thus it is misleading to argue *ex silentio* that the extent of Greek contributions must have been suppressed by the early annalists.

The actual ancient evidence for naval contributions by the Greek allies is very slight, and is also spread over a relatively long period of time. The earliest reference<sup>20</sup> to Italiote naval obligations occurs in connection with the first Roman invasion of Sicily in 264 B.C., but there is no evidence of any subsequent Italiote contribution to the Roman fleet during the rest of the 1st Punic War. Polybios refers only to the use of an unspecified number of triremes and pentekontors supplied by Locri, Tarentum, Naples and Velia for use as transports during the crossing to Sicily. Since these appear to have been the only source of transport for the entire

army, it can be inferred that a sizeable number of ships must have been provided by each city. Tarentum, at least, is known to have had a fleet large enough to transport Pyrrhus' army to Italy in 280<sup>21</sup>, and this may have been still intact in 264, since there is no evidence of any naval engagements or losses in the intervening period, and no evidence of naval confiscations by Rome.<sup>22</sup> All four of the cities named are known to have had a strong sea-faring tradition<sup>23</sup>. The basis on which the ships were provided is also significant. Polybios does not refer to them as being provided as the result of a *συμμαχία* or a *συνθήκη* but as being *συνχρησόμενοι*, which implies that the ships were borrowed as the result of a special arrangement, rather than forming part of a regular treaty obligation<sup>24</sup>. Thus it is in direct contradiction with the assertion that Greek cities were compelled by treaty to supply naval forces at this date. The nature of this fleet, as described by Polybios, is problematic. Its composition, of triremes and pentekontors, should indicate a fleet of warships but it seems to have been used exclusively for transport purposes<sup>25</sup> and on one occasion only. However, it seems unlikely that this was the case, particularly since the army in Sicily required regular reinforcements. It seems more plausible that the allied fleet was required to transport troops on other occasions as well.<sup>26</sup> The lack of any evidence during this period for the use of allied ships as warships remains a problem, but it is consistent with other evidence which suggests that Greek ships were never used in anything other than a subsidiary capacity.

This incident is followed by a gap of over fifty years, until 210 when there was a request by Rome for a force of approximately fifteen triremes from Velia, Paestum, Rhegium and other unspecified

allies to supplement a squadron of five Roman ships.<sup>27</sup> This particular passage is very problematic for two reasons. Firstly, the phrase used by Livy, *sociis Reginisque et a Velia et a Paesto debitas ex foedere exigendū*, seems to imply by its structure that the cities named are regarded as being in some way different from the *socii* already mentioned. It also seems to imply some difference between Rhegium on one hand and Paestum and Velia on the other. While this is certainly true of Paestum, which was the site of a Latin colony founded in 273,<sup>28</sup> there is no reason to believe that any such special circumstances existed at Velia.<sup>29</sup> The whole of this passage raises important questions about the nature of the alliances between Rome and the Greek cities which will be discussed in further detail later.

In addition to this, it also provides evidence, in direct contradiction to that of Polybios, that these ships were provided *ex foedere*, again raising questions about the nature of the relationship with Rome. It is possible that a *foedus* had been concluded at some stage between 264 and 210 to replace an earlier and possibly less formal agreement in the case of Velia, the only state to be cited on both occasions. However, the use of the phrase *ex foedere* in Livy seems to be quite specialised and study of this in conjunction with other instances may indicate an alternative interpretation which will be discussed in more detail below. Although the number of Greek ships on this occasion totals fifteen (by inference from the statement that three-quarters of the fleet of twenty were Greek) the contingent required from each state must have been small, since this total is divided between three named cities and an unknown number of unnamed ones. This seems to indicate that the demand was for no more than one or two triremes from each city. Apart from the small size

of the contingents required, which are consistent with the other evidence for Rome's naval requirements,<sup>30</sup> although possibly rather surprising in view of the war situation, the distribution of the ships is surprising. This can be partly explained by the fact that by this date, all the Greek allies along the coast between Rhegium and Tarentum had seceded to Hannibal, and thus the sources of help were limited. However, this does not explain why Rome preferred to request help from small cities with limited naval resources such as Velia and Paestum rather than from Naples,<sup>31</sup> the most important naval power in Campania and not, unlike Paestum, supplying troops to the Roman army. The geographical distribution of the cities supplying ships in this instance cannot be taken as absolutely representative of normal practice in view of the war situation, but it does seem to be quite consistent with the records which exist for the post-war period.<sup>32</sup>

For the period of the wars in the Eastern Mediterranean, there is considerably more evidence for Greek naval participation than there is from the 3rd century. However, a study of this reveals a pattern very similar to that of the earlier period, namely provision of small numbers of ships on what seems to be an irregular and infrequent basis. In 195, a fleet of 25 ships, described as *navibus longis*,<sup>33</sup> were sent to Luna. Of these, five were allied but there are no indications of which states these came from. Two distinct groups of allies can be isolated, those who provided the five original ships which formed the core of the fleet and those from the area around Luna, who appear to have provided the transport for the crossing to Spain. This incident, and also another recorded by Livy<sup>34</sup>, seems to suggest that it was normal Roman practice simply to

obtain ships for transport and reconnaissance from the allies which were nearest at hand and to obtain them as and when needed rather than exacting ships on a regular basis from specified states with definite treaty obligations. However, this is in direct conflict with the only direct statement given by Livy<sup>35</sup> on the subject of the Greek allies and their position in relation to Rome. This passage raises a number of problems. The context is a speech by an ambassador from Antiochus and the reply by a Roman legate during negotiations which took place in 193. These references challenge Roman assertions of Greek independence on the grounds that Greek cities in Italy such as Naples, Rhegium and Tarentum were subject to Rome and were forced by their treaties to supply ships to Rome and to pay tribute. This is the most definitive given by any source of the treaty terms and exact military obligations of the Italiote cities, but its context makes it considerably less conclusive than it would otherwise be. The inclusion of this piece of information in a speech which clearly attempts to maximise the extent of Roman tyranny over her allies and in particular the Greek allies raises the strong possibility that Livy is intentionally overstating or distorting the facts in order to strengthen the argument for each side in the debate. Thus while this piece of evidence cannot be dismissed altogether, it would be unwise to place too much reliance on this passage for evidence of treaty obligations of a restrictive or burdensome nature<sup>36</sup>. In fact, this is contrary to all other, and more specific, references to the provision of naval forces and is the only evidence for the payment of tribute by the Italiote states as part of their treaty obligations. It is not impossible that the states which seceded during the second Punic war may have been forced to pay some sort of war indemnity<sup>37</sup> but in this instance, two of the



three cities named were loyal to Rome throughout the war. The inclusion of Naples is particularly problematic since there is evidence of a particularly favourable treaty in this case, which would seem to preclude allegations of unduly heavy military or financial burdens and general tyrannous behaviour on the part of Rome.

In addition to these instances, there are two references which give more specific information about the use of Greek ships. A squadron of allied ships was formed for operations in Greece in 191 B.C.<sup>38</sup> The exact number is not given but they are described as *aperta* and appear to have been light vessels acting as auxiliaries to the main fleet of 50 decked ships. They are described as being drawn from Naples, other unnamed allies on the west coast of Italy, Rhegium, Locri and other allies of similar type. This may indicate that Rome was using the other Greek allies as a source of naval power, but it seems more likely, in view of the parallel instance in 195<sup>39</sup> and the presence of non-Greek allies in the fleet raised in 210<sup>40</sup>, that this was a case of Rome using the nearest source of naval power, not just relying on a particular group of allies. The unnamed allies in this instance may well have been the small, Hellenised coastal towns which fell within the sphere of influence of the Greek colonies in areas such as the Sallentine peninsular. The indications seem quite clear that the allies which contributed to this fleet were simply those in the most convenient place for the operations concerned and were not specifically designated naval allies or supplying ships by virtue of a special treaty. The reference to the fleet formed in 171<sup>41</sup> also gives details of provenance and type of ships. The requirement was for the provision of seven triremes *ex*

*foedere*, one from Rhegium, two from Locri and four from Uria. This last city may have been located somewhere in Apulia or the Sallentine peninsular, but it has also been conjectured<sup>42</sup> that it could be a textual corruption, from Thurii. This is possible but seems unlikely since Thurii does not appear to have any naval interests at this date and is not recorded as having undertaken any naval activity which would justify the assignment of the largest single contingent of ships mentioned by Livy. Badian's identification of Uria with Thurii is based only on his rejection of the possibility of non-Greek naval assistance and seems to be too summary. A Sallentine city called Uria is known to have existed but was not situated on the coast. However, there is evidence of a Daunian city, Urium, further up the coast of Apulia.<sup>43</sup> Strabo<sup>44</sup> also asserts that the city of Hyria, mentioned by Herodotus<sup>45</sup>, can be equated with the later Sallentine city of Veretum. However, an identification of Uria with Urium seems more plausible.

The pattern revealed by the study of the evidence for the provision of ships by the Greek allies is remarkably consistent. Each reference which gives details of the size of fleets indicates that the number of ships provided by the allies tended to be very small. The largest fleet mentioned is that of twenty-five ships which crossed from Luna to Spain in 195, while numbers given for other fleets are fifteen, seven and five triremes for the fleets of 210, 171 and 191 respectively. Of the fleets of unspecified size, only the fleet of transports and supply vessels operating in 24 gives the impression of having been of any significant size. By comparison with the Roman fleets built during the 1st and 2nd Punic wars, these numbers are minimal. During the last Punic war, fleets of 200 or

more quinqueremes were the norm and the number does not seem to have been substantially less during the 2nd Punic war.

In terms of both geographical provenance and chronology the distribution of the ships is very scattered and shows little discernible pattern. The dates at which ships are known to have been requested are 264, 210, 195, 191 and 171. In addition to this, there is a general statement on the subject made in 193, but there is no evidence that Greek ships were operating in this year. Geographically, the evidence seems to suggest that not all the Greek cities were required to provide ships. The complete exceptions are Croton, Metapontum, Herakleia, Cumae and possibly Thurii. These are also the cities which suffered most from depopulation or movement of population as a result of Hannibal's campaigns in Italy. Lacinium, in Crotoniate territory, seems to have remained a port of call<sup>46</sup> and it is possible that Croton was providing harbour facilities, being, according to the ancient evidence, the only good harbour between Rhegium and Tarentum. Livy<sup>47</sup> also suggests that Croton and Thurii may have supplied a large number of rowers for the fleet collected by Quinctius. In fact, this seems unlikely, unless the men in question were exiles from these cities, since both cities were under Carthaginian control at this point. However, this reference does illustrate the point that allied ships did not necessarily have to be manned by the states which supplied them, although it seems likely that this could be a more usual practice. Of those cities which are named as suppliers of ships, Tarentum, the strongest naval power in Italy, is mentioned only once in specific terms. Naples, which was possibly the only Italiote city which could approach Tarentum in terms of naval power, features on only two occasions, in 264 and 191.

The states which are most frequently mentioned as supplying naval forces are Rhegium and Locri while the smaller cities of Velia and Paestum seem to have made an occasional contribution. In terms of non-Greek ships, only Uria and Carthage are mentioned by name but a larger number of states are implied.<sup>48</sup> The impression given by this evidence is that Greek naval contributions were infrequent and small in size, even allowing for the likelihood that not all naval contributions have been recorded. The small size of these contingents has often been taken as evidence of the decline of the Greek cities and assumed to be an indication of their inability to make a larger military contribution,<sup>49</sup> but in fact, there is a fair amount of evidence that the Greeks retained a much greater military, and particularly naval, capacity than is indicated simply by the size of their contributions to the Roman fleet.

c) Independent Military Activity in Magna Graecia and Non-Naval Contribution to Roman Forces

The evidence for military and naval activity by the Italiote Greeks after their conquest by Rome is equal, if not greater, in volume than the references specifically to military exactions by Rome. In general, it would seem to indicate a much greater military capacity than Rome's demands would suggest. Both before and during the Pyrrhic war, the Tarentine navy in particular is indicated to have been of considerable size and efficiency<sup>50</sup>. The incident which sparked off the war involved the destruction of one of Rome's two *dumviral* squadrons almost in entirety by the Tarentine fleet<sup>51</sup>. Plutarch asserts<sup>52</sup> that in 280, the Tarentines undertook the

transportation of Pyrrhus' entire army of 20 elephants, 3,000 cavalry, 20,000 infantry and 2,500 light troops, a fact which suggests that Tarentum was able to raise a very large fleet, either with or without help from the other Italiote cities. Justin<sup>53</sup> states that Pyrrhus drew a considerable amount of support in terms of money, troops and naval transport from other Hellenistic monarchs. However, Plutarch's indication of a large and powerful Tarentine fleet is more consistent with the evidence of Polybios<sup>54</sup>.

As with the evidence for Italiote ships in Roman service, other evidence for activity by the Italiote navies is lacking for the period between 280 and 212, with no reference to the important developments of the 1st Punic war. However, the evidence from 212 onwards indicates that several of the Greek states still possessed considerable naval strength. According to both Livy<sup>55</sup> and Appian<sup>56</sup> the Tarentine fleet took an important part in the siege of the citadel, being able to escape the Roman blockade of the Mare Piccolo and in turn blockade the trapped Roman garrison. The size of the fleet is unspecified but it was clearly large enough to maintain an effective blockade and to spare enough forces for other operations such as the naval battle of 210<sup>57</sup>. For the same year, 212, Appian<sup>58</sup> records an attempt by Thurian ships to enter the citadel with supplies for the garrison and their capture by the Tarentine fleet. However, Livy<sup>59</sup> has an alternative version of this incident in which grain from Etruria succeeds in eluding the Tarentine blockade. It is not impossible that the garrison should be supplied from Thurii but Etruria is a far more plausible source of grain<sup>60</sup>, particularly in view of the extensive devastation in the south due to Hannibal's campaigns. The version involving Thurii is also integral to the

circumstances of the secession of Thurii from Rome, a fact which raises problems in accepting Appian's account which has been discussed in Chapter 2.

The naval battle of 210<sup>61</sup>, with its decisive defeat for Rome, is a clear indication that the Tarentine fleet was both strong and effective, taking on a fleet of combined Greek and Roman ships without apparently weakening the blockade of the citadel.

In addition to this evidence concerning the 2nd Punic war, there is an isolated reference to the existence of an Italiote fleet independent of Rome as late as 82 B.C. Appian<sup>62</sup> records the capture by ~~Sulla~~ of the Neapolitan fleet, which consisted of an unspecified number of triremes. This incident marks the last indication of any naval or military activity by the Italiote Greeks.

Thus, a certain amount of evidence for unutilised naval capacities among the Italiote Greeks is present but, like the evidence for naval cooperation with Rome, this contains many gaps. For instance, much of this evidence refers to Tarentum, a city which does not feature prominently as a supplier of ships to the Roman fleet, and certainly not as prominently as these indications of the city's naval capabilities would lead one to expect. Also, much of this evidence comes from the period of the 2nd Punic war, a period in which many of the Greek cities were in revolt from Rome, whereas the greater part of the evidence for participation in Roman naval activities is datable to the 2nd century. The Tarentine fleet appears to have been Italy's only naval contribution to Hannibal during the 2nd Punic war, which may be accounted for by the fact that

Carthage had a strong navy and may not have needed extra naval power in large quantities. Locri<sup>63</sup>, is known to have provided ships for Rome both before and after the war, thus indicating a continuing naval capability, but does not seem to have given any help to Hannibal in this respect. As a whole, however, the references to the existence of Greek fleets other than in connection with Rome are sufficient to disprove the view that the Italiote Greeks were no longer capable of providing substantial military contingents. This leaves the question of why Rome did not make larger demands on the Greek allies in terms of naval resources. Thiel's analysis of Roman attitudes towards the building and maintenance of a fleet seems to cast doubt on Rome's reasons for demanding ships from her allies<sup>64</sup>. In most of the instances where ships are requested, Rome appears to be asking for supply vessels, transports and reconnaissance ships rather than warships,<sup>65</sup> thus indicating that Greek and other allied ships were used in a supporting capacity and were not part of the main fleet. This would seem to bear out Thiel's theory that allied ships were never intended to be part of the Roman fleet in any major sense after 264 but also raises the question of why this was so, and also what the military role of the Greek cities in fact was, since it would appear that ships were not, as previously assumed, their main military contribution. The small number provided cannot be regarded as a realistic contribution for anything other than a small state and certainly not for cities like Naples and Tarentum which demonstrably had a much greater military capacity, while the fact that Rome does not seem to have been interested in naval expansion makes it less likely that military commitments would be defined in terms of ships<sup>66</sup>.

There is a certain amount of evidence that Greek cities supplied troops as well as ships and crews, although much of this dates to the period of Hannibal's campaigns in Italy and thus may not be entirely representative of the normal situation. For instance, Paestum appears to have been providing troops in 209<sup>67</sup>, a year after being required to provide triremes and pentekontors for Quinctius' supply fleet<sup>68</sup>, although this is a slightly problematic case. There is also a certain amount of evidence that Tarentine contingents fought in the Roman army during the 2nd Punic war, although between 212 and 209, these were probably political exiles, therefore this reference<sup>69</sup> cannot be taken as representative. In addition to this, there are a number of minor references to Italiote troops present at Cannae<sup>70</sup> and a number of incidents that make it clear that Greek troops were operating locally around Naples and Rhegium<sup>71</sup>. Around Naples, the Neapolitan cavalry in particular, seems to have been very active in defence of the area in conjunction with Roman forces<sup>72</sup>. It seems unlikely that Rome, with its greater preoccupation with land forces, should have been more interested in ships than in the cavalry forces<sup>73</sup> for which many areas of Magna Graecia were famous, in particular Naples and Tarentum.

The view of Thiel<sup>74</sup> that the Greek commitment to supply ships was rapidly commuted to an agreement to supply a larger number of crews for Roman ships has little factual basis. Part of the Greek military obligation may have been to supply crews,<sup>75</sup> but it is possible that these were levied on the same basis as any other military contribution and were not the result of a special agreement. There is some evidence that the troops levied from other areas of Italy, in particular from the Samnites, were used on board ship on



some occasions, either as crew or marines<sup>76</sup>. The usage of the term *socci navales* to describe the crew of a ship probably indicates that these were originally allied levies, although later it seems to have passed into general use even in cases where the crews are obviously composed of Roman citizens<sup>77</sup>. The special training given to the crews of the early Roman fleets<sup>78</sup> would suggest that the greater part of the naval personnel had no training at all, a fact which would eliminate the possibility of the presence of large numbers of Greeks, since oarsmen from states such as Naples and Tarentum would be likely to have some experience in handling triremes, if not actually quinqueremes. While Thiel's assertion is probably true, that Greeks and other allies with a naval tradition contributed much in the way of shipbuilding and harbour facilities<sup>79</sup>, this would not account for their total military obligation to Rome. Other allies appear to have been obliged to supply extra help as and when necessary, either in terms of troops, ships or supplies and money, as the Etruscan states did in 205<sup>80</sup>. Thus the provision of ships by the Greek cities does not seem to be consistent, on the evidence which survives, with the pattern of military contribution among the other allies. This would suggest, given that exemption from military demands was only granted under very exceptional circumstances, that the provision of ships was not the regular military contribution of the Italiote Greeks but was an occasional extra levy which was either made by Rome, or possibly offered voluntarily by the states concerned. Voluntary contributions by Rome's allies<sup>81</sup> are known and the concept of voluntary service to the State is well documented in the Greek world<sup>82</sup>. Naples and Paestum offered voluntary financial contributions in 216<sup>83</sup> and several of the Etruscan cities supplied money, materials and transport for Scipio's African expedition, as noted above.

The position of the Greek allies in relation to Rome's overall military organisation is obscure. It has been argued, by Badian and Toynbee<sup>84</sup> amongst others, that the Greek allies did not provide any land forces and did not constitute part of the *formula togatorum*, the ships levied being the result of special agreement. In fact, this appears to be erroneous in many respects. The question of whether or not the Greek allies belonged to the *formula togatorum* is greatly complicated by the fact that the existence of the *formula* as an administrative device is highly debatable. However, it seems likely, as argued above, that the Greek allies did provide some troops and there is no reason to think that these were recruited in a different manner from any other contingents of allied troops. Thus there is no reason to believe that the Greek allies were regarded as inferior in status, as suggested by Badian<sup>85</sup>. The levying of allied naval contributions from allies seems to indicate that Roman military demands were frequently of a haphazard nature and were determined as a response to a particular situation rather than by a specific administrative system. This also seems to have been true of levies of allied troops as well as requests for ships, and to a much greater extent. Only two references mention treaties which defined the number of ships to be supplied, and both of these concern states outside Italy which received their treaties at a later date than the Italian Greeks, namely Messana and Carthage. Messana apparently received a treaty which fixed a military contribution of a single bireme, together with its crew<sup>86</sup>, an absurdly small contribution. Carthage may also have had a treaty which stipulated the number of ships to be provided<sup>87</sup>. In 191, it appears that Carthage had promised a certain number of ships which was in excess of the number laid down by the treaty but was exempted from supplying the extra

vessels, being held only to those required by the terms of the treaty. Despite this, other references to Greek naval contributions give no indication that numbers of ships were defined by treaty, or if they were, that these limits were respected in practice. The accounts of the fleets mustered at Luna in 195<sup>88</sup> and at Naples in 191<sup>89</sup> seem to indicate that ships were requested from the allies simply in response to military needs without reference to formal obligations. These four cases seem to exemplify a division between those instances where ships appear to be requested in reasonable numbers and those where only one or two triremes are requested, often from states which were not particularly suitable from a military point of view, being situated at a distance from each other or from the point at which the fleet was to muster. The lack of any military or strategic value of these contributions and the emphasis on treaty rights found in some references may be an indication that these exactions were made as a means of keeping open a right which might otherwise fall into abeyance, rather than a genuine military contribution on the part of the allies concerned.

d) The Formula Togatorum

The nature of the so-called *formula togatorum* and the procedures by which Rome recruited troops from her allies has been a considerable puzzle to modern scholars. Attempts to decide what in fact the *formula togatorum* was have been inadequate and have frequently produced misleading definitions. The most common definition of the *formula*, as a Roman administrative device governing the levying of allied troops, seems to be a considerable red herring. It is the aim of this article to indicate, by close study of the evidence, that while the *formula togatorum* was clearly connected with the raising of

troops, it was not confined to allies and was not synonymous with the annual allied levy.

The most important recent discussions of the problem are those of Toynbee<sup>90</sup> and Brunt,<sup>91</sup> although the earlier analysis of Beloch remains influential.<sup>92</sup> Toynbee follows Beloch's earlier conclusion that the *formula togatorum* represented a list of the maximum number of troops which Rome was entitled to request from any particular ally in any one year. This number would have been fixed by the treaty of an allied state and by the charter of a Roman or Latin colony. However, states possessing so-called *foedera aequa* are assumed to have been exempt from the levy and to have given only voluntary contributions.

Toynbee assumes that the allies were responsible for their own censuses and for the equipping and command of their own troops, and also that Rome did not have access to the allied census returns or any other information on the number of men available for military service.

In fact, many of these views appear to be based on inferences which are not valid. There is very little evidence for the existence of a pre-defined maximum quota of troops and none at all for the exemption of certain types of ally. The cases where voluntary contributions were given usually involved money, arms or supplies,<sup>93</sup> not troops, and can be assumed to be over and above the usual contingent of troops. In particular, as Brunt points out, all surviving evidence for the texts of treaties points to the conclusion that Rome did not fix a maximum number of troops to be supplied.

In contrast to this, Brunt argues for the interpretation of the *formula togatorum* as a Roman administrative device, a view which is more in accordance with Beloch's later work on the subject.<sup>94</sup> Like Toynbee, he equates the *formula togatorum*, to which reference is made in the Lex Agraria of 111 B.C.,<sup>95</sup> with certain passages of Livy describing the annual levy of allied troops, concluding that they refer to the same thing. He envisages the device as a type of sliding scale which fixed the contribution of each allied state, not in terms of a maximum figure but in terms of the total number of *iuniores* of the state concerned, thus giving a figure which would vary according to the number of men of military age in any given year. He also connects this with the overall ratio of Roman to allied troops in the army in any one year, which is given by Polybios<sup>96</sup> as 2 allies to every Roman. Again, there is little evidence for this interpretation. Brunt himself is forced to resort to special pleading to justify the fact that the figures given by Livy for much of the 2nd century simply do not fit this theory. The device seems unnecessarily cumbersome and restrictive, and would have been difficult to administer without access to the allied census list, which Rome patently did not have except on rare occasions.<sup>97</sup>

Salmon<sup>98</sup> basically supports Brunt in his assertion that the formula was a document governing the proportion of allies per legion, but discusses its exact nature in less detail. However, unlike Brunt, he hazards a guess at the origins of the *formula togatorum*, ascribing it, on the grounds of its name, to a period when most of Rome's allies were Latins and wore togas, and tentatively associating it with the Latin war and the settlement of 338. Ilari similarly asserts that the *formula* was originally a list of those eligible to

wear the toga, later used as the basis for military recruitment.

The most recent discussion of the evidence, by Boronowski,<sup>99</sup> agrees in its conclusions almost entirely with Brunt, concluding that the formula was a list of defined quota's expressed as a proportion of the iuniores of a particular ally.

All of these interpretations appear to be based on very little evidence and to create an unnecessarily complicated picture of the Roman methods of recruiting allied troops. Equally, they all rely on an equation of the Livian passages describing the raising of troops *ex formula* with the *formula togatorum* which is mentioned in the Lex Agraria. In fact, close study of the evidence suggests that this is inaccurate.

The Lex Agraria of 111 B.C. provides the only firm evidence for the existence of something called the *formula togatorum*, making reference to *civis romanus sociumve nominisve latini quibus ex formula togatorum milites in terra italia imperare solent*. However, there are several problems in accepting this as firm evidence that the *formula togatorum* was the device which controlled allied levies. Firstly, the reference does not survive intact but is pieced together from two incomplete sentences. Mommsen's restoration seems to be secure, although it is possible that *in terra italia* is only relevant to the second occurrence where it may be in apposition to *extra terra Italia* in the previous line. A more serious problem is that neither occurrence is found in context, the relevant sections falling in a lacuna in each case.<sup>100</sup> It is evident from the text which is preserved that the *formula togatorum* was some sort of mechanism by

which certain communities were bound to supply troops. However, to interpret this as a list of allied troop requirements is to ignore the actual text of the Lex Agraria, since this indicates that citizens as well as Latins and allies were bound by the *formula togatorum*. There is no good reason to assume that the *cives romani* should be separated from the allies and Latins in this clause, and other parallels indicate that this phrase bracketting citizens, Latins and allies was unexceptional in official documents of the 2nd century. The Senatus Consultum De Bacchanalibus<sup>101</sup> provides a number of similar instances. Thus the basic interpretation of the *formula togatorum* as being the means by which Rome levied troops from her allies seems open to question.

In considering the evidence of Livy, it is necessary, as a first step, to establish what is usually meant by the word *formula*. These can be divided into three categories, which are usually held to represent three different meanings of the word. There are a number of instances in which troops are described as being levied *ex formula* and also two instances in which reference is made to the *formula sociorum*, clearly a document listing Roman allies.<sup>102</sup> This is the only instance in which Livy appears to be using *formula* to designate an actual document. However, the most frequent and usual usage of the word *formula* is not as a technical term for military recruitment but as a general term meaning an agreement or a mode of practice.<sup>103</sup> In these instances, the reference is usually to diplomatic or legal practice<sup>104</sup> and the specific context is frequently one which invokes traditional or pre-existing legal conditions or treaties. This is clearly the primary meaning of the word, as used by Livy, and it would be reasonable to assume that it had a similar meaning when used

to describe levies of allied troops, an assumption which would seem to be borne out by detailed examination of Livy's military references.

Livy gives a number of references to the provision of allied troops *ex formula* but none of these give any indication that the *formula* was a list of troops or proportional quotas of the type envisaged by Beloch, Brunt or Toynbee, as will be shown by examination of the passages concerned.

In 216, a levy was proclaimed by the dictator, Fabius Maximus, during which the Latins and allies provided troops *ex formula accipiendos*.<sup>105</sup> There seems to be no indication in this passage that *ex formula* implies a definite number of troops, as would be required by Brunt's interpretation. Equally, there is no particular reason for assuming that Livy is referring to a list detailing military obligations. In fact, there is no reason why *formula* in this context should not retain the usual Livian meaning of an agreement or form of practice. Thus the force of Livy's statement would be that the allies and Latins supplied troops "according to the agreement" or "according to the usual practice".

Similarly, Livy's account of the dispute between Rome and twelve of the Latin colonies in 209,<sup>106</sup> and subsequent settlement of 204,<sup>107</sup> does not support the view that the *formula* was a list of troop quotas. The levy of 209 appears to have been carried out by the consuls, who negotiated the details of numbers of troops, finance, supplies etc. with representatives of the allies summoned for this purpose. As with other examples, the force of *ex formula paraturos*



seems to be that the troops were to have been levied by the colonies in accordance with the usual practice. There is nothing to indicate a numerical quota system of the types envisaged by Brunt and Toynbee. Some further light is cast on the problem by the conditions imposed by Rome when the dispute was finally settled in 204.<sup>108</sup> The dissenting colonies had managed to remain exempt from military service, in violation of custom and probably of their charters, since 209. As a result, they were required to provide, from 204 onwards, double the highest number of infantry which they had given at any stage during Hannibal's occupation of Italy and 120 cavalry, for service outside Italy. It is significant that the penalty is not calculated on a single system.<sup>109</sup> The cavalry are levied as a fixed, and apparently arbitrary, number from each state whereas the infantry are calculated as a proportion of the highest levy between 218 and 210, with no attempt to relate this to the number of *iuniores*. Thus it seems impossible to use this passage as evidence for a systematic levy either of a fixed quota of troops or of a proportional sliding scale. It also seems risky to use this passage as evidence for Roman control of the allied levy as a regular thing, since the circumstances here are clearly exceptional. The nature of the punishment lies in the fact that the colonies were now having their troop quotas fixed by Rome in this manner, and that the troops concerned were committed to lengthy service overseas. There is equally no reference to the amendment of any document as a result of these changes, as might be expected if the *formula togatorum* had existed as a list of allied military obligations. Two further instances of *ex formula* appear in this passage. The first of these is clearly of a non-military nature, being a reference to the form of the census which the colonies were to submit to Rome. The second

occurrence does concern the question of the levy, but again gives no indication of anything more than the existence of an agreement to provide troops.

The only reference which gives support to the idea of a list of proportions based on the number of iuniores concerns the levy of 193.<sup>110</sup> In this case, the senate set the number of allied troops at 15,000 infantry, and 5,000 cavalry, according to the number of allied iuniores. However, this passage implies that this was a total figure which was not worked out according to the strength of individual allies and was not subdivided. The assumption seems to be that the allies would then have to apportion the total number amongst themselves, with no guarantee that this would be done in exact proportions of their numbers of men. It is significant that the passage does not make reference to the process as a "formula" It would also be dangerous to assume that this incident represented normal practice, since there is no other evidence and in general, Livy tends to make specific reference to those things which are the exception rather than the rule.

The incident of 177, when first the Latins, then the Samnites and Paeligni, complained about loss of military manpower through migration to Rome and to Fregellae, gives no definite indications of a system of military quotas.<sup>111</sup> The communities which raised the problem were simply stating that their ability to supply troops in the event of a levy was greatly reduced, not complaining that they were unable to fulfil a specified quota, and the passage in question does not seem to bear any interpretation which connects it closely with a specific means of determining troop quotas. As Brunt<sup>112</sup>

points out, the communities were concerned to stem the flow of emigrants and prevent further depopulation rather than obtain any military concessions. The references to inability to supply troops may have been an attempt to play on Roman sensitivity on the subject of military contributions, which was amply demonstrated by Roman reactions to the Latin complaints in 209.

In considering the problem of the *formula togatorum* and of allied military contributions, evidence of treaties should also be considered. A number of documents exist, mainly inscriptions from Greece and the Eastern Mediterranean, which contain clauses concerning military obligations. While the actual circumstances of Roman allies in Greece were clearly very different from those of allies in Italy, relations with Rome were in theory on the same basis, and it seems likely that treaties with states in Greece were very similar in form to those with Italian allies. Almost all extant treaties seem to follow a similar pattern and are of similar date, belonging to the second half of the 2nd century.<sup>113</sup> The treaties with Maronea and Aenus,<sup>114</sup> Callatis,<sup>115</sup> Methymna<sup>116</sup> and Astypaleia<sup>117</sup> all contain clauses which are almost identical in wording and which require both signatories to give reciprocal military help in the event of a defensive war. The actual form that this should take is left completely undefined and dependent only on circumstances. The only restriction is that the war must be of a defensive nature before help is given.<sup>118</sup> The allies were bound to give this aid εκ των συνθηκων και ορκιων, which seems to be a conflation of the Roman phrase *ex foedere* and the Greek practice of guaranteeing their treaties by a *ορκος*.<sup>118</sup>

The only surviving Italian treaty which may be used for comparison is the much-disputed *Foedus Cassianum*.<sup>120</sup> This is in many ways similar in form to the Greek treaties, although much earlier in date, but it differs in stipulating that Rome's allies should be prepared to assist with their full complement of troops.<sup>121</sup> Like the Greek treaties cited above, this seems to be a form designed to leave the extent of military obligations as vague and unrestricted as possible. The evidence seems to indicate that, despite the differences of date and circumstance, Rome was concerned to leave military obligations as vague as possible and was unwilling to commit herself to definite military arrangements. Descriptions of levies for various campaigns, particularly those in Greece, indicate clearly that in most cases, the principles enunciated by the Methymna treaty were being applied and that the allies were required to produce help in whatever manner and quantity was necessary.

Having established that the process for levying allied troops does not correspond to the *formula togatorum* and the models advanced by Brunt, Toynbee and others, it is worth trying to establish what the process was. Livy and Polybios both give a certain amount of information on the subject. Both sources indicate clearly that the allied levy was determined by the consuls, or sometimes by the praetors, in response to a senatorial decree. Polybios,<sup>122</sup> the most detailed source on Roman military organisation, indicates that the consuls were responsible for overseeing the levy of both citizen and allied troops and that it was their responsibility to decide which allies to request troops from, to apportion numbers and to set the date and place for the army to muster. The actual selection of troops was the responsibility of the magistrates of the communities

concerned.<sup>123</sup> Thus, it seems clear that the allied troops were apportioned according to the judgement of the consuls, not according to a pre-arranged formula.

The evidence of Livy supports this view in broad terms but modifies it somewhat in terms of detail.<sup>124</sup> It appears that the senate normally set the distribution of existing forces and the number of new troops to be levied at the beginning of each year, but it also appears to have been possible, in exceptional circumstances, to allow the consuls to recruit without limits.<sup>125</sup> Equally, the senate stipulated on a number of occasions that allies could only be raised in certain areas,<sup>126</sup> e.g. in the provinces rather than in Italy, and on one occasion refused to allow a levy at all.<sup>127</sup>

The actual conduct of the levy appears to have been the responsibility of individual allied communities and their magistrates. The Latin delegates present in Rome in 209<sup>128</sup> were clearly there to report on the progress of the levy and the senate's reply to the dissenting colonies indicates that it was the responsibility of each community to organise its own levy. Exactly how this was done is not known, but it is likely that it varied according to local traditions, and it seems likely that most allies had a local census which provided the basis for the levy.<sup>129</sup>

The exact nature of the *formula togatorum*, as referred to by the Lex Agraria, remains an unsolved, and largely insoluble, problem owing to lack of evidence. There are two questions to be considered, namely the exact meaning of *formula* as used in this context, and the identity of the togati. Judging by analogies of the use of *formula*

by Livy and others, the formula here could be either a list of states or individuals, or it could indicate an accepted practice or a procedure by which things were done. In this specific instance, it could indicate either a list of *togati* or a procedure under which *togati* were enlisted. It is impossible to deduce from the inscription which is more accurate, but parallels with Livy's use of *formula* suggest that it may be a procedure for enlisting *togati*. On no occasion does Livy use the construction of *ex formula* + genitive to indicate a list, and his use of *ex formula* is always in a military context.

Similarly, the identity of the group referred to as *togati* is obscured by lack of evidence. There are relatively few references in Latin literature to *togati*, and the vast majority of those have a literal meaning, i.e. those who wear the toga. Cicero,<sup>130</sup> however, writing only 40 years after the Lex Agraria, uses the word in two different senses, to indicate a civilian as opposed to a soldier and to indicate a Roman citizen as opposed to a non-Roman. Caesar also uses *togata* to mean Roman or Romanised in referring to Cisalpine Gaul.<sup>131</sup> It is this last usage, indicating a Roman as opposed to a non-Roman which seems the only appropriate interpretation in the context of the Lex Agraria. Thus the clause of the Lex Agraria can be interpreted as a reference to those citizens, Latins and allies who were obliged to supply troops according to the procedure for Romans, and hence, presumably, for service in the legions rather than in the local units which were usually for allied troops.<sup>132</sup>

The origins of the *formula togatorum* are obscure. Salmon suggests that it may have originated in 338, as part of the

settlement after the Latin war, on the basis that at this date Rome's allies would be mainly Latins and thus literally toga-wearers.<sup>133</sup> However, Rome had already expanded well beyond Latium by this date and had allies in areas where Latin dress and language were not the norm, in particular in Campania.<sup>134</sup> It seems more likely that, if the definition outlined above is accepted, the *formula togatorum* should be dated to a period when there would be some obvious political or military advantage for Rome in including some allies and Latins in the legions rather than their own local units. The most likely possibility is the late 2nd century, when Rome had extensive military commitments overseas, although not a major war, and when differences in terms of service for citizens and for allies were becoming increasingly marked and a cause for allied dissatisfaction. The fact that the *formula togatorum* was clearly connected in some way with land allocations<sup>135</sup> would suggest that it is most likely to have come into being after the start of the Gracchan programme of land allotment in 133.

e) Foedera and Diplomatic relations between Rome and Magna Graecia

A study of the military obligations of the Greeks and the basis on which they were made naturally raises the wider question of the nature of the alliance made between Rome and the Italiote Greeks and the dates at which agreements were concluded. Despite the fact that the Samnite and Pyrrhic wars are among the better documented episodes of the history of the Italiote Greeks, the terms of the settlements with Rome which resulted are very obscure. The earliest indication of a long-term relationship with Rome is the grant of *civitas sine suffragio* to Cumae in 338<sup>136</sup>, along with several other Campanian communities. By this date, the city was heavily Oscanised and does

not appear to have been regarded as Greek. Naples also established relations with Rome at a comparatively early date, receiving a *foedus* in 326, of a type which is rather problematic. Most modern commentators refer to this as a *foedus aequum*, but in fact it is unlikely that such a thing ever existed as a separate class of treaty<sup>137</sup>. The favourable relationship between Naples and Rome clearly pre-dates the war of 327/6 and the conclusion of the treaty since Livy makes reference to the existence of *amicitia* between the two states before the conclusion of the treaty<sup>138</sup>. With reference to the nature of the treaty concluded after the expulsion of the Samnite forces, Livy merely says that it was sufficiently favourable to have been unlikely to have been granted to a city defeated in war rather than one which negotiated voluntarily<sup>139</sup>. Cicero<sup>140</sup> makes reference to the possession of a *foedus aequum* by Naples and the consequent preference of Naples for the *libertas* of the treaty rather than citizenship in 89 B.C. However, this may well be rhetorical exaggeration rather than use of a technical term of statement of fact. Beyond this, the only evidence for the existence of the treaty with Naples are the requests for ships listed above and the accusation against Rome in 193 that the Greeks of Italy, among them Naples, were subject to levies of ships and payment of tribute as a result of their treaties<sup>141</sup>. Polybios twice refers to Naples in connection with Rome but does not give any indication of a treaty on either occasion<sup>142</sup>. Naples is included in a list of cities which lent ships to Rome in 264 and the city is also described as holding *ius exilium*. This *ius* is described as being held only by selected allies, usually those of long standing and the basis on which it was held is described as *ὄρκος* rather than a *συνμαχία*. A curious episode in 216 may also cast some light on Naples' position. The incident



concerns the gift of a substantial amount of gold plate by Naples to Rome as a contribution to the war effort<sup>143</sup>, with the assertion that the Neapolitans would be willing to give military assistance if necessary but assumed that the gold would be of greater use. This would appear to suggest that the contribution was made as an alternative to military service, thus possibly putting Naples in a similar position to that of the Etruscan states which supplied materials rather than troops for the African expedition of 205. Thus the evidence concerning Naples is contradictory and seems to be open to several interpretations. The pattern of *amicitia* followed by a treaty concluded at a later date is similar to that suggested by Gruen<sup>144</sup> for development in Greece in the 2nd century. The references in Livy and Cicero clearly establish that Naples possessed a treaty, probably of a very favourable nature, but the absence of reference to a treaty in Polybios may cast doubt on the early date ascribed to this by Livy. The Samnite wars would provide a plausible context for the granting of a favourable treaty and it can be assumed that some sort of agreement was made at this date, but the exceptionally favourable terms which are indicated by Cicero could equally have been granted at a later date, or dates, as a reward for services and loyalty to Rome during the 1st and 2nd Punic wars<sup>145</sup>. However, Polybios' lack of reference to a treaty in his discussion of the fleet of 264 and Livy's reference to the offering of money rather than military service in 216 seems to indicate that the lack of military obligations dated from an early period. The possession of *ius exilium* and the flexible military contributions would bear out the assertions of a favourable relationship with Rome.

Like Cumae, Paestum was not a *socius*, having received a Latin

colony in 273 or 270<sup>146</sup>, but there is little evidence for its behaviour towards Rome until 216 when Paestum, like Naples offered Rome a gift of gold plate as a contribution towards war expenditure<sup>147</sup>. Unlike Naples' gift, this was refused, although no reason is given. It would seem that if Naples' gift was a donation made as an alternative to military service, as is suggested by their ambassador's speech<sup>148</sup>, the Paestan donation may have been made for the same reason. In this context, the refusal of the Paestan gift becomes understandable, since Paestum was a Latin colony, and thus in a very different position in terms of military obligations. The Latin colonies were regarded as the core of the Roman alliance and Roman reactions to any wavering or attempt to evade military obligations on their part were usually severe<sup>149</sup>. Thus it is highly unlikely that a colony such as Paestum would be allowed to negotiate a military exemption in the same manner as a powerful ally such as Naples. Paestum is a rather problematic case in that the evidence for its relationship to Rome is slight and contradictory. The single reference to provision of ships is a rather problematic passage of Livy<sup>150</sup>. In this list of states contributing ships, Livy appears to draw distinctions between the Paestans and Velians, the Rhegines and the other unnamed allies. In respect of Paestum, this could be explained by the fact that the city had received a Latin colony but the fact that there is no apparent similarity between the status of Paestum and that of Velia may suggest that there are other reasons. The reference to ships due under a treaty also raises problems in view of the fact that Paestum was of Latin rather than allied status. It is possible that the colony of 273 did not initially absorb the city but co-existed with it, at least for a while. This seems to have been the case in the establishment of the 2nd century Latin

colony of Copia<sup>151</sup> and the Gracchan colony of Neptunia<sup>152</sup> which were founded in the territories of Thurii and Tarentum rather than immediately absorbing the existing cities. This particular move seems appropriate in the case of a Greek city since the existence of a strong urban unit with a non-Italic constitution and civic organisation would possibly make the process of absorption by a Latin or Roman colony more difficult than in the case of an Italian community.

The other Greek colony on the west coast of Italy, Velia, is almost completely undocumented in respect of its relationship with Rome. It was conquered by Carvilius in 293<sup>153</sup> but there is no record of a treaty at all other than the reference to the supply of ships *ex foedere* in 210. Polybios<sup>154</sup> mentions the city as a supplier of ships but does not indicate a treaty. However, Harris<sup>155</sup> indicates the existence of some independent diplomatic relations after 293. Cicero<sup>156</sup> records that the priestesses of Ceres at Rome were always Velian or Neapolitan and were enfranchised by Rome at the end of their terms of office. However, this seems to be an exchange of a purely ceremonial and religious nature. There is no indication of any connection with a treaty but the grants of citizenship would suggest that relations with Velia were good.

Rhegium is also a complex case in terms of the evidence for its relationship with Rome. The earliest contacts are completely documented, but the city appears to have been one of those which chose to request Roman help against Tarentum in 280, presumably as a means of avoiding Tarentine domination<sup>157</sup>. However, the sending of a Roman garrison on request does not seem to imply the existence of a

treaty in the sense of a permanent agreement with definite obligations. A large number of accounts exist of the revolt of this garrison, its takeover of Rhegium and its subsequent removal and punishment by Rome, but these are mostly of a brief and fragmentary nature. Dio and Diodorus<sup>158</sup> both agree that the garrison was there by the request of the Rhegines but do not refer to Rhegium as a *συμμοχός* of Rome or imply any other connection. The sources for the recapture of the city by Rome and the punishment of the renegade troops are fuller but similarly uninformative. A short note in Livy<sup>159</sup> states that the city was captured and the rebels punished but there is no record of any settlement made with the Rhegines. Polybios<sup>160</sup> likewise makes a brief statement to the effect that the rebels were punished but adds that the city and territory of the Rhegines were returned to the surviving citizens in order to maintain Rome's reputation for good faith among her allies. However, there is no record of a treaty concluded at this stage and only the vaguest implications of an alliance. In a parallel case of Roman reparation for ill-treatment in 208, Locri merely received restitution of property and a decree of *amicitia*, not a treaty<sup>161</sup>. It may be possible to infer that Rhegium received similar terms in 270. Dionysios'<sup>162</sup> account follows substantially the same lines as that of Polybios and also does not make any reference to the existence of a treaty. Subsequent references do not add anything to suggest that Rhegium did have a treaty apart from the three references to ships which were supplied *ex foedere*<sup>163</sup>. In addition, Livy<sup>164</sup>, makes reference to supply of ships and payment of tribute by virtue of a treaty and refers to the city as one which was governed by a praetor. The reference to the praetor is an indication that Rome had taken on certain judicial duties in the city, as was the case for many of the

other allies, but in most cases it seems to be due to a process of gradual encroachment rather than inclusion in the terms of a treaty, and there is no reason to assume that Rhegium was an exception to this. The reference to tribute is also problematic as the circumstances of Rhegium's early contacts with Rome, in particular the Campanian revolt, makes it unlikely that tribute would be imposed at this point, and there is no other obvious point at which tribute could be added to the city's obligations. As with other Italiote cities, it would seem likely that Rhegium received a treaty at some point but it is difficult to assign a date to this.

Information on the status of Locri is more specific than in the case of most of the Greek cities, largely due to the scandal concerning the military rule of the city in 208 and the detailed accounts of senatorial debate on the issue. This is balanced by the fact that the information on the earlier contacts between Rome and Locri is rudimentary. The original allegiance of the city is not known but it seems likely that it supported Tarentum against Rome during the Pyrrhic war. However, the city aligned itself with Rome in 277 after the fall of Croton, but changed sides again in 275 after slaughtering the Roman garrison<sup>165</sup>. The means by which the city was finally recovered by Rome are not known, nor are there any details of a settlement<sup>166</sup>. However, the city provided ships during the 1st Punic war and on several subsequent occasions, the earliest definite reference to a treaty being in 191. By the beginning of the 2nd Punic war, the city seems to be controlled by a pro-Roman oligarchy but with no evidence of a treaty. After the recapture of the city in 208, there was a period of military government which became the subject of a major senatorial inquiry. The outcome of this for the

Locrians is only partially recorded. The Senate apparently decreed a full restitution of property stolen by Roman officials and a series of religious rites but the only indication of a political settlement is a decree of *amicitia*, a declaration that the Locrians were *viros bonos sociosque et amicos*<sup>167</sup>. It is not clear from Livy whether this refers to the Locrians as a whole and is thus a political settlement or whether it refers only to a grant of *amicitia* to the members of the Locrian embassy, who were presumably members of the exiled pro-Roman faction. Decrees of *amicitia* appear to have been more usual in respect of individuals or groups of people rather than political units<sup>168</sup> but grants of *amicitia* are also used as a means of diplomatic contact between states. In this instance, Livy appears to be quoting direct from Greek since the wording of the decree, which is unusual in Latin, is a very common occurrence in its Greek translation in 2nd century treaties with Greek states, for instance the treaty with Astypalaia<sup>169</sup> where it is quoted in its Greek form, *ανδρα καλον και αγαθον παρα δημου καλου και αγαθου και φιλου προσαγυρευσι* and also the *senatus consultum* which conferred *amicitia* on Asclepiades<sup>170</sup> in which the beneficiaries are referred to as *ανδρας καλους και αγαθους και φιλους*. Descriptions of individuals or *demoi* as *καλος και αγαθος* are also found in Greek treaties of 5th and 4th century date. This would seem to imply that Rome was making an effort to deal with Locri in accordance with Greek diplomatic practice<sup>171</sup>. The practical impact of the decree is difficult to assess. It would suggest that Locri had established some form of alliance with Rome and in view of the fact that Locrian naval forces are requested *ex foedere* in 191, this seems likely to be a *foedus*. The wording given by Livy, if this can be assumed to be a quotation from the treaty, or from one of similar nature, is similar to that of

a number of inscriptions recording treaties between Rome and states in Greece. Most of these are of 2nd century date and thus are not much later than the Locrian treaty. It seems possible that the Locrian treaty was similar in type to these, although it is impossible to prove this.

Thurii is notable mainly for its absence from the sources for Roman expansion in the South. However, its role is important as it was the first of the Greek states to break away from Tarentine domination and claim protection from Rome, thus providing grounds for a clash of interests between Rome and Tarentum<sup>172</sup>. As with other states there is no evidence for the conclusion of a treaty, although in this case, military assistance may presuppose some sort of agreement. Sources for the earliest contact do not elaborate on the incident other than stating that Thurii received military help from Rome to repel a Lucanian attack. This would seem to indicate that some form of agreement was in existence<sup>173</sup>. During the 2nd Punic war, Thurii seems to have given hostages to Rome although the reason for this is not clear<sup>174</sup>. The city revolted from Rome and does not seem to have resumed alliance with Rome until a late stage in the war. There is no record of what happened to the city after the departure of Hannibal, but a colony was established in Thurian territory in 194<sup>175</sup>, as one of a series of colonies established in the South during the 190's.

Croton is again a city which does not have any evidence for a treaty. Frontinus and Dio<sup>176</sup> record that it supported Pyrrhus against Rome but was later captured. There is no record of any settlement made with Croton at the end of the war and Croton does not

seem to have made any military contribution to Rome at any stage. The use of harbour facilities at Lacinia and the crews derived from Crotoniate and Thurian territory in 210 do not seem to have been part of a regular military obligation since by this stage Croton had seceded to Hannibal<sup>177</sup>. The city appears to have been seriously depopulated during the 3rd century<sup>178</sup> and in 193 it received a citizen colony, thus presumably becoming a citizen community<sup>179</sup>.

In contrast to this, Herakleia is known to have had a treaty, at least by 89, but very little else is known about its relationship with one, beyond the fact that it was one of the states which seceded during the 2nd Punic war. As with Naples, the treaty seems to have been of a favourable nature. Cicero<sup>180</sup> alleges that Naples and Herakleia originally rejected Roman citizenship in 89 in preference to retaining their treaties and describes the city as having *aequissimo iure ac foedere*<sup>181</sup>. Elsewhere<sup>182</sup> the treaty is described as *prope singulare foedus* and is attributed to Fabricius and the period of the Pyrrhic war. This seems very unlikely in view of the fact that Herakleia revolted in 212<sup>183</sup> and apparently held out until Hannibal's retreat into Bruttium in 204/3. It is possible that some sort of treaty was made with Herakleia in the 270's, but in view of the later incidents, it seems likely that the favourable conditions referred to by Cicero were of later, post Punic war date. It does not seem likely that a state which renounced its loyalty to Rome would be allowed to retain such favourable terms. Cicero's comment on the uniqueness of the treaty appears to be particularly important for the understanding of Roman treaties in Southern Italy. It is usually interpreted as a reference to the uniquely favourable nature of the treaty, but in fact it seems more correct to interpret it as a



reference to its uniqueness in terms of rarity of other treaties. This would seem to bear out the pattern indicated by other evidence of a reluctance by Rome to make treaties with states in the South at this date.

Metapontum, like Croton, seems to have been an ally of Pyrrhus during the Pyrrhic war. There is no evidence at all for a treaty with Rome at any stage or for any military obligations, although the city was clearly regarded as an ally of Rome in 212.<sup>184</sup> The city seceded to Hannibal in 212 and seems to have suffered extensive depopulation during the later stages of the war.<sup>185</sup>

Tarentum is undoubtedly the key city of Magna Graecia in terms of opposition to Rome, but there is remarkably little detail on the exact relationship between the two cities. Livy<sup>186</sup> records that at the end of the Pyrrhic war, the city was granted *pax et libertas*, while Zonaras<sup>187</sup> states that after the departure of Pyrrhus the Tarentines opened negotiations and were granted "εἰρήνη". However, he later gives a different version, namely that the city surrendered to Papirius without negotiations and as a result had all arms and ships confiscated, the city walls demolished and a tribute imposed<sup>188</sup>. The second of these two accounts sounds highly unlikely in view of the fact that Tarentum clearly had its own fleet and army at least until 209<sup>189</sup> and there is no evidence for tribute until 193 and then only in a very debatable passage. It is possible that the settlement may belong to a later period, the punitive measures described being more appropriate to the settlement of 209. The Tarentines are said to have requested a return to their earlier alliance based on *pax et libertas* and retention of their own laws. However, the city was

initially left as a militarised zone and a decision deferred, as with Locri<sup>190</sup>. It seems likely that Zonaras has preserved some details but has exaggerated them in some respects. For instance, Livy records that Fabius demolished the wall dividing the acropolis from the rest of the city, not the main city defences. It is also possible that the city was forced to pay tribute and was subject to increased military duties but it does not seem likely that the city was forced to disarm entirely since this would have made it impossible for it to supply the ships alluded to by Livy<sup>191</sup>.

This evidence is far from clear, and much of the information is drawn by inference rather than from conclusive statements. However, it is possible to suggest some conclusions. One point which emerges clearly is that there is very little evidence for the existence of treaties in the Greek South prior to 210 and even after this date there are few references to the possession of a *foedus*. The Greeks were undoubtedly regarded by the Romans as allies during the 3rd and 2nd centuries, but this does not automatically imply that they were also *foederatae*. This raises the difficult question of terminology and its interpretation, particularly in respect of Livy's usage of certain terms and of Greek translations of Latin terminology. As pointed out by Matthaei<sup>192</sup>, Livian terminology is inexact and it is difficult to reach any conclusions based on this. In particular, Matthaei characterises Livy's classification of allies as being obscured by his inexact and interchangeable use of the terms *societas* and *amicitia*. While this seems to be broadly correct, her conclusion that all Italian *socii* had relationships with Rome based on a treaty does not seem secure. Since Livy's use of diplomatic terms is so vague, it seems difficult to conclude without further discussion that

states which were *socii* of Rome must also possess a *foedus*. Harris<sup>193</sup> discusses a number of points relevant to this issue and to the question of alliances in Southern Italy in general. Like Matthaei, he concludes that the existence of *societas* does not necessarily imply the existence of a *foedus*. However, his dismissal of other forms of diplomatic relationship as the basis for Rome's relations with other states, in particular the use of *amicitia*, seems to be premature. Milan<sup>194</sup> briefly discusses the nature of *foedera* in Southern Italy. In essence, his views agree with those of Horn<sup>195</sup> but are less extreme. He dates the conclusion of treaties with Rome to an early point in the 3rd century, to the end of the Pyrrhic war or the early stages of the 1st Punic war at the earliest. However, a closer examination of the evidence, and of comparative evidence from other areas of Southern Italy, seems to suggest that this may be too early in some cases and that the development of Roman power in the area may be a rather more complex process than indicated by this. Milan does seem to be correct in his assertion that the *foederati* who provide ships and the *foederati* who provided troops were not essentially different or mutually exclusive categories. There do not appear to be any grounds for believing that there was any major difference in the type of treaty given and it appears likely that some states provided both types of military help on different occasions.

Badian's discussions of the problem of Italian allies, and the naval allies of Southern Italy in particular<sup>196</sup>, is somewhat ambiguous and leaves a number of unanswered questions. In military terms his assertion against Horn's opinion, that the Greeks were not suppliers of troops, were not members of the *formula togatorum* and

were restricted to naval contributions, do not accord with the evidence. These assertions are based on the assumption that the Greek ships supplied formed a realistic military contribution and were an integral part of the fleet. They do not take into account the fact that the Greek contribution seems to have been only occasional and to have lacked any strategic coherence. The evidence for contributions to the army, although slight, deserves closer consideration and cannot be dismissed as erroneous. There does not seem to be any evidence for the assertion that the Greek levy was particularly weak and events during the campaigns in the South from 216 onwards seems to indicate that Greek troops were operating effectively both for and against Rome. In addition, there is some evidence that Naples and Cumae, and probably also Tarentum<sup>197</sup>, were particularly noted for their cavalry forces, an area in which Rome was particularly deficient. It is likewise demonstrably not true that Rome relied on the Greek allies to provide a fleet which the senate was unable and/or unwilling to provide out of Roman resources. All the evidence points to the fact that the Roman fleet was composed of Roman ships and any allied component was of a purely auxiliary nature. The acceptance of Taubler's<sup>198</sup> division of the allies into holders of *foedera aequa* and *iniqua* is also misleading and leads to considerable confusion in the case of Naples, where the favourable *foedus aequum* contradicts the assertions that ships providing allies were of inferior status and makes demonstrable nonsense of both concepts. In addition, there seems to be no reason to suppose that the Greeks were not covered by the same levy as the other Italian allies or that they were regarded as being of inferior status.

The most comprehensive survey undertaken to date on the subject

of treaties and alliances in Italy is that of Horn<sup>199</sup>. Unlike Mommsen<sup>200</sup> and Taubler<sup>201</sup>, Horn takes a flexible view of the whole question of treaties and alliances, and also recognises the fact that *societas* is not necessarily synonymous with, or indicative of, the existence of a treaty. *Societas* is regarded as having a wider scope, representing a middle ground of allied, friendly or neutral states and is defined as covering all states which were not citizen communities and were not positively inimical towards Rome. While this seems to be too wide a definition in practice, it is closer to the picture given by the ancient evidence than the close equation of *societas* and *foedera* put forward by Matthaei and others. The question of the relationships between Roman *societas* and Greek *συμμαχία* is raised by both Mommsen<sup>202</sup> and Horn<sup>203</sup> but does not seem to be resolved, the question of the equivalence of Latin diplomatic terms and their Greek counterparts remaining a considerable problem. Horn's views on the Greek allies and their military obligations appear to be substantially correct but are stated only briefly and are not elaborated on.

Gruen<sup>204</sup> seems to broadly agree with the traditional view that Rome developed a network of *socii* controlled by means of *foedera* within Italy but suggests that the pattern in Greece may have been rather different, with fewer treaties and a much greater use of *amicitia/φιλία* as a basis for diplomatic contact in the first instance, treaties being concluded at a later stage. The major weakness in this thesis is the failure to fully consider the nature of the relationships with Italian states<sup>205</sup> and to consider the developments in Greece in the light of this rather than in isolation. Close consideration of the evidence for treaties in Southern Italy

may suggest that Rome used a similar policy of deferring the conclusion of treaties in Italy and that it was not peculiar to dealings with Hellenistic states.

The main direct evidence for the existence of treaties with Greek states is a number of references by Livy to the provision of ships *ex foedere*<sup>206</sup>. None of these fall before 210 and most of them are dated to the 190's. This would seem to indicate that there was more emphasis on a formal relationship conferred by a treaty during the period immediately following the 2nd Punic war, a period at which Rome may have started formalising relations with some states within Italy<sup>207</sup>. According to the Packard concordance to Livy<sup>208</sup>, the use of the phrase *ex foedere* is comparatively rare in contexts indicating the actual implementation of treaty rights by Rome. This may imply an emphatic usage, intended to draw particular attention to the fact that military aid was being requested on the basis of treaty rights. The reason for this may lie in the obvious irregularity of the naval contingents requested and their lack of any apparent military or strategic value. This would suggest that Rome's purpose in requesting these ships may have been something other than a purely military reason. It seems possible to infer that certain states had treaties which included, amongst other things, the obligation to provide ships on request but were rarely required to do so. The force of *ex foedere* may be to act as a reminder that Rome was acting within her legal rights. It is possible that the purpose of these isolated requests for naval help was to keep these rights in existence and to prevent them from lapsing through disuse. The fact that there was occasionally some discrepancy between what was included in a treaty and what was actually implemented is

illustrated<sup>209</sup> by an incident in 191 which clearly indicates that Carthage was under an obligation to provide a number of ships but was released from it, apart from a smaller number which were due by the terms of the treaty with Rome. An isolated reference by Cicero further indicates that treaties did not always stipulate realistic military duties, particularly in respect of ships. Messina is stated<sup>210</sup> to have been required by treaty to provide one bireme.

It may be possible to throw some light on the situation in Southern Italy by studying analogies from other areas of Italy and by looking at comparative examples of expansion elsewhere. However, it may also prove useful to consider evidence for the development of Roman alliances in the Greek world, which are better documented and may cast some light on the Roman treatment of the Greeks in Southern Italy.

The most immediately obvious parallel can be found in Etruria. Like the Greeks the Etruscans were of a very different cultural and linguistic tradition, and appear to have been regarded by the Romans as alien, and therefore suspect. More importantly, Etruria was one of the few areas in Italy with a strong urban organisation and political structure of its own. This may, or may not, have been derived from the structure of the Greek *πολεις*, but in any case it did not correspond to developments in Latium and elsewhere in Italy<sup>211</sup>. Thus the Etruscans and the Greeks were in a similar position, forming culturally and politically alien minorities which may not have been very readily absorbable into the Roman system. In addition, conflict in both these areas occurred at times when Rome was under military pressure elsewhere and thus possibly did not want

to take on commitments which could lead to further military involvement<sup>212</sup>. Whatever the reason, the Etruscan communities did not at first receive treaties but were granted *indutiae*, or truces, for varying lengths of time<sup>213</sup>. While it is difficult to place too much reliance on terminology of this type, particularly when drawn from Livy, this device appears to have consisted merely of cessation of hostilities and does not seem to have created any bonds of mutual moral or practical support which are implied by the existence of a *foedus*, *societas* or *amicitia*. The fact that several of these *indutiae* were concluded for long periods of time - anything up to a hundred years - seems to be an indication that they were not just meant to be a short-term stop-gap measure but that the senate<sup>214</sup>, for whatever reason, did not envisage the development of a permanent bilateral relationship with Etruria. The only exception to this appears to have been Falerii<sup>215</sup>. The city apparently had annual *indutiae* with Rome but requested, and was granted, a treaty in 342. However, there is evidence that several other cities in Etruria requested *foedera* at an earlier stage, some on more than one occasion, and were refused. Harris's<sup>216</sup> view that treaties with these states can be inferred from later evidence seems to be substantially correct, but it is possible to dispute some of his conclusions. The idea that Rome was forced to introduce *foedera* as there was no other means of integrating Etruria is rather contradicted by the evidence that several cities requested treaties and were refused. This seems to indicate that Rome was reluctant to enter into a permanent reciprocal agreement with the Etruscan states.

The situation in Southern Italy appears to form a parallel in many respects to that in Etruria. It seems likely that apart from



safeguarding the immediate border area of Southern Etruria, Rome had very little interest in permanent relations with Etruria before the 2nd Punic war<sup>216</sup>. This seems analogous to Rome's attitude to some areas of Southern Italy. The rich and strategically important area of Campania was secured by a combination of *civitas sine suffragio* and *foedera* after the settlement of 338<sup>217</sup> and this was consolidated over the years immediately following this. Thus Naples, which came into contact with Rome at a time of intense threat from the Samnites, was granted a treaty immediately and on very favourable terms<sup>218</sup>. However, other areas of Southern Italy were not of such immediate strategic and economic importance to Rome and thus the policy of federation may not have been carried out in such an immediate and consistent manner<sup>219</sup>. In Etruria, Harris<sup>220</sup> dates the emergence of *foedera* to the period between 311 and 225, when the Etruscan states were included in Polybios' catalogue of allied forces. If the Greek cities can be treated as an analogous case for which, as the evidence suggests, treaties only appeared at a later stage, the problem of a suitable date for the conclusion of *foedera* is raised. The earliest evidence for the existence of treaty obligations is the raising of a fleet of ships in 210<sup>221</sup>, described as being levied *ex foedere*, and most of the evidence for treaty obligations of this type belong to the 2nd century. A *terminus ante quem* is more difficult to pinpoint. Polybios' account of the invasion of Sicily in 264 suggests that the Greeks were, by and large, not *foederatae* at that date or at any rate were not supplying ships in that capacity<sup>222</sup>. Of the states named by Polybios, only Naples is known to have had a treaty at this date, but Neapolitan treaty obligations appear to have been irregular. The omission of the Greek for it from Polybios'<sup>223</sup> catalogue of allied strength in 225 further indicates that a treaty may not have been in

existence for the majority of the Greeks, although this cannot be regarded as conclusive proof. The evidence appears to point towards the conclusion of most treaties with the Greeks in the South between 225 and 210, although some may have been later still. The evidence for 210 only applies to Rhegium, Velia and Paestum and can obviously not refer to any of the other cities along the South coast since these were all in revolt at this point.

Overall, the pattern of evidence for the conclusion of treaties is very diverse and there appear to have been considerable variations in Rome's treatment of the Italiote Greeks. There appears to have been no unity in Rome's concept of Magna Graecia, and little reason why there should be, given the geographical, political and economic diversity of the Greek communities. The Campanian cities seem to have been closely linked with Rome at a much earlier stage, Cumae having been granted *civitas sine suffragio* in 338 and Naples had a *foedus* from 326, while Paestum received a Latin colony in 273 (or possibly 270). For the cities on the South coast, little can be inferred with any certainty. The only state for which there is any reasonable evidence dating to the early 3rd century is Herakleia and the indications here, as discussed above, are that this treaty was an isolated example at that date and that its notable clauses may not have dated from this period but have been added later. The military help given to Thurii in 282 and the presence of the Campanian garrison at Rhegium in the 270's may indicate that *foedera* with provision for reciprocal military aid were in existence, but this is inconclusive.<sup>224</sup> Although there is no direct evidence, the logical date for the conclusion of *foedera* in the South, and particularly with the rebel states, is the end of the 2nd Punic war. It is after

201 that attestation of naval forces supplied *ex foedere* become more common and there is also some evidence for the payment of tribute after this date<sup>225</sup> and the imposition of other penalties such as confiscation of considerable amounts of land from the secessionist states. Livy<sup>226</sup> indicates that negotiations took place with both Tarentum and Locri after their recapture, and it can be presumed that new agreements were reached at this stage, although Livy does not record this. This appears to be the most likely point for the conclusion of a *foedus* both for these two states and the other secessionist states of the South.

The evidence for the South of Italy in general gives a rather similar picture in some respects, although differing on some points. Rome seems to have pursued a policy of granting *foedera* from the mid-fourth century onwards. However, the situation is not necessarily as simple as implied by the Livian account in which indiscriminate use of the terms *societas*, *amicitia* and *foedus* tend to obscure the realities of Rome's relations with Southern Italy. As Salmon<sup>227</sup> points out, early relations with Samnium, which are described by Livy<sup>228</sup> as a *foedus*, were probably closer to the early treaties with Carthage and Tarentum in type, being designed to define spheres of interest rather than to create a permanent bilateral relationship with mutual obligations. It also seems unlikely that the early *foedus* with Capua would be concluded in quite such unfavourable terms as are described by Livy<sup>229</sup> since Campania in general, and Capua in particular, were powerful and wealthy at this date. Salmon is possibly correct in suggesting that these terms were attributed in the light of the later reduced circumstances after the revolt of Capua in 216-211 and the harsh terms imposed in 211<sup>230</sup>.

The purpose of the treaty seems to have been the formation of a defence pact against the Samnites and should be seen in the context of the Samnite wars rather than simply as proof of Campanian weakness.

The earliest evidence of connections with the extreme South comes in 326, when the Apulians and Lucanians made an apparently unsolicited offer of help against the Samnites. Livy records that the offer of military assistance was accepted and that both the Lucanians and the Apulians were granted *amicitia* by means of a treaty<sup>231</sup>. The authenticity of this is challenged by Salmon<sup>232</sup>, but it does not seem particularly implausible in view of the circumstances. The purpose of this treaty appears to be one of short-term defensive strategy, the Lucanians and Apulians seeking to help Rome against a dangerous neighbouring state while Rome was seeking to use the treaty as a means of surrounding Samnium and preventing a possible anti-Roman coalition in the South. As such, this must be seen as an essentially short-term treaty, dictated by the needs of the time. It is made clear later that the Lucanians also had connections with Samnium and that the agreement with Rome was a contentious issue among the Lucanians themselves<sup>233</sup>. References to campaigns against the Apulians also make it clear that the Apulian treaty did not last, although the date at which hostilities were renewed is obscure. By 318/7 the Teates and the Canusians were negotiating peace<sup>234</sup> on terms which seem to be indicative of the general Roman attitude towards Southern Italy. The two states concerned were granted *foedera* on condition that they were responsible for maintaining peace throughout the rest of Apulia. This strongly suggests that Rome was neither able nor willing to

become involved in the South further than was absolutely necessary. The refusal of a treaty with the Samnites in the same year may also have more to do with this than with the motives of vengeance ascribed by Livy<sup>235</sup>. It is also notable that a second treaty with the Lucanians in 299 appears to have been granted primarily as a *casus belli* against the Samnites<sup>236</sup>.

Thus Roman policy during the 4th and early 3rd centuries appears to have been hostile towards the establishment of permanent connections and obligations in the South other than those which were necessary in pursuing hostilities against the Samnites and later in curbing Tarentine power<sup>237</sup>. Against this background, it seems hardly surprising that the Greek cities with their alien culture and their lack of immediate military usefulness<sup>238</sup> were not regarded as suitable candidates for *foedera*. However, it seems likely that the establishment of *foedera* occurred earlier in most areas of Southern Italy than it did in Magna Graecia, possibly during the middle rather than the later years of the 3rd century.

The question of what was actually meant by the term *foedus* and also the possible alternatives to this as a means of making peace are much-debated issues. It seems clear from the numerous references in Livy's narrative of the Samnite wars that peace with Rome did not automatically imply the existence of a *foedus*. On numerous occasions, Rome appears to have withheld a *foedus* until one was actively requested, and even then showed a considerable reluctance on some occasions to grant one<sup>239</sup>. Harris<sup>240</sup> is possibly correct in saying that ultimately the *foedus* was the only possible basis for permanent relations but there are indications that this degree of

relationship was only established slowly and over a long period of time. The alternatives to the *foedus* as a means of establishing diplomatic relations with Rome were primarily *indutiae*, which were used to suspend hostilities for a fixed period of time, and a device known as *sponsio*. *Indutiae* were clearly not intended to establish any lasting connection with another state but simply suspended hostilities for a specified length of time, after which they could be renewed<sup>241</sup>. In practice some of these were of long duration. The longest known is the truce of 100 years with Caere<sup>242</sup> but *indutiae* of 30 or 40 years duration were not uncommon in Etruria, and it would seem from evidence concerning Etruria that *indutiae* were used as the basis for long term relations with areas in which it had no particular interest other than maintaining peace.

The exact nature of *sponsio* as the basis for a peace is obscure. The concept of guaranteeing an agreement by this means is essentially one borrowed from civil law and thus it is difficult to define the exact meaning when applied to diplomatic practice. However, Livy's account of the Pax Caudinum<sup>243</sup> makes it clear that the agreement involved no reciprocal commitments and also that the main tangible difference between *sponsio* and the conclusion of a *foedus* was that an agreement made by *sponsio* was not subject to fetial law and was guaranteed by hostages. Crawford<sup>244</sup> suggests that *sponsio* was not a proper settlement but an interim measure which was only valid until a permanent settlement could be ratified by the senate. However, there are examples other than the Caudine and Numantine agreements cited by Crawford which indicate that alliances or *amicitia* could be entered by means of *sponsio*. It is interesting to note that of the Greek cities, Tarentum and Thurii had been obliged to give hostages at some

stage<sup>245</sup>. This cannot be taken as definite evidence pointing to a *sponsio* but the possibility is worth considering, particularly since the Greeks may not have accepted fetial law.<sup>246</sup>

The question of *amicitia* and its use as a diplomatic device is of considerable importance, in particular because of its widespread use in the Greek East during the 2nd century B.C. The most specific documents on this subject<sup>247</sup> are concerned with individual grants of *amicitia*, not its use in a more general diplomatic context. It is also particularly difficult to disentangle it from the concept of *societas*, particularly since most sources seem to use *societas* and *amicitia* (and their Greek equivalents) as interchangeable terms. As Matthaei<sup>248</sup> points out, it is not possible to base any assumptions on Livy's use of *societas*, *amicitia* or *societas et amicitia* and Mommsen's<sup>249</sup> attempt to do so leads to erroneous conclusions. Gruen's<sup>250</sup> attempt to define *amicitia*/φιλία and its use in the East seems to fall into the same trap. The best solution seems to be to assume that, unless specified otherwise, the terms *societas* and *amicitia* (or συμμαχία and φιλία) are more or less synonymous and indicate a state of general friendly relations with Rome entailing support of Rome's interests at a local level and military help when required. There appears to be no evidence for Gruen's assertion<sup>251</sup> that the Italian *socii* et amici always had this status underwritten by a more formal *foedus* whereas the Greek ones did not. The difference is usually assumed to depend on the question of military quotas and the *formula togatorum* in Italy, but close study of the evidence seems to indicate that levies of allied troops in Italy were conducted on a much more flexible basis than hitherto believed and were not pre-defined either by treaty or by any other means. The

Greek evidence indicates that the *amici et socii* were required to give military aid to Rome when necessary and there seems to be no reason why this could not also have been the case in many areas of Italy, at least before 200.

In terms of the actual form taken by treaties in the South, much depends on evidence from Greece and the East, since the evidence for Italian *foedera* is very scarce. One major problem is that the terms *foedus* and *συνθηκη* are used by sources to denote all types of agreement thus obscuring differences in character and chronological development in the nature and purpose of *foedera*. The distinctions drawn by Antiochus' envoys in 193<sup>252</sup> clearly indicates that the terms of a treaty, and its purpose, could vary greatly according to the circumstances under which it was concluded. A brief survey of the evidence for treaties in Greece and the East indicates that in the majority of cases, the terms of the *foedera* were very vague. The more precisely drafted treaties, including more definite stipulations about the role of signatories, tend to be punitive in nature and concluded after a major war. These frequently included limitations on diplomatic independence, regulations concerning territorial concessions and military status and imposition of war indemnities. The most notable examples of this type are the treaties with Carthage in 20<sup>253</sup>, with Aetolia in 190/189<sup>254</sup>, with Antiochus in 190/189<sup>255</sup> and with Macedon in 196<sup>256</sup>. All the major features found in these treaties can be traced in settlements made in Italy at the end of Punic war, when features such as large-scale land confiscations and imposition of tribute begin to appear. In contrast to this, the epigraphic documents are of a very different nature, corresponding to Livy's third category in his list of treaties and amounting to no



more than a declaration of *societas et amicitia* in practice. These documents, of which the best preserved are the treaties with Maronea and Astypalaia<sup>257</sup>, stipulate a reciprocal support of interests by Rome and the other signatory states and the provision of appropriate military help when necessary but do not define the relationship any further. It seems likely that this was the type of agreement, if any, which underlay the status of socius or amicus in both Italy and Greece. In addition, it seems significant that the Foedus Cassianum, as preserved by Dionysios<sup>258</sup>, which is usually regarded as the prototype for all the Italian treaties, is very similar in its terms to this type of Greek treaty. The one major difference can easily be accounted for by changes in circumstances. It seems likely that the clause concerning military obligation which required the Latins to assist Rome with all their troops quickly became otiose since Rome had access to far more military power than was usually required. Thus it is not surprising that it was replaced by a more general arrangement.

### Conclusions

The examination of the evidence for diplomatic and military relations between Rome and the Greek cities of Southern Italy reveals several points of interest. In specific military terms, the Greek cities seem to have had supply of ships and naval assistance as only part of their military obligation, one which was invoked only infrequently and not on a regular basis. It is possible that a minimum quota was written in to some treaties, but this does not seem to have had much bearing on the actual practice of Roman naval requisitions, which tended to involve demands for assistance from any coastal state which happened to be strategically convenient. In addition, there does not

seem to have been a division or difference in status between those allies which supplied troops and those which supplied ships. There is some evidence that the Greek states maintained some degree of strength in terms of land forces, in particular in their cavalry, and that these may have been utilised by Rome on some occasions, as well as by Hannibal. On a more general level, the slight evidence for the *formula togatorum* can be discounted as proof that the Greeks did not provide land forces, since it does not seem to represent a coherent or generally used means of determining the levy.

The question of the exact legal/diplomatic relationship between Rome and Magna Graecia is ultimately unanswerable due to lack of evidence which employs exact terminology to describe diplomatic relationships. However, examination of the actions of these cities in relation to Rome suggests that a looser degree of alliance than that normally implied by the term *foedus* may have been contracted with many of the cities of Magna Graecia, with more strictly-defined treaties only being introduced after the 2nd Punic war. This pattern seems to reflect the pattern of diplomatic relations with the Hellenistic East, and also to reflect a general lack of Roman interest in Southern Italy, other than that generated by the need to maintain peace following the defeat of the Samnites.

## CONTACTS BETWEEN SOUTHERN ITALY AND THE HELLENISTIC WORLD

### 1. Introductory Comments

The subject of the non-official contacts between Italy and the Eastern Mediterranean in the Hellenistic period has been the subject of a number of detailed studies, dealing in particular with the commercial contacts and the part played in generating these by people of Italian rather than Roman origin, in the years before the Social War. Some comment on the role of the Italiote Greeks in developing these contacts has already been made, and it has been suggested that the contacts between Italiote Greek cities and states in the Aegean were instrumental in starting the process, but little detailed consideration has been given to the nature of the contacts between the Italiote cities and the rest of the Greek world.

In general terms, the proportion of Italiotes in the East is no greater than that of any other Italian group, a fact which may suggest that the Greeks were simply responding to the same pressures and influences as the rest of the Italians and Romans who are known to have had connections in the East. It is notable that contact between Magna Graecia and the rest of the Greek world was continuously maintained from the foundation of the colonies onwards, but the nature of these contacts changed somewhat in the Hellenistic period, as did the nature of inter-state contacts within Greece, and the activities of Italiote Greeks, as well as Italians and Romans, seem to have been dictated by the trends prevailing in the Hellenistic world as a whole. The question of the motives for the migration to the Aegean in the 2nd and 1st centuries B.C. need to be examined in detail. A breakdown of the chronology, geographical

provenance and activities of the Italiotes who are known to have had connections with the East does not suggest that this migration represents permanent emigration on the part of the individuals concerned due to political exile or economic decline in Southern Italy, as is often stated, but should rather be seen as a form of temporary or "seasonal" migration for a variety of economic and cultural purposes. It is also clear that, in addition to individual contacts, many of the cities of Magna Graecia retained official diplomatic contacts in the East, at least until the 3rd century B.C., and possibly even later.

The evidence which will be discussed below is drawn from inscriptions and historical sources relating to the 4th century and later, with particular emphasis on the material from the 3rd-1st centuries B.C. Although there are a sizeable number of references to Italiote Greeks in the victory lists of the major Panhellenic festivals dating to the 6th and 5th centuries, as well as other evidence of connections with the major sanctuaries of the Greek world, these will be excluded as being too early to have any relevance.

## 2. Western Greeks in the East

### Geographical Provenance

The most obvious feature which emerges from a survey of Italian Greeks in the Eastern Mediterranean is the limited number of cities from which the majority of them originated. By far the largest number of individuals of Western Greek origin are Tarentines, a fact which is not surprising in view of the fact that Tarentum was by far

the largest and most powerful city in Southern Italy. At least 50 Tarentines are known to have been present in the Aegean and the East for a variety of reasons at dates which range from the early 3rd century B.C. to the end of the 1st century.

The only city which produces a remotely comparable number of traceable individuals is Naples, with 31 instances. Velia and Herakleia, both small states which are in large measure ignored by the literary sources, seem to have had a surprisingly large presence in the East, with 20 and 16 cases respectively. The actual number of natives of these states may be higher than this but obscured by the difficulty of distinguishing with any certainty between Italian Greeks and natives of other states with similar or identical names.<sup>1</sup> For instance, the likelihood is high that most of the Eleans and Locrians found in inscriptions, particularly in those of Central Greece, will be of mainland Greek, not Italian origin. Similarly, there were a considerable number of cities named Herakleia throughout the Greek world. Thus there may be a considerable number of Italians whose existence is camouflaged in this way<sup>2</sup>. This may explain the apparent lack of contact between Locri and mainland Greece, a fact which is particularly strange since Locri was one of the richer and more powerful cities in Italy in the period before Hannibal's invasion although it may have suffered a decline as a result of the Punic wars.<sup>3</sup>

The rest of the Greek cities in the West appear to have produced relatively few emigrants, compared with the cases discussed above. Six inscriptions referring to Cumaeans can be attributed fairly securely to Cumae in Italy. There are also five inscriptions

referring to contacts between Rhegium and the East, three referring to Thurii and five to Metapontum. Croton seems to have retained more contact with the Aegean with seven instances, and there are isolated references to natives of Petelia and Terina. The only Greek city which is known to have survived the Punic wars but does not appear to have retained any contact with the rest of the Greek world is Paestum. It may be significant that this was an area where Greek culture appears to have been largely absorbed by Italian elements and which had been drawn politically into a closer relationship with Rome by the foundation of a Latin colony there in 273.<sup>4</sup> However, a dilution of Greek culture and political encroachment by Rome were factors which were also shared by other cities, Cumae in particular.<sup>5</sup> While it seems to be true that those cities which retained their Greek culture to the greatest extent were also those which maintained most contacts with the rest of the Greek world,<sup>6</sup> it does not seem that the converse of this necessarily meant complete severance of contact. There are also a number of individuals recorded, mainly at the major sanctuaries, and in particular Delphi and Delos, who have Greek names but are identified only as Ιταλικος or Ρωμαιος, without any more specific indication of origin. While it would be unwise to assume that all of these originated from Southern Italy, it is likely that a certain proportion of them did so, in particular those of 3rd or early 2nd century date<sup>7</sup>.

### Chronology

Study of the chronological patterns shown by the inscriptions recording Italian Greeks in the East suggest that although the numbers recorded are small compared with the overall number of Romans and Italians in the East,<sup>8</sup> the Greek presence was a constant factor

from the 4th century onwards. Study of the chronology of this expansion in the East also indicates a number of changes over this period in the cities which maintained contact with the rest of the Greek world. The vast majority of the inscriptions which can be dated fall within the 2nd and 1st centuries B.C., but some of the Western Greek cities appear to have lost contact with the rest of the Greek world at a much earlier date. The earliest of these inscriptions, apart from a small number of examples which fall outside this period, belongs to the middle of the 4th century and is a list of *Theodokoi* from Epidauros.<sup>9</sup> This includes a list of Southern Italian states, each with one or more names assigned to it, which includes Metapontum, Thurii, Rhegium, Tarentum and Croton and a number of Sicilian cities, but omits Herakleia and the Campanian cities. This, and one inscription from Delphi,<sup>10</sup> also of the 4th century, are the sole evidence for contacts between Thurii and the East, and it would seem that Thurii retained little or no contact with the rest of the Greek world after the end of the 4th century. Such contacts as there were seem to have been restricted to sanctuaries. Metapontine contacts with the East also seem to have been severed at an early date and confined to Epidauros and Delphi. The only evidence for Metapontines outside Italy are two inscriptions from Epidauros, the list of *Theodokoi* mentioned above and a fragment of late 4th century date, possibly part of a dedication to Asklepios<sup>11</sup>, together with two dedications from Delphi<sup>12</sup>. Croton and Tarentum are also represented at an early date. A Crotoniate appears in the accounts of the *Naopoi* at Delphi during the 4th century and also in a fragmentary inscription of early 4th century date at Athens, while a funerary inscription for Antikrates of Tarentum appears at Eretria, probably of late 4th or early 3rd century date.<sup>13</sup>

In both of these cases, this represents the continuation of contacts which are well-documented from the 7th century onwards. In particular, both cities had contacts with Delphi and Olympia. Their continuing contacts with these sanctuaries is illustrated by the large number of Crotoniate and Tarentine victors in the major games', particularly those at Olympia.<sup>14</sup>

However, activity on the part of the Western Greeks appears to have become much more widespread from the 3rd century onwards. The first Neapolitans appear in proxeny decrees from Tanagra and Oropos,<sup>15</sup> probably of the last quarter of the 3rd century, and in the epitaph of a mercenary from the Thebaid, Egypt, probably also of 3rd century date.<sup>16</sup> A Neapolitan is also known from Delphic inscriptions of the 3rd century.<sup>17</sup>

Rhegium, as a city, appears in the Soteria inscriptions from Delphi,<sup>18</sup> and natives of Croton, Rhegium and Tarentum are all subjects of a proxeny decree from Tenos in the same period.<sup>19</sup> The Tarentine presence in the East seems to have grown during this period. There is a substantial amount of evidence for the presence of Tarentine mercenaries in Egypt<sup>20</sup>, and for Tarentines at Delphi.<sup>21</sup> Tarentines are also the subject of proxeny decrees from Tenos, Oreus and Kyme, and appear in an agonistic inscription from Egypt and a very fragmentary inscription of unidentifiable character from Delos, all of which can be dated from the middle to the end of the 3rd century.<sup>22</sup> There is also a 3rd century inscription which provides evidence for Petelian living on Delos at the end of the 3rd century. This is the only example of a native of Petelia resident in the East.<sup>23</sup> Although Petelia was not considered as a Greek city by this



date, being referred to by Livy<sup>24</sup> as a Bruttian community, it seems likely that it was Hellenised to some extent. There appears to have been a tradition of Greek foundation by the hero Philoctetes,<sup>25</sup> in common with several other areas which were Italian but were influenced by Greek culture. The fact that the man referred to by the Delos inscription has a name which combines Greek and Oscan elements, and is expressed in the Greek rather than the Latin form suggests that there may have been some degree of racial and cultural mixing in the area, as was the case at Paestum, Cumae, and to a lesser extent, at Naples and Velia.<sup>26</sup>

There seems to have been a considerable upsurge in the numbers of Italian Greeks, and Italians generally, in the 2nd century and a continuous Italian presence in the East which continued into the 1st century. It has been suggested by Hatzfeld<sup>27</sup> that many of these Italians came from the South and that the Greeks were simply among the earliest participants in a general phenomenon which involved migration to the East for commercial reasons. His assertion that this was led by the Greeks and facilitated by their contacts with the Greek world cannot be proven and does not explain adequately why the Greeks of Italy had not expanded in this direction earlier since they clearly had the opportunity to do so. Whatever the explanation, all the evidence clearly points to the fact that there was a much greater degree of contact between Southern Italy and the Greek world as a whole, in which the Greeks of Italy participated. Much of the evidence comes from Delos,<sup>28</sup> where Tarentines, Neapolitans, Herakleotes and Velians were among the Italians present on the island in the 2nd and 1st centuries. Other western Greek cities fade almost entirely from the record after the beginning of the 2nd century.

There are occasional references to Rhegines and Cumaeans and isolated instances of a Locrian from Italy of Delos during the 2nd century and a Terinaian at Athens.<sup>29</sup> Croton seems to have retained some connection with Delphi, but only on a very small scale.

The main influx of Greeks from Italy into Delos seems to have occurred from around 170 onwards. Many of the earliest immigrants appear to have been of Tarentine origin and appear from c.179 onwards, up to the end of the 2nd century, after which their numbers appear to have declined, although Tarentines are found elsewhere in the Aegean in the 1st century. In contrast, the main influx of Herakleotes took place from the end of the 2nd century onwards, from 105/4 to c.74. Greeks who are probably from Herakleia in Italy are found only at Delos, and in a single case, at Delphi. Similarly, there is no evidence for the presence of any Velians anywhere except Delos and Delphi, where there appear to have been a relatively large number. Like Tarentines, they appear to have arrived on Delos in the 2nd century, from 158/7 onwards and continue to appear there until c.88. Only two Velians have been found outside Delos, both at Delphi and datable to 188/7. Neapolitans also tend to appear rather later on Delos, towards the end of the 2nd century and in the first decade of the 1st century.

In the first century, there appear to have been comparatively few Greeks from Italy in the East. Two Cumaeans are known from Oropos<sup>30</sup> and a small number of Neapolitans, Velians and Herakleotes are known from Delos. There appears to have been a slightly larger number of Tarentines, principally known from the agonistic inscriptions of Boeotia, but also from Argos. There is also an

isolated instance of a Crotoniate athlete who is mentioned on an agonistic inscription from Thespieae, probably of early Imperial date.<sup>31</sup>

#### The Nature of the Contacts Between Magna Graecia and the East

While some of the inscriptions mentioning Italiote Greeks are of a fragmentary nature and others make only brief references to individuals, nevertheless it is possible to make some analysis of the nature of the contacts between Western Greeks and the Aegean. Excluding the material from Delos, which is unique in character, most of the inscriptions mentioning Italian Greeks are proxeny decrees or agonistic inscriptions, although a number of examples are funerary or dedicatory in character, which, by and large, give very little information about the person concerned. In contrast, the material from Delos is primarily composed of dedicatory inscriptions of a more informative character. In general, the types of inscription which have survived give little information about the individuals they record, but can provide some insight into the general nature of the contacts between Eastern and Western Greeks.

In general, comparatively few of the individuals who appear in the epigraphic record seem to have been permanently resident in the East. The literary evidence for the existence of *conventus civium Romanorum* in the Greek world indicates that there were communities of resident Romans and Italians in the East,<sup>32</sup> but the evidence for Greeks from Italy suggests that they were a transient population and did not belong to these permanent communities. On Delos, a number of Greek families from the West can be traced through several generations, together with their slaves and freedmen.<sup>33</sup> However,

Delos, with its central position in the Aegean, status as a free port, and high concentration of Italians with their own area of the island, must be regarded as the exception rather than the rule. It is unclear how many even of the community on Delos were permanent residents in the absolute sense of the word. Wealthy men such as Midas Zenonos of Herakleia<sup>34</sup> and the banker Philostratos of Naples<sup>35</sup> seem to have invested a considerable amount of money in the building of the Agora of the Italians, judging by the number of buildings which they dedicated. A number of these wealthy men appear in inscriptions which indicated the presence of a whole family, including wives, children and slaves, which would suggest continuing contact with the island for considerable periods of time.<sup>36</sup> However, there are indications that in some cases at least, residence on the island was not of a permanent nature, and probably involved considerable absences. It is even possible that these documents simply indicate a hereditary connection with the island rather than actual residence there. The examples which occur of individuals who held the citizenship of more than one city indicate that patterns of residence and citizenship must have been very flexible. Philostratos Philostratou is given as a citizen of Ancona in the earliest text in which he appears but in later documents, he is referred to as being a citizen of Naples.<sup>37</sup> Similarly, Simalos Timarchou was a both a citizen of Tarentum and a citizen of Salamis.<sup>38</sup> These cases seem to imply that the individuals concerned must have lived for a reasonable length of time in the states which granted them citizenship, which in turn implies a considerable absence from Delos<sup>39</sup>. Possibly Delos was used by many of the Italians there as a base for commercial operations with which they maintained continuous contact and where they lived for considerable periods but not necessarily as a

continuous permanent residence.

Elsewhere, however, Italiotes appear to have been a more transient population and not permanently resident in the East. As such, they can be regarded as being an indicator of contacts between Magna Graecia and the rest of the Greek world rather than a result of emigration from Southern Italy. It also seems likely that some of those recognised by Hatzfeld as negotiatores travelling for commercial reasons may not actually have been so. Inscriptions which record proxeny decrees or games and festivals do not necessarily imply that those present were resident overseas or were engaged in trade. The Cumaeans Abris Kaikou and Attinos Herakleidou, who are identified by Hatzfeld as negotiatores on the basis of an inscription from Oropus, are in fact only known to have taken part in the Games and there is no evidence that they were involved in trade. Similarly, Agathokles Theodosiou<sup>40</sup> of Naples is named as *auletes* in a victor list from Oropus, also c.80 B.C., and Philon Philonos of Tarentum appears as *kitharistes*<sup>41</sup> in a victory list for the Sarapeia at Tanagra, also in the 1st century B.C. Two actors are known from agonistic inscriptions, both Tarentine, Drakon the tragedian, who appears on a choregic list from Delos,<sup>42</sup> and Dorotheos Dorthou who is named by 1st century victory lists from Orchomenos and Argos.<sup>43</sup> Dorotheos is included by Hatzfeld in his list of negotiatores but it seems more likely that he was a professional actor who toured the dramatic festivals, since he is known to have appeared at more than one festival. Thus it seems that many of the Italiotes known from agonistic inscriptions may not have been involved in trade necessarily but are likely to have been more-or-less professional athletes or performers touring a circuit of the major Games and

festivals.<sup>44</sup> The fact that a considerable proportion of the evidence other than that from Delos comes from Boeotian agonistic inscriptions may be significant. It would suggest that the Greeks from Italy took part in the festivals which became a major feature of some Boeotian cities in the 1st century B.C. and were thus still part of the Greek cultural tradition represented by these festivals, and in practical terms were still in touch with the rest of the Greek world. However, it is likely, as noted above, that the participants in these games were athletes and artists and were present in Boeotia for reasons connected with the Games, rather than being part of a tendency to emigrate from Southern Italy. A single exception to this occurs in an agonistic inscription of 267 from Egypt which includes a Tarentine, Hephaestion Demeou, who appears to have been a cleruch resident in the area.<sup>45</sup> It seems possible that, given the date for this, he may have been one of the anti-Roman faction at Tarentum expelled from the city after the Roman conquest in 272. In any case, he is an isolated example, differing both in date and in character from the main body of agonistic material.

A small number of Italiote Greeks appear in ephebe lists, a fact which may indicate some length of residence in the city where they were registered. Those registered in Athens, on the list of ephebes of non-Athenian origin, are Simalos Simalou of Tarentum (101/100 B.C.) and Isidoros Isidorou of Naples (100 B.C.).<sup>46</sup> Simalos also appears on a Delian ephebe list for 102/1 B.C. and Ariston of Herakleia and Agathokles of Velia appear on a list for 119/8 B.C., also from Delos.<sup>47</sup> However, these do not provide evidence for permanent residence, as demonstrated by the appearance of Simalos of Tarentum on ephebe lists of two states in consecutive years.

The number of funerary inscriptions found outside Delos and Egypt are surprisingly small, only eight being attributable with any certainty. Many of these are Athenian, including two of uncertain date, marking the graves of two Italian women, Demetria Aristonos,<sup>48</sup> who is described only as Italiote, and Demo Euphronos from Terina<sup>49</sup>, as well as two Cumaeans, a Velian, and five Tarentines, most of which can be dated to the 2nd and 1st centuries B.C.<sup>50</sup> Two further funerary inscriptions, on Lindos and Rhodes, commemorate Neapolitans but do not have any certain indication of Italian origins. A rather larger proportion of the inscriptions from Delos are funerary in character, and there are a group of epitaphs from Egypt, most of them from Arsinoite or the Thebaid, which commemorate Italiote mercenaries.

A large proportion of the evidence from areas other than Delos comes from decrees granting proxenia to individuals of Italiote origin. These are all in a standard format and do not give much information on the individuals concerned, being confined to declarations of goodwill and occasionally including grants of public hospitality to the recipients of the decree. Many of these are decrees by Boeotian cities, although there are examples from Delphi, Tenos and Euboea. In general, they are a little earlier in date than the agonistic inscriptions discussed above. The exact significance of proxeny decrees in the Hellenistic and Roman periods is not clear. The title of *proxenos* appears to have been largely honorific, granted to individuals as recognition of high standing or services to the state concerned. In some respects, it appears to be rather similar to Roman decrees of *amicitia*<sup>51</sup>. The degree to which the institution had lost its original function as a means of securing representation

of interests in other states by appointing a citizen of that state to safeguard them is not known. However, at the very least, it would seem to indicate that individual Italiotes were sufficiently prominent in the East to be the subjects of these decrees. It may not necessarily be an indication of diplomatic relations between Eastern and Western Greeks but it is significant that, whatever the practical implications, the Italiote Greeks were participating in a phenomenon shared by the rest of the Greek world. Of the Italiote cities which appear on proxeny decrees, the most prominent are Tarentum and Naples, but citizens of Herakleia, Croton and Rhegium are also found in this type of document.

Although many of the Italiotes in the East do not appear in circumstance which suggest political exile, it has been suggested that a substantial number of them had in fact left Italy as a result of political changes in their home cities occurring in 272 and 209. Moretti<sup>52</sup> attributes much of the depopulation suffered by Tarentum to exile of citizens for political reasons and to emigration as a result of the political and economic disturbances of the 3rd century, but the evidence suggests that this aspect has been overemphasised. Undoubtedly some of the Italiotes in the East can be accounted for by political exile, but this cannot explain the entire number of those who appear on inscriptions in the Eastern Mediterranean, particularly since a large proportion of these individuals do not come from cities with a history of political disturbance or of hostility to Rome<sup>53</sup>. The fact that many of the people named do not appear to have been permanently resident outside Italy would also suggest that the contacts between Magna Graecia and the Aegean cannot be explained in terms of emigration forced by political and economic decline.



Equally, it cannot be assumed that those Italiotes who were exiled remained in exile permanently. The Tarentines who were exiled in 212 were invited to return after the reconquest of the city by Rome<sup>54</sup>, and the Locrian exiles are known to have staged a counter-coup in 209/8<sup>55</sup>.

Several groups of Italiotes do appear in circumstances which may suggest permanent emigration and possibly exile. Of these, the Italiote mercenaries which begin to appear in Egypt in the 3rd century<sup>56</sup> are perhaps the most likely to represent permanent exiles. However, this cannot be assumed. In particular, this migration cannot be connected with the upheavals caused by war with Rome, since the group of known Italiote mercenaries includes Velians and Neapolitans, who were not hostile to Rome in the 3rd century, as well as Tarentines, who were. The presence of Italiote mercenaries in the armies of Hellenistic monarchs seems to be more a reflection of the increased demand for troops, increased rewards, and the continued Greek affiliation of these cities than evidence for mass emigration from Italy as a response to the Roman conquest of the South, particularly since the same phenomenon can be observed throughout the Hellenistic world. The fact that this process of recruitment of Italiotes by the Hellenistic dynasts seems to have been principally a 3rd century phenomenon may also be a reflection of the presence of Hellenistic armies in Southern Italy during the 4th and 3rd centuries. It is also possible that the apparent concentration of mercenaries in Egypt is a reflection of the strength of the contacts between Egypt and Magna Graecia<sup>57</sup>. Thus there are a large number of factors which need to be taken into consideration, and which suggest that the migration of Italiotes should be seen in terms of continuing

contact with the Hellenistic world rather than purely in terms of the political events of the 3rd century.

### Literary Evidence

Literary evidence for the presence of Italiote Greeks in the East is very slender. However, there is one exception to this which is worth mentioning, namely the infamous Herakleides of Tarentum. Polybios indicates that he was an architect from Tarentum.<sup>58</sup> The exact details of his career are confused, but he appears to have been exiled from Tarentum at some stage between 212 and 209, although his subsequent career as a double agent may cast doubt on the genuineness of the exile.<sup>59</sup> He is accredited with the invention of the sambuca used by Marcellus at the seige of Syracuse<sup>60</sup> but appears to have been forced to leave Italy entirely after doubts were cast on his loyalty to Rome. Subsequently, he acted as a diplomat and adviser to Philip V and was instrumental in carrying out Philip's anti-Rhodian policy in 204.<sup>61</sup> There is no evidence that he ever returned to Tarentum. Doublet<sup>62</sup> tentatively identifies him with the Delian banker Herakleides Aristionos but there is no evidence of support this besides an approximate correspondence of date.

There is some further literary evidence for political exiles from Tarentum in the 3rd century.<sup>63</sup> This seems to indicate that the pro-Roman group formed a "government in exile" to some extent. The approach made to the exiles by Rome, at the Olympic Games of 207, suggests that they were perceived as a coherent political group and not simply a collection of exiled individuals. In addition to this, there are references to a musician, Nikokles Aristionos, who appears to have been a Tarentine exile living in Athens. A large tomb which

is probably his is known, and has been dated to the middle of the 3rd century B.C., which suggests that he was exiled in the 280's or 270's<sup>64</sup>. In addition to this, his son is known to have continued to live in the Aegean and is named as being the favourite kitharist of Antigonus.

## 2. Aegean Greeks in the West

This subject is considerably less well documented than that of Western Greeks in the East. By the middle of the 2nd century B.C., the number of Greeks from the East who were in Italy was fairly high, most of them being in origin slaves or hostages taken in the wars in Greece. However, there is little evidence of them in Magna Graecia, although it is sometimes asserted that the *latifundia* which may have developed in the South were run by slaves captured in the wars overseas<sup>65</sup>. A much more genuine contact between the Aegean and Magna Graecia is represented by Archias, the Greek poet defended by Cicero<sup>66</sup>. He appears to have arrived first of all in the South, where he received artistic acclaim and grants of citizenship from Tarentum, Rhegium and Naples,<sup>67</sup> before settling in Rome. His contacts with the Greek communities evidently persisted, as it was at Herakleia and as a Herakleote citizen that he chose to register himself under the Lex Julia in order to gain Roman citizenship.<sup>68</sup> There is no suggestion that the arrival of Archias in Southern Italy was in any way unusual and it may be possible to regard him as being representative of a general trend rather than an isolated example. This can be illustrated by two further cases, both discussed by Deniaux<sup>69</sup>, namely the granting of Neapolitan citizenship to Philostratos Philostratou, which has already been discussed, and the granting of citizenship to Sosis, an associate of Cicero<sup>70</sup>. Of these

three cases, only Sosis appears to have been permanently resident at Naples, where he is known to have become a decurion, although Deniaux speculates, on the basis of frequency of occurrence of the ethnic *Νεοπολιτης*, that Philostratos maintained close connections with the city and may have used it as the base of his trading operations<sup>71</sup>. If this can be assumed to be the case, it would indicate that the Italiote cities continued to maintain dynamic contacts with the Greek East in terms of both diplomatic and economic activities, and acted as an important intermediary between Italy and the East.

There is also evidence that contacts between the Italiote cities and the Aegean world continued to develop during the Empire. Epigraphic evidence indicates that a substantial number of Greek artists and athletes were attracted to Italy by the Greek games which were held at Naples, Puteoli and Rome<sup>72</sup>. While this clearly only involved a minority of the Italiote Greeks, it serves as an indication that Naples, at least, was in touch with the rest of the Greek world. The exact extent of these contacts cannot be determined, but it seems that the Italian festivals were a major part of the regular circuit of the Games for professional athletes and performers. Many epitaphs and honorific inscriptions for athletes include the games at Naples and Puteoli, listing them only second to the traditional panhellenic festivals<sup>73</sup>. The records of the *Sebastà* and the epitaphs of athletes found at Naples will be discussed in greater detail elsewhere.<sup>74</sup> However, it is notable that a large number of Greeks from Egypt and the Middle East continued to be attracted to Naples by the Games, and by the opportunities open to teachers, writers and philosophers there.<sup>75</sup>

In addition to these contacts, there seems to have been an attempt to artificially promote contacts with the East by Hadrian as part of the Panhellenion.<sup>76</sup> As part of this initiative, an embassy led by Callicrates was sent by Sparta to Tarentum in 145-50, apparently to revive the traditional connection, and seems to have been received with enthusiasm.<sup>77</sup> However, this is outside the scope of this chapter and will be discussed in further detail elsewhere.

In conclusion, it can be observed that there is clear evidence of continuing connections between a number of the Italiote cities and the Aegean world, of a type which suggests that many of these cities retained a sense of their Greek identity, in diplomacy<sup>78</sup> as well as in contacts made by individuals. Clearly, a number of cities retained this degree of Hellenism for much longer than others, as is attested by the literary sources. It is also notable that the Italiotes are not noticeably different in their activities from Italians and Romans who are also found in the East during this period. However, this does not necessarily prove that the Greeks from the West were acting in a characteristically "Roman" rather than "Greek" manner, since in many cases, both groups appear to be responding to phenomena which are characteristic of the Hellenistic world as a whole. For instance, both Greeks and Italians participated in civic life in terms of making dedications, enrolling sons as ephebes, taking part in games and artistic contests etc, and were honoured in Hellenistic fashion, by means of proxeny decrees. Thus both Greeks and Italians appear to be conforming to Hellenistic custom to the point where it is impossible to decide from this evidence alone whether the Italiotes can be regarded as having a separate, and specifically, Greek identity<sup>79</sup>. However, the other

evidence available suggests that the cities of Magna Graecia were perceived as having a strong Greek identity. The fact that they continued to be used by Greeks from the Aegean as a means of entry into Italy and in some cases, as a trading base, strongly suggests that at least some of these cities retained contacts with the Hellenistic world and a Greek identity in the eyes of other Greeks, as well as themselves.

### Introductory Comments

It is intended that the second part of this study should consist of a survey of the published epigraphic evidence for those of the Greek colonies of Southern Italy which maintained continuity of occupation and a recognisable urban identity under the Late Republic and during the Empire. Each chapter will contain some discussion of the literary sources for the later history of Magna Graecia, but it is intended that the main focus should be on the epigraphy, since this can provide information about questions such as language change, social structure, and the persistence, or otherwise, of regional identity. In particular, the question of regional identity in the period after the Social War, and the persistence of local traditions, is of interest for two reasons. The fact that Magna Graecia is by definition very diverse and can only be considered as a unit on broad ethnic similarities renders the contrasts in the development of this group of cities as significant as the similarities. In addition, the persistence of local traditions, or the development of new ones, during the Roman period can be seen as evidence of resistance to Romanisation.

#### Scope of the Survey

A certain number of restrictions have been placed on the scope of this survey, to take into account the problems of access to epigraphic material held overseas, and also of work already done in this field. The principal limiting factor of this type is the use of published epigraphic material only. There has been no attempt to include any unpublished material. Within the limits of this, it is intended that the data from the sites chosen should be as complete as

possible, as regards inscribed texts. Some stamps and coin legends (principally those which give the name of the issuing magistrate) have been included, but these have not been the subject of an exhaustive search. Stamps on amphorae and pottery, in particular, have only been included in cases where there is good reason to believe that the names on the stamps are those of local inhabitants, and that the pieces are of local manufacture, in order to prevent the contamination of the prosopographical data by the inclusion of names of individuals from outside the area studied. The names of Roman officials and other notables, however, have been included as these provide information on the relations of Rome with the South, and on the subject of municipal patronage by Roman notables. The other major category of evidence excluded is the legal texts<sup>1</sup>. These are somewhat earlier in date than the bulk of the epigraphic data from this area, and are rather more specialised in nature. They will be discussed in as far as they are relevant to the construction of local prosopographies or to the social development of Magna Graecia but it is not intended to discuss the legal implications of such documents as the Table of Herakleia and the Lex Tarentina.

Chronologically, the limits are defined only by the dates of the documents available. However, material earlier than the 4th century B.C. has not been used for prosopographic purposes as it is too early to have any bearing on the social composition of the cities in question during the Roman period. Similarly, the evidence for the Greek cities in Late Antiquity, where it exists, has been treated only briefly<sup>2</sup>. In most areas, the number of inscriptions of the 4th century A.D. or later is small, but in areas where a substantial amount of evidence is found, this has been included.



In geographical terms, the criteria for inclusion are; continuity of occupation from the Greek city to the Roman one, evidence of a reasonable level of occupation in the Roman period, the absence of any major epigraphic study utilising the epigraphic data. This excludes a number of the minor cities of Magna Graecia, such as Caulonia, Terina and Hipponium, which declined during the 4th century and failed to recover from the effects of the 2nd Punic war. The only city of this type which has produced a substantial amount of epigraphic evidence is Hipponium, where the Roman colony of Vibo has contributed a substantial body of inscriptions. Accordingly, these will be considered in general terms but not analysed in detail. Other cities which are known to have survived but have produced very little epigraphic data, such as Herakleia, Metapontum and Thurii<sup>3</sup>, are included but are treated as a separate group, since there is insufficient evidence to analyse these on the same basis as the other sites studied. Three sites have already been the subject of monographs dedicated to analysis of the epigraphic evidence and the compilation of local prosopographies, namely Paestum, Locri and Tarentum. It is intended to include the findings of the work carried out on these cities in the conclusions to this section, and to compare these results with those obtained from other sites. However, since there is a substantial amount of published Tarentine epigraphy which was not included in any of the studies made by Gasperini<sup>4</sup>, a section on Tarentum has been included in order to cover this material, and to compare it with the results obtained by Gasperini.

### Methodology

The criteria outlined above have placed certain restrictions on the

methodology adopted. In order to ensure compatibility of results, approximately the same method has been used as that followed by Gasperini and Costabile<sup>5</sup>, subject to the suitability of the evidence from the other sites studied. Naturally, the divergences of the evidence from cities as widely separated and different in character as Metapontum and Naples means that it is not possible to maintain absolutely the same criteria for each site, but by maintaining the same broad structure, it is possible to ensure enough compatibility to draw some comparative conclusions. For instance, the Paestan evidence assembled by Mello and Voza<sup>6</sup> concentrates primarily on the compilation of a prosopography, analysis of the social structure by means of identifying the families constituting a local élite and their dependents, and tracing the changes in the composition of this élite over the period covered (3rd century B.C. - 3rd century A.D.). In this case, the long time-span, better information on the Republican period and better dating, in particular from the coin evidence, allows this to be accomplished with some degree of accuracy. However, the nature of the evidence from the other cities studied does not allow this degree of chronological precision and it is impossible in most cases to trace the Republican élite with any degree of accuracy. In addition, changes in onomastic methodology have raised some doubts about the validity of reliance on identification of the regional origin of nomina for the tracing of the origins of a particular *gens*<sup>7</sup>.

The methodology adopted for the majority of sites is based on those used by Gasperini and Costabile<sup>8</sup>, in their epigraphic studies of Tarentum and Locri. However, unlike Gasperini's work<sup>9</sup>, there will be no attempt to analyse the evidence for the socio-economic

structure of the territories of the cities studied, since there are few cases of published inscriptions, particularly among those published pre-1914, where the proveniences of inscriptions are given with sufficient accuracy to allow this to be carried out. Since it is unlikely that a city and its territory should not share the same broad trends and be open to much the same influences, all inscriptions from a particular city and its territory will be treated as a single unit. The material available will be treated under a number of broad headings, principally the cults, festivals and religious life of the city, political/administrative development, imperial patronage and the presence of any other Roman notables, and social structure and the composition of the local élite. However, less emphasis has been placed on the changes in the local élite and on tracing the exact proveniences of the various onomastic features. The principal aim of the onomastic/prosopographic analysis is to establish a broad picture of the social composition of the cities studied and of the nature of the local élites rather than a detailed record of immigration and emigration.

#### Prosopography and Onomastics

The onomastic method followed is that which is standard to most epigraphic publications, in the case of the Latin inscriptions. In each instance, the nomen and cognomen will be cross-referenced with other examples of the same name from the regions covered by CIL 9 and 10, with particular emphasis on examples from the same locality, although these have not been cited in full in cases of very common names. However, the frequency of occurrence is noted in all cases. The possible ethnic/geographic origins of nomina are taken from Conway and Schulze<sup>10</sup>, but these are intended only as approximate

indicators of sources of immigration or contact with other regions of Italy since the rapid assimilation of new names into the local onomastic pool is a well-documented phenomenon. Only in instances where names have a particularly circumscribed distribution is any significance assumed<sup>11</sup>.

In dealing with cognomina, the main concern has been to establish the ethnic origin of the name, if this is possible, with a view to testing Kajanto's hypotheses<sup>12</sup> on the social significance of non-Latin cognomina. Some indication has been given of frequency of occurrence in Southern Italy, but since by the 1st century A.D. there were a large number of cognomina with a very wide distribution and a high incidence of occurrence in almost all areas, parallels have not been cited except in instances of comparatively rare names, or those which contain positive indication of status, occupation or ethnic/geographical origin<sup>13</sup>.

The principal significance of onomastic/prosopographic analysis in an area of such linguistic complexity is to trace the survival of elements of Greek, Oscan, Messapian etc. and their relationship to Latin, as expressed through choice of name and onomastic form. In particular, it may be useful to attempt to determine any artificial changes in onomastic usages. It is possible that some of the aristocratic families found in the South may be Greek families who indicated their loyalty to Rome and desire to be assimilated by adopting Roman onomastic forms<sup>14</sup>. Similarly, the retention of Greek onomastic forms and language can be an indication of the persistence of a local Greek identity<sup>15</sup>. The occurrence of names containing both Greek and Oscan elements, or Greek and Latin elements, is attestation

of the process of cultural and linguistic integration<sup>16</sup>. Discrepancy between the onomastic forms used in an inscription and the language chosen may also be a useful indicator of language choice. Thus the principal purposes of studying the names available will be:

1. To identify the approximate social and economic status of as many individuals as possible, and also their profession, where indicated.
2. To trace changes in prominent families, identify colonisation phases and trace immigration into the area from other parts of Italy or overseas.
3. To examine the relative incidence of Greek, Latin and Oscan name forms and the relationship of the individuals with these names to the languages of the area.

### Chronology

The biggest problem posed for any attempted survey of the epigraphic material already published is that of chronology. Given that much of the material under consideration was published in the 19th or early 20th century, before the development of the techniques of dating by palaeographic analysis, much of the material under consideration is undated. Accordingly, there has been little attempt to construct a detailed chronology, as this would be impossible to do reliably without close reference to the original texts. Where definite dates are given, these are based on those given by the editors of the texts in question or on historical references contained in the text. No datings have been attempted on palaeographic grounds for the reasons stated above.

However, some broad chronological divisions have been drawn up. These are based on a number of common features of epigraphy which can be used as *termini post quem*. While this method of dating is not foolproof and can only be used to establish broad chronological divisions, not to create a detailed chronology, it does provide an acceptably accurate outline, and one which is compatible with the work of other scholars in the field. The principal disadvantage is that many of these indicators are variations in Latin name forms or funerary formulae. It is, therefore, a method which does not adapt well to Greek epigraphy, and thus a high proportion of Greek funerary inscriptions have, by default, to be classed as undated<sup>17</sup>. Some of these texts are securely datable to the period after the Roman conquest by the presence of Roman names. A number of others are datable by Greek funerary formulae used, principally  $\chi\alpha\iota\rho\epsilon$  and  $\chi\rho\eta\sigma\tau\eta$   $\chi\alpha\iota\rho\epsilon$ , and by the use of the lunate and squared forms of omega and sigma<sup>18</sup>. However, all of these features appear in the Hellenistic world comparatively early and they are of little use in dating inscriptions of imperial date, with the exception of squared letter forms, which are dated by Guarducci to the 3rd century A.D. Lunate letter forms appear in the 4th century and are common by the 1st century B.C., while the common Greek funerary formulae appear in large numbers on Delos in the period after 166 B.C.<sup>19</sup>

In onomastic terms, the principal indication used for dating is the presence or absence of cognomina.<sup>20</sup> In general, the absence of a cognomen, except in the case of a Roman of aristocratic origin, indicates a date of 1st century B.C. or earlier. Although cognomina are found at this date, they are comparatively rare among those of non-aristocratic, but free-born, origin. They first become common

among the free population in the 1st century A.D., and are almost universal in the 2nd and 3rd centuries.<sup>21</sup> In the later empire, patterns of cognomina and agnomina change somewhat, but without sufficient consistency to provide clear evidence of date. It has been argued that a system of single names, principally derived from cognomina, became the most common form of nomenclature in the 4th century<sup>22</sup>. However, the existence of a single-name system among slaves, those of low social status, and those of non-Italian origin, at an earlier date means that the presence of a single name is not a reliable guide to date<sup>23</sup>. In the upper levels of society, names appear to have proliferated rather than reduced in number in the late empire<sup>24</sup>, with the abandonment of praenomina and the addition of a number of agnomina derived principally from gentilicial names. It is sometimes possible to infer a late date from the presence of multiple agnomina and the absence of a cognomen, but again, this is not a reliable guide. The complexities of the Roman system of adoption and the associated onomastic changes<sup>25</sup> encouraged the appearance of the same phenomenon at a comparatively early date, although in a more limited form, so proliferation of names cannot, in itself be regarded as a secure guide to dating. Similarly, the disappearance of the filiation and tribe from names<sup>26</sup>, which began in the 2nd century A.D., but customs with regard to this varied so much that it can be used only as the roughest of guides to possible date. The appearance of the signum in the 2nd century A.D. is slightly more firmly dated,<sup>27</sup> but since it appears in only a minority of cases, it is of little use for dating most texts. As in many areas of onomastic study, these factors can be an approximate guide to date in individual cases, but cannot be used as general guidelines to dating an inscription.

The principal chronological indicator, and the most securely dated, which appears in Latin inscriptions is the funerary formula D(is) M(anibus). This formula has been well-studied, and its first known appearance in Rome is dated to 59 A.D., but it does not become widespread until the 2nd century A.D.<sup>28</sup> Given that epigraphic fashions tended to be more conservative in other areas of Italy, and that time has to be allowed for the diffusion of new features, most tombstones with D(is) M(anibus) from Southern Italy can be regarded with some certainty as being of 2nd century date or later. However, there are still a number of points which need to be taken into consideration. Firstly there is the fact that there is evidence from the Bay of Naples which indicates that the formula came into use there very shortly after it first appears at Rome,<sup>29</sup> almost certainly transmitted by Roman visitors to the area. However, this appears to be the exception rather than the rule. Secondly, although D(is) M(anibus) inscriptions can be date with some degree of certainty, it cannot be taken that those without D(is) M(anibus) are therefore of earlier date. In particular, some of the areas studied appear to have their own epigraphic conventions which persist very strongly, and do not adopt D(is) M(anibus) as widely as others.<sup>30</sup> This must be taken into account when attempting to date inscriptions on the basis of formulaic phrases.

A number of other dating criteria which can be used, based on the forms of monetary notation, the earliest date for particular types of inscription, and a variety of other features, are listed by Duncan-Jones, and are used, where appropriate, in accordance with his datings.<sup>31</sup>



## CUMAE

### 1. Nature of the Evidence

Unlike some of the sites studied, Cumae produces a considerable variety of different types of inscription. By far the largest number are epitaphs, as is to be expected. Of those which can be dated, the majority are of the 2nd and 3rd centuries A.D., and are of the standard D(is) M(anibus) type, although there are examples from the 1st century A.D. and the 1st century B.C.

There are also a number of inscriptions of other types. These include a group of dedicatory inscriptions, which can be roughly subdivided into dedications to members of the imperial family, religious dedications and dedications from public buildings. In addition, there are a number of texts which appear to be dedicatory in character but are too fragmentary to be positively identified. The remainder of the evidence comprises a number of public documents, stamps and graffiti on weights, amphorae and domestic and funerary utensils, and a surprisingly large number of curse tablets. The prevalence of curse tablets is a feature which is peculiar to Cumae, although some examples are found elsewhere. This may reflect the association of the Phlegraean Fields with the underworld, and the consequent prominence of chthonic cults in the area.

The chronological span covered by this material is long and thus documentation is sparse for all but the later imperial period. As in other Greek cities in Italy, there is only a small amount of epigraphic evidence for the early history of the city and for the transition from a purely Greek foundation to a mixed Greek/Oscan city

and then to a Roman *municipium*. However, there is a certain amount of evidence for the development of Cumae during the late Republic and under the early years of the Empire.

The vast majority of the Cumaean inscriptions are in Latin, with only a very small number of Greek texts from the Roman period. The small number of Greek inscriptions which have survived are mostly early in date and are strictly outside the chronological scope of this study, although they will be discussed briefly from an onomastic point of view. In addition to the Greek and Latin material, there are also a small group of Oscan inscriptions and bilingual texts, which will be discussed in more detail.

## 2. Literary Evidence for Cumae under Roman Rule

As with many other cities of Southern Italy, literary evidence for the early development of Cumae is slight, despite the fact that it was clearly a well-populated and important city. The city was founded by Euboeans from the colony of Pithekoussai, probably during the 8th century, and was the earliest of the mainland Greek colonies.<sup>1</sup> Little is known about the city's early development, but it was clearly powerful during the 7th and 6th centuries, founding a number of colonies, including Naples, Puteoli, Abella, Zancle and possibly Nola.<sup>2</sup> Cumae was also instrumental in defeating the Etruscans, in alliance with Syracuse, and halting the Etruscan expansion in Campania.<sup>3</sup> In 421, it was captured by Oscans from further inland and a number of its Greek inhabitants fled to Naples. However, onomastic evidence suggests that at least some Greek elements remained.<sup>4</sup>

Contact with Rome appears to have developed relatively early,

probably at some stage during the 6th century.<sup>5</sup> Tarquinius Superbus was believed to have gone into exile at Cumae after the failure of his attempts to recapture Rome<sup>6</sup> and Spurius Maelius is reputed to have obtained supplies of corn from Cumae in 440.<sup>7</sup> It seems likely that Cumae began to fall within the Roman sphere of influence during the 4th century but little is known about these relations. By 338, Cumae was clearly a Roman ally, having taken part in the Latin War, and was rewarded for loyalty with a grant of *civitas sine suffragio*,<sup>8</sup> as were a number of other Campanian cities. This would seem to suggest that Cumae was regarded by Rome as being primarily an Italian city rather than a Greek one.<sup>9</sup> In 215, the city received a further influx of Italians in the form of several units of Campanian cavalry<sup>10</sup> which were settled there after their own native cities defected to Hannibal. By 180, the city was sufficiently Romanised to make an application to the Senate to have Latin, rather than Oscan, declared the official language of the city.<sup>11</sup> However, the epigraphic evidence indicates that Oscan and Greek survived as a linguistic sub-stratum until at least the 1st century A.D., as will be discussed below.

Cumae was clearly a prosperous city throughout its history. The area was of agricultural importance, being noted for its wine, oil and grain,<sup>12</sup> and was of some commercial and strategic significance due to its harbour, although in this respect it was never as important as Naples<sup>13</sup> and declined still further with the development of Puteoli as a trading centre. Despite this, there is a considerable amount of evidence to contradict the assertion that Cumae was depopulated to the point of desertion by the 1st century A.D.<sup>14</sup> Epigraphy is most abundant in the 1st-3rd centuries A.D., as

noted above, and there is also a large amount of evidence for the building of villas at Cumae,<sup>15</sup> by both prominent local families and wealthy Romans. There seems to be no reason to doubt that Cumae took part in the development of the whole of the Bay of Naples as an area of considerable social and economic activity. The number of prominent Romans who owned property at Cumae is extensive and included Cicero, Varro, Marius, Sulla, Pompey and Caesar,<sup>16</sup> amongst others. The importance of Cumae may be reflected in the considerable opposition to the proposed colonisation and land distribution there, which was proposed by Rullus' agrarian reforms.<sup>17</sup> Fictional testimony to the richness of Cumaean estates can be found in Petronius,<sup>18</sup> while more factual accounts from the 1st century A.D. indicate that it was still noted for its production of pottery, flax, wine and oil.<sup>19</sup>

### 3. Cults, Priesthoods and Colleges in Roman Cumae

Evidence for religious activity at Cumae is very limited, with the exception of the rather contradictory literary evidence for the Sibyl.<sup>20</sup> The only clear epigraphic evidence for continuity of a Greek cult during the Oscan and Roman periods concerns the cult of Apollo. The temple of Apollo Cumanus, situated on the acropolis, appears to have been built during the 5th century<sup>21</sup> and was rebuilt at least once, during the Augustan building project which included large scale harbour works as well as the repairs and rebuilding of structures which had been damaged during the Civil Wars.<sup>22</sup> The continuation of the cult is demonstrated by two epigraphic texts, one of which is Graeco-Oscan and the other Roman, possibly of late 2nd century date. The Greek example is apparently the inscription from a statue, dedicated to Apollo Kumaios by Δεκμος 'Ειος Πακτιου and sculpted by Ισιδωρος Νουμ-, Παριος.<sup>23</sup> The actual statue has not

survived but its dedication would appear to be indicative of a wealthy dedicator. Unfortunately, the date cannot be established with any degree of certainty, but the onomastic evidence indicates that it must belong to a period after the Oscan conquest of the city. Comparison with other onomastic evidence from Cumae indicates that it could be as early as the 4th century B.C. but that it may well belong to a period after the Roman annexation of Cumae, possibly the 2nd/1st century B.C.<sup>24</sup> The use of epithet *Kumaios*<sup>25</sup> here, and *Cumanus* in the later Latin text, suggests strongly that this was the main official cult of the city.

The second text, also a dedication to Apollo, is incomplete but makes reference to Q. Tineius Rufus,<sup>26</sup> who was apparently the dedicator. It is possible that this man could be identified with the Tineius Rufus who was consul in 182 A.D. and who was responsible, as Hadrian's legate, for the subduing of Judaea. Thus this provides further evidence for the continuity of the cult and for its attraction of attention from prominent figures, both local and Roman.

A final, indirect, piece of evidence for the existence of a cult of Apollo at Cumae is the discovery of an inscription on a bronze lekythos which identifies its owner as Pomponius Zoticus, a member of the college of Apollo.<sup>27</sup> While colleges of this type were usually of social and economic significance rather than being religious institutions, as demonstrated by numerous studies of the colleges on Delos, at Ostia and at Pompeii,<sup>28</sup> the existence of such a college does indicate some interest in the cult of Apollo.

In addition to Apollo, there is evidence for a cult of Demeter

which was clearly thriving during the early empire,<sup>29</sup> although there is no evidence of its existence at an earlier date. As with the cult of Apollo, it was the object of considerable patronage by an important local family, in this case the Luceii. A group of inscriptions record a considerable amount of building including the restoration of the temple of Demeter, improvements to the area around the temple and the addition of a new portico, which was undertaken by Gn. Luceius, his son and his daughters. The exact date at which these improvements were made is uncertain, but another inscription featuring members of the same family can be tentatively dated to 7 A.D.<sup>30</sup> This would seem to indicate that the cult of Demeter was still in existence during the 1st century A.D.

Other Olympian cults are attested by isolated texts only. An incomplete text which is of uncertain, but probably imperial, date makes reference to Verrius [M]ontanus, sacerdos Liberi, which suggests that the worship of Bacchus was found at Cumae,<sup>31</sup> at least during the Roman period. Since the continuation of cults is a much more normal pattern of development than the disappearance of existing practices or the introduction of new elements, particularly in terms of Olympian cults, it seems likely that this was a continuation of a Greek cult of Dionysos.<sup>32</sup> There also seems to have been a cult of Venus.<sup>33</sup>

Similarly, a cult of Zeus is attested by both epigraphical and archaeological evidence, but with no indication of when it was introduced or how long it lasted. The epigraphic evidence is a single fragmentary Oscan inscription, which records a dedication to Iuvei Flagiui,<sup>34</sup> of unspecified nature but described as *pro iuventute*

(*pru vereiiad*). The exact significance of this is not recoverable, but it may be a dedication, either of a group or an individual, on coming of age. The cult of Zeus/Jupiter is not otherwise attested at Cumae, although Vetter cites other examples of the cult of Jupiter Flagius from elsewhere in Campania,<sup>35</sup> which suggests that this may have been a cult introduced by the Oscan conquerors of the city, either as a new development or as an Oscanised version of a pre-existing Greek cult.<sup>36</sup> Archaeologically, there is some doubt about the identification of the temple of Zeus/Jupiter. The temple of Zeus which is attested by Livy<sup>37</sup> and by the inscription discussed above is usually equated with a large Doric construction of mid 5th century date, which is situated on the summit of the acropolis and which pre-dates the temple of Apollo,<sup>38</sup> situated on a lower level and slightly smaller in size. However, Vergil gives a rather contradictory description of the temples, referring to two temples of Apollo<sup>39</sup> situated on different levels. The issue is further confused by the difficulties of reconciling Vergil's description of Aeneas' descent from the temple of Apollo to the Sibyl's cave with the topography of the area.<sup>40</sup> In general, there appears to be no good reason to accept Vergil's poetic account of the two temples of Apollo rather than the account of Livy, which clearly states that there was a temple of Zeus on the acropolis. The date of the temple on the summit of the acropolis would suggest that the cult pre-dated the Oscan conquest although neither temple appears to be much earlier than the traditional date of the conquest, in 421 B.C.

In addition to the survival of the Olympian cults discussed above, there are a number of references in the epigraphic record to a number of other priesthoods, colleges etc. An inscription recording

the career of Veratius Severianus, apparently a local dignitary, includes amongst the honours conferred on him the privileges of the *Sacerdotes Caeninensis*,<sup>41</sup> although it is impossible to tell whether or not this is a reference to an actual college of this name in the area or whether this is simply a generic term for the particular privileges concerned.

The most detailed document concerning the religious life of Cumae is a decree of 289 A.D.<sup>42</sup> which organises the creation of a priesthood of the *Matres Deae Baianae*, a rather mysteriously-named cult which is not attested anywhere else. Nothing is known about the cult but the name suggests that it was of mainly local significance. The decree does give a clear indication, however, that the creation of new priesthoods was supervised by Rome. In this instance, the candidate chosen by the local senate was confirmed by a letter which was published alongside the local decree.

Finally, there are a small group of Christian inscriptions, comprised of two epitaphs, which can be tentatively identified as Christian by the iconography and epigraphic forms used, and a fragmentary text which may be a dedication to the 7th century martyr Maximus, who was martyred at Cumae c.800 A.D.<sup>43</sup> The strength of Christianity at Cumae seems to have been much greater than indicated by this group of texts. Both of the temples on the acropolis were converted into churches and there is a much larger group of christian burials on the acropolis than is reflected by the published epigraphy.<sup>44</sup>

As with other cities of Roman Italy, a number of colleges seem to



have flourished at Cumae, although these seem to have had more of a social and economic function than their apparent religious nature would seem to suggest. There appears to have been a local college of *Augustales*, although this is very sparsely documented in comparison with the *Augustales* elsewhere on the Bay of Naples. The fact that *Augustales* existed and had a number of municipal privileges is indicated by a series of texts, of which the majority appear to be of late 1st century or 2nd century date. Of this group of four texts, three make reference to the practice of enrolling *Augustales* from other cities. An epitaph found at Misenum makes reference to membership of colleges of *Augustales* at both Misenum and Cumae,<sup>45</sup> while a similar text from the territory of Naples also makes reference to membership of the college at Cumae.<sup>46</sup> A third example, from Cumae, describes the dead man as *Curator Augustalium Cumanorum Perpetuus* and indicates that he was also an *Augustalis* at Puteoli.<sup>47</sup> Thus it seems that although there are fewer records of the existence of *Augustales* at Cumae, it is likely that they were active there, as at other centres on the Bay of Naples, and that they provided some means of contact between these cities.

By far the best-documented college at Cumae is that of the *Dendrophori*, a body whose exact function is obscure, but who seem to have been involved with the worship of Cybele.<sup>48</sup> In socio-economic terms, it seems likely that they had a similar role to the *Augustales*, providing some form of social privileges to those granted to the *Augustales*.<sup>49</sup> The Cumaean college is known from two documents, both of which record *Senatus Consulta* ratifying the existence of the college, together with a list of members. Of these, one is substantially complete and can be dated to 251 A.D. The other

is fragmentary but is very similar in form and seems likely to be of a similar date.<sup>50</sup> Neither of these add much to the understanding of such colleges, but the extensive list of members provides valuable onomastic data.

The college of the *Apollinares*, attested in only one text, is an obscure body, but can probably be identified as a religious college connected with the worship of Apollo. It is possible that they were to some extent identified with the *Augustales*, as at Mutina.<sup>51</sup>

#### 4. Imperial Documents

As with many other areas of Italy, Cumae has produced a number of dedications to emperors and to members of the imperial family. In particular, there are a number of texts connected with Augustus and his family, in particular a fragment of the *Feriale Cumanum*,<sup>52</sup> outlining Augustus' deeds, a dedication to Drusus Caesar,<sup>53</sup> and fragmentary text which makes reference to Augustus and Agrippa.<sup>54</sup> This may be a reflection both of the extensive imperial estates at Baiae and the connections with Cumae during the Civil War, when the city was heavily fortified by Agrippa. The extensive restoration work undertaken by Augustus after the war, particularly in connection with the temples of Zeus and Apollo and the Sibyl's cave, also indicate an Augustan connection.

Later emperors are less well-represented. The only surviving texts are dedications to Antoninus and Verus<sup>55</sup> and a very fragmentary inscription which may be a dedication to Caracalla or Severus.<sup>56</sup> Evidence for imperial estates is almost entirely lacking, despite the ample literary evidence for imperial property in the area of Baiae, Bauli and Cumae.<sup>57</sup> However, the presence of lead pipes stamped with

the name of Ulpia Marciana,<sup>58</sup> the sister of Trajan, may indicate that she owned a villa in the area.

A further, very striking, omission from the epigraphic record is the complete absence of any evidence for imperial slaves and freedmen at Cumae, a fact which is particularly surprising in the light of the extensive imperial holdings in the area. A number of names found at Cumae could indicate descent from an imperial freedman but these are so widespread in all areas of Italy that they cannot be regarded as having a great deal of significance in this respect, given that none of these individuals are positively identified as *Augusti liberti*.<sup>59</sup>

As in many other areas, there is evidence for the existence of the imperial cult at Cumae, in the form of references to the temple of Augustus<sup>60</sup> and also to the temple of Vespasian. The temple of Vespasian appears to have been used as the meeting place of the Cumaean senate in the 3rd century,<sup>61</sup> and it is possible that the temple of Augustus served a similar purpose.

##### 5. Documents Concerning the Municipal Administration

Evidence for the Roman municipal administration at Cumae is rather sparse, as it is for the constitution of the city under both Greek and Oscan rule. During the Greek period of its history, the city seems to have had an oligarchic constitution, apart from a brief period of democracy, followed by the tyranny of Aristodemos, during the late 6th century.<sup>62</sup> No details of the constitution have survived, but it is possible that the main constitutional body was the βουλή.<sup>63</sup>

After the Oscan conquest, evidence is even more sparse, but it seems likely that the principal magistrate of the city was the *Meddix*, as was the case in other Oscan cities of Campania. One of the Oscan inscriptions from the city makes reference to *Dekis Rahiis Maraheis, Niir* (Decius Raius, Marius F., Princeps),<sup>64</sup> but the exact significance of the term *niir* is not known.

Literary sources indicate that there were several different administrative phases under Roman rule, and this is largely born out by the epigraphy. Initially it seems likely that the city remained an autonomous body with its own magistracies, despite the status of *civitas sine suffragio*, but under the jurisdiction of the *Praefectus Capuam Cumas*. For a time, the city may have passed into direct Roman control, although this is not certain, as a result of the reorganisation of Campania following the fall of Capua in 211 B.C.<sup>65</sup> By the period of the civil wars, Cumae clearly had the status of a *municipium*, attested by Cicero,<sup>66</sup> and by inscriptions, one of which is dated by Mommsen to 7 A.D.,<sup>67</sup> and another which seems to belong to the period of the civil wars.<sup>68</sup>

The earliest epigraphic evidence for Roman magistracies at Cumae can be dated approximately to the Sullan period<sup>69</sup> and makes reference to a praetor. The existence of the praetorship is also attested by a municipal decree of 7 A.D., an inscription from the acropolis which may be of the early 1st century A.D.<sup>70</sup> and a decree of 289 A.D.,<sup>71</sup> thus indicating a reasonable degree of continuity between the *municipium* and the later colony. The origin of the praetorship at Cumae has been the subject of some discussion. Mingazzini<sup>72</sup> interprets it as being essentially the same magistracy as the Oscan

*Meddix*, the only major difference being the Latinisation of the title, and considers it as a direct continuation of the Oscan constitution. Sartori regards this as being doubtful, since the text concerned is not securely attributed to Cumae, and suggests that the praetorship of the Sullan period and the early Empire cannot be a direct continuation, since there was an intervening period in which Cumae was under direct Roman rule. He also raises the possibility that the office was military in character, in the earliest of the inscriptions, rather than a civic magistracy. There does not seem to be any good reason for Sartori's scepticism over the provenance of the inscription, but it seems likely that his interpretation of it as referring to a Roman official rather than a local one seems to be correct. In particular, the formula *Praetor De Senatus Sententia* seems more likely to be a Roman than a municipal formula. Indeed, there is no evidence at Cumae that the local municipal council ever referred to themselves as a *Senatus*. In all extant texts, the formula used is *Ex Decurionum Consensu* or *In Ordine Decurionum*.<sup>73</sup> The fact that some direct control by Rome was still being exercised is illustrated by the existence of a text of similar date from Alsiu,<sup>74</sup> which records a *Praefectus Capuam Cumas*, and Sartori's interpretation of the praetorship would fit well with this model of direct government. However, the existence of municipal praetors is indicated by a series of three short inscriptions from the acropolis, which may be of the 1st century A.D. date, attest which attest the existence of the offices of praetor, pontifex, and scriba quaestorius. The office of scriba quaestorius is known as a municipal magistracy from Horace,<sup>75</sup> and other sources, while the existence of references to praetors at other dates after the foundation of the colony may suggest that at Cumae, it was

essentially a colonial rather than a municipal magistracy. However, the fact that the date of the grant of colonial status is open to serious doubt, and that a large number of other Oscan communities seem to have had a praetorship which is clearly a Romanised form of the office of *Meddix* rather strongly suggests that the Cumaean praetors may have originated from the Oscan constitution, despite the lack of obvious continuity. This is not necessarily invalidated by the possibility that M. Marius may be a Roman, rather than municipal, praetor, or that the inscription may not refer to Cumae, although the doubts over this text create some chronological uncertainties.

The date of the foundation of the colony at Cumae is another question to which there is no satisfactory answer. The *Liber Coloniarum*<sup>76</sup> dates the foundation to the Augustan period, with a later distribution of land to veterans under Claudius. However, the lack of secure epigraphic evidence for it before the 3rd century<sup>77</sup> has prompted the suggestion that it may not have been founded until the 2nd or 3rd century. It has also been suggested that the *Liber Coloniarum* records a spurious early colonisation, and that the true colony is the Claudian veteran settlement.<sup>78</sup> The fact that the provenance of the earlier inscriptions which refer to Cumae as a colonia is disputed cannot be taken as absolute proof that there was no colonial foundation under Augustus. The extensive building work undertaken in the area under Augustus argues for some imperial interest in the area<sup>79</sup> and until the earlier texts referring to the colonia can be conclusively proved not to be from Cumae, there seems to be no good reason to doubt the existence of the Augustan colony.

Of the other magistracies, little is known. Cicero makes

reference to the *quattuorviri* and also to *decemviri* at Cumae and Naples in 49 B.C.<sup>80</sup> and there are also references to quaestors and to the office of *Curator Pecuniae Publicae Cumis*,<sup>81</sup> an office which is paralleled elsewhere. However, the main magistracy of the colonial phase appears to be the *duovirate*,<sup>82</sup> as would be expected. This is attested by two inscriptions, neither of which are securely datable. The later of the two is in honour of Veratius Severianus,<sup>83</sup> who held the office of *Curator Rei Publicae Tegianensium*, amongst other things. This would date the text to the reign of Trajan, or later. The other text is probably earlier, but is of disputed date. Sartori dates it to the 2nd century A.D.,<sup>84</sup> on the basis of the fact that it omits the tribe of the person commemorated, a feature which becomes common in the 2nd century. However, this is not an infallible guide to dating.<sup>85</sup> The inscription of Veratius Severianus, which is certainly 2nd century, if not later, includes his tribe. Similarly, there are other inscriptions from Cumae which can be dated to an earlier period and which omit the tribe from the formula.<sup>86</sup> The omission of the formula D.M. from the epitaph of Ovidius Sollemnus would also argue for an attribution to the 1st century.<sup>87</sup> Thus Sartori's date seems to be rather arbitrary in this case, although it is not possible to offer any firm alternatives without a close examination of the stone. However, whatever the precise date, it seems likely that the *duovirate* had developed as the main Cumaean magistracy by the early 2nd century, if not slightly earlier. A further point of interest concerning the *duovirate* is that it may possibly be connected with the earlier evidence for the existence of praetors as local magistrates. Cicero attests that although the regular term for the chief magistrate of a colony was a *duumvir*,<sup>88</sup> those at Capua were permitted to take the title of praetors, thus

indicating that it was entirely possible, although rare, for praetors to exist in unexpected places.

## 6. Social and Linguistic Evidence for Roman Cumae

### a) Catalogue of Onomastic Evidence

#### (i) The Early Inscriptions

Since it is not possible to assign precise dates to most of the inscriptions from Cumae, the material has been grouped into four broad categories.<sup>89</sup> The early inscriptions are taken to be all those which can reasonably be assigned to a period before the 2nd century B.C. Where it is possible to assign more precise dates, these have been indicated.

Απολλοδωρος - SEG 30.1149. Prob. 4th century B.C. Greek. Single name with no ethnic or patronymic. Inscribed on bronze strigil, from grave.

Ζωιλος Αγαθωνος - IG 14.860. Undated. Greek dedication to the Nymphs.<sup>90</sup> Unlike many of the Greek texts from Cumae, it includes both name and patronymic, possibly in recognition of the more formal character of the text.

Δημων - IG 14.864. Jeffrey 14. c.450 B.C. Greek inscription on bronze patera, from burial.

Βιος - IG 14.863. Jeffrey 15. c.450 B.C. Greek inscription on patera, probably from burial.

Δημοχαρις - IG 867. Jeffrey 9. 6yh/5th century B.C. Greek inscription on tufa stele.

Ταρατη - IG 14.865. Jeffrey 3. Probably 7th century. Inscription on early proto-corinthian lekythos, from burial. The script, and the form of the inscription are Greek, the type being characteristic of the brief inscriptions on grave goods found at Cumae, but the name itself appears to be



Oscan, or Latin, transliterated into Euboean Greek<sup>91</sup>. The later occurrences of the name suggest that it is primarily Volscian and Campanian,<sup>92</sup> if assumed that it is a Hellenisation of Tattius/a, as seems likely. Parallels are found at Aeclanum, Superaequum, Carsioli, Pagus Urbanus, Fundi and Tarracina, the largest concentrations of the name being at Fundi and Tarracina. Thus it would seem to be evidence for the absorption of Italic, probably Oscan, elements at a comparatively early date.

Ονομαστος του φειδιλεω - IG 14.862. Jeffrey 8. c.500 B.C. 4th century. Greek inscription on bronze lebes, from burial.

Χαιριος - IG 14.866. Jeffrey 13. c.450 B.C. Greek inscription on amphora.

Κριτοβουλη - IG 14.869. Jeffrey 4. Early 6th century B.C. From a tomb.

(ii) 4th Century - 2nd Century

Upils Uffiis - Vetter 113 (= Buck 40, Conway 137). Oscan inscription on beaker of black fabric (bucchero?) from a burial. It seems likely that Upils is a form of Upis (Lat. Oppius). Oppius is common in most areas of Central and Southern Italy (Conway, 577) but Ofius, which appears here as a patronymic, is relatively uncommon, being found only at aquinum (CIL 10.5416). The inscription is undated, but a dating of 4th-2nd century seems to be appropriate on historical grounds.<sup>93</sup>

G[avis] Silli[s] G[avieis] - Vetter 111. Tufa stele with Oscan inscription. Silius is a common name in Central

Italy, particularly in Latium and Campania.<sup>94</sup> The form is the most common Oscan onomastic form of praenomen, nomen, patronymic.

Statie Silie (Statius Silius) - Vetter 110. Undated but probably 4th-2nd century. Statius very common in Campania (Conway 585). For Silius, see above s.v. Gavis Sillis.

[Upis?] Mut[ti]lli[s] - Buck 40 (= Conway 137 c, f, g, v and pl. 119V). Oscan inscription, of which the larger part is a list of names, on a fragmentary lead tablet. Parallels from Capua suggest that it is probably a curse tablet.<sup>95</sup> This is undated, but the Capuan examples would suggest a date of 3rd century B.C. For Upis, see s.v. Upis Ufiis. There are no parallels in Campania for Mutilius, which is identified by Conway (576) as being a Latin and Praenestine name only.

[Gnai]vs Fuvfdis Ma..... - Buck 40. Oscan inscription on lead curse tablet. Buck does not offer a reconstruction of the missing patronymic, but the most likely possibility is Maraheis, which recurs several times on this particular tablet. The name is in standard Oscan form. Fufidius is not found at Cumae in the later epigraphy but is paralleled at Misenum and Puteoli, as well as at Arpinum, Sora, Casinum and Aquinum. Marius, if that is a correct reconstruction of the patronymic, is found at Cumae in contemporary and later epigraphy, as well as being common elsewhere in Campania.

Dekis Buttis - Buck 40. Oscan curse tablet. Dekius/Dekis seems to be used here as a praenomen, contrary to the later Latin usage, when it is frequent as a Campanian nomen (Conway 566).<sup>96</sup> Buttius is uncommon and there is only one example from a later period in S. Italy, from Beneventum

(CIL 9.1987).

Dekis Rahiis Marahieis - Buck 40. Oscan curse tablet.

Raius appears to have been a common name, particularly in Campania and Samnium (Conway 581). It is found at Herculaneum and Capua, but not at Cumae in later inscriptions. For Marahieis, see s.v. Gnaivs Fuvfdis.

Dkuva Rahiis Upfalleis - Dkuva does not have a recognisable Latin equivalent and may be an incorrect reading of the text. The appearance of the nomen Raius suggests a relative of Dekis Rahiis, but the patronymic would suggest that the relationship was not a close one. Ofellius is comparatively rare in S. Italian epigraphy, being found only at Atina and Aquinum.<sup>97</sup>

Marahis Rahiis Papeis - Possibly the father of Dekis Rahiis Marahieis. Papius is a common name in Campania and Samnium (Conway 578).

Dekis Hereiis Dekieis Saipinaz - Herius is found in a 2nd/1st century curse from Cumae, as well as this 3rd century (?) text, and is attested at numerous places in Campania. Saipinaz seems to be an ethnic, the only example of this type of nomenclature among the Oscan texts from Cumae, and possibly evidence for Greek influence on Oscan onomastic forms. It would indicate that the family was originally from Saepinum, where Herii are attested at a later date (CIL 9.2401).

Maras Rufriis - Rufrius is uncommon in Campania, being found only at Trebula (CIL 10.4563) but seems to occur rather more frequently in Sabine towns.<sup>98</sup>

Maras Blaisiis Marahieis - See s.v. Dekis Rahiis Marahieis,

who may be a relative.

Uppiieis Muttillieis - See s.v. [Upis] Mut[ti]lli[s].

Dekieis Heriieis - See s.v. Dekis Hereiis Dekieis Saipinaz, who may be related.

(iii) 2nd - 1st Century B.C.

Δεκμος Ἑιος Πακίου - IG 14.861 (= Mancini, ARAN 16 (1893), 119-129). Greek dedicatory inscription, probably of a statue, to Apollo Kumaios. The dating is conjectural, based on similarities with other inscriptions which show linguistic and onomastic mixture of Greek, Latin and Oscan.<sup>99</sup> Many of the elements of the name are Oscan, but the form in which it is expressed is Greek. Δεκμος seems to be derived from the Latin Decimus rather than the Oscan Dekis, while Heius is found in a number of Campanian inscriptions, including one from Cumae which can be more securely dated to the 2nd/1st century (CIL 1.818).<sup>100</sup> Other occurrences are at Nola (CIL 10.1305) and Pompeii/Herculaneum (CIL 10.8053). It is notable that although the name is expressed in Oscan/Latin form, with praenomen, nomen and patronymic, the patronymic is formed from the gentilicial name, as in Greek, rather than from the praenomen. Parallels for the expression of Italic names in Greek form and for the existence of mixed Graeco-Italic names can be found among Cumaeans in Boeotia and at other sites in Italy.<sup>101</sup> Pakios, or Pacius, is a common Campanian name and is found through the region.<sup>102</sup>

Ισιδωρος Νουμ... - The sculptor of the dedication of Dekmos Heius, described as Παπίος. This seems to indicate that

Cumae still had some degree of connection with the rest of the Greek world.<sup>103</sup> The name would appear to be Greek in most respects, but the reconstruction of the patronymic is a problem. Names formed from Νουμ.... are comparatively rare in Greek, but are fairly common in Oscan and Latin, e.g. Numerius, Numisius, Niumsis. On this basis, it seems possible that Isidoros had adopted some form of Italicised nomenclature.

Kari[s] Brit[ties] - Maiuri, NSc (1913), 53-4; Poccetti, PdP 39, (1984), 43-7. Oscan inscription on large rough-hewn, tufa block, from a tomb. 2nd century B.C. The reading of this name has been much-disputed, owing to a certain amount of damage to the stone. Maiuri's original reading of Kadis Brittias (Cadius Bruttius) is plausible in the light of Campanian onomastics. Bruttius, or Brittius, is a fairly common cognomen of ethnic derivation in S. Italy, and Cadius, while rare, is not without parallel, being found at Interpromium (CIL 9.3050), Asculum (9.6086) and Abellinum (CIL 10.1158). However, an alternative view is that Kadis is an incorrect reading, and that the name should in fact read Kari[s], a name not previously found in Latin. This appears, from study of photographs of the stone, to be the more correct reading,<sup>104</sup> despite the onomastic difficulties. Poccetti suggests that these difficulties would disappear if the text was regarded as being a transliterated Greek name, rather than a true Oscan one, the actual reading being an Oscan rendering of the Greek Χαρης (Χαρις?) Βριττιος (Pape/Benseller 1669-70). The Greek form is arrived at by comparison with other transliterated Greek names,

while the interpretation of Βριττιος as an ethnic rather than a patronymic is based on a comparison with a group of Greek texts from Rhodes which commemorate Bruttians.<sup>105</sup> These contain a mixture of Greek and Oscan names, some of the immigrants having taken Greek names, but all of them are expressed as a name and the ethnic Βριττιος rather than the name and patronymic. Thus, according to Poccetti, the name should be regarded as evidence for the survival of Greek onomastic types as a substratum.

However, neither of these hypotheses solves the problem in an entirely convincing manner. Maiuri's reading of Kadis/Kadius seems to be incorrect, but his interpretation of Brittius as a patronymic of the usual Oscan type seems in many ways to be a more convincing explanation than that of Poccetti. A third possibility, that it is a cognomen, can be excluded with a reasonable degree of certainty, given the early date and the predominantly Oscan character of the piece.<sup>106</sup> Thus Poccetti's explanation of Karis as a transliteration of a Greek name can be accepted as being likely, although the absence of any other occurrence of Carius in Latin onomastics cannot be accepted as absolutely conclusive proof,<sup>107</sup> but the interpretation of the second element of the name as the ethnic Βριττιος should be rejected on several grounds. The omission of the patronymic in favour of the ethnic has parallels among the Greek inscriptions of Italy, most notably from Velia, but it is a comparatively rare form.<sup>108</sup> It is also notable that patronymics are frequently found in Oscan texts from Cumae, and elsewhere in Campania, but that ethnics are rarely

used.<sup>109</sup> From a practical point of view, there appears to be no good reason for the use of an ethnic as a mark of racial identification in this instance, and a definite possible reason for avoiding such a usage. The examples cited by Poccetti are all drawn from the Italian community on Rhodes, where it appears to have been customary for some Italians to identify their native area of Italy in inscriptions. This echoes normal Greek practice of identifying oneself by ethnic as well as name and patronymic when in a foreign state or a multi-national context. Hatzfeld's work on Italian traders in the Aegean indicates that this was a custom adopted to some extent by Italians living abroad.<sup>110</sup> Thus in this case, there is a good reason for the specific addition of the ethnic to the name, which would be lacking for a Bruttian resident in Italy. Given the respective political orientation of Cumae and Bruttium up to the beginning of the 2nd century, there may even have been a positive reason for not including an indication of nationality. During the 2nd Punic War, Cumae had been one of Rome's most loyal allies and may at this stage have been directly administered by Rome, while most areas of Bruttium had been equally tenaciously loyal to Hannibal.<sup>111</sup> Thus there would seem to be a possible reason for not openly revealing a Bruttian origin.

The most satisfactory explanation seems to be to accept the first element of the name as Kari[s], an Oscanised form of  $\chi\alpha\rho\eta\varsigma$ , and to interpret Brit[...] as the patronymic Brittias, thus giving a mixed Oscan/Greek name. This would be in accordance with the prevailing onomastic pattern at

this period in Cumae, where there are a number of instances of Graeco-Oscan names.<sup>112</sup>

L. Harines Her[i] (F) Maturus - CIL 1<sup>2</sup> p.1011 (= Warmington, Remains of Old Latin 4.1614). Bilingual curse tablet in Latin and Oscan. Probably 2nd-1st century. Despite the fact that this is mainly a Latin inscription, there are a number of Oscan features. Harines<sup>113</sup> is a rather eccentric name form, which is not known from anywhere else. In particular, the -es ending seems to be related to the Oscan forms ending in -ies. The patronymic is also of the Oscan rather than the Latin type, being derived from the father's gentilicial name rather than the praenomen. For Herius see above s.v. Dekis Heriies Dekieis Saipinaz. Maturus is found at Aeclanum (CIL 9.1208), Telesia, (9.205), Vibo (10.47), Misenum (19.3546) and Isola Di Sora (10.5698).

G. Eburis Pomponius - Warmington, ROL 4.1614. Latin/Oscan curse. As with Harines Maturus, there appears to be a considerable Oscan influence in this name. The -is ending is a feature of Oscan,<sup>114</sup> not Latin, names. Eburis is uncommon, and has only one parallel, in its more regular form, Eburius, from Pompeii (CIL 10.8956). The use of Pomponius as a cognomen is irregular and does not correspond to any other known usage. It is probably best explained as the name of the parent or patron, the F. or L. having been lost or omitted.

M. Caedicius M.F. - Caedicius is not common in Campania, being found only at Fundi (CIL 10.6252) and at Minturnae, where a Caedicius was duumvir (CIL 10.6017 and 6025). Cf. Hatzfeld for examples from Delos and elsewhere in the



Aegean.<sup>115</sup>

N. Andripius, N.F. - This name is without parallel.

M. Heius M.F. Caledus - CIL 1.818 (= Mancini, Atti di Reale Accademia di Napoli 16, 1893, 119-129). Curse tablet. Probably 2nd-1st century B.C. Heius is not a common name but is found at Nola (10.1305), Venusia (9.523) and Saepinum (9.2467), and in a Greek dedication from Cumae.<sup>116</sup> Heii are also known from Rome and from N. Italy.<sup>117</sup> Caledus is also unusual and may be derived from the Greek καληδος. However, Pape/Benseller (597) suggests that the Greek form is derived from the Latin rather than the reverse. Parallels are known from Pompeii (CIL 10.793) and Herculaneum (10.1409).

Chilo Hei M.S. - CIL 1.818. Curse tablet. Slave of M. Heius Caledus. Chilo is well-documented in Southern Italy, and is possibly of Greek derivation.

Atto Hei M. Ser. - CIL 1.818. Curse tablet. Slave of M. Heius Caledus. The name does not occur anywhere else in the South, but is thought by Mancini to be Sabine (cf. De Nominibus 3), although it could also be Greek.

M. Heius [M.L.] - Freedman of M. Heius Caledus.

P. Heius M.F. Caledus - CIL 1.818. Curse tablet. Possibly a brother of M. Heius Caledus.

G. Blossius G.L. Bithus - CIL 1.818. Curse tablet. For Blossii, see below s.v. Blossia G.L. Bithus may be indicative of a Bythinian origin.

Blossia G.F. - Blossii are fairly common but concentrated almost entirely in Campania. The gens is known from Puteoli (CIL 10.1781), Capua (10.4045, 3772 and 3785), Herculaneum (10.1403), Aquinum (10.5453) and from the territory of

Carales on Sardinia (10.7852). The Blossii at Capua appear to have been an important family and were a byword for arrogance, according to Cicero.<sup>118</sup> The presence of Blossii at Cumae in the late 2nd century is known from accounts of the legislation of Tiberius Gracchus, whose adviser was G. Blossius of Cumae a stoic philosopher and protégé of Mucius Scaevola.<sup>119</sup> Although it is not possible to make any direct connections, the closeness in date of the evidence of the patronymic suggest that Blossia G.F. could possibly be a relative of G. Blossius, the philosopher. In addition to the Blossii listed above, and the earlier examples listed elsewhere in Campania, there are also references to Blossii at Cumae during the 1st century A.D.,<sup>120</sup> but after this, the gens appears to have died out.

Blossia L.F. - CIL 1.818. Curse tablet. For Blossii, see above s.v. Blossia G.F.

M. Dassius - CIL 1.3128 (= 10.8214, Audollent No. 197). Lead curse tablet from burial. Possibly 2nd/1st century B.C. Dassius is a rare name and appears to be Sabine in origin, occurring only at Trea (CIL 9.5749), although Conway suggests that it may also have been Campanian (Conway 566) in the form used here and Picene in its alternative form of Dasius. However, since this text includes two references to Dassius by two different spellings, it would seem that there is little to be gained from placing too great an emphasis on the form of the name. Hatzfeld suggests that there may be a connection between the Greek name Δασιος<sup>121</sup> which is found among the Italians on Delos, and the Italian Das(s)ius, but since most of the bearers of this name are S. Italian

Greeks, this may not be the case. A concentration of the name around Dyrrachium may indicate an Illyrian/Daunian origin (Pape/Benseller 1324).

Barcathes Dasi M.L. - CIL 1.3128. Lead curse tablet. 2nd/1st century. Barcathes is probably the freedman of M. Dassius, discussed above. The form in which the name is expressed seems to be a mixture of the Latin and Oscan forms, identifying the patron by his nomen, in Oscan fashion, followed by the abbreviated Latin form, M.L. For other examples, see above s.v. Atto Hei M.S. and Chilo Hei M.S. Barcathes has no parallel in S. Italy, but the name almost certainly indicates an eastern origin, the Bar- prefix being particularly characteristic of Aramaic.

M. Allius - CIL 1.3128. Curse tablet, 2nd/1st century. This name is very common in S. Italy, and is also found among the Italian families in the East.<sup>122</sup>

Q. Cavarius - CIL 1.3128. Curse tablet, 2nd/1st century. Cavarii are very rare, being found only at Aquinum (10.5405) and at Catania (10.7052).

G. Vitrasius - CIL 1.3128. Curse tablet, 2nd/1st century. This name appears to be almost entirely restricted to Campania, being found at Cales (CIL 10.4635, 4636, and 4843), Puteoli (10.1843), Capua (10.3870 and 3871) and Thermae Selinunte, in Sicily (10.7200).

G. Atatius G.L. Faustus - D'Ambrosio, Puteoli 4-5 (1980-81) 275-6. Epitaph, 1st century B.C. This name presents comparatively few difficulties in tracing its origin. Faustus is a very common cognomen<sup>123</sup> but Atatius is comparatively rare, and is found only in Umbria, the Atatii

being an influential equestrian family at Mevania in the 1st century A.D. D'Ambrosio also suggests that the formula *Pius in Suuis*, which is used on this epitaph, is a characteristically C. Italian type, which is not often found in the South.

Naevia L.L. Secunda - CIL 1.1012 (Warmington, ROL 4.1615). Bronze curse tablet, from burial. Republican date, possibly 2nd/1st century. Both names are reasonably common.<sup>124</sup>

Gn. Spurius Ov.F. - CIL 1.3130 (D'Arms, AJA 77, 1973, 163-4). Epitaph, dated by D'Arms to the last quarter of the 2nd century B.C. Spurius is a common praenomen in Latin, but is not common as a nomen. Parallels occur at Nola (CIL 10.1329), Herculaneum (10.1457) and Pompeii (10.879, 8058 and 8059). Thus the gens seems to have a Campanian origin. Other Spurii seem to have enjoyed considerable prominence, the name being found among the Campanian magistri, in 105 B.C.<sup>125</sup> At a slightly later date, a duovir of the Augustan period, M. Spurius Rufus, is found at Herculaneum.<sup>126</sup> D'Arms assumes some connection with Delos, on the basis of the mason's marks, and concludes that the stone was imported from the East and then used as a tombstone. A Spurius also appears as a *novus homo* in the Roman senate. The patronymic is not found as a Latin praenomen, but is found as an Oscan gentilicial name. It is not found at Cumae, but occurs in lists of Campanian magistri, dated to 112 B.C., and is known at Puteoli from Cicero's letters.<sup>127</sup>

Singullia - CIL 1.3130. Epitaph. Wife of Gn. Spurius, Ov.F. The name is not attested anywhere else. For references to the suffixes -ullius and -uleius, cf. Schulze

457ff.

Gn. Spurius Gn.F. Frug(i) - CIL 1.3130. Epitaph. Son of Gn. Spurius, and Singullia. D'Arms conjectures that the cognomen indicates a younger son who predeceased an elder brother. Frugi was already in use as a cognomen in Rome before the date of this inscription.

M. Spurius Gn.F. - CIL 1.3130. Epitaph. Son of Gn. Spurius and Singullia.

M. Marius M.F. - ILLRP 576 (= NSc 1930, AE 1931, No. 99). Small marble column, found near Baiae. See section 5 above for a discussion of the constitutional and administrative implications of this text. Marii are common throughout Campania and the Oscan form Marahis is found on a lead curse tablet of the 3rd century (see above s.v. Marahis Rahiis Papeis).<sup>128</sup> It also occurs on the lists of magistrates from Minturnae and is attested several times in the later inscriptions of Cumae.

Gn. Heiis - Pellegrini, NSc 1902. Probably 2nd century B.C. From a small *tomba a cassa*. The Oscanised spelling of the name and the lack of a cognomen point to an early date. The Heii seem to have been one of the more prominent Oscan families in Cumae and are found in other inscriptions of the 3rd, 2nd and 1st centuries B.C.

Stenis Kalavius - Maiuri, NSc 1913, 476 (Ribezzo, Neapolis 2, 293, Terracini, RFIC 48 (1920), Conway 88). Oscan curse tablet.

(iv) Early Empire (1st century B.C./1st century A.D.)

Vania G.F. - E.E. 8.452 (= NSc 1885). Epitaph, probably of

the 1st century B.C. or 1st century A.D., on the basis of the omission of the female cognomen, the use of the nominative rather than the dative for the names of the deceased, and the existence of an Oscan inscription on the same stone, although this need not necessarily be contemporary. All these factors seem to point to a date in the early 1st century A.D., although it could be a little earlier. There is no parallel in S. Italy for the name Vania, and it is identified by Conway (588) as an Umbrian name, there being two occurrences at Interamna (CIL 11.4314).

T. Venidius T.F. Propola - E.E. 8.452 (= NSc 1885).  
Epitaph. Probably husband of Vania, G.F. Venidius is a variant of the more common Venedius and is rare in S. Italy, being found only at Norcia (CIL 9.4600) and Herculaneum (CIL 10.1403). Conway lists the name as a rare Praenestine and Campanian variant of Venedius, which he identifies as an Umbrian name (Conway 588, cf. Schulze 379). Mello also identifies the name as Umbrian/Etruscan (ILP 174). The Paestan Venedii are all freedmen of African or Eastern origin, of a local family, who appear on a monument of the 1st century B.C. A Venedius also appears on Paestan coins of the same date.<sup>129</sup> Venedii are found at Ameria (CIL 11.4399) and Clusium (CIL 11.2124). Both of these families appear to have held local office, as does the Paestan Venedius. It is also significant that Venidius' wife, Vania, also appears to be of Umbrian origin.

M. Messius M.L. Heraclida - Pagano, Puteoli 3 (1979), 160-2.  
Epitaph. Early 1st century A.D. Messii is very common in

Campania during the Republic but much less so during the Empire. The name is also very common in Latium and in other areas of Central Italy (Conway 575). Heraclida is Greek and is found at Misenum (CIL 10.3359 and 3612), Puteoli (10.3064), Formiae (10.6136) and Pompeii (10.8056). It also occurs on the membership lists of the college of *Dendrophori* at Cumae<sup>130</sup> and is found at Brundisium (9.6104).

L. Acilius Strabonis L. Nicephoros - Pagano, Puteoli 3 (1979), 160-2. Epitaph. 1st century A.D. Freedman of Acilius Strabo, who is known to have owned a villa on the Bay of Naples.<sup>131</sup> Nicephoros is a Greek cognomen and is fairly common. The fact that Nicephoros was a patron in his own right suggests some degree of wealth and social status.

L. Acilius Glyptus - Pagano, Puteoli 3 (1979), 160-2. Epitaph. 1st century A.D. Probably a freedman of Acilius Nicephoros, who is named as his patron, and was responsible for the erection of a monument to Nicephoros. Glyptus is a Greek name, which is also found at Baias and on Ischia.

Acilia Hagne - Pagano, Puteoli 3 (1979), 160-2. Epitaph. 1st century A.D. Freedwoman of Acilius Nicephoros, who is named as her patron. She may also have been the wife of Acilius Glyptus, although this is not explicitly stated. Hagne is a Greek name, which is also found at Puteoli.

P. Sextilius P.L. Philoxenus - E.E. 8.450 (= Sogliano NSo 1888, 196-7). Sextilius is a fairly well-attested name, as is Philoxenus, which is clearly of Greek origin.

Sextilia P.L. Prima - E.E. 8.450 (= Sogliano, NSo 1888, 196-7). Epitaph. 1st century A.D. Probably the wife of Sextilius Philoxenos, and also probably freed by the same

master. Sextilius is well-attested, while Prima is one of the most common Latin cognomina.

Furia G.L. Chelido - E.E. 8.449. Epitaph. Possibly 1st century A.D., on the basis of the omission of D.M. and on the use of the nominative form of the name rather than the dative. Furia frequently found in S. Italy. Chelido is probably Greek (Χελιδων) and is also found at Pompeii (CIL 10.8355, 8071), Atina (10.5095), Aquinum (10.5493), Capua (10.4191), Misenum (10.3488) and Nola (10.1320).

M. Cluvius [.....] - Pagano, Puteoli 3 (1979), 160-2. Epitaph. 1st/2nd century A.D. This is the earliest occurrence of the gens Cluvia at Cumae, although Cluvii are found in many other areas of Campania, cf. Puteoli, Nola, Naples, Capua and Caudium.<sup>132</sup>

Cluvia Ianuaria - Pagano, Puteoli 3 (1979), 160-2. Epitaph. 1st/2nd century A.D. Mother of M. Cluvius. Ianuaria a very common Latin cognomen by the 2nd century (Kajanto 29-30).

M. Blossius [..] Miccus - AE 1980, No. 242. Early 1st century A.D. Epitaph. For Blossii, see above s.v. Blossia, G.F. Miccus seems to be a derivative of the Greek Μικκος and is also found at Formiae and Herculaneum.<sup>133</sup>

Sextia L.F. Kania - CIL 10.3703. Epitaph. 1st/2nd century A.D., on the basis of the omission of D.M. Sextius/a is very common as a nomen, but Kana is much less so, being found only at Nuceria (CIL 10.1093) and at Venafrum (10.4991). The size of the monument and the description of her as a local benefactress indicates considerable wealth and importance. However, Keppie<sup>134</sup> suggests that the inscription should be regarded as being of Neapolitan rather than



Cumaean provenance.

G. Ovius Sp.F. Sollemnus - E.E. 8.445. Epitaph. The dating of this text is uncertain. Sartori<sup>135</sup> dates it to the 2nd century A.D., on the basis of the omission of the tribe, which began to be dropped from male names at this period. However, the inclusion of the tribe is not an automatic feature of Latin nomenclature even during the 1st century, and there are examples from Cumae of free-born males of earlier date whose epitaphs omit the tribe (e.g. T. Venidius T.F. Propola).<sup>136</sup> The omission of D.M. would normally indicate an earlier date, and it is possible that this text is 1st century B.C. Ovius is of Oscan origin and is known from Republican inscriptions (cf. Gn. Spurius Ov.F.). The Oscan Ufis (Vetter 113) may be a form of the name. Parallels are known from Pompeii, Auximum, Histonium and Puteoli.

Ovia Tyche - E.E. 8.445. Epitaph. Mother of Ovius Sollemnus. Tyche is well-attested as a cognomen and is of Greek origin. It is often taken to be indicative of freedman status, but the fact that Ovia is mentioned as the sister-in-law of a dumvir would suggest a higher social origin.

Ti. Claudius Honoratus - E.E. 8.445. Epitaph. Uncle of Ovius Sollemnus and brother-in-law of Ovia Tyche. The office of dumvir indicates free birth, although this is not explicitly stated, and high social status. Honoratus is a relatively common cognomen, particularly among those of African origin (Kajanto p.18).

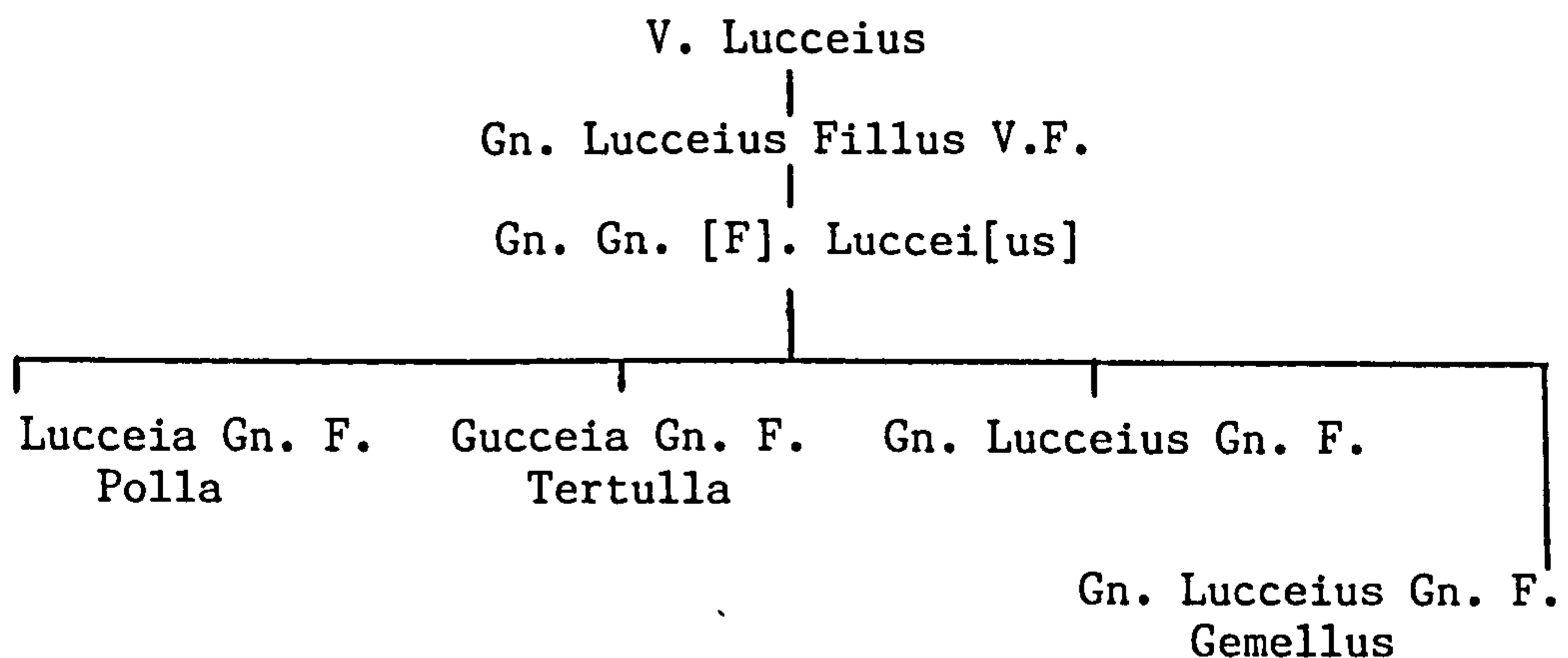
G. Cupiennius Satrius Marcianus - Degrassi, RFIC 4 (1926),

371-9) (= Scritti Vari 1.473-81). Municipal decree. 14-29 A.D. Cupiennii are known from literary sources and from epigraphy.<sup>137</sup> A Cupiennius is found in a 3rd century list of *Dendrophori* and parallels are known from Puteoli (CIL 10.23456) and Sora (10.5730). Conway identifies the name as being Campanian/Volscian.<sup>138</sup> Satrius is also found at Puteoli (CIL 10.2930 and 2931) and at Misenum (CIL 10.3442). The name is unusually long for such an early date.<sup>139</sup> Cupiennius is clearly a local benefactor and a man of considerable importance at Cumae, although he does not appear to have held public office. It is possible that he enjoyed some degree of imperial patronage.

Q. Caecilio [.....] - CIL 10.3697. Fragmentary public document. 7 A.D.? Caecilius is very common in Campania.<sup>140</sup> The text is too fragmentary to permit any detailed reconstruction, but the position of Caecilius and M. Bennius at the head of the document may indicate that they were magistrates.

M. Bennius [.....] - CIL 10.3697. Fragmentary public document. 7 A.D.? It is possible that Bennius was a magistrate, given his position at the head of this document. Other Bennii from Cumae include M. Bennius Rufus,<sup>141</sup> who owned a villa in the area, and a man of the same name who appears on a list of *Dendrophori* of 251 A.D. Another Bennius Rufus occurs as a stamp on a lead weight, which is not datable. The name is found at several other centres in Campania, namely Capua, Puteoli and Misenum, and at Paestum. Conway (561) identifies it as primarily a Campanian name, but it is possible that it may have been Illyrian in origin.

Gn. Luccieus V.F. Fillus - CIL 10.3697. Fragmentary public document. 7 A.D.? The Lucceii are found in a total of seven inscriptions from Cumae, most of them dedicatory in character, which name six members of the family. For convenience, these will be discussed as a group, and then listed individually, together with their references. The reconstruction of family relationships is reasonably secure, but the relation of Lucceius Fillus to the rest of the group is somewhat conjectural.<sup>142</sup> The patronymic indicates that he cannot be another son of the Gn. Lucceius of CIL 10.3685. It is possible that he may be a brother, since the patronymic of this Lucceius is in doubt. However, the reading given by Mommsen (Gn. Gn. Lucceius), leaves open the possibility that the iteration of the praenomen is in fact a misplaced patronymic. If this can be assumed to be the case, then Fillus could not be the brother of Gn. Lucceius Gn.F., but could possibly be the father. Thus the family could be reconstructed as follows:



The number of building works undertaken by the family indicate considerable wealth and probably fairly high status within the city<sup>143</sup>. Lucceii are found throughout Campania and all the cognomina found here are well attested.<sup>144</sup>

Gn. Gn. Lucceius - CIL 10.3685, 3686?

Gn. Lucceius Gn.F. Gemellus - CIL 10.3687, 3685, 3686?

Gn. Lucceius Gn.F.? - CIL 10.3687, 3685, 3686?

Lucceia Gn.F. Tertulla - CIL 10.3685, 3686, 3688.

Lucceia Gn.F. Polla - CIL 10.3685, 3688.

G. Sulpicius Heraclida - E.E. 8.452. Epitaph. Probably 1st century A.D., on the basis of the omission of D.M. and the use of the nominative for at least some of the names. Sulpicius found fairly frequently. For Heraclida, cf. Messius Heraclida. Probably a freedman, as his patron features in the same inscription.

G. Sulpicius Hyginus - E.E. 8.452. Epitaph. Patron of Sulpicius Heraclida. Hyginus is probably a Greek cognomen.

Hyginus - E.E. 8.452. Epitaph. Son of Sulpicius Heraclida.

Onirus - E.E. 8.452. Epitaph. Son of Sulpicius Heraclida.

Heraclida - E.E. 8.452. Epitaph. Daughter of Sulpicius Heraclida.

Faustus - E.E. 8.452. Epitaph. Son of Sulpicius Heraclida. Latin cognomen.

Harmonia - E.E. 8.452. Epitaph. Wife of Sulpicius Heraclida.

L. Aemilius L.F. Vot. Proculus - De Petra, NSc 1898, 192-3. Epitaph. No certain date, but the omission of D.M. suggests that it is likely to be 1st century. Veteran, but legion not specified, and it does not follow the same formula as

the epitaphs of many of the veterans from Misenum.<sup>145</sup> The form of the inscription, giving details of bequests and provision for upkeep of the tomb suggests that it was from one of the medium sized family tombs which became common in the 1st and 2nd centuries. This fact in itself suggests a family of at least modest means. Neither of the names mentioned are in any way unusual in S. Italy.

Aemilia Ephesia - De Petra, NSc 1898, 192-3. Epitaph. Wife of Aemilius Proculus. Ephesia is a common cognomen, and may imply Eastern Greek origin. The identity of nomen between husband and wife may be simply coincidence, since Aemilius/a is relatively common, but it may also indicate that Ephesia was originally the freedwoman of Aemilius Proculus.<sup>146</sup>

Veneria Proba - CIL 10.3692 (= 1.2601). Epitaph. Date uncertain, but the omission of D.M. points to a 1st century date. Veneria could be either a Latin or a Greek name. There are no parallels for the feminine form of the name, but the masculine equivalent is found at Nuceria (10.1013) and Hadria (9.5020). Possibly a priestess.

Ti. Claudius Marcion - CIL 10.3692 (= 1.2601). Epitaph. The relationship between Marcion and Veneria Proba is not given, but they may have been husband and wife. Marcion has no parallel, but may be a Hellenised version of Marcus or Marcianus.

Octavia Salvia - Dennison, AJA 2 (1898), 373-98, No.62. Probably 1st or 2nd century on the basis of the omission of D.M. Both Octavia and Salvia are common names.

G. Laecanius Alexander - Dennis, AJA 2 (1898), 373-98, No.62. Epitaph. Husband of Octavia Salvia. Alexander is a

common cognomen, of Greek origin. Laecanius is also found at Puteoli (CIL 10.2636, 2705, 2637, 1880, 1881), Brundisium (9.39) and Cluentius Vicus (9.5805). Conway identifies it as a Campanian name.<sup>147</sup>

M. Papirius, M.F. - Gabrici, Mon. Ant. 1913. Inscription found on a wall near the acropolis. Apparently the candidate for, or holder of, the office of Scriba Quaestorius.<sup>148</sup>

Gn. Carisius, L.F. - Gabrici, Mon. Ant. 1913. From wall near the acropolis. Apparent candidate for, or holder of, the praetorship. Carisii are also found at Capua, Minturnae, Puteoli and Misenum.

L. Pontius P.F. Mela - Gabrici, Mon. Ant. 1913. Possibly the candidate for, or holder of, the office of Pontifex. From same group as the inscriptions of Papirius and Carisius. Pontii are very common in Campania and in Samnium.<sup>149</sup>

M. Antonius Faustus - AE 1971.90. Probably 1st century A.D. From Baiae, but makes reference to an *Augustalis* from Cumae. Dedication to Augusta.

(v) 2nd Century A.D. and Later

Q. Mucius Celer - Pollack, W.S. 24(1902), 441. Marble grave altar, probably c.100-150 A.D. Pollack suggests that the iconography of the altar, with an oinochoe on the left side and a Medusa head on the right, may be indicative of a holder of a priesthood. Both names common.

Q. Mucius Celer - Pollack, W.S. 24(1902), 441. Marble grave altar, probably c.100-150 A.D. Father of above, and

commemorated by same monument.

Flavia Saturnina - Pollack, W.S. 24(1902), 441. Marble grave altar, probably c.100-150 A.D. Dedicator of the monument of the Mucii Celeri, and that of Terentius Tarpius and Mucia Polla. Wife of the elder Mucius Celer, and mother of the younger.

L. Terentius Tarpius - Pollack, W.S. 24(1902), 441. Marble grave altar, probably c.100-150 A.D. Subject of a second altar dedicated by Flavia Saturnina. There is no indication of the relationship to Saturnina.

Mucia Polla - Pollack, W.S. 24(1902), 441. Marble grave altar, probably c.100-150 A.D. Mother of Terentius Tarpius, and commemorated on the same altar. The nomen suggests that she was a relative of the husband of Saturnina.

M. Valerius Alexander - E.E. 8.443. Epitaph. 2nd/3rd century? Veteran, from Misenum. The text is fragmentary but it seems to conform to the standard format, of which there are many examples from Misenum. Valerius is one of the most common nomina adopted by troops serving at Misenum. Alexander may suggest a Greek or Eastern origin. The trireme Concordia is known from five other inscriptions.

T. Terentius Maximus - E.E. 8.444. Epitaph. 2nd/3rd century? Veteran, from Misenum. The name is very similar to many others from Misenum. Terentius is not as common a nomen as Valerius, but is attested at Misenum. The original nationality, given as Bessian, is also very common at Misenum, where Bessians seem to have formed a large proportion of the manpower of the fleet.<sup>150</sup> The trireme Jove is attested in other inscriptions from Misenum.

G. Julius Philo - E.E. 8.444. Epitaph. One of the heirs of Terentius Maximus. Also a veteran from Misenum, serving on the trireme *Mercurialis*, which is attested from Misenum. Julii are common among the troops serving at Misenum. Philo may suggest a Greek or Greek-speaking origin.

Q. Domitius Optatus - E.E. 8.444. Epitaph. Heir of Terentius Maximus, and also a veteran of the fleet, having served on the quadrireme *Minerva*, which is known from Misenum. The nomen is not common at Misenum (CIL 10.3757, 3498) but the cognomen is well-known throughout the Roman world.

Sulpicius Priscus - E.E. 8.444. Epitaph. Mentioned on the epitaph of Terentius Maximus. Also a veteran, being apparently the *optio* of the Jove. The name is not otherwise known among the veterans at Misenum.

Domitius Severinus - Macchioro, NSc 1911, 329-31. Epitaph. 3rd century or later. Domitius is very common. Severinus is paralleled at Nola (10.1342), Puteoli (10.247 and 3054), Misenum (10.3367) and Turris Libisanis, Sardinia (10.7966).

Domitia Severina - Macchioro, NSc 1911, 329-31. Epitaph. Mother of Domitius Severina.

P. Aelius Aeuremon - AE 1980. 241. Epitaph. Late 2nd/early 3rd century. The cognomen is probably a rare form of Heuremon, which is also found at Rome, Ostia, Canusium and Pola, but not in Campania. The name appears to be Greek. The nomen, which is considerably less common than other imperial nomina, may indicate descent from an imperial freedman. The epitaph also makes reference to the father, whose name is also P. Aelius Aeuremon.



G. Avianus Epagathus - CIL 10.3701. Epitaph. 2nd/3rd century? May also be from the territory of Naples. However, Avianus was an *Augustalis* at Cumae. Avianus is very well attested in Campania and Latium (cf. Conway 561), and the Campanian gens is known to have been very prominent in the grain trade in the late Republic<sup>151</sup>. Epagathus appears to be Greek.

[.....] Κουαδρατος υἱος - Puteoli 6 (1982), 159-60. Very fragmentary Greek epitaph, although the fragmentary name preserved suggests that the name and its form of expression were Latin.<sup>152</sup>

Deccia Victoria - D'Ambrosio, Puteoli 3 (1979), 311. Epitaph. 2nd century. The Deccii are well-attested at Cumae in earlier periods, the name becomes less common in this area of Campania during the Empire. Victoria is not unusual as a cognomen, and sometimes appears as a translation of the Greek name Nike.

D. Deccius [.....] - patron of Deccia Victoria.

Septimia Severa - Dennison, AJA 2 (1898), 373-98, No.63. Epitaph. 2nd/3rd century? The name would strongly suggest a 3rd century date.

Silvanus Augur - Dennison, AJA 2 (1898), 373-98, No.63. Epitaph. Responsible for setting up the tombstone of Septimia Severa, although there is no indication of the nature of the relationship. Both names are rare in S. Italy. Silvanus is found at Puteoli (10.1766), Capua (10.3896) and Pompeii (10.8059), while Silvanus is found only at Puteoli (10.2997).

Ampliatus - Colonna, NSc 1891, 235. Epitaph. 2nd/3rd

century, on presence of D.M. Common name, both among slaves and others.

Hosidius Phoebus - Master of Ampliatus, who was a verna (i.e. born in slavery). Phoebus is a fairly common cognomen of Greek origin. Hosidius has parallels at Herculaneum (10.1401) and Puteoli (10.1597 and 2527) but is particularly common at Histonium, where there are fifteen examples. Conway identifies it as a Hirpinian name (571).

Livia Veneria - Dennison, AJA 2 (1898), 373-98, No.61. Epitaph. 2nd/3rd century. Both names are well attested.

Livia Prodite - Dennison, AJA 2 (1898), 373-98, No.61. Epitaph. Client, and probably freedwoman, of Livia Veneria. The cognomen is Greek.

G. Pomponius Xystus - CIL 10.3695 and 3695a. Dedications to Antoninus and Verus. 10.3695 is 138-161 A.D., 10.3695a is 161-9 A.D. Pomponii are fairly common, being found at Puteoli, Minturnae, Formiae, Velitrae, Casinum and Beneventum, as well as being attested at Cumae at a much earlier date. Xystus must be Greek in origin but has no parallels in Southern Italy.

P. Licinius Fyrmus Domitianus - D'Ambrosio, Puteoli 4-5 (1980-81), 277-8. Epitaph. 2nd century. Licinius is a very widespread name. Fyrmus, or Firmus, has many parallels from Puteoli and Misenum.

Lucret[ia Quar]tula - D'Ambrosio, Puteoli 4-5 (1980-81), 277-8. Epitaph. Wife of P. Licinius Fyrmus. Lucretius is fairly common but is found with particular frequency Misenum. Quartula does not have any direct parallels, but is probably a form of Quartilla.<sup>153</sup>

[Lucre]tius Sabinus - D'Ambrosio, Puteoli 4-5 (1980-81), 277-8. Epitaph. Relative of, or member of household of, Licinius Fyrmus and Lucretia Quartula.

M. Calvius Ofellio - Pagano, Puteoli 3 (1979), 160-2. Epitaph. 2nd/3rd century A.D. Calvius is a common Campanian name but this is its first occurrence at Cumae, although there are numerous examples at Puteoli and Misenum. Ofellio is found as a gentilicial in many areas of C. Italy<sup>154</sup> but is found as a cognomen only at Ancona (9.5926), Atina (10.5118), Formiae (10.6156) and Puteoli (10.2221 and 2222).

Calvia Callityche - Pagano, Puteoli 3 (1979), 160-2. Sister of Calvius Ofellio. Callityche is a Greek cognomen and is fairly widespread, occurring at Puteoli, Misenum, Capua, Casinum, Salernum, Surrentum, Brundisium and Teate Marrucinorum.

T. Flavius Castrensis - E.E. 8.448. Epitaph. 2nd/3rd century. The nomen is an imperial one, but need not necessarily imply any imperial connections. However, a Flavius Castrensis is known to have been an imperial secretary under Nero (Dio 61.5). The cognomen may indicate some military connections.<sup>155</sup>

Doryphorus - E.E. 8.448. Epitaph. 2nd or 3rd century A.D. The single name may suggest a slave origin. The name itself is Greek.

L. Faenius Martialis - E.E. 8.447. Epitaph. 2nd century A.D. Martialis is very common. Faenii are also found at Puteoli, Misenum, Salernum, Surrentum and on Ischia.

M. Ulpus Securus - CIL 10.3706. Epitaph. 2nd/3rd century.

Ulpia are very common, although not as much so as the names of the Julio-Claudian emperors. *Securus* has only one parallel, from Ferentinum (CIL 10.5820). *Securus* seems to have held civic office and was obviously part of the local aristocracy.

L. Caesius Ampliatus - CIL 10.3706. Epitaph. Heir of *Ulpia Secura*. Both elements of the name of very common.

L. Caecilius Dioscurus - ILS 6399 a and b. Two epitaphs. 2nd/3rd century. Holder of numerous offices and *Augustalis* at Cumae and Puteoli. Probably a freedman but apparently quite wealthy and important. Both names are fairly common.

Caecilius Hermes - ILS 6339a. Epitaph. Client and probably freedman of *Caecilius Dioscurus*. The cognomen is Greek.

Caecilia Marciana - ILS 6339b. Epitaph. Wife of *Caecilius Dioscurus* and patron of *Caecilius Hermeias*.

Caecilia Piste - Wife of *Caecilius Hermeias*. *Piste* is Greek.

L. Caecilius Hermeias - ILS 6339b. Probably to be identified with the *Caecilius Hermes* of ILS 6339a.

M. Antonius Julianus - ILS 6659. Epitaph. From Misenum but makes reference to membership of the college of *Augustales* at Cumae, as well as at Misenum.

Julius Aplanus Severinus - D'Ambrosio, Puteoli 4-5 (1980-81), 276-7 (= Macchioro, NSc 1911, 329-31). Epitaph. Late 3rd century. *Aplani* previously only found at Puteoli.

[?] Veratius A.F. Pal. Severianus - CIL 10.3704. Large inscription, honorific in character. 2nd century or later, since the text makes reference to the office of *Curator Rei Publicae*, which was instituted by Trajan. *Eques Romanus* and

holder of a number of civic offices, and apparently a prominent member of the community. Veratius is fairly common, but Severianus is much less so, having parallels at Asculum, Capua and Beneventum.

Antonia [.....] - CIL 10.3702. Honorific inscription. 3rd century. Very fragmentary. For other Antonii, cf. Antonius Julianus.

Octavia Val[.....] -CIL 10.3704. Fragment of 3rd century honorific inscription, which appears to be similar in form to that of Veratius Severianus. For other Octavii cf. Octavia Salvia.

Q. Octavius M.F. Pal. [.....] - CIL 10.3704. Fragment of 3rd century honorific decree. Probably related to Octavia Val[.....] and appears to have had some connection with Dalmatia. The presence of the decree indicates a family of some importance.<sup>156</sup>

M. Mallonius Undanus - CIL 10.3698. Letter and decree setting up a priesthood. 289 A.D. No parallels for either name in S. Italy. It is identified by Conway (571) as a Campanian name.

Q. Claudius Acilianus - CIL 10.3698. Decree. 289 A.D. Claudius is very common, although this is unusual in having the praenomen Q. rather than Ti. Acilianus is rare, being found only at Tarracina (10.8397). However, the gens Acilia was prominent on the Bay of Naples and produced at least one consul.<sup>157</sup>

Caelius Pannychus - CIL 10.3698. Decree. 289 A.D. Caelius is a common name. Pannychus paralleled at Venusia (9.496), Tarentum (9.3698), Puteoli (10.1929), Antium (10.6637) and

Pompeii (10.8362). Caelius is not widely known as a slave/freedman name, and this individual was probably of high status.

Curtius Votivos - CIL 10.3698. Decree. 289 A.D. Curtius very common, but Votivos not found elsewhere.

Considius Felicianus - CIL 10.3698. Decree. 289 A.D. Considius is unparalleled in Campania but is found at Peltuinum (9.5464) and Asculum (9.5200). Felicianus is fairly widespread, particularly among people from the province of Africa.<sup>158</sup>

Licinius Secundus - CIL 10.3698. Decree. 289 A.D. Both names very common.

Pontius Gavius Maximus - CIL 10.3698. Decree. 289 A.D. Gavius Pontius was originally an Oscan name, found particularly in Samnium. The Samnite generals Pontius Herennius and Pontius Telesinus are well-attested in Roman literature.<sup>159</sup> This form of the name shows the inversion of praenomen and nomen which occurred in many names in the 2nd and 3rd centuries. The transformation of Gavius from an Oscan praenomen into a Latin nomen and cognomen is well-documented in Campania. This name seems to be a composite formed from Pontius, and Gavius Maximus, for which there are parallels at AFINIUM (9.3381), ORTONA (9.3815) and FIRMUM PICENUM (9.5358-5360). cf. the Tarentine inscription to Gn. Nearchus Nepos Fabianus (CIL 9.239) for a further example of a later name drawn from that of an eminent earlier citizen.

Q. Tineius Rufus - CIL 10.3683 (= ILS 4038). Dedication to Apollo Cumanus. Late 2nd century. It may be possible to

equate Tineius with the Tineius Rufus who was consul in 182 and who was involved in the subjugation of Judaea, as Hadrian's legate.<sup>160</sup> There is also evidence for a Tineius Sacerdos who was consul in 158 A.D. Thus, this would seem to indicate an important family, probably originating from, or owning property at, Cumae. However, the name does not appear to be local, since the only parallels are from Aternum (9.3341) and Uselis, Sardinia (10.7845).

G. Julius Euplus - E.E. 8.446. Epitaph, with Christian iconography. 2nd/3rd century. Julii, particularly G. Julii are very common all over the Roman world. Euplus is Greek. Freedman.

Licinia Nais - E.E. 8.446. Epitaph, probably Christian. 2nd/3rd century. Licinii common. Nais probably of Greek origin.

Agathangelus - E.E. 8.446. Epitaph, probably Christian. 2nd/3rd century. Greek name. Freedman.

Ulpia Marciana - Dennison, AJA 2 (1898), 373-98, No.65. Stamp on section of lead pipe probably referring to the sister of Trajan, and possibly an indication that she owned property in the area. Part of a group of similar stamps, including P. Manlius Modestus and the mysteriously named Pontia Hepura.

L. Ampius Stephanus - CIL 10.3699. List of *Dendrophori*. 251 A.D. Ampius is not a Campanian name, being identified by Conway<sup>161</sup> as being most frequent in Umbria and Picenum. However, there are parallels at Corfinium, Praetuttiorum, Interamnia, Cures Sabini, Pompeii, Setia, Capua and Puteoli. Stephanus is reasonably widespread. Ampius is clearly of

high status, since he is patron of the college of *Dendrophori*.

G. Valerius Picentinus - CIL 10.3699. List of *Dendrophori*. 251 A.D. Valerius is common in Campania, there being a particularly high concentration among the veterans of the fleet at Misenum.<sup>162</sup> Picentinus has clear geographical connotations, and study of the occurrence of the name in CIL makes it clear that most examples are indeed concentrated in Picenum, the only parallel in Campania being from Misenum (10.3345). Cf. Firmum Picenum (9.4370), Falerii (9.5421 and 5428) and Tolentinum (9.6376) for other examples.

G. Julius Herculanus - CIL 10.3699. List of *Dendrophori*. 251 A.D. Julii very common. Herculanus is less widespread but still well-attested.

Longinius Iustinus - CIL 10.3699. List of *Dendrophori*. 251 A.D. Neither name common.<sup>163</sup>

A. Firmus Polybius - CIL 10.3699. List of *Dendrophori*. 251 A.D. Firmus is reasonably common in Campania, cf. Licinius Fyrmus Domitianus. Polybius is Greek and is also found at Interamna Praetuttiorum (9.5064), Pompeii (10.9321 and 8071) and Puteoli (10.2690 and 2857).

G. Lisius Crescentinus - CIL 10.3699. List of *Dendrophori*. 251 A.D. Lisius has only one parallel, from Carsioli (9.4084). Crescentinus is a derivative of Crescens, one of the most widespread Latin cognomina.<sup>164</sup>

L. Decimus Felinus - CIL 10.3699. List of *Dendrophori*. 251 A.D. Decimus is a well-attested nomen, but Felinus has no parallel.

G. Cupiennius Primitivus - CIL 10.3699. List of



*Dendrophori*. 251 A.D. Cf. Cupiennius Satrius Marcianus.

Primitivus is a well-attested cognomen<sup>165</sup>

T. Minicius Sabinus - CIL 10.3699. List of *Dendrophori*.

251 A.D. Both names are well-attested.

M. Junnius Agrippa - CIL 10.3699. List of *Dendrophori*. 251

A.D. Probably a misspelling of Junius, which is common in Campania. Agrippinus also found at Atella, Puteoli, Trebula and Canusium.

A. Camelius Protocensis - CIL 10.3699. List of *Dendrophori*.

251 A.D. Camelius is not paralleled in S. Italy, although the feminine form, Camelia, is found at Praeneste and Tusculum. It is possible that the name is of Celtic origin.<sup>166</sup> Protocensis has no parallel.

A. Agnanius Felicissimus - CIL 10.3699. List of

*Dendrophori*. 251 A.D. The cognomen is widespread but there is no parallel for the nomen, although it may be a placename derivative.<sup>167</sup>

G. Litrius Fortunatus - CIL 10.3699. List of *Dendrophori*.

251 A.D. Litrius identified by Conway as being Campanian, and by Schulze as being from Campania or Latium.<sup>168</sup> The cognomen is very common.

Ti. Julius Callinicus - CIL 10.3699. List of *Dendrophori*.

251 A.D. Praenomen unusual in connection with Julius. Callinicus is probably Greek and is also found at Nuceria (10.1098), Puteoli (10.2205) and Panormus (10.7303).

L. Oppius Lesiginus - CIL 10.3699. List of *Dendrophori*.

251 A.D. Oppii are found at an earlier period in Campania, in particular in the Oscan inscriptions from Cumae.<sup>169</sup> Lesiginus is not paralleled.

M. Herennius Zerax - CIL 10.3699. List of *Dendrophori*. 251 A.D. Herennius common in Southern Italy from an early date, first appearing in the Oscan form Harines.<sup>170</sup> Zerax is not paralleled but may be Greek.

G. Lisius Pudentinus - CIL 10.3699. List of *Dendrophori*. 251 A.D. For Lisius, cf. G. Lisius Crescentinus. Pudentinus is relatively common.

A. Firmius Felicianus - For Firmius, cf. Firmius Polybius. Felicianus very common.

M. Babbius Sodalis - CIL 10.3699. List of *Dendrophori*. 251 A.D. Babbius very uncommon and may be derived from the Oscan Babbies.<sup>171</sup> Conway identifies it as occurring only in Daunia and Campania (Conway 36 and 155). Parallels are found at Puteoli (10.2850), Misenum (10.3546) and Luceria (9.839). Sodalis is found at Puteoli (10.1582), Amiternum (9.4542), Corfinium (9.3247) and Septempeda (9.5597-8).

L. Modestius Hilarus - CIL 10.3699. List of *Dendrophori*. 251 A.D. Hilarus very common,<sup>172</sup> but Modestius only found at Puteoli (10.2746) and in Latium.

L. Orfius Maximus - CIL 10.3699. List of *Dendrophori*. 251 A.D. Orfius is found at Puteoli (10.2813), Capua (10.4263), Aminternum (9.4197) and Telesia (9.4182). Conway identifies it as being particularly common in Umbria. The cognomen is very widespread.

L. Orfius Maximinus - CIL 10.3699. List of *Dendrophori*. 251 A.D. Cf. L. Orfius Maximus.

G. Julius Gauditurus - CIL 10.3699. List of *Dendrophori*. 251 A.D. Julii common. Gauditurus unparalleled.

G. Julius Cogitatus - CIL 10.3699. List of *Dendrophori*.

251 A.D. Cogitatus found at Puteoli, Aeclanum, Corfinium, Ligures Baebiani and Aequum Tuticum.

G. Julius Cerealis - CIL 10.3699. List of *Dendrophori*. 251 A.D. Julius and Cerealis both common names.

G. Herennius Sabinus - CIL 10.3699. List of *Dendrophori*. 251 A.D. Sabinus common. For Herennius, cf. Herennius Zerax.

L. Lollius Viator - CIL 10.3699. List of *Dendrophori*. Both names common.

P. Plautius Victor - CIL 10.3699. List of *Dendrophori*. 251 A.D. Both names common.

A. Firmius Severus - CIL 10.3699. List of *Dendrophori*. 251 A.D. Cf. Firmius Polybius.

A. Firmius Tertius - CIL 10.3699. List of *Dendrophori*. 251 A.D. Tertius is a well-attested cognomen. Fullonius is listed by Conway as being most common in Umbria, but there are parallels in Pompeii, Aufinum, Amiternum, Carseoli, Beneventum and Venusia.

T. Flavius Archelaus - CIL 10.3699. List of *Dendrophori*. 251 A.D. Flavius a common nomen, already present in Cumae.<sup>173</sup> There are also a large number of Flavii of eastern origin found at Naples.<sup>174</sup> Archelaus is Greek and is also found at Trebula Mutuesca (9.4916) and Volturnum (10.5725).

M. Valerius Syntropus - CIL 10.3699. List of *Dendrophori*. 251 A.D. High concentration of Valerii at Misenum, amounting to approximately 1/4 of all Valerii in the regions covered by CIL 10. Syntropus is Greek and is also found at Hadria (9.5022), Puteoli (10.2572, and 2713) and Minturnae (10.6036-7).

M. Valerius Ianuarius - CIL 10.3699. List of *Dendrophori*. 251 A.D. For Valerii, cf. Valerius Syntropus. Ianuarius one of the most common Latin cognomina.<sup>175</sup>

N. Lucius Cyricus - CIL 10.3699. List of *Dendrophori*. 251 A.D. Lucius is a common nomen in Latium and Campania. Cyricus has no parallels but seems likely to be of E. Greek origin.<sup>176</sup>

G. Julius Carito - CIL 10.3699. List of *Dendrophori*. 251 A.D. Julii very common. Carito probably Greek, and is found at Telesia (9.2197 and 2251) and at Capua (10.4265).

M. Curius Nianus - CIL 10.3699. List of *Dendrophori*. 251 A.D. Curius is found at Capua (10.4103), Canusium (9.338), Pinna Vestina (9.3345), Marsi Marruvium (9.3628), Pagus Veianus (9.1516) and Brundisium (9.6117). Nianus is unparalleled.

G. Martius Vitalis - CIL 10.3669. List of *Dendrophori*. 251 A.D. Both names widespread.

Aerelius Lucius - CIL 10. 3699. List of *Dendrophori*. 251 A.D. Aerelius is unparalleled but it may be a form of Arellius,<sup>177</sup> which is well-documented in Campania. Lucius is rare as a cognomen, being found only in Pompeii (10.8053).

G. Julius Dianensis - Julii very common. Dianensis is unparalleled but may be an indication of ethnic origin (Ephesos) or of religious affiliation.<sup>178</sup>

G. Antonius Lucilianus - CIL 10.3699. List of *Dendrophori*. 251 A.D. Antonius common, and already attested at Cumae. Lucilianus is found at Acerra (10.8376), Aveia Vesti (9.3608) and Faleria (9.5466).

G. Magius Crescentianus - CIL 10.3699. List of *Dendrophori*.

251 A.D. Both names very common in Campania.

G. Cartilius Irenicus - CIL 10. 3699. List of *Dendrophori*.

251 A.D. Cartilius widespread in Latium but not found any further south.<sup>179</sup> Irenicus not paralleled but is probably Greek, from Εἰρηνη.

N. Pollius Primus Senior - CIL 10.3699. List of

*Dendrophori*. 251 A.D. Pollius is particularly well-documented in Campania, and may be from the Oscan name Pollis.<sup>180</sup> Primus is one of the most widespread Latin cognomina.

N. Pollius Primus Iunior - CIL 10.3699. List of

*Dendrophori*. 251 A.D. Unusual form but presumably a younger relative of Pollius Primus Senior.

G. Titilius Privatus - CIL 10.3699. List of *Dendrophori*.

251 A.D. Titilius is a rare nomen. Schulze groups it with Titellius, Trebellius and Titilenus, ascribing an Etruscan origin to it.<sup>181</sup> However, there are parallels from Beneventum (9.1795) and Sulmo (9.3112). Privatus is a common cognomen and frequently denotes free birth.<sup>182</sup>

L. Marcius Maruleius - CIL 10.3699. List of *Dendrophori*.

251 A.D. Marcius is fairly widespread, but Maruleius is unknown either as a nomen or cognomen. It is possible that it may be derived from the Oscan Maras/Marius.<sup>183</sup>

Q. Granius Gemellus - CIL 10.3699. List of *Dendrophori*.

251 A.D. Granius is widespread in Latium and Campania, as is Gemellus.

G. Clodius Mercurius - CIL 10.3699. List of *Dendrophori*.

251 A.D. Large number of Clodii throughout South, but

particularly in Campania.

N. Vibius Super - CIL 10.3699. List of *Dendrophori*. 251 A.D. Vibius is a common name but is more frequently found in areas of central Italy (Conway 590). Super is only paralleled at Histonium (9.2838).

G. Tuscennius Communio - CIL 10.3699. List of *Dendrophori*. 251 A.D. No parallel for either of these names, but Schulze suggests a possible Etruscan origin for Tuscennii.<sup>184</sup>

M. Stennius Marcellinus - CIL 10.3699. List of *Dendrophori*. 251 A.D. Stennius has parallels at Puteoli, Misenum, Minturnae, Atina and Casinum. Marcellinus is well-documented.

M. Valerius Eutyches - CIL 10.3699. List of *Dendrophori*. 251 A.D. For Valerius, cf. Valerius Picentinus. Eutyches is clearly of Greek origin.

G. Rufus Seleucus - CIL 3699. List of *Dendrophori*. 251 A.D. Rufus is very common, while the cognomen is Greek and may indicate an eastern origin.<sup>185</sup>

M. Mallonius Severianus - CIL 10.3699. List of *Dendrophori*. 251 A.D. Cf. Mallonius Undanus and Veratius Severianus.

L. Gentius Nico - CIL 10.3699. List of *Dendrophori*. 251 A.D. Gentius is identified by Conway (570) as primarily a Latin and Campanian name, but it is also possible that it is of Illyrian origin.<sup>186</sup> Nico is clearly Greek and is also found at Atina (10.5089 and 5091), Anagnia (10.5924) and Interamnia Praetuttiorum (9.5106).

G. Litrius Maior - CIL 10.3699. List of *Dendrophori*. 251 A.D. Cf. Litrius Fortunatus.

L. Decimus Faustus - CIL 10.3699. List of *Dendrophori*. 251

A.D. Cf. Decimus Felinus.

G. Julius Severus - CIL 10.3699. List of *Dendrophori*. 251

A.D. Cf. Julius Herculanus.

N. Vibius Speratus - CIL 10.3699. List of *Dendrophori*. 251

A.D. Cf. Vibius Super.

M. Granius Marcianus - CIL 10.3699. List of *Dendrophori*.

251 A.D. Cf. Q. Granius Gemellus.

G. Nautius Pyntropus - CIL 10.3699. List of *Dendrophori*.

251 A.D. Nautius very rare, the only other example being from Tarracina (10.8269). Pyntropus is otherwise unknown.

Mommsen proposes Syntropus as an emendation.<sup>187</sup>

L. Paccius Maximinus - CIL 10.3699. 251 A.D. Paccius is a very distinctively Oscan name, which is found in the earlier epigraphy of Cumae, and Campania generally, Cf. Dekmos Heios Pakiou.<sup>188</sup>

Q. Servius Nicetianus - CIL 10.3699. List of *Dendrophori*.

251 A.D. There are only three other male examples of the gens Servia in Southern Italy, at Venusia (9.570 and 571) and at Aquinum (10.5388). Nicetianus may be derived from the Greek Nike (Pape/Benseller 1002).

G. Lisius Secundinus - CIL 10.3699. List of *Dendrophori*.

251 A.D. Cf. Lisius Crescentinus.

G. Publilius Genialis - CIL 10.3699. List of *Dendrophori*.

251 A.D. Publilii are well-documented in Campania but are mostly concentrated in Capua and Cor. Genialis is also well-documented.

L. Connius Castrensis - CIL 10.3699. List of *Dendrophori*.

251 A.D. There are no parallels for Connius. For Castrensis, cf. T. Flavius Castrensis.

- Q. Granius Chorintus - CIL 10.3699. List of *Dendrophori*.  
251 A.D. For Granius, cf. Granius Gemellus. Chorintus is unparalleled and may be Greek (= Corinthus?).
- Ti. Julius Atainopo - CIL 10.3699. List of *Dendrophori*.  
251 A.D. For Julii, cf. Julius Herculanus. Atainopo is unparalleled and probably Greek.
- Q. Granius Ianuarius - CIL 10.3699. List of *Dendrophori*.  
251 A.D. Cf. Granius Gemellus.
- G. Turranius Priscus - CIL 10.3699. List of *Dendrophori*.  
251 A.D. Priscus is a very common cognomen. Turranius is documented at Puteoli (10.2519, 3030 and 3031), Ischia (10.6798), Pompeii (10.797), Rufrae (10.4840), Antium (10.6750) and Misenum (10.3451).
- L. Pedanius Faustinus - CIL 10.3699. List of *Dendrophori*.  
251 A.D. Faustinus very common, but Pedanius only paralleled at Venafrum (10.4974).
- Naeuius Pollius Priscus - CIL 10.3699. List of *Dendrophori*.  
251 A.D. Cf. Pollius Primus.
- Julius Decius Felicius - CIL 10.3699. List of *Dendrophori*.  
251 A.D. Decii are known at Cumae from a very early date, and the name is well-attested in Oscan inscriptions.<sup>189</sup> For Julii, cf. Julius Herculanus.
- M. Sagarius Sedatus - CIL 10.3699. List of *Dendrophori*.  
251 A.D. Sagarius unparalleled but Sedatus quite well-attested in the South.
- G. Tuscennius Primitivus - CIL 10.3699. List of *Dendrophori*.  
251 A.D. Cf. Tuscennius Communio.
- M. Plautius Hilarus - CIL 10.3699. List of *Dendrophori*.  
251 A.D. Cf. Plautius Victor.



G. Julius Crescens - CIL 10.3699. List of *Dendrophori*. 251 A.D. Cf. Julius Herculanus.

G. Junius Mercurius - CIL 10.3699. List of *Dendrophori*. 251 A.D. Cf. Junius Agrippinus.

L. Flavius Celer - CIL 10.3699. List of *Dendrophori*. 251 A.D. Cf. Flavius Archilaus.

G. Aurunculeius - CIL 10.3699. List of *Dendrophori*. 251 A.D. The only parallels are from Isola di Sora (10.5688) and Pompeii/Herculaneum (10.8059).

Samiarius Silvanus - CIL 10.3699. List of *Dendrophori*. 251 A.D. The name is known only from Tarentum (Viola NSc 1892), but a number of Samiarii were resident on Delos c. 100 B.C.<sup>190</sup>

M. Samiantus Crescens - CIL 10.3699. List of *Dendrophori*. 251 A.D. No parallel but it may be related to Samiarius.

M. Samiliarius Fortunis - CIL 10.3699. List of *Dendrophori*. 251 A.D. Again, not paralleled, but possibly derived from the same root as Samiarius and Samiantus.<sup>191</sup>

P. Carsicius Florianus - CIL 10.3699. List of *Dendrophori*. 251 A.D. Both names are rare. There is no parallel for Carsicius but it may possibly be derived from the Etruscan root Carsna-.<sup>192</sup> Florianus is known only from Venafrum (10.4917).

G. Statrius Felicissimus - CIL 10.3699. List of *Dendrophori*. 251 A.D. Statrius is otherwise unknown but could be a corruption of Satrius or Stadius, both of which are known in the area.<sup>193</sup>

T. Minicius Veratinus - CIL 10.3699. List of *Dendrophori*. 251 A.D. Minicius well-documented in Campania, but

Veratinus unknown.

Varius Phillius - CIL 10.3700. List of *Dendrophori*. This list is fragmentary and cannot be dated accurately but the similarity of form to the list of 251 A.D. points to a 3rd century date. Varii well-known, but Phillius unparalleled and may be Greek.

Vinnius Florus - CIL 10.3700. List of *Dendrophori*. 3rd century? Both names are fairly widespread.

Nulanius Herma - CIL 10.3700. List of *Dendrophori*. 3rd century? Nulanius is not found anywhere else but Herma is common on the Bay of Naples and may be Greek.

Mevius Heraclida - CIL 10.3700. List of *Dendrophori*. 3rd century? Both names are widespread.

Agrius Successus - CIL 10.3700. List of *Dendrophori*. 3rd century? Successus is a well-documented cognomen. Agrius is found at Puteoli, Capua, Aquinum, Casinum, Trevicum, Telesia, Bovianum, Aesernia, Canusium and Aeclanum.

Seius Uhodus - CIL 10.3700. List of *Dendrophori*. 3rd century? Seii are well-attested in Etruria and in Campania (Conway 583). Uhodus is probably a form of Euodus.

Eridius Rufus - CIL 10.3700. List of *Dendrophori*. 3rd century? No parallel for Eridius. Rufus is well-documented.

Marius Lupus - CIL 10.3700. List of *Dendrophori*. 3rd century. Marius is a well-documented name in Cumae,<sup>194</sup> as well as the rest of Campania. Lupus is also well-attested.

Avienus Quarte[...] - CIL 10.3700. List of *Dendrophori*. 3rd century. Avienus probably a form of Avianus, cf. Avianus Epagathus. Quarte is well-known.

Julius [.....] - CIL 10.3700. List of *Dendrophori*. 3rd century. Cf. Julius Herculanus.

Lucceius Victor - CIL 10.3700. List of *Dendrophori*. 3rd century. Cf. Lucceius Fillus.

Lucceius Aemilianus - CIL 10.3700. List of *Dendrophori*. 3rd century. Cf. Lucceius Fillus.

Lucceius Felix - CIL 10.3700. List of *Dendrophori*. 3rd century. Cf. Lucceius Felix.

Vinnius Ianuarius - CIL 10.3700. List of *Dendrophori*. 3rd century. Cf. Vinnius Florus.

Julius Rufinus - CIL 10.3700. List of *Dendrophori*. 3rd century. Cf. Julius Herculanus.

Claudius Cornelius - CIL 10.3700. List of *Dendrophori*. 3rd century. Cf. Claudius Honoratus. There is no parallel for the use of Cornelius as a cognomen.

Mammius Eucratus - CIL 10.3700. List of *Dendrophori*. 3rd century. Mammi well-known in Campania and may be derived from Mammaea (Schulze 360, 444, 516) or from an Oscan root (Conway 75 and 135). Eucratus is Greek.

Mammius Eucratianus - CIL 10.3700. List of *Dendrophori*. 3rd century. Cf. Mammius Eucratus. Eucratianus may be a son, or other relative of Eucratus.

Porphirius Varus - CIL 10.3700. List of *Dendrophori*. 3rd century. Porphirius is unparalleled but may be derived from a geographical name (Onomasticon 520). Varus is well-attested.

Ἰουκλίνθος - IG 14.780. Fragmentary epitaph. 2nd century or later. Greek text, but using Roman forms in translation. Greek name, and probably a single name, without cognomen or

patronymic.

Ουαληρια Κοδρατιλλα - IG 14.872. Curse tablet. Greek, but clearly of the Roman period. The lack of a praenomen in the male names suggests a date of 2nd century A.D. at least, and probably later. Both names well-attested.

Ουαληρια Ευνοια - IG 14.872. Curse tablet. Greek, but clearly of the Roman period. The lack of a praenomen in the male names suggests a date of 2nd century A.D. at least, and probably later. Greek cognomen.

Ουαληριος Μυστικος - IG 14.872. Curse tablet. Greek, but clearly of the Roman period. The lack of a praenomen suggests a date of 2nd century A.D. at least, and probably later. Both names well-attested.

Βετρουβιος Φηλιξ - IG 14.872. Curse tablet. Greek, but clearly of the Roman period. The lack of a praenomen suggests a date of 2nd century A.D. at least, and probably later. Both names well-attested.

Βετρουβια Μαξιμιλλα - IG 14.872. Curse tablet. Greek, but clearly of the Roman period. The lack of a praenomen in the male names suggests a date of 2nd century A.D. at least, and probably later. Both names well-attested.

Βετρουβιος Ευελπιστος - IG 14.872. Curse tablet. Greek, but clearly of the Roman period. The lack of a praenomen suggests a date of 2nd century A.D. at least, and probably later. Greek cognomen.

(vi) Undatable Inscriptions

Briseis - Dennison, AJA 2 (1898), 373-98, No.60. Epitaph. Greek mythological name, also found at Luceria (9.899),

Aveia Vestina (9.3617) and Nursia (9.4605).

Usunicus - E.E. 8.454. Epitaph, which may be Christian since it begins with the formula *Requiescit In Pace*. No parallels.

G. Pomponius Zoticus - CIL 10.3684. Dedication. For Pomponii, cf. Pomponius Xystus. Zoticus is possibly of non-Latin origin and is found at Puteoli, Misenum, Casinum, Formiae, Velitrae, and Beneventum.

P. Avius Hedus - CIL 10.3693. Dedication. Hedus has no direct parallel, although there are many other cognomina with the same root. It may be Greek. Avius has no parallel.

Verrius M.F. Montanus - CIL 10.3705. Epitaph? Both names are fairly common.

[....]ius Primigenius - NSc 1911, 61. Primigenius a very common name.

Primio Publicus - CIL 10.3710. Epitaph. Probably a public slave. Primio a common name.

L. Cocc[eius] Redem[.....] - CIL 10.3707. Fragmentary epitaph? Cocceius is well-attested, but the name seems to be particularly frequent in Campania.<sup>195</sup>

[.....] Asiaticus - Maiuri, NSc 1913, 186-7. Fragmentary epitaph. Veteran, praefectus of a cohort of Asturians (Ligurians?) and holder of the praetorship, quaestorship and the office of *curator pecuniae publicae Cumis*. Asiaticus is also found as a personal name at Salernum, Misenum, and in the Silarus Valley.

Luceia Thetis - CIL 10.3689. Dedication or epitaph. Small column-shaped cippus of Parian marble. High quality

workmanship. It seems likely that Luceia Thetis was connected with the Luceii of CIL 10.3685-7, in particular since this type of dedication, consisting of a name followed by S(it) P(osuit), is identical to a stone set up by Luceia Polla and Luceia Tertulla (see above sv Luceius Fillus). The cognomen is Greek and may indicate that Thetis was a freedwoman of the Luceii. However, if this was the case, she clearly had fairly high economic status, as indicated by the high quality of the workmanship and the use of imported marble.

Appuleia Sex.F. Felix - NSc 1883, 272. Epitaph. Age given, but indication of dedicator of the monument. The presence of the filiation may indicate a date of the 2nd century or earlier, but this cannot be regarded as certain. Appuleius is found throughout Southern Italy (Conway 559), and the cognomen is very common.

(vii) Inscriptions of Doubtful Provenance

L. Canoleios L.F. Calenos - NSc 1885. Inscription on patera. Campanian, but Cumaean provenance not certain.

[T]i Claudius Celer - NSc 1885. Epitaph.

D. Junius Modestus - NSc 1885. Epitaph.

Junia Vitalis - NSc 1885. Epitaph.

G. Heius G.L. Epagathus - Correra, RM 1904, 185. Epitaph. Certainly Campanian but Cumaean provenance not certain.

Heia G.L. Tertia - Correra, RM 1904, 185. Epitaph. Certainly Campanian but Cumaean provenance not certain.

Heia G.L. Salvia - Correra, RM 1904, 185. Epitaph. Certainly Campanian but Cumaean provenance not certain.

M. Heius G.G.M.L. Simo - Correra, RM 1904, 185. Epitaph.

Certainly Campanian but Cumaean provenance not certain.

Ascanius Musa - Correra, RM 1904, 185. Epitaph. Certainly

Campanian but Cumaean provenance not certain.

Gessia Athenais - Correra, RM 1904, 185. Epitaph. Certainly

Campanian but Cumaean provenance not certain.

Ionia Philaenis - Correra, RM 1904, 185. Epitaph. Certainly

Campanian but Cumaean provenance not certain.

Priscus - Correra, RM 1904, 185. Epitaph. Certainly

Campanian but Cumaean provenance not certain.

Justus - Correra, RM 1904, 185. Epitaph. Certainly Campanian

but Cumaean provenance not certain.

Agrippinus - Correra, RM 1904, 185. Epitaph. Certainly

Campanian but Cumaean provenance not certain.

Herennius - Correra, RM 1904, 185. Epitaph. Certainly

Campanian but Cumaean provenance not certain.

[....]nius Fortu[natus?] - Correra, RM 1904, 185. Epitaph.

Certainly Campanian but Cumaean provenance not certain.

[.....]verus - Correra, RM 1904, 185. Epitaph. Certainly

Campanian but Cumaean provenance not certain.

## b) Conclusions

### (i) The Early Inscriptions

Little can be deduced from the early inscriptions at Cumae. Most of these are names inscribed on grave goods of moderate, but not extravagant character. For instance, four of these occur on bronze vessels, which would seem to indicate a moderate degree of wealth. Of the others, one

occurs on an amphora, which may be indicative of the production of wine and oil which is already known from literary sources. Other texts include a dedication to the nymphs, a tufa stele and a lekythos, again from a burial. This piece is of considerable onomastic interest, since it seems to be the earliest occurrence of the type of linguistic shift which will be discussed below. The name, ΤΑΤΑΙΗ, appears to be a transliteration into Ionic Greek of the Latin/Oscan name Tatia. This corroborates the literary and archaeological evidence for the connections between the Greeks of Campania and the Etruscans and Latins, and provides firm evidence for some racial mixing in the pre-Oscan period.

(ii) Language Shift and Bilingualism in Cumae

Although the number of bilingual inscriptions from Cumae is negligible compared with some other areas of Italy, there is still a considerable amount of evidence for the transition between Latin, Greek and Oscan. The earliest texts are all written in Greek language and alphabet, as noted above. This uniformity cannot be taken as an indication that there were no foreign elements present in Cumae, or any Italic influences. The ΤΑΤΑΙΗ inscription demonstrates that there were Italians present in Cumae, although in what capacity is not known. However, it is significant that Tatia appears to have adopted the local Greek dialect in preference to Oscan or Latin. Thus, there cannot be said to be any known degree of bilingualism at this date.



The evidence for the 4th and 3rd centuries shows a similar degree of uniformity. By this date, the language which was apparently in general use was Oscan. Of the three main language fields represented, namely funerary, religious/dedicatory and colloquial, none shows any trace of Greek. It is also noticeable that none show any Latin influence as yet, despite the fact that most of this group of texts seem to belong to a period after the granting of *civitas sine suffragio*. The onomastic forms represented are of the Oscan type rather than the Latin or Greek forms, although Greek onomastic forms do reappear in the later Republic. The names which occur seem to indicate that during the 3rd century, Cumae was part of the linguistic and onomastic koine of S. Campania, showing parallels with Capua, Nola, Abella and Pompeii. In particular, many of the Oscan texts found have very close parallels with 3rd century inscriptions from Capua. The city was apparently completely detached from the Greek-speaking area around Naples, which apparently maintained an attitude of hostility to the surrounding Oscans, and had not yet formed the close onomastic links with Puteoli and Misenum which are characteristic of later Cumaean epigraphy. The reappearance of Greek elements in the 2nd and 1st centuries may be an indication that these did not entirely disappear, despite the lack of evidence, but it seems to be more likely that these represent a new introduction of Greek from elsewhere. Certainly, there appear to have been mass migrations of Greeks away from the city, in particular to Naples, and the only individual whose ethnic origin is known is Dekis Heries

Dekieis, a Samnite from Saepinum. The close similarities between the Cumaean and Capuan curse tablets, and the occurrence of Iovilae dedications almost identical to those from Nola and Capua, seem to suggest that if Greek culture survived at all from the early period of the city's history, it was by this date overlaid by a substantial amount of Oscan culture.

A true period of transition does seem to occur in the 2nd and 1st centuries, when Latin was still mixed with Greek and Oscan elements, despite its growing predominance. The exact date at which Oscan disappeared cannot be established, not least because of the difficulties of dating these texts accurately within the broader periods, but it seems likely that traces of the language continued well into the last years of the republic. The nearest approach to a bilingual text also occurs during this period. This is a curse tablet which names the persons to be cursed in Latin but adds the actual curse itself in Oscan. There is also a later epitaph which carries an Oscan inscription in addition to the Latin epitaph, but these do not appear to be directly connected. However, it is clear from trace elements that the decree of 180 B.C., by which Latin became the official language of Cumae, did not eradicate either Oscan or Greek until the end of the Republic, if then. The fact that Oscan survives largely in grammatical and onomastic features rather than in continuous texts makes assessment of the extent of survival difficult, but these do seem to indicate that even for literate members of the community, absorption into the

Latin-speaking world was incomplete. In particular, Oscan name forms seem to have persisted, either directly, e.g. the use of the Oscan *Harines* for *Herennius*, or in other features, such as the formation of the patronymic from the nomen rather than the praenomen, as can be found in a number of inscriptions of the 2nd century and later. It is also observable that Oscan grammatical features survive, in particular the formation of proper names by adding the Oscan endings *-is*, *-es* or *-ies* to a Latin stem.

A particular feature of this period is the reintroduction of Greek, and the occurrence of a number of names in which Greek and Latin/Oscan elements are combined. As has been noted above, Greek does not appear to have been strong in the 4th and 3rd centuries, either in language or in the general degree of Hellenisation indicated. This may indicate that the reappearance of Greek, and Hellenisation in general, is not a true case of linguistic and cultural continuity but of the reintroduction of these features from another source, although it is possible that the Greek origins of the city may have facilitated the absorption of this new wave of Hellenisation. The most likely reason for this change is the growing number of trading contacts between Italy, particularly Southern Italy, and the Aegean, and also the increasing number of villas in this area which appear to have been built by wealthy Romans with the express purpose of being able to enjoy a more Hellenised lifestyle. Hatzfeld's analysis of the activities of the Italians on Delos and elsewhere in the Aegean, indicates that many of

the names of traders indicate a S. Italian or Campanian origin. It is also notable that a high proportion of the nomina attested at Cumae during the late Republic are also found on Delos or elsewhere in the Aegean, although it is not possible to make any positive identifications between Italians found in the East and known individuals from Cumae.

The growing degree of contact with the Aegean and the greater social acceptability of Greek culture is reflected in the onomastics of the middle and late Republic. Decimus Heius, son of Pakius, is clearly of Oscan descent, on the evidence of his name. The Heii are well-attested at Cumae, and appear to have been a family of some wealth and importance. However, the dedication to Apollo which was made by Heius was made by a Parian craftsman and carries an inscription in Greek. These factors would seem to indicate that it was socially acceptable for a prominent man to adopt Greek customs in this way, and also that the Heii, and presumably other families, had both the means and the trading contacts to be able to import either artists or their work from the Aegean.

In addition, it seems that it was acceptable for Greek names to be adopted, or conferred, on individuals of Cumaean origin. There are a number of instances of men with Greek names and Oscan patronymics, or vice versa. Karis Brittios (Καρῆς Βριτίου) seems to be an indication that Greek forms were adopted by those who were primarily Oscan speakers, as well as those with a more Latinised background. In

addition, two Cumaeans are known from victory lists at Oropus, both with mixed Graeco-Latin names, namely Αβρις Καϊκου and Αττινος Ἡρακλειδου. These, together with Minatius Steius, provide certain evidence of Cumaean traders in the Aegean. The fact that a number of eminent Campanians adopted Greek culture and philosophy during this period is also reflected in the literary sources. G. Blossius, whose family are known from Cumaean inscriptions, was a well-known Stoic despite the known Oscan background of the Blossii, and it is likely that other municipal aristocrats adopted Greek culture in a similar manner. Traces of this economic and cultural contact can be found on a more tangible level. The period marks the first appearance of slaves and freedmen with Greek or Oriental names, the works of Greek artists and craftsmen are found, and there is evidence for the importation of building materials, in the form of Delian masons' marks.

Linguistically, the Early Empire is marked by the almost total disappearance of the Oscan and Greek features which are found in the 2nd and 1st centuries B.C. Greek features which do occur are restricted to Greek cognomina of the type which becomes increasingly common during the 2nd or 3rd centuries. Many of these seem to be freedmen, although this should not be used as proof that all such names can be used as indicators of slave or freed status. In many later instances, changes in onomastic conventions make it very difficult to identify social origin with any degree of certainty. Changes in the type of Greek name used may be a

reflection of slave status or low birth, or be an indication that the name has been artificially assigned or adopted. However, it is equally possible that they are simply reflectors of changing fashions in personal names. There are also enough cases of Greek cognomina which persist through several generations or which occur in inscriptions which seem to indicate free birth or other criteria to suggest that an automatic assumption of freed status would be unwise. Despite the continuing increase of Greek cognomina throughout the Empire, there is little evidence that Greek continued to be spoken. Only two Greek texts survive, both fragmentary epitaphs. One of these seems to retain Greek forms throughout, but the other appears, from the small fragment which is extant, to be a translation of the normal Roman form of epitaph, giving name, parentage, and age. This is a phenomenon which can be observed in areas where bilingualism survived to a greater extent, in particular among the Greek epitaphs of Naples. The reasons for the complete language shift away from the Oscan and Greek in this manner can be explained to some extent but only in general terms, as there are no clues as to the specific reasons for change at Cumae. The increasing process of Romanisation in Italy under the Early Empire is likely to have been major factor in the decline of Oscan, as is the increasing development of the Cumae/Baiae/Puteoli area as an area of villas owned by the Roman aristocracy, a trading centre, and a place of residence favoured by the imperial family. However, this increasing degree of central contact makes the complete demise of Greek all the more

surprising, given that one major reason for the development of this area in these directions was the desire of wealthy Romans to pursue Greek cultural and intellectual activities in a suitably Hellenised setting. The continued interest in promoting Greek culture can be seen in the creation of two major Greek-style festivals here, namely the Sebasteia at Naples and the Eusebeia at Puteoli. The most obvious change, to which this could be attributed, is the decline of Delos as a major trading centre, which may have involved a decline in the specific local interest in trade and the consequent loss of contact with the Aegean world. Some local Campanian trading interests remained, as demonstrated by the development of Puteoli as a major port for the import of grain, but the growing degree of central control of the grain trade, and the specific location rather than a generalised area of trade, may have effectively cut off Cumae from any regular contact with the East.

(iii) Immigration, Emigration and Population Continuity

There is considerable literary evidence for the fact that Cumae received several batches of colonists, from the Augustan period onwards, and the large influx of wealthy Roman villa owners is also well-documented. Thus it seems that Cumae may have been subject to a considerable amount of immigration. Some traces of this may be detectable in the epigraphic record, although criteria for identifying these traces are debatable and cannot necessarily be applied for each period. In particular veterans are readily identified by their distinctive type of epitaph. Some nomina seem to

have distinctive geographic limitations, and it is occasionally possible to identify the origin of a person by these means. It is also possible to use nomina to assess the degree of population continuity by simply quantifying the number of nomina, particularly those of native Campanian origin, which are found in more than one chronological period. Cognomina present rather more of a problem, due to the lack of agreement over the exact significance of Greek cognomina. It is possible in some cases to identify these with some precision, but these only form a minority of the known individuals with Greek cognomina. It is possible that many Greek cognomina do indicate immigrants, either slaves or free peregrini, but there are enough instances in which this is known not to be the case to make a general interpretation difficult. The assigning of regional or ethnic origin on the basis of known association of certain cognomina, particularly those which are religious or geographic derivatives, is possible, but again, only in a minority of cases. There are also certain cognomina which have distinctive geographical distributions, being markedly more common in some parts of the empire than others. It is possible that these could be used to give some indication of a person's origin, but again, such attributions cannot be regarded as secure. Where it is possible to suggest an origin on this basis, this has been indicated in the catalogue, but should not be regarded as certain.

The group of veterans found at Cumae is relatively small. Five veterans from Misenum are known, probably from



the Claudian deduction. All texts are preceded by D.M. and have thus been included in the list of 2nd and 3rd century material, but it is possible that they may be late 1st century, and this would be plausible in the light of the historical evidence for the Claudian colony. Only one of these veterans is identified by nationality, Bessian, but two others have Greek cognomina, which may point to an origin in one of the Greek-speaking provinces. There are also two other possible veterans, although they probably did not serve at Misenum, since they do not have the type of epitaph characteristic of naval veterans.

The number of immigrants who can be recognised by their nomina is also very small. Three Umbrian nomina are found, all of them datable to the 1st century B.C., or the Early 1st century A.D. It is possible that these may be an indication of the disputed Augustan colonisation. In addition, there are a number of other nomina which seem not to be Campanian but which are less easy to define in geographic terms. *Camelius*, which occurs among the members of the college of *Dendrophori*, has been identified as Celtic, on the basis of the *Cam-* prefix. Very few other names can be positively identified in this way. Schulze ascribes Etruscan origins to a number of the names known from Cumae, but this is now widely thought to be erroneous. However, a list of names which appear to be attributable to particular areas of Italy will be included as an appendix. In general, the vast majority of the nomina which occur at Cumae seem to be Latin or Campanian in origin, possibly

indicating that the main influences in this area were the Oscan settlement of the 5th century and the close contact with Rome and Latium which developed later. Even as late as the 3rd century A.D., the greater number of nomina are apparently native to Campania, which suggests that although there was clearly some immigration into the area, the population as a whole was fairly static. Despite this, only a negligible proportion of the 132 nomina found at Cumae appear in more than one chronological period. This may be an effect of the relatively small number of texts available for study, spread over a considerable period of time, but it may be indicative of a reasonable degree of population movement within Campania. Many of the names found in the 2nd and 3rd centuries are found in the surrounding area at an earlier date. In particular, there are close onomastic connections with Puteoli and Misenum and Pompeii in the Imperial period, marking a shift away from the connection with Capua and Nola, which were predominant in the Republic.

(iv) Social and Economic Structure

These two areas will be treated together, since the criteria for assessing social and economic status overlap, at least to some degree. A table showing a breakdown of the social status of individuals on the basis of the usual criteria of free, slave or libertus, and unknown origin, has been included. However, the patterns revealed by this seem to be more indicative of the nature of the evidence and of changes in nomenclature and status indicators over the period studied, than of any real changes in social structure. For

instance, the number of freedmen and slaves appears to rise steadily during the Empire, while the number of free citizens decline, but in fact, a study of these figures as percentages of the total number of known individuals indicates that this is simply due to a decline in the number of names which include indications of status. Thus it is difficult to base any conclusions about social structure on this traditional type of analysis. However, some of the criteria used to judge the economic status of a family or individual also have a bearing on the social position of the family. For instance, anyone holding a magistracy or priesthood or having membership of the *Ordo Decurionum* is likely to have a certain minimum level of wealth and is also likely to be of high social status. Free birth cannot be absolutely guaranteed, but it is likely. Similarly, membership of the college of *Augustales* seems to have involved the possession of a minimum level of wealth and it is possible that similar conditions were imposed on *Dendrophori*, despite the fact that the majority of *Augustales* and *Dendrophori* were freedmen. Other factors are also assumed to be indicative of economic status, namely the possession of slaves, freedmen or clients, particularly if more than one can be assigned to the same person. The undertaking of a local building program or the dedication of articles of substantial value in the city's sanctuaries is also some indication of a higher than average economic status and probably some social prominence. The final category which has been used to attempt to determine social and/or economic status is size of tomb. This can vary from

the large and imposing tomb which was built for Sextia Kania at civic expense to the type of family tomb, with provision for a family together with its slaves and freedmen and their households and descendents, which became common throughout the Roman world during the 1st century A.D. This would not in itself indicate great wealth, but it would indicate a high enough economic and social status to justify the purchase of land and also the building cost and upkeep of the tomb.

The evidence for the Greek city shows no indication of any social or economic differentiation. None of the tombs are conspicuously larger or richer than others, and the grave goods are not informative, although approximately half of the burials contained bronze vessels, which is indicative of a modest level of wealth. For the 4th and 3rd centuries, too, the evidence is very sparse. None of the burials are conspicuously rich, and not enough is known about the Iovilae dedications to speculate on their nature. However, the curse tablet which survives from this period mentions someone whose title is Niir (Princeps), which may be indicative of a magistrate or other official. The fragmentary nature of the text makes it impossible to judge the reason for the curse, but references to guilt, witnesses and to an advocate seem to indicate that it was inspired by a lawsuit.

The introduction of Latin onomastic conventions in the 2nd and 1st centuries A.D. greatly increases the possibility

of recognising social and economic patterns, since it is relatively easy, at this period of history, to distinguish between slaves, *liberti* and free citizens. Most of the individuals named have some indication of status. Those who can be positively identified as slaves of *liberti* seem to have comprised about 26% of the known population. Since Oscan and Greek names do not include any indication of the status of a person, it is not possible to compare this figure with those from the preceding periods. However, the names of the people in question seem to indicate that these represent an influx of slaves from Greece and the Eastern Empire. This would be consistent with the other evidence that Cumaeans were in contact with the Aegean, probably through trade with the Greek East. In particular, the Heii and the Blossii and also the Dassii all had slaves or freedmen with names which would suggest a Greek or Middle Eastern origin, and all are known from other sources to have had some connection with Delos or more general interest in Hellenism. The majority of slaves or freedmen known from this period are concentrated into a comparatively small number of households. It is difficult to estimate what size of household would suggest a wealthy family, but given that the Blossii are known from literary sources to have been a leading family and that the Heii were responsible for an expensive dedication to Apollo, it would seem that households consisting of approximately two to three slaves and a similar number of freedmen may have been an indication of status in the context of a municipium like Cumae. However, the period is rather lacking in other features

which could be used to pinpoint rich or influential families. The only known magistrate is M. Marius, who may have been a Roman praetor rather than a local magistrate, despite his Campanian name.

The number of identifiable slaves and freedmen appears to fall rather than rise during the Early Empire, although it is possible that this may be due to growing difficulties of identification. However, the figures would seem to indicate that there was still a substantial free population at Cumae. It is possible that this could be accounted for if it were assumed that many of the slaves and freedmen who formed the staff of villas owned by wealthy Romans were not permanently resident in the area. In particular, the lack of imperial slaves and freedmen would suggest that possibly the households of villas were not buried in local cemeteries and may have had little contact with the community as a whole. In economic terms, this period has a lot more evidence for differentiation. A total of nine individuals are known who seem to have held magistracies or priesthoods, and therefore can be assumed to be of free birth, high social status and to have some degree of wealth. Similarly, there appears to have been a considerable amount of civic improvement at this date, some of it undertaken by Augustus, but much apparently funded by local families. Of these, the most prominent is the gens Luceia, who appear to have undertaken a vast quantity of building work on one of the temples. The family is known to have been important in the late Republic, and at least one member held the praetorship

in the Early Empire. Another notable benefactress was Sextia Kania, whose tomb was built at public expense in recognition of this fact, although no details of her actions are given. This period also produces a small number of medium sized family tombs, whose inscriptions indicate that they are intended to accommodate an extended family, indicating the presence of a number of slaves and freedmen. In at least two cases, these belong to the families of first generation freedmen, a clear pointer to the manner in which freedmen could become fairly wealthy in their own right. The occupants of these tombs would probably not form part of the local aristocracy, but the cost of land and of building this type of structure would necessitate at least a moderate degree of wealth. One of these tombs belonged to L. Acilius Nicephoros, the freedman of L. Acilius Strabo, who owned a villa in the area. This is one of the few cases in which a dependent of a villa owner settled at Cumae. Similarly, very few local families seem to have owned villas. Of these, M. Bennius Rufus, who may be tentatively dated to this period, is the best documented.

The later Empire (2nd century onwards) shows a marked decline in the number of free citizens but no corresponding increase in the number of slaves and freedmen. However, a sharp rise in the numbers of *incerti* suggests that the decline in free citizens may be due to the disappearance of factors which enable their identification rather than any actual decline in numbers. In specific terms, the only immediately recognisable social group are the veterans, who

are discussed above. Their economic status is not known, but one epitaph contains elaborate details of the will and provision for the tomb, which suggests that they may have fallen into the middle bracket of those who were not conspicuously wealthy but formed a 'middle class'. In general terms, this period is characterised by much the same social and economic patterns as is the 1st century. There are a fairly large number of priests, magistrates and other inscriptions which indicate an official career. There is also a considerable amount of evidence for the emergence of colleges of *Augustales* and *Dendrophori*, particularly during the 3rd century. The epitaphs of the *Augustales* also indicate that the college at Cumae maintained connections with colleges in neighbouring towns, and there is evidence for multiple membership of the colleges at Puteoli, Misenum and Cumae. However, evidence for large or richly decorated tombs is lacking in this period and there is little evidence for civic patronage of the type undertaken by the Lucei.



## Naples

### 1. Nature of the Epigraphic Evidence

Unlike other cities of Magna Graecia, Naples has produced a substantial amount of epigraphic evidence, which differs considerably in nature from that which survives from the other cities studied. The most immediately apparent difference is the comparatively large number of Greek and bilingual texts which have survived, a fact which can be seen to bear out the assertions of the literary sources that Naples was still a Greek city, culturally and linguistically. However, the exact nature of the Greek texts will be discussed at greater length in section 6.

Unfortunately, the problems of dating the Greek material are too great to allow the construction of an accurate chronology, although it is possible to date many of the official texts by means of historical references contained within the texts. The use of Latin names and/or onomastic forms and the translation of Latin epigraphic formulae into Greek allows an approximate dating for some of the Greek funerary material. Where a Greek translation of the well-dated formula D(is) M(anibus) occurs, the text has been assigned to the same chronological group as the Latin Dis Manibus texts, namely the 2nd century AD or later. Other Greek material which shows clear Latin influence in terms of nomenclature has been dated to the Roman period, along with any undatable Latin material, but no attempt has been made to assign a more accurate chronology. However, it seems very probable that the vast majority of this should be dated to the imperial period, since very few texts from either Naples or elsewhere in Magna Graecia can be securely dated to the Republic. Where Greek

graffitti and epitaphs show no traces of Latin influence in name or form, they have been grouped as undatable, although it is likely that these, too, are of the Roman empire. The majority of the Greek funerary formulae found are those which indicate a date of the 3rd century BC or later, thus placing them within the Roman period. Since, as noted above, the vast majority of Greek texts from Southern Italy, are in fact of imperial date, it is likely that many of this group are relatively late.

As in most of the other cities studied, the vast majority of inscriptions available from Naples are epitaphs<sup>1</sup>. The majority of these are Greek and can be dated to the Roman period, but there are a substantial minority of Latin texts. However, the figures suggest that Greek was still in widespread use, even among those who had adopted Latin nomenclature. There is also a small group of 4 bilingual inscriptions.

Inscriptions relating to the presence of imperial property at Naples and to imperial patronage are not particularly numerous, in the light of the abundant literary evidence for imperial interest in Naples<sup>2</sup>. However, it should be noted that this is consistent with the evidence from other areas studied. In particular, Cumae is known to have had a large number of imperial connections but has produced very little evidence of imperial involvement in the area<sup>3</sup>. The texts available from Naples comprise 3 personal dedications to emperors, 3 official dedications, 3 texts recording imperial benefactions to the city, in each case involving repairs to earthquake damage, and 6 fragments whose nature cannot be recovered. Of these, the vast majority are Latin, with only 4 Greek and 1 bilingual text. It is

also notable that in the majority of cases where the name of the emperor can be recovered, the texts can be dated to the 3rd century or later. There is little direct and indisputable epigraphic evidence for the presence of the Julio-Claudian emperors, despite their known interest in the area.

Other classes of evidence include a small group of stamps and graffitti. 5 stamps from tiles and amphora fragments are all Latin, while a group of 5 graffitti from household and personal are Greek, with one exception. A group of fragments and miscellaneous short inscriptions also shows a slight bias in favour of Greek, with 11 Greek texts as against 10 Latin examples.

The most varied class of epigraphic evidence is undoubtedly that of the dedications and official inscriptions. This includes a category which is unique to Naples, namely that of the victory lists of the Greek games. These survive principally in a very fragmentary form, and little information can be recovered from them, but their presence is, in itself, significant. All texts recovered are in Greek, as would be expected from the records of a festival of Greek type and panhellenic significance. The religious dedications and texts referring to priests and cult officials again indicate that the city retained Greek language and conventions in the religious practices of the Roman period. Only 3 Latin dedications are known, as against 16 in Greek. This bias in favour of Greek is reflected in almost all types of public inscription. Of the texts referring to phratries, 9 are Greek, 3 are Latin, and one comprises a Greek honorific inscription and a Latin letter of thanks in response to it. Commemorative and cursus inscriptions show a similar bias (9 Greek, 2

Latin). Official decrees and inscriptions honouring individuals show a slight bias in favour of Latin (7 Latin, 6 Greek). However, the inscriptions recording public works and benefactions show a rather different pattern, all 4 inscriptions being Latin.

## 2. Historical Evidence for Roman Naples

The historical sources for Naples are rather more abundant than those for many of the other cities discussed in this survey, but, like the epigraphic evidence, they concentrate to a large extent on Naples in the Hellenistic and Roman periods. Comparatively little is known about the early history of the city, and it seems not to have been a major force in South Italian politics and diplomacy until the 4th century, although apparently a prosperous trading city. This may be accounted for to some extent by the fact that Naples was isolated from the majority of Italiote cities, although probably a member of the Italiote League<sup>4</sup>, and must have become increasingly so after the conquest of Cumae and Paestum by the Oscans.

There is some evidence that the first Greek foundation on the site was a settlement of Rhodian traders/colonists, or Euboeans from Cumae<sup>5</sup>. It is possible that this is reflected in the literary sources by the tradition of the settlement of Parthenope, before the foundation of Neapolis,<sup>6</sup> and in the archaeological record by the discovery of a pre-colonial settlement on Pizzofalcone<sup>7</sup>. The foundation of Neapolis was almost certainly by Cumae and was somewhat later<sup>8</sup>. The relation of the city of Palaepolis, mentioned by Livy<sup>9</sup>, to the foundation of both Naples and Parthenope, is unclear. Frederiksen<sup>10</sup> suggests that the settlement on Pizzofalcone should be identified with both Parthenope and Palaepolis, Palaepolis being the

name by which it was usually known in the historical period, and rejects the evidence for an earlier Rhodian foundation as being drawn from a Rhodian source and insufficiently supported by archaeological evidence for a Rhodian presence. However, this is contradicted by the evidence that the early Cumæan settlement on the site was destroyed<sup>11</sup> before the foundation of Neapolis whereas Palaepolis was clearly still in existence in 327. Thus it seems more likely that the early settlement on Pizzofalcone should be identified with Parthenope. It is possible that Palaepolis represented a refoundation on this site, which forms a natural defensive position, preceding the foundation of Neapolis.<sup>12</sup>

The development of the city until the 4th century is relatively obscure. Initially, it seems to have been under the influence of Cumæ, and also of Syracuse, since this was the period of alliance between Cumæ and Syracuse<sup>13</sup>. However, the growth of Athenian interest in the West during the 5th century and the conquest of Cumæ by the Oscans in 421<sup>14</sup> led to a period of considerable Athenian influence. The exact date at which Athens became a predominant influence on Naples cannot be determined, but it seems likely that it covered the middle years of the 5th century, ending with the Athenian defeat at Syracuse in 413/2<sup>15</sup>. The good relations with Athens are in sharp contrast to relations between Athens and some of the other cities of the South, which refused the Athenian fleet entry to their harbours.<sup>16</sup>

Two major changes occurred in the 5th century, which had fundamental implications for the development of Naples. In 421, Cumæ was conquered by the Samnites, and much of the Greek population

fled to Naples. The Cumaeans seem to have formed a distinct group within Naples, and do not appear to have become integrated into Neapolitan society. A phratry named *Kυραιοι*<sup>17</sup> seems to suggest the continuation of a separate identity, and some details of the negotiations with the Samnites in 327/6 confirm that the Cumaeans formed a recognisable interest group within the state<sup>18</sup>. At the same period, Naples appears to have been subject to considerable Italic influence in its own right, caused by the gradual and peaceful migration of a number of Samnites to Naples and their absorption into the citizen body. This process appears to have affected many of the Italiote cities, and is reflected in the absorption of Oscan names into the onomastic pool of many cities, but it appears to have been far more widespread at Naples than elsewhere<sup>19</sup>.

The war with Rome in 327/6 and the subsequent treaty seem to have been integrally connected with the process of Oscanisation. As with other Italiote cities, there appears to have been a pro-Roman party, and an anti-Roman party, of which the Samnites may have formed the core<sup>20</sup>. However, it appears to be an oversimplification to suggest that the decision in favour of war with Rome was due only to Samnite influence. Dionysios indicates that the Cumaeans were induced to support the war party by promises of the restoration of Cumae to the Greeks<sup>21</sup>, and there was a promise of support from Tarentum, possibly in the form of a League army<sup>22</sup>. Equally, the party which negotiated the peace with Rome included both Oscans and Greeks<sup>23</sup>. The activities of the pro-Roman party, and the non-arrival of assistance from the Italiote League ensured that the war was of only short duration. The treaty which ended it is of considerable interest since it appears to have been unusually favourable by the

standards of Roman treaties, but little is known about its terms. Naples is known to have supplied ships and harbour facilities to Rome on a number of occasions, and may also have supplied cavalry forces<sup>24</sup>. However, Neapolitan troops seem to have fought as an independent contingent, on occasions where they are mentioned, rather than as part of the allied contingents of the Roman army<sup>25</sup>. It is also possible that Naples was allowed to make monetary payments instead of military service on some occasions<sup>26</sup>.

Little is known about Naples after the treaty, other than that the city was regarded as one of Rome's most loyal allies and supplied some degree of military assistance on occasions in the 3rd and 2nd centuries. It also remained loyal during the Social War, but was unusual in that it attempted to refuse the offer of Roman citizenship, along with Herakleia<sup>27</sup>. The city seems to have supported Marius against Sulla, and suffered some reprisals as a result<sup>28</sup>. It may also have supported Pompey during the Civil Wars<sup>29</sup>. During the 1st century BC, the Bay of Naples, and Naples, Cumae, and Baiae in particular, became centres of major importance for wealthy Romans. A large number of villas were built, particularly along the north side of the Bay<sup>30</sup>. Naples, appears to have enjoyed considerable popularity as a result of the great upsurge of interest in Greek culture, a factor which may have been decisive in encouraging the retention of Greek culture and language and possibly the revival of Greek institutions.

Under the empire, the presence of large imperial estates on the Bay of Naples, and the active sponsorship of Greek culture by a number of the emperors had the effect of prolonging the developments

of the 1st century BC, and encouraging Naples to become a cultural centre of Panhellenic significance. In particular, Augustus and Nero<sup>31</sup> appear to have patronised, and participated in, Greek cultural activities, and to have promoted the Hellenism of the area. A certain amount of interest by the Flavian and Antonine emperors is also attested<sup>32</sup>, and the city seems to have enjoyed a considerable amount of patronage by some of the later emperors<sup>33</sup>.

### 3. Cults, Colleges and Priesthoods in Roman Naples

The cults of Roman Naples are predominantly Greek in character, but there are also indications that there were some external influences, both Italic and Eastern<sup>34</sup>. The majority of the cults are Olympian in origin, but there are a number of local variations and unusual cults which suggest that there may have been a degree of absorption of pre-Greek Campanian cults, probably of a chthonic type. The best documented cult, however, is clearly a Greek cult, that of Demeter. It appears in the literary sources with the epithets Thesmophoros and Actaea<sup>35</sup>, possibly reflecting Sicilian and Attic influences respectively<sup>36</sup>, but the epigraphic evidence has only produced corroborative evidence for the cult of Demeter Thesmophoros<sup>37</sup>. The priestesses of the cult were of particular importance since it was from the colleges of priestesses at Naples and Velia that the priestesses of the cult of Ceres at Rome were chosen<sup>38</sup>. The high status of the priestesses is confirmed by the existence of two honorific decrees passed by the *συγκλητος*, one in honour of Cominia Plutogenia, the other in honour of Tettia Casta<sup>39</sup>.

Other important, although less well-attested cults, seem to have a maritime connection. In particular, these include the cults of the



Sirens, Leucothea, Aphrodite Euploia and Athena Sicula. The presence of the cult of Athena Sicula may indicate a further connection with Sicily<sup>40</sup>, in addition to the possible diffusion of the cult of Demeter from there. It may be significant that the cults of Aphrodite Euploia and Leucothea are also both known from Velia<sup>41</sup>, possibly indicating some common influence at an early stage in their history, as well as a strong maritime connection in each case. The Dioscuri, who are identified by Napoli and Peterson as being one of the most important cults of the colony<sup>42</sup>, are known from only one inscription, recording the building of a new temple, probably in the 1st century AD<sup>43</sup>. Apollo, although almost certainly a major cult, probably diffused from Cumae, is not attested in the epigraphy of the area<sup>44</sup>. Of the important local cults, those of Parthenope and the Sirens are also known only from literary evidence. It is possible that the presence of these cults may reflect an East Greek or Rhodian influence at the time of the colonisation, but it has also been plausibly suggested that they may be a Hellenised manifestation of a local chthonic cult<sup>45</sup>. Another deity who appears to be of purely local significance is Sebethus, a local river god, to whom a shrine was dedicated in the Roman period<sup>46</sup>. There is also direct evidence of the assimilation of an Olympian cult to a local, possibly pre-Greek cult. Dionysos appears in a number of inscriptions from Naples, but in the Greek texts, he always appears under the name of Hebon, an epithet which is not found elsewhere in the Greek world<sup>47</sup>. It is possible that it may indicate some association with the cult of Hebe<sup>48</sup>, but the cult images seems to have represented Dionysos as an old man rather than a young one, as would have been expected in the case of an association with Hebe. The cult seems to have been an important one, with dedications by ex-magistrates<sup>49</sup>. The presence of

an association of artists of Dionysos<sup>50</sup> suggests that the status of the cult may have been enhanced by the existence of a major festival at Naples. Other Greek deities attested include Herakles, Asklepios/Hygeia, Nemesis and Tyche<sup>51</sup>. Artemis is attested, but only as the patron goddess of a phratry, although Peterson argues for the existence of a civic cult on the basis of the presence of Apollo, and the regular association between the two cults<sup>52</sup>. A cult of the Nymphs is attested from Ischia<sup>53</sup>, which formed part of the territory of Naples. However, there is some doubt about the exact nature of this dedication. It is bilingual, and the deity named in the Latin text differs from that named in the Greek. The Greek inscription, which is otherwise a word-for-word translation of the Latin, names the Nymphs as the recipients of the dedication, while the Latin replaces Νυμφαίς by *Lumphiaeis*, indicating a dedication to a group of Italic water goddesses. The name could indicate a mistaken identification of the Greek cult of the Nymphs with a local Campanian cult, but there appears to be no etymological connection. It is significant that this is a Latin dedication translated into Greek, which suggests that the cult of the Lumphes should be regarded as that to which the dedication was originally made.

Relatively few external cults seem to have taken root at Naples. There are two Jupiter cults, both of external origin<sup>54</sup>. One, that of Jupiter Flazzus, seems to be a Campanian cult<sup>55</sup>, while the other, Jupiter Dolichenus, is well-documented as being of Syrian origin<sup>56</sup>. The presence of the Eastern cults of Isis, Horos, Harpokrates and Mithras<sup>57</sup>, in addition to Dolichenus, indicates a strong East Greek connection. This is confirmed by the abnormally high number of epitaphs of the 1st and 2nd centuries AD which indicate that the

deceased had originated in the Eastern empire. It is highly likely that the strong East Greek connections were due principally to the position of Naples as an athletic and artistic centre of Panhellenic importance.<sup>58</sup> However, it is also clear that Naples maintained independent diplomatic contacts in the Hellenistic world after the treaty with Rome. The decree of *αουλια* from Kos, dated to 242 BC<sup>59</sup> is an indication of this continuation. There were also connections with the Hellenistic monarchs, as attested by the dedication of copy of a statue of Arsinoe, Ptolemy, Berenike and Stratonike,<sup>60</sup> which also seems to suggest that Naples retained important connections in the East, and was a centre for important Greek visitors, as well as Roman, long before the foundation of the *Sebastà*<sup>61</sup>.

Despite the abundant evidence of Greek cults and priesthoods at Naples, there is a surprising lack of evidence for any specifically Roman features, such as the presence of *collegia*, performing a social and religious function<sup>62</sup>. There is a small amount of evidence for the presence of the imperial cult, in the form of the epitaph of one of its priests<sup>63</sup>, and a block, carrying a very fragmentary inscription, from a building identified as the temple of Augustus<sup>64</sup>. The only *collegium* which is certainly attested is a college of *Augustales*<sup>65</sup>, which appears in two inscriptions. However, it may be significant that the *phratries* at Naples seem to have performed similar activities to those of *collegia* such as the *Augustales* and *Dendrophori*, and it is possible that they fulfilled the functions which would elsewhere have been undertaken by *collegia*.

#### 4. Imperial Connections

Although imperial interest in Naples is known from literary sources

to have been extensive<sup>66</sup>, it is reflected in only a very small number of inscriptions. As indicated above, the presence of a cult of Augustus is known from the epigraphic evidence. However, direct evidence for the presence of emperors and their households is very scarce. As at Cumae, there seems to have been very little contact between members of the imperial household and the local community. Six imperial slaves/freedmen are known, appearing principally in dedicatory inscriptions. All of these appear to date to the 1st and 2nd centuries AD<sup>67</sup>. Only 4 texts attest direct imperial involvement or patronage. All these involve building works, in three cases as repairs to earthquake damage, on the part of Titus, Pertinax, Constantine and Valentinian<sup>68</sup>. It may be significant that the inscription of Titus, although bilingual, gives more detail in the Greek text, and the Latin is placed second on the stone, as a translation/summary of the Greek. It is also notable that Titus appears to have held civic office at Naples, as γυμνασιάρχος, δημαρχος and αγωνοθητης, although a lacuna in the text makes it impossible to assess the significance of this fully.

The largest group of imperial inscriptions concern dedications to emperors by individuals, although there are two state dedications by the Senate and People of Naples in honour of Helena, mother of Constantine<sup>69</sup>. There are also two dedications to emperors by phratries, one to Claudius<sup>70</sup>, and the other to Σεβαστη<sup>71</sup>, possibly Livia, after the award of the title of Augusta. The dedications by individuals include three of Antonine date and one concerning Constantine<sup>72</sup>. Thus the imperial interest as expressed in surviving epigraphic texts, seems to fall into three main periods, the Julio-Claudian period, the Antonine period, and the late empire.

These coincide with the known periods of imperial interest in Greek culture, and also with other evidence for imperial interest in the city, notably the deductions under Titus and the grant of colonial status in the Antonine period, as well as the main periods of imperial sponsorship in other cities studied<sup>73</sup>. This seems to suggest that the evidence may be a genuine reflection of the extent of imperial patronage rather than reflecting only the patterns of excavation and survival of evidence.

The final category of inscriptions which have a bearing on the relations of the city with the emperor are the records of the *Sebastà*, instituted by Augustus in 2 BC. However, these are in the main, very fragmentary and consist only of small sections of victory lists.<sup>74</sup> However, it is notable that many of the victors listed are of East Greek origin, confirming Strabo's assertion that the games were of Panhellenic importance<sup>75</sup>. This impression is confirmed by the existence of a group of epitaphs and honorific inscriptions commemorating athletes and artists who were victorious in the games. These also indicate that the majority of participants were from the eastern empire and that many of the individuals commemorated had competed in most of the major festivals of the Greek East<sup>76</sup>, thus confirming the continuation of the trend, represented in the 1st century BC by Archias<sup>77</sup>, of distinguished Asiatic Greeks using Naples as a convenient point of entry to Italy. However, there seem to have been restricted categories in the competition. Some events seem to have been open only to citizens of Naples, and some were restricted only to certain groups within the citizen body, as in the case of a girls' race which was restricted to the daughters of members of the *boule*<sup>78</sup>.

## 5. Municipal Government

The nature of municipal government at Naples is very obscure, despite the abundant epigraphic evidence for the Neapolitan constitution. There are three main questions which arise out of the evidence available, namely the nature of the Greek magistracies and the relation of these to the system of municipal government found elsewhere in Italy; the date at which Naples gained colonial status; and the problematic question of the origins and function of the phratries. All these questions have generated a considerable amount of secondary literature, and it is impossible to discuss all hypotheses in depth. Thus, only the major work on these subjects will be referred to. The evidence itself poses some problems in that it covers a wide spectrum, including official decrees and honorific inscriptions, imperial inscriptions, and private monuments incorporating details of the cursus. Many of these monuments are not comparable with each other, either in date, purpose or content, thus creating difficulties in forming a consistent picture of the Neapolitan constitution.

### a) The Constitution of Roman Naples

Naples is unusual in being one of only three Italiote cities (the other two being Rhegium and Velia) to preserve traces of its Greek language and practices in civic life in the period following the Social War<sup>79</sup>. However, it poses a greater number of problems than either of these cases, since the evidence available is both more extensive and less homogeneous. Whereas the evidence from Velia and Rhegium suggests that the Greek elements represented the continuation of Greek elements only in special circumstances and as an artificial

and self-conscious survival rather than as a genuine part of the municipal administration<sup>80</sup>, the epigraphy of Naples suggests that Greek language and institutions continued to be used on a much wider and more general level, at least until the 2nd century AD<sup>81</sup>. However, the range of constitutional features indicated, and the lack of internal consistency within the body of epigraphic evidence indicate that this cannot be regarded as the preservation of the pre-Roman constitution, or as a Roman municipal constitution masked by the retention of Greek terminology<sup>82</sup>, but suggest a complex mixture of elements. The magistracies which appear in the epigraphic record are the offices of demarchos, laukelarchos, archon, antarchon, gymasiarchos, agoranomos, agonothetes, and grammateus, as well as the Roman quattuorvirs (expressed in Greek as τεσσαρες ανδρες). There are also references to the existence of a *boule*, a *synkletos* and a *proskletos*. A small number of Latin decrees and cursus inscriptions exist, which indicate the existence of a duovirate, in addition to the Greek magistracies and the quattuorvirate<sup>83</sup>.

Numerous attempts have been made to integrate these elements, and to relate them to municipal government elsewhere in Italy<sup>84</sup>. In the case of the Neapolitan assemblies, it seems likely that the *boule* corresponded to the *Senatus* found in most other Italian cities, and that the *Bouleutoi* corresponded to the *Ordo Decurionum*. The existence of a number of decrees and records official honours granted by the *boule* and recorded in Greek but with the Latin formula *L(oco) D(ato) D(ecreto) D(ecurionum)*<sup>85</sup> seems to suggest a correspondence between the two. The occurrence of decrees and votes of thanks passed by the *Ordo Populusque Neapolitanorum*<sup>86</sup> also provides evidence of the existence of a Decurial order, and may also provide some

corroborative evidence for the existence of a popular assembly, represented in Greek as the *συγκλητος*. There is also evidence for the existence of the *Ordo Decurionum* in a Greek inscription in honour of the female athlete Seia Spes. This makes reference to her victory in an event restricted to the daughters of *Bouleutoi*, a term which would seem more appropriate in this context as members of the bouleutic/decurial order, rather than as current member so the *boule* at that particular time.<sup>87</sup>

The magistracies, however, do not lend themselves so readily to assimilation with the municipal magistracies found in other Italian cities. Attempts have been made to find correspondences between the Neapolitan magistracies and Roman municipal offices, in particular by equating the archons, or possibly the demarchs, with the *quattuorviri iure dicundo*, and the agoranomoi with the *quattuorviri aedilicia potestate*, the two sets of offices together forming the board of *quattuorviri*, or *τεσσαρες ανδρες*<sup>88</sup>. However, the evidence for the existence of the *τεσσαρες ανδρες* is very slight, and rests on only one text, a Greek dedication/cursus inscription of the 1st century BC<sup>89</sup>, and a single Ciceronian reference<sup>90</sup>. It is also notable that the Roman magisterial structure was not straightforward, since the city seems to have had a duovirate<sup>91</sup> as well as a quattuorvirate. It appears impossible to give a single consistent explanation which would include all these different features, and the number of contradictions presented by the data available would seem to suggest that the constitution of Roman Naples should be approached as a dynamic, evolving system.

Perhaps the easiest of the magistracies to assess, in terms of



their municipal significance, are the offices of demarch<sup>92</sup> and laukelarch<sup>93</sup>. The origin of both is obscure, and there are few parallels for either<sup>94</sup>. However, there is sufficient ancient evidence to indicate that the demarchy was the main magistracy of the city during the Greek period<sup>95</sup>. The name strongly suggests that it became so during the period of democratic rule in the 5th and early 4th centuries<sup>96</sup>, but it is possible, although not certain, that the period of aristocratic reaction in the later 4th century resulted in the increased importance of the archonship, at the expense of the demarchy. The office of laukelarch is much more obscure, and nothing is known of its origin or function, although the name appears to be non-Greek, and it has been suggested that it was of Etruscan origin and may have been religious in function<sup>97</sup>. Both literary and epigraphic evidence confirms that both of these offices continued to form an integral part of the civic cursus in the Roman period<sup>98</sup>. However, it seems very likely that both became largely honorific in function, a situation analogous to that of the archonship at Athens<sup>99</sup>, and ceased to have any real political/administrative significance. There are a number of instances in which these offices were conferred on non-Neapolitans, and in particular on the emperors Titus and Hadrian<sup>100</sup>, which strongly suggests that by the 1st century AD, the demarchy, in particular, was being used as a means of honouring prominent non-citizens. The granting and receiving of such honours by emperors may have been a means of expressing a particularly close relationship with the ruling regime and of acknowledging imperial patronage of the city<sup>101</sup>. The date at which the demarchy lost its political power cannot be pin-pointed, but the earliest extant cursus inscription, that of Seleucus<sup>102</sup>, does not mention it, and the series of decrees of the *boule*, most of which are

Flavian in date<sup>103</sup>, name the archons and antarchons as the magistrates of the city. It is also notable, that the office of demarch and archon appear in very different types of inscription and do not appear together in any cursus. Archons and antarchons are named in decrees in contexts which clearly suggest an important civic function, while the offices of demarch and laukelarch occur only in the cursus inscriptions of those who apparently did not hold the archonship<sup>104</sup>. Thus it seems likely that the demarchy lost its practical significance in 90 B.C., at the latest. However, there is insufficient evidence to attribute the changes in the constitution to an oligarchic seizure of power in the 4th century. It seems much more probable, given the Roman preference for oligarchic/aristocratic regimes, that the decline of the demarchy began after 326 BC<sup>105</sup>.

The relation of the offices of archon and antarchon to those of duumvir and quattuorvir remains a major problem, and ultimately insoluble due to lack of evidence. The archonship is known from Latin<sup>106</sup> as well as Greek inscriptions and continued into the 3rd century AD. This would seem to suggest that it was separate from, and parallel to, the offices of quattuorvir and duumvir, since these are known from the same period<sup>107</sup>. The existence of the office as part of a Latin cursus inscription also suggests that the archonship is not merely a translation<sup>108</sup> of a Roman office. It is possible that one of the functions of the office was to act as president of the *boule*<sup>109</sup>, although it is not possible to establish whether this was its only, or its principal, function. Arguments in favour of this interpretation are that the archonship occurs only in the context of the workings of the *boule*, apart from one instance in which it is mentioned in a cursus inscription, and appears to fulfil

an important role in initiating decrees, and that the office of antarchon, which appears in conjunction with it, is normally that of the vice-president of the *boule*<sup>110</sup>. In this context, it does not seem impossible that a Greek archon and a board of quattuorvirs (later replaced by duumvirs)<sup>111</sup> could co-exist. However, it also seems significant, particularly in the light of evidence from Rhegium and Velia, that the Greek offices mentioned occur only in the context of honorific decrees honouring individuals, either of Neapolitan or non-Neapolitan origin. This may be an indication that, as in other cities in Southern Italy, the Greek magistracies were retained, and Greek language used, for the purposes of euergetism and ceremonial/honorific functions, in particular the celebration of Greek festivals and proxeny decrees in honour of individuals.

b) The Transition from Municipium to Colonia

The fact that Naples received colonial status at some stage during the 2nd or 3rd century AD is undeniable, but the date at which this occurred, and its implications for the city, are a matter of debate<sup>112</sup>. The earliest evidence for the grant of the title of *Colonia Aurelia Antoniana Felix Neapolis* is an inscription of Pertinax, dated to 222 AD<sup>113</sup>, corroborated by a number of references to *patrones coloniae*, mostly of the later 3rd and 4th centuries<sup>114</sup>. However, the *Liber Coloniarum*<sup>115</sup> makes reference to a colony of veterans founded at Naples by Titus, and there are references to the city as a *colonia* under Domitian<sup>116</sup>, although the name of the colony indicates an Antonine rather than a Flavian connection. Sartori's suggestion<sup>117</sup>, on the basis of parallels with Tarentum, that the grant of colonial status had become divorced from the actual process of founding a colony seems to be very plausible. This would explain

the continuation of municipal status into the 3rd century<sup>118</sup>. However, the fact that duoviri begin to appear in the 2nd century<sup>119</sup>, following the Flavian deduction, may indicate that this deduction had precipitated some changes in the municipal constitution.

### c) The Role of the Phratries

The Neapolitan phratries are well-attested in the Roman period in both literary and epigraphic sources, but like the civic magistracies, their nature and purpose is very obscure<sup>120</sup>, the problems being compounded by the fact that there is no evidence for their existence before the Roman period. However, Strabo's comments on the subject<sup>121</sup> clearly imply that they did exist at an earlier date, as do the names of most of the known phratries. Most of the known names are those of rather obscure cults or heroes, although there are some exceptions, which suggest an archaic and possibly Euboean origin in most cases<sup>122</sup>, and also a probable religious function. It is impossible to say whether they were originally a gentilicial grouping, as at Athens, but it seems likely that they were not by the Roman period, since non-Neapolitans seem to have been eligible for membership and even office<sup>123</sup>. Two other factors suggest a change in the nature of the phratries, and indicate that their function changed even within the Roman period. These are that the number of the phratries was not static, and that they appear to have changed their character to form part of the mechanism of euergetism and civic patronage during the Roman period.

The phratry named *Kυραιος*<sup>124</sup> can best be explained as a late 5th century addition following the migration of a large number of Cumaeans to Naples after 421. The fact that the Cumaeans clearly

formed a recognisable sub-section of Neapolitan society even a century later gives some support to the idea that they had maintained some common organisation<sup>125</sup>, and a phratry would seem to provide a logical focal point. The appearance of the Antinoitai<sup>126</sup> in the 3rd century is an indication that the phratries continued to develop, although in this case, it seems most likely that a new name and a new hero cult were added to the existing phratry of the Eunostides following the death of Antinoos, since the names are always found in conjunction<sup>127</sup>.

Whatever the original function of the phratries, their primary function in the Roman period appears to have been as part of the mechanism of euergetism and civic patronage which developed in the 1st and 2nd centuries AD. The inscriptions which have survived concerning the phratries all concern acts of patronage, in particular dedication by phratry members to the phratry and its gods<sup>128</sup>, or honorific decrees by phratries in response to acts of patronage such as donations, repairs, extensions and redecoration of phratry buildings etc<sup>129</sup>. Most of these seem to concern local residents, but there are records of acts of imperial patronage by Claudius<sup>130</sup>, and texts which indicate that membership, and even official posts, could be held by non-citizens<sup>131</sup>.

There appear to be many points of similarity of function and organisation between the phratries and Roman collegia. Both organisations seem to have had their own gods and cults<sup>132</sup>, their own meeting places and complex of buildings<sup>133</sup> and their own magistrates and decision-making bodies<sup>134</sup>. It may also be significant that the collegium of the *Apollinares* at Caere was known as the *Phretrium*

*Apollinaris*<sup>135</sup>. The magistrates of *collegia* were in many cases known as *quinquennales*<sup>136</sup>, and it may be possible to equate these with the ἀρχοντες τῶν πενταετηρικών which are found in some inscriptions at Naples<sup>137</sup>. However, there is also evidence that in most, if not all, phratries, the main executive position was that of phratrarch<sup>138</sup>. There was clearly a decision-making body of some sort in most phratries as well as executive officials, since two of the documents which survive are decrees of these bodies, voting honours to particularly generous patrons<sup>139</sup>.

The social and economic composition of the phratries is not as easy to document as that of the better known Roman organisations such as the *Augustales*, *Apollinares* and professional *collegia*, but the inscriptions which exist suggest that the phratries must have possessed considerable wealth<sup>140</sup>, in itself a further point of comparison with *collegia*, and to have attracted the wealthier and higher status members of provincial and Roman society as members. This raises the strong probability that there was some sort of economic qualification for membership, as there was for the *Augustales*<sup>141</sup>, and a considerable number of other *collegia*. However, unlike a large number of Roman *collegia*, there does not seem to be a freedman element among the membership<sup>142</sup>. Most known members appear to be free-born, with the notable exception of an imperial freedman<sup>143</sup>, and many appear to be high status and of Roman<sup>144</sup> rather than Neapolitan origin. Among the individuals documented, there are two members of the imperial family<sup>145</sup>, two consuls<sup>146</sup>, an eques<sup>147</sup>, an imperial freedman, and a number of holders of the demarchy<sup>148</sup>. Thus the phratries appear to be primarily a mechanism for honouring prominent members of the community, both Neapolitan and

non-Neapolitan, for channelling wealth into the city, and more specifically, into individual phratries, and for integrating prominent individuals into the community, using an appropriately Greek device.

## 6. Social Structure

### a) Onomastic Catalogue

#### i) Republican Inscriptions

Τρεβιος Ζωιλος Αριστοβουλος - AE 1912.218. Hellenistic. From fragmentary tomb. Complex name form. Possible that there is a mixed name, Trebius Zoilos, with a Greek patronymic.

Γαιε Έρεννιε Γαιου - IG 14.780. Possibly pre-Social War. The name has no cognomen, which normally indicates a 2nd or 1st century date, and the ethnic 'Ρομαιε which is added to the name suggests that it should be dated to a period when Rome and Naples were distinct and independent political units. Funerary. Roman/Oscan name, but Greek language.

Χηενοκη - IG 14.780. Probably pre-Social War. The text is fragmentary at this point, but this appears to be female name, followed by χρηστη χαιρε, and it seems likely that this is the memorial of the wife, or another close female relative, of Gaius Herennius.

[G. Duilius M.F. M.N.] - Sgobbo, NSc 1926, 233-41. Elogium of Duilius, of which only a small fragment is preserved. Restoration is from other sources.

Σελευκος Σελευκουδης - IG 14.745. Early 1st century BC. Dedication. cf. Sartori 48-9. Greek text and Greek names, but the list of offices held by Seleucus includes membership of the τεσσαρες ανδρες, probably quattuorvirs.

Λευκίος Ἑρηννίος Πυθῶν υἱὸν Ἀρίστον - IG 14.741. 1st century BC (Sartori 53) Honorific inscription by the phratry of the Ὠλιωῶσων, honouring L. Herennius Python, who appears to have held a number of local magistracies. Herennius is well-documented in Campania, Latium and Central Italy (Conway 571), and may be Oscan in origin (Buck, Vetter). The name is given in Roman form, and the patronymic can be understood to be [L? Herennius] Ariston. Both cognomina are well-recognised Greek personal names and suggest adoption of Roman onomastic forms by Neapolitan aristocrats, rather than enfranchised peregrini or freedmen, as does the list of offices held by Herennius Python.

L. Rantius L.F. Tro. - CIL 1<sup>2</sup> p.1013. (=Warmington, Rem. Old Latin IV.1624). Bilingual dedication. The Latin text is a dedication to the Lumphaeis, or water goddesses, while the Greek is a dedication to the nymphs. Rantius is a rare name and has no other parallel. Mommsen gives the provenance as Ischia (CIL 10.6797). Warmington suggests that it may also be from Naples, and it is possible that it can be attributed to a period when Ischia formed part of the territory of Naples.

A. Fuficius A.L.L. Metra - Sgobbo, NSc 1926, 233-41. 1st century BC (?) Funerary, from family tomb of the Fuficii. Greek cognomen.

Fuficia A.L. Zopyra -Sgobbo, NSc 1926, 233-41. 1st century BC (?) Funerary, from family tomb of the Fuficii. Greek cognomen.

Fuficia A.L. Athenais -Sgobbo, NSc 1926, 233-41. 1st century BC (?) Funerary, from family tomb of the Fuficii. Greek cognomen.

P. Decrius Statius - AE 1905 (=Correra, Röm. Abt. 1904). 30BC. Decrius is a comparatively rare nomen, found mainly in Samnium (Conway 567). there are no parallels from CIL 10. Statius is known as a nomen at Naples, but is rare as a cognomen, found only at Capua,



Calatia, Minturnae and Fundi (CIL 10. 4313, 4976, 6045, 6264).

P. Decrius Satorus - AE 1905 (=Correra, Röm. Abt. 1904). 30 BC.

Probably a relative of P. Decrius Staius. Satorus is paralleled at Puteoli, Capua and Fundi (CIL 10.2193, 4244, 6272, 8222).

Πακιος Νυμψίου - IG 14.894 (Maiuri, PP 1, 1946, 164; Robert, REG 64, 1951, 215). 3rd century BC. Oscan names, although Nympsius could also be of Greek origin. 1st direct evidence for a Neapolitan garrison on Ischia.

Μαίος Πακυλλού - IG 14.894 (Maiuri, PP 1, 1946, 164; Robert, REG 64, 1951, 215). Oscan names, although expressed in Greek. Maios could be a corruption of Marios.

#### ii) 1st Century AD

Πακκα Επιλυτού - Levi, Mon. Ant. 31 (1926), 378-402. Augustan. Painted epitaph, from chamber tomb. Pakkia is a common Oscan name, cf. Buck, 40, and Conway 578, and attests some degree of Oscan/Greek intermixing at Naples. The patronymic, clearly a name which ran in the family, appears to be Greek, and the fact that the epitaph is written in Greek suggests that this was a Greek-speaking family.

Επιλυτός Επιλυτού - Levi, Mon. Ant. 31 (1926), 378-402. Augustan. Funerary, from a chamber tomb. Probably a father or brother of Pakea Epilytous. Greek name.

Αριστολή Επιλυτού - Levi, Mon. Ant. 31 (1926), 378-402. Augustan. Funerary, from a chamber tomb. Probably a sister of Pakea Epilystous. Greek name.

Επιλυτός Επιλυτού - Levi, Mon. Ant. 31 (1926), 378-402. Augustan. Funerary, from a chamber tomb. Greek name.

Τρεβίος Επιλυτού - Levi, Mon. Ant. 31 (1926), 378-402. Augustan. Funerary. Probably brother of Pakea, Aristole and Epilytos.

Latin/Oscan name and Greek patronymic again suggests some degree of racial intermixing.

Βιβιος Επιλυτου - Levi, Mon. Ant. 31 (1926), 378-402. Augustan. From chamber tomb. Oscan/Latin name and Greek patronymic.

Βιβιος Επιλυτου - Levi, Mon. Ant. 31 (1926), 378-402. Probably a doublet, rather than a record of two burials under the same name.

Επιλυτος Τρεβιου - Levi, Mon. Ant. 31 (1926), 378-402. Augustan. Funerary. Greek name and Oscan patronymic. Possibly the son of Trebius Epilytou. Indicates the absorption of Oscan elements by Greek within the family, suggesting Greek as the dominant language.

Επιλυτος Βιβιου - Levi, Mon. Ant. 31 (1926), 378-402. Augustan. Probably the son of Bibius Epilytou.

Επιλυτος Επιλυτου - Levi, Mon. Ant. 31 (1926), 378-402. Chamber tomb. Epilytos is described as ἱερευς Σεβαστου Καισαρος, which indicates an Augustan date for this and the associated members of his family.

Βιβιος Επιλυτου - Levi, Mon. Ant. 31 (1926), 378-402. Chamber tomb. Augustan.

Μονις Επιλυτου - Levi, Mon. Ant. 31 (1926), 378-402. Chamber tomb. Augustan.

Τιβεριος Ιουλιος Ταρσος - IG 14.714. 1st century AD. Robert, Et. Anatol. (1937). Dedication to the Dioscuri. Possibly an imperial freedman, presumably of Tiberius. The cognomen may indicate a Syrian origin, although there is no other parallel for it as a personal name. The temple was completed by Pelagos, also an imperial freedman.

Πελαγος - IG 14.714. 1st century AD. Imperial freedman, who completed the temple of the Dioscuri begun by Ti. Julius Tarsus. The name is Greek and he does not seem to have adopted Roman nomenclature, unless the context is intended to imply that the full name is Ti. Julius Pelagos.

L. Stertinius G.F. Maec. Quin[tilianus] Acilius Strabo - CIL 10.1486.  
1st century AD? (on basis of omission of D.M.). Honorific or commemorative. Stertini appear to be reasonably common. For details of Stertinius' career, see PIR 1<sup>2</sup>.82. The Acilii Strabones known to have owned a villa at Cumae. See sv Acilius Strabo, D'Arms, 202-4, and PIR 1<sup>2</sup>.82.

G. Curiatius Maternus Clodius Nummus - CIL 10. 1486. 1st century AD. Honorific or commemorative. Curiatius is a comparatively rare name, with a mainly Central Italian distribution (Conway 566). Parallels are found only at Nola and Sora (CIL 10.1262, 5737). Clodii are well-attested, but Nummus is unparalleled. Son of G. Clodius G.F. Maec. Nummus, quaestor of Africa, and adopted by Curiatius Maternus. He is also attested in Ephesos 111.429. For details of his career, cf. PIR 1<sup>2</sup>.83.

Julius Atticus - CIL 10.1486. 1st century AD. Honorific or commemorative. Described as Praefectus Cohorti, and probably the dedicator of the monument. Both names well-attested.

Gn. Pompeius Epirus - Colonna, NSc 1891, 236-7. Funerary urn. 1st century AD? Pompeii common in Campania (Conway 580). Epirus is a Greek cognomen, and probably a geographical derivation, but has no parallel in CIL 10.

G. Octavius G.F. Maec. Verus - CIL 10.1493 (=IG 14.794). 59 AD (Tac. Ann. 14.1). Funerary. Details of cursus indicate an equestrian career.

Postumia Procula - CIL 10.1493 (=IG 14.794). 59 AD. Wife of Octavius Verus.

Octavia G.F. Vera - CIL 10.1493 (=IG 14.794). Daughter of Octavius Verus.

M. Caninius M.F. Maec. Severus - CIL 10.1501. 1st century AD? Funerary. Caninius is a common Latin and Campanian name (Conway 563).

M. Caninius Botryo - CIL 10.1501. 1st century AD? Funerary. Father of Caninius Severus. The fact that Severus is designated by filiation and tribe, whereas the parents are not, suggests that the parents may be *liberti*. This is also borne out by the fact that both parents have the same nomina. The cognomen is probably Greek in origin, and is only paralleled at Herculaneum (CIL 10.1403).

Caninia Paezusa - CIL 10.1501. 1st century AD? Funerary. Mother of Caninius Severus, and probably a freedwoman. Greek cognomen, also found at Rhegium, Puteoli, Ferentinum, Circeii and Catania (CIL 10.2363, 5883, 6423, 7040).

L. Murdius - Napoli, NSc 1949. Probably 1st century. From columbarium. Murdius is rare, found only in Peucetian territory and in Latium (Conway 575). There are no parallels in CIL 10.

Murdia Urbana - Napoli, NSc 1949. 1st century. Columbarium. Possibly a relative of L. Murdius.

T. Plotidius L.F. - Napoli, NSc 1949. 1st century. Columbarium. Plotidii are rare, and the name appears to be Latin and Faliscan only (Conway 579).

Mevia Pac.F. - Napoli, NSc 1949. 1st century. Columbarium. Wife of T. Plotidius. Primarily a Volscian name (Conway 575). Patronymic is Oscan.

Plotidia L.F. - Napoli, NSc 1949. Columbarium. Sister of T. Plotidius.

T. Plotidius T.F. Silo - Napoli, NSc 1949. Son of T. Plotidius and Mevia.

G. Pontius G.F. Gallus - Napoli, NSc 1949. Cousin of T. Plotidius Silo. Pontius a common Campanian and Samnite name.

Clodius L.F. Tl[...] - NSc 1885. 1st century? Funerary. Letters inscribed backwards.

Macrinus Diadumenus Aug.L. - EE 8.335-7. Graffiti, from Pausilypon. 65AD. Greek name. cf. Weaver, 261n. and 262, CIL 15.7444. Diadumenus seems to have been *A Libellis* for a time in Claudius' reign, and clearly continued his career under Nero.

D. Servilius D.L. Apollonius - CIL 10.1497 (=IG 14.809). 1st century? Funerary. Bilingual epitaph for a doctor, set up by his freedwoman. Servilius well-documented in Campania. Cognomen and bilingual nature of text suggests a Greek origin.

Servilia D.L. Ambrosia - CIL 10.1497 (=IG 14.809). 1st century? Freedwoman of Servilius Apollonius.

Τεττία Καστα - IG 14.760. 71 AD. Commemorative decree by the *boule*, in honour of Tettia Casta, a priestess. The text indicates that she is honoured for patriotism and exemplary conduct, and grants her a funeral at the expense of the state, and a commemorative statue. Tettia is well-documented in Campania. The cult of which Tettia was priestess is not known, but it is possible that it may have been the cult of Demeter, which is known to have been a major Neapolitan cult.

Λουκίος Φρουγι - IG. 14.760. 71 AD. One of the signatories of the decree in honour of Tettia Casta.

Κορνηλιος Κεριαλις - IG 14.760. 71 AD. One of the signatories of the decree in honour of Tettia Casta.

Ιουνιος [.....] - IG 14.760. 71 AD. One of the signatories to the decree in honour of Tettia Casta.

Γρανιος Ρουφος - IG 14.760. 71 AD. One of the signatories to the decree in honour of Tettia Casta

Λουκίος Πουδης - IG 14.760. 71 AD. One of the signatories to the decree in

honour of Tettia Casta

Ποππαιος Σεουηρος - IG 14.760. 71 AD. One of the signatories to the decree in honour of Tettia Casta

Αριστων Βυκκου - IG 14.760. 71 AD. One of the signatories to the decree in honour of Tettia Casta

Αουιλλιος Αρριανος - IG 14.760. 71 AD. One of the signatories to the decree in honour of Tettia Casta

Ουερριος Λειβεραλις - IG 14.760. 71 AD. One of the signatories to the decree in honour of Tettia Casta.

Φουλβιος Προβος - IG 14.760. 71 AD. Archon.

Τρανκουιλλιος Πουφος - IG 14.760. 71 AD. Antarchon.

Λουκιος Φλαβιος Φιμβρια - IG 14.760. 71 AD. Consul.

Ατειλιος Βαρβαρος IG 14.760. 71 AD. Consul.

Ιουλιος Λειουειανος - IG 14.760. 71 AD. Archon.

Οκταουιος Καπραριος Οκτ. Καπρ. υιος - IG 14.758 (=CIL 10.1490). cf Sartori 50-1. Subject of an honorary decree by the *boule*. Late 1st century AD. Greek decree with a Latin subscript.

Πετρονιος Σκαπλας - IG 14.758 (=CIL 10.1490). cf Sartori 50-1. Late 1st century AD. Greek decree with a Latin subscript. Member of the *boule*.

Μαννειος Πρεισκοκ - IG 14.758 (=CIL 10.1490). cf Sartori 50-1. Member of the *boule*. Late 1st century AD. Greek decree with a Latin subscript.

Ποππαιος Σεουερος - IG 14.758 (=CIL 10.1490). cf Sartori 50-1. Subject of an honorary decree by the *boule*. Late 1st century AD. Greek decree with a Latin subscript. Severus also appears in the decree in honour of Tettia Casta (IG 14.760).

Πακκιος Καληδος - IG 14.758 (=CIL 10.1490). cf Sartori 50-1. Late 1st century AD. Greek decree with a Latin subscript. Oscan nomen,

well-documented in Campania. For Caledos, cf Cumae sv 'Ηιος Καληδος. Archon, together with Vibius Pollio.

Ουειβιος Πωλλιω - IG 14.758 (=CIL 10.1490). cf Sartori 50-1. Late 1st century AD. Greek decree with a Latin subscript. Archon, together with Pakkios Kaledus.

Λικινιος Πολλιω - CIL 10.1489. Late 1st century AD. Subject of an honorary decree. The main text of the decree is in Greek, but the dedication by Licinius' parents is in Latin.

Κορνηλιος Κερεαλις - CIL 10.1489. Late 1st century AD. Signatory to the decree in honour of Licinius, and also to that in honour of Tettia Casta (IG 14.760). Archon.

Λουκιος Πουδης - CIL 10.1489. Late 1st century AD. Signatory to the decree in honour of Licinius, and also to that in honour of Tettia Casta (IG 14.760).

Φουλουιος Προβος - CIL 10.1489. Late 1st century AD. Signatory to the decree in honour of Licinius, and also to that in honour of Tettia Casta (IG 14.760).

G. Licinius Proclus - CIL 10.1489. Late 1st century AD. Father of Licinius Pollio. Common name.

Meclonia G.F. Secundilla - CIL 10.1489. Late 1st century AD. Mother of Licinius Pollio. Meclonia is not a common name and is known only from Petelia and Salernum (CIL 10.112, 114, 617).

L. Plaetorius Pell[.....] - De Franciscis, RAAN 49 (1974), 125-31. Probably mid 1st century AD. Tomb of Plaetorius, his wife and son. The fact that Plaetorius and his wife both have the same nomen and that they are described as conlibertes indicates that they were both freed slaves of the Plaetorii, a well-documented gens in Campania. The tomb is similar to the Hellenistic tombs of Asia, e.g. the tomb of Mausolus, although on a smaller scale. Similar types are found in

the territory of Cumae (Johannowsky DdA 1971, 465), but are dated to the 2nd century BC. The architectural elaboration suggests some degree of wealth.

Plaetoria Quarta - De Franciscis, RAAN 49 (1974), 125-31. Probably mid 1st century AD. *Conliberta* of L. Plaetorius Pell[....].

Florus - De Franciscis, RAAN 49 (1974), 125-31. Probably mid 1st century AD. Son of L. Plaetorius Pell[...] and Plaetoria Quarta.

Soterichus - De Franciscis, RAAN 49 (1974), 125-31. Probably mid 1st century AD. An inscription on a second marble tablet, apparently a later addition to the tomb of the Plaetorii but still of the 1st century AD, records Soterichus, who was probably a freedman of Plaetorius Pell[....]. He is described as *summarum* which De Franciscis identifies as indicative of the holder of an equestrian administrative post, possibly in the imperial fiscus. cf Weaver, *Epig. Studien*, 11 (1976).

Ti. Claudius Sabinus - AE 1956.20 (= De Franciscis, AC 6(1954), 277-83). Late 1st century AD. Fragmentary honorific decree. Sabinus appears to have been the recipient of the decree, which appears to have involved the setting up of a status, voted by the local senate.

[.] Clodius Amm[...] - AE 1956.20 (=De Franciscis, AC 6(1954), 277-83). Late 1st century AD. Fragmentary honorific decree.

Bennius Proculus - AE 1956.20 (=De Franciscis, AC 6(1954), 277-83). Late 1st century AD. Fragmentary honorific decree. Bennii are not attested at Naples but the gens is known from Cumae and Puteoli.

[.] Lictor[ius] (?) - AE 1956.20 (=De Franciscis, AC 6(1954), 277-83). Late 1st century AD. Fragmentary honorific decree. It is uncertain whether Lictor is a cognomen or part of the gentilicial, Lictorius, since the rest of the name is lost. Lictorius is attested but is very rare. The use of Lictor as a cognomen is unknown.



iii) 2nd Century and Later.

G. Herbacius Maec. Romanus - CIL 10.1491. Absence of D.M. suggests that it may be 1st century. However, Sartori (53) suggests that the absence of a filiation may suggest a 2nd century date. Funerary. Records details of career in local politics and administration. Herbacius has no parallels (Conway 571).

Antoninus Strenion - AE 1956.19. 2nd century. Dedication to Faustina, by Strenion, described as *Libertus a Cubiculis*. Greek cognomen. cf. De Franciscis, AC 6(1954), 277-83, and Diz. Ep. sv Cubicularius.

L. Munatius Concessianus - CIL 10.1492. 4th century. *Patronus Coloniae*. Name well-attested.

Septimius Rusticus - ILS 5692. 4th or 5th century. Senator and patron of the city, who also appears in an inscription from Puteoli (CIL 10.1707 = ILS 5692). PLRE 1 p.787.

M. Hortensius Eutyclus - Spinazzola, NSc 1893. 2nd century or later. Funerary. Common Latin/Campanian name. Greek cognomen, also well-attested.

Primilla - Spinazzola, NSc 1893. 2nd century or later. Well-attested name.

[.]erius Peregrinus - NSc 1894. 2nd century or later. Funerary. Kajanto 81, 313, suggests that Peregrinus is a very common cognomen. The nomen is not recoverable with any degree of certainty.

Sentia Hesperis - NSc 1894. 2nd century or later. Sentius very common name (Conway 583). Hesperis probably of Greek origin. Wife of Peregrinus.

Hordionia Moschis - CIL 10.1508. 2nd century or later. Funerary. Nomen is specifically Campanian (Conway 571). Greek cognomen.

Calidia Nominata - CIL 10.1500. 2nd century or later. Funerary. Calidia is a Campanian and Central Italian name (Conway 563).

Nominata is unparalleled in the South.

L. Vettius Sabinus - CIL 10.1500. 2nd century or later. Husband of Calidia Nominata. Vettii well-attested in Campania.

Plotius I[.....] - CIL 10.1514. 2nd century or later. Fragmentary epitaph.

L. Licinius [...] Pius - CIL 10.1510. 2nd century or later. Funerary. Licinii well-attested.

Jul(ia) Delicata - Sogliano, NSc 1892. 2nd century or later. Funerary.

Acutia Justina - CIL 10.1498. 2nd century or later. Funerary. Acutia common in Campania (Conway 557).

Macrobius Amator - CIL 10.1513. 2nd century or later. Funerary. Both names unparalleled.

M. Geminius Philemenus - CIL 10.1507. 2nd century or later. Funerary. Geminii are found in Campania, although not in very large numbers. Examples are known from Salernum, Pompeii, Puteoli, Minturnae, Ulubrae, Lilybaeum, Mazara and Carales (CIL 10.6476, 521, 596, 2478-9, 779, 7206, 7233, 6505, 7657, 6036, 6482-3). Philemenus is a fairly well-attested Greek cognomen.

Salaria Phyllis - CIL 10.1507. 2nd century or later. Funerary. Wife of Geminius Philemenus, described as contubernalis, which suggests servile origin. The nomen is rare (Conway 582) and is found only in Campania and Umbria. Greek cognomen.

G. Luxilius [.....] - CIL 10.1511. 2nd century or later. Funerary. Luxilius is principally a Latin nomen, although there are some examples further South (Conway 573), found at Potentia, Tegianum and Atina (CIL 10.161, 304, 357, 362, 293, 8096).

Luxilia Nice - CIL 10.1511. 2nd century or later. Funerary. Wife of Luxilia, and dedicator of his tombstone. Greek cognomen.

Coelia Sabina - Spinazzola NSc 1893. 2nd century or later. Fragmentary gravestone, dedicated to an unnamed decurion by Coelia Sabina, his wife. Spinazzola suggests that the deceased may have been decurion of Puteoli, rather than Naples. Both names are well-attested in Southern Italy.

Valeria Lesvia - CIL 10.1516. 2nd century or later. Funerary. Valerii well-attested on the Bay of Naples, although the name is most common among the naval veterans at Misenum. Lesvia is a form of Lesbia, and is not found elsewhere in Campania.

T. Flavius Demosthenes - Gàbrici, NSc 1902, 290. 2nd century or later. Funerary. Flavii very common. Demosthenes is a Greek cognomen, also found at Salernum, Stabiae and in Sardinia (CIL 10.557, 876, 8046).

M. Octavius Crescentianus - Sogliano, NSc 1892. 2nd century or later. Funerary. Both names common.

Ti. Julius Verecundus - Sogliano, NSc 1892. 2nd century or later. Funerary. All names well-attested.

Julia Rodope - Sogliano, NSc 1892. 2nd century or later. Funerary. Rhodpoe is Greek and is found at Surrentum, Nola and Teanum Sidicinum (CIL 10.4811, 749, 1307).

Hermes - Sogliano, NSc 1892. 2nd century or later. Funerary. Father of Julia Rodope. Greek name.

Trebia Veneria - EE 8.348 (= NSc 1885, 359-63). 2nd century or later. Funerary. Trebia is well-attested in the Republican epigraphy of Naples, cf Trebios Epilytos, as well as in the rest of Campania (Conway 587).

Flavia Rome - Colonna, NSc 1891, 374. 2nd century or later. Funerary. Common nomen, and Greek cognomen, which is not found elsewhere in Campania.

P. Plotius Sabinus - IG 14.735 (=EE 8.347, NSc 1885, 359-63). 2nd century or later. Funerary. Plotii very common in Campania.

Junia Priscilla - IG 14.735 (=EE 8.347, NSc 1885, 359-63). 2nd century or later. Funerary. Daughter of Plotius Sabinus. The fact that the nomina do not coincide may suggest that an adoption has occurred.

M. Αυρηλιος [Π]ροκλος - IG 14.773. 2nd century or later. Funerary. The inscription is a translation of Latin forms and names into Greek. The deceased may have been an enfranchised Greek, since he gives his ethnic as Νικομηδεος.

Προκλε Χρυσης - IG 14.806. 2nd century or later. Funerary. Adoption of Latin forms of inscription, translated into Greek.

[J?]ustinianus [.....]imus - Spinazzola, NSc 1893. Funerary. 2nd century or later. Funerary. From a baths building. Bilingual.

Sulpicia [....]rent[...] - Spinazzola, NSc 1893. 2nd century or later. Funerary. Wife of Justinianus.

P. Saenius Verus - De Petra, NSc 1892. 2nd century or later. Funerary. Saenii are not common, and examples are known only from Liternum, Volturnum, Misenum and Fabrateria (CIL 10.3715, 3729, 5659, 3625, 3427).

Aelius Charito - De Petra, NSc 1892. 2nd century or later. Funerary. Dedicator of the stele of P. Saenius Verus, who is described as his *magister*. Greek cognomen.

Cornelius Agathon - De Petra, NSc 1892. 2nd century or later. Funerary. Cornelii are well-attested. Agathon is Greek, and unparalleled.

Velia Rufina - De Petra, NSc 1892. 2nd century or later. Funerary. Wife of Cornelius Agathon. Velia is uncommon, and is principally a Praenestine name (Conway 589). It is not found in Campania.

Cornelia Agathe - De Petra, NSc 1892. 2nd century or later. Funerary.  
Daughter of Cornelius Agathon.

Cornelius Epigonus - De Petra, NSc 1892. 2nd century or later.  
Funerary. Freedman of Cornelius Agathon. Greek cognomen.

G. Aeclanius Fortunatus - Colonna, NSc 1890, 404 (=EE 8.340). 2nd  
century or later. Funerary. Aeclanius is uncommon, being found most  
frequently in Hirpinian territory (Conway 557). There are only two  
other examples in Campania, both from Puteoli (CIL 10.2438 and 2984).  
Aeclanius Fortunatus seems to have had a connection with Aeclanum, as  
he is described as *Decurio Aeclanensium*.

Aeclanius Iovanus - Colonna, NSc 1890, 404 (=EE 8.340). 2nd century  
or later. Funerary. Freedman of G. Aeclanius Fortunatus. The  
cognomen has no exact parallels, the closest being Iovinus, which is  
found in the Ager Falernus (CIL 10.4724).

Valeria Gratilla - Colonna/De Petra, NSc 1890, 220-1. 2nd century or  
later. Funerary. Both names well-attested.

Ancharius [.]attes - Colonna/De Petra, NSc 1890, 220-1. 2nd century  
or later. Funerary. Husband of Valeria Gratilla.

G. Lysius Tertullus - Sogliano, NSc 1892. 3rd century AD. Funerary.  
Epitaph of a veteran, stationed at Misenum, and of Dalmatian origin.  
The nomen Lysius, or Lusius, is well-attested in Campania (Conway  
573). For the trireme Minerva, cf. CIL 10.3450, 3520, 3619, 3626.  
The formula *Piae Vindicis* is characteristic of epitaphs of the mid  
empire.

G. Cominius Eutychetis - Sogliano, NSc 1893. 2nd century or later.  
Funerary. Nomen well-attested. Cognomen Greek.

Meteia Bictorina - CIL 10.1503. 2nd century or later. Funerary. The  
name is rare and is found only at Signia (CIL 10.5988).

Dir[ius?] Claudianus - CIL 10.1503. 2nd century or later. Funerary.

Dedicator of the stele of Meteia Victorina. For Dirii, see sv M. Dirius Claudinus.

Aurelius Diligens - Sogliano, NSc 1892. 2nd century or later. Funerary. Nomen well-attested. Only one other occurrence of the cognomen, at Herculaneum (CIL 10.1403).

Aurelia Maxima - Sogliano, NSc 1892. 2nd century or later. Funerary. Wife of Aurelius Diligens.

G. Julius Andronicus - NSc 1896, 103-4. Early 3rd century AD. Probably a dedication. Archon of the city. Common nomen. Cognomen is of Greek origin with parallels from Herculaneum, Misenum and Antium (CIL 10.1403, 6713 and 8212).

Julia Euporia - NSc 1896, 103-4. Early 3rd century AD. Dedication, with G, Julius Andronicus. Probably wife of Andronicus. Also a Greek cognomen, attested at Capua and Catania (CIL 10.4381, 7043).

Cassia Felicissima - Gàbrici, NSc 1902, 290. 2nd century or later. Funerary. Both names well-attested.

Sex. Pompeius Genialis - Gàbrici, NSc 1902, 290. 2nd century or later. Funerary. Husband of Cassia Felicissima. Pompeii are already attested at Naples, cf. Pompeius Epirus.

Brinnia G.F. Helias - Sogliano, NSc 1892. 2nd century or later. Funerary. Brinnia only found in large numbers in Campania (Conway 562). The cognomen is Greek and is found at Puteoli and Thermae Himeraea (CIL 10.2247, 70369).

Brinnius Menander - Sogliano, NSc 1892. 2nd century or later. Funerary. Probably a brother of Brinnia Helias. Also a Greek cognomen.

Parthenope - Sogliano, NSc 1892. 2nd century or later. Funerary. Probably a sister of Brinnia Helias. Greek name, with particularly close Neapolitan associations. The fact that the nomen is omitted is

unusual. It may be intended to be understood from the context.

Drosis - Sogliano, NSc 1892. 2nd century or later. Funerary. Probably a relative of Brinnia Helias. Also a Greek name.

L. Furius Furianus - CIL 10.1506. 2nd century or later. Funerary.

Well-attested name.

Fulvia Arete - CIL 10.1506. 2nd century or later. Funerary. Mother of Furianus. Well-attested nomen, and Greek cognomen, unparalleled in South.

Lysius Severus - CIL 10.1512. 2nd century or later. Funerary. For

Lysius, see sv Lysius Tertullus. Severus a very common cognomen.

Severa - CIL 10.1506. Mother of Lysius Severus.

Canin[ia] Libera - CIL 10.1502. 2nd century or later. Funerary. For

Caninii, see sv Caninius Severus.

M. Dirius Claudinus - CIL 10.1502. 2nd century or later. Funerary.

Dirius is only found in Campania (Conway 567). Claudinus may be a corrupt form of Claudianus. Given the rarity of the nomen, it is possible that Dirius Claudinus may be related to Dirius Claudianus, husband(?) of Meteia Bictorina.

Caninia Liberalis - CIL 10.1502. 2nd century or later. Funerary.

Daughter of Dirius Claudianus and Caninia Libera.

Vettia Sabina - CIL 10.1517. 2nd century or later. Funerary. Both

names common. The use of the formula Have, as well as the dedication to Dis Manibus may be an indication of Greek influence, since it is possible that Have was a corruption of the common Greek formula χαίρει.

M. Tullius Dionysius - CIL 10.1517. 2nd century or later. Funerary.

Husband of Vettia Sabina. Both names are well-attested.

Antonia Sabina - Colonna, NSc 1891, 374. 2nd century or later.

Funerary. Both names are well-attested.

Julius Primitibus - Colonna, NSc 1891, 374. 2nd century or later. Funerary. Husband of Antonia Sabina. Both names well-attested.

Julius Parthenopeus - Colonna, NSc 1891, 374. 2nd century or later. Funerary. Freedman of Antonia Sabina and Julius Primitibus. The name Parthenopeus is derived from the original name for Naples.

Aquilia Secunda - Sogliano, NSc 1905, 41. 2nd century or later. Funerary. Aquilia/us is a common name in Campania (Conway 559).

Julius Julianus - Sogliano, NSc 1905, 41. 2nd century or later. Funerary. Father of Aquilia Secunda.

Aquilia Maxima - Sogliano, NSc 1905, 41. 2nd century or later. Funerary. Mother of Aquilia Maxima.

Μαρ. Αυρηλιος Αρτεμιδωρος - IG 14.738. Commemorative monument for an athlete, recording victories at a number of festivals.

Πανερος - IG 14.734. 2nd century AD. Fragmentary text, commemorating two imperial slaves, probably of Antoninus Pius.

Συβαρις - IG 14.734. 2nd century AD. Fragmentary text commemorating two slave of Antoninus Pius.

Νουβια 'Ερμιονη - IG 14.802. 2nd century or later. Funerary. Greek text, but uses Roman epigraphic forms. The cognomen is Greek and has no parallel, although other cognomina derived from Hermes are common.

'Ερμης - IG 14.802. Father of Novia Hermione.

Περπετουα - IG 14.802. Mother of Novia Hermione.

Μ. Αυρ[ηλιος] 'Ερμαγορας - IG 14.739. Monument in honour of an athlete, from Magnesia.

Anicius Auchenius Bassus - Sogliano, NSc 1892 (cf CIL 9.1568). PLRE 1 p.152. 379-82AD. Monument set up by the state in honour of Auchenius Bassus, *patronus coloniae*. Anicii are well-attested in Campania (Conway 558). Details of his career given by Symmachus and by other epigraphic texts indicate that he was a native of Beneventum and a



patron of the city, as well as being *patronus originalis* of Naples, a description which probably indicates that the status of patron was hereditary. cf. Symm. Rel. 23, 25, 26.2, 33, 34, CIL 6.1679(97?), 32073, 9.1568-9, 10.518, 3843, 5651, 6656, 14.1875, 2917, ILS 8984, Insc. Cret. 6.314.

Nicomachus Flavianus - Spinazzola, NSc 1893. PLRE 1 p.345-7. 431 AD.

Marble base, probably for a statue, with inscription honouring Flavianus. Son of Virius Nicomachus Flavianus and *patronus originalis* of Naples. He appears to have held the offices of *Consul Campaniae* and *Proconsul Asiae*. For details of his career, cf. CIL 6.1783.

Flavius Lucretius Publianus - NSc 1983. 4th century AD. Probably from some sort of weighing machine set up by Publianus, who was *Curator Rei Publicae Nolanorum*.

Σαραπιος - IG 14.807. 2nd century or later. Funerary. Greek, but use Latin epigraphic forms. Name may suggest Egyptian origin.

Αμμια Λαοδικ[ις?] - IG 14.807. 2nd century or later. Funerary. Greek inscription, but uses Latin epigraphic forms. Like Sarapias, the name suggests an Eastern origin.

Μαρκελλος - IG 14.807. 2nd century or later. Funerary. Husband of Ammia Laodikis.

Κλαυδια Αντωνια - IG 14.791. 2nd century or later. Funerary. Greek, but uses Latin epigraphic forms.

Τιβεριος Κλαυδιος Αυρηλιανος Πτολεμαιος - IG 14.791. 2nd century or later. Funerary. Veteran, with the legion VI Gemina. Native of Cyrene.

Π. Αιλιος Αντιγενης - IG 14.737. 2nd century AD. Decree of the *boule* in honour of Aelius Antigeneis, a citizen of Nicomedia and Naples, in recognition of his agonistic victories, probably as an artist rather than an athlete. he appears to have held the offices of *Demarch* and

Laukelarch.

T. Φλαουιος Αρχιβιος - IG 14.747. Early 2nd century. Honorific decree, in honour of T. Flavius Archibios, of Cyrene, in recognition of his multiple agonistic victories in the pankration. The name may indicate enfranchisement of Archibios or one of his ancestors by one of the Flavian emperors. Archibios is not found as a cognomen elsewhere in Campania.

L. Decrius L.F. Ser. Longinus - AE 1913. 215. Mid 2nd century AD. Funerary. Text includes details of a distinguished military career. For Decrii, cf P. Decrius Statius. The tribe given is not that of the majority of Neapolitans, which is Maecia.

L. Decrius L.F. Ser. Julianus - AE 1913.215. Mid 2nd century AD. Funerary. Heir, and probably adopted son, of Decrius Longinus, since he is described as *qui et Numisianus*.

T. Φλαουιος Αρτεμιδωρου υιος Αρτεμιδωρος - IG 14.746. 2nd century or later. Probably an honorific inscription, commemorating the victories of Artemidoros in the pankration. Like T. Flavius Archibios, he appears to have been enfranchised by one of the Flavian emperors and is a native of Cyrene.

Σεια Σπης Σειου Λειβεραλεως - AE 1954.186. Miranda, RAAN (1981). 154 AD. Marble base, probably for a commemorative monument set up by the *boule* in honour of Seia Spes, to commemorate her victory in a womens' race at the 39th Italiad. First conclusive proof of the existence of competitions for women. Both names are well-attested in Campania. cf. Moretti, Rend. Linc.1959, No. 169, Buchner PP 1952, 408, Burzachechi, Act. Int. Cong. Epig. 1967, 126.

Σειος Λειβεραλεως - AE 1954.186. 154 AD. Father of Seia Spes, and holder of the offices of *Tamias* and *Agoranomos*.

Α. Κοκκειος Πρισκοκος - AE 1954.186. 154 AD. Husband of Seia Spes and

was responsible for the building of the monument to Seia Spes, by decree of the *boule*. Cocceius is a common name on the Bay of Naples. For other examples see sv Cumae.

Marcia Melissa - CIL 10.1495. 2nd century or later. Funerary. Both names well-attested.

Felix - CIL 10.1495. Husband of Marcia Melissa and dedicator of her tombstone, together with his son. Held the office of *Arcarius Rei Publicae Neapolitanorum*.

Marcus Felix - CIL 10.1495. 2nd century or later. Funerary. Son of Marcia Melissa, and dedicator of her tombstone, together with his father.

Γ. ΙΟΥΝΙΟΣ ΑΚΥΛΑΣ - IG 14.716. Dedication to Hebon/Dionysos. Antonine. Akulas is not paralleled.

Π. ΠΛΩΤΙΟΣ ΓΛΥΚΕΡΟΣ - IG 14.717. Antonine. Dedication to Hebon/Dionysos. Plotius a common Campanian name. Greek cognomen.

ΛΙΚΙΝΙΟΣ ΠΟΥΔΕΝΤΙΑΝΟΣ - IG 14.717. Antonine. Dedication to Hebon/Dionysos. Common Campanian name.

ΜΑΡΚΙΟΣ ΦΑΥΣΤΕΙΝΟΣ - IG 14.717. Antonine. Dedication to Hebon/Dionysos. Common Campanian name.

ΛΙΚΙΝΙΟΣ ΦΗΛΙΞ - IG 14.717. Antonine. Dedication to Hebon/Dionysos. Common Campanian name.

ΦΛΑΒΙΟΣ ΦΑΥΣΤΕΙΝΙΑΝΟΣ - IG 14.717. Antonine. Dedication to Hebon/Dionysos. Common Campanian name.

ΜΑΡΚΙΟΣ ΦΑΥΣΕΙΝΟΣ - IG 14.717. Antonine. Dedication to Hebon/Dionysos. Common Campanian name.

ΝΟΟΥΙΟΣ ΡΟΥΦΕΙΝΙΑΝΟΣ - IG 14.717. Antonine. Dedication to Hebon/Dionysos. Common Campanian name.

ΛΟ[ΥΚΙ]ΛΙΟΣ ΙΑΝΟΥΑΡΙΟΣ - IG 14.717. Antonine. Dedication to Hebon/Dionysos. Common Campanian name.

Λ. Κλαυδιος Αρριανος - IG 14.743. PIR 2<sup>2</sup>.790. Honorific inscription. Arrianus described as consul, but the year in which he held office is not known, although the inscription is dated by PIR to the 2nd century AD. He may be identifiable with the Claudius Arrianus who appears in an inscription from Ancyra (IGRR 3.191).

Appius Claudius Tarronius Dexter - CIL 10.1479. PLRE 1.p.251. Late 4th/early 5th century. Dedication to Mithras by Dexter, who appears to have been a senator. He was probably an ancestor of Appius Nicomachus Dexter, who is known to have held office in 430 AD. This is the only occurrence of Tarronius in this region.

[.] Cominius Priscianus - CIL 10.1487. PIR 2.C 1269, PLRE 1 p.728. Probably 3rd century. Priscianus' title is V(ir) P(erfectissimus), indicating procuratorial status, and a date of post 168 AD. Fragmentary cursus inscription, which seem to indicate that Priscianus was *patronus coloniae*. He may have been *Magister Studiorum* or *Magister Libellorum*.

L. Munatius Hilarianus - AE 1913, 134 ( Maiuri, SR 1913, Mallardo Atti Accad. Nap. 1913). 194 AD. Greek honorific inscription recording honours voted to Hilarianus by the phratry Αρτεμισιων. The inscription includes the text of Hilarianus' letter of acceptance and thanks, which is in Latin. Both names are well-attested.

Μαρτιος Ουηρος - AE 1913, 134. 194 AD. Deceased son of L. Munatius Hilarianus, voted a hero and granted a *heroon* by the Artemisian phratry.

Μ. Αυρηλιος Απολαυστος - AE 1913, 134. 194 AD. Demarch, named in the honorific decree of Munatius Hilarianus. It is possible that he was demarch of the phratry rather than a civic magistrate.

Καιλιος Ασ[\_\_\_\_\_] - AE 1913, 134. 194 AD. Proposer of the decree in honour of Munatius Hilarianus.

Ιουλιος Αυρηλιανος - AE 1913, 134. 194 AD. Proposer of the decree in honour of Munatius Hilarianus.

Ιουλιος Καιλιανος - AE 1913, 134. 194 AD. Proposer of the decree in honour of Munatius Hilarianus.

Κανεινιος Ηρακλειδης - AE 1913, 134. 194 AD. Involved in the passing of the decree in honour of Munatius Hilarianus.

Fortunatus - Sogliano, NSc 1892. Dedication to Antoninus Pius by Fortunatus, and imperial freedman.

Q. Ancharius Primus - NSc 1885, 359-63. Funerary. Probably 2nd century of later, since the text is prefixed by D.M.

Sucessa - NSc 1885, 359-63. Funerary. Probably 2nd century of later, since the text is prefixed by D.M. Wife of Q. Ancharius Primus.

Primus - NSc 1885, 359-63. Funerary. Probably 2nd century of later, since the text is prefixed by D.M. Son of Q. Ancharius Primus.

L. Orbius Primitivus - NSc 1885. Probably 2nd century or later. Funerary.

Herennia Thelesi F. - Galante, RAAN 1913. Jewish epitaph. 4th or 5th century AD.

Barbarus Cumani F. - Galante, RAAN 1913. Jewish epitaph. Father named as from Venafrum.

Καλοτυχω - IG 14.789. Epitaph. 2nd century AD or later.

Τ. Φλαβιος Τ. υιος Ευανθος - IG 14.748. Consulship of Severus and Herennianus (170 AD?). Phratry inscription and dedication in honour of the victory of Euanthus in the boys diaulos contest at the 43rd Italiad.

Τ. Φλαβιος Ζωσιμος - IG 14.748. Brother of T. Flavius Euanthus, and dedicator of a set of ceremonial lamp stands to the Dioscuri in his honour.

Φλαβία Φορτουνατά - IG 14.748. Wife of T. Flavius Zosimus, and co-dedicator of inscription in honour of Flavius Euanthus.

P. Sufenatius P.F. Pal. Myron - CIL 6.1851. 3rd century AD. Cursus inscription of an eques who held the office of Phratrarch at Naples, as well as local office in other Latin and Campanian cities.

G. Petronius Saltuarius - CIL 10.1409. 2nd century AD. Dedicator of an offering to Silvanus.

Q. Pontius Euschemus - CIL 10.1409. 2nd century AD. Dedication to Nemesis.

Ceionius Julianus - Sgobbo, NSc 1937, 75-81. Inscription recording the rebuilding of an aquaeduct by Constantine, under the supervision of Ceionius, the *Consul Campaniae*.

Pontianus - Sgobbo, NSc 1937, 75-81. Procurator in charge of the rebuilding of the aquaeduct.

Μ. Κοκκεῖος Καλ[.....] - IG 14.721. Early 2nd century. Phratry dedication by an imperial freedman.

Τίτιος Ακιλεῖνος - IG 14.721. Co-dedicator, together with M. Cocceios Cal[...] and Flavius Crescens.

Φλαυῖος Κρεσκένης - IG 14.721. Co-dedicator, together with Titius Acilinus and M. Cocceius Cal[...].

iv) Texts Assignable to the Roman Period, but not Otherwise Datable

Diognetus - CIL 10.1561. Dedication to *Genius Caesarum* by Diognetus, a vilicus. Probably a slave. Greek name.

Ποκκι[ος] Ἡρακλεων[τος] - Sogliano, NSc 1892, 201-2. Stele with relief of a leave-taking scene. A standing female figure, cloaked, takes leave of a seated man, togate and beardless. A small child stands between the two. The quality of the sculpture is very poor. The use of the lunate omega suggests a Hellenistic or Roman date, as

does the name, which incorporates common Greek and Oscan elements.

Δομιλια Καλλιστη - Sogliano, NSc 1892, 201-2. Inscription, probably later, which reuses the reverse of the stele of Pakki[a?] Herakleon. It is apparently a dedication by the synkletos. Calliste is described as the priestess of Athena Sicula.

Clodia Gnome - Sogliano, NSc 1892. Funerary. Greek cognomen, also known from Capua (CIL 10.4129).

[.....] Phoebus - NSc 1894. Funerary. Common Greek cognomen, but the rest of the name is lost.

Casius - CIL 10.8173. Funerary. One of a group of twenty burials in lead urns. Described as an *ergastularius*, possibly the overseer of the barracks where slaves lived.

Secundus - CIL 10.1515. Funerary. Common cognomen.

Cornelia [L?]ochias - CIL 10.1505. Funerary. This cognomen is also known from Signia (CIL 10.6041).

Musa - Colonna, NSc 1890, 193-5. Funerary. Stele with aediculus and standing, cloaked, female figure. Name is Greek in origin but well-documented as a Latin cognomen.

Octavius Milo - CIL 10.8169. Funerary. One of a group of twenty burials in lead urns. The nomen is common to four of the five inscribed urns in this group, which suggests that this may have been the cemetery for the freedmen and women of a single household. Milo is a common cognomen and can be either Greek or Latin in origin.

M. Octavius Parthenus - CIL 10.8170. Funerary. One of a group of twenty burials in lead urns. Parthenus is a Greek cognomen and is well-documented.

Octavia Petale - CIL 10.8172. Funerary. One of a group of twenty burials in lead urns. Petale appears to be of Greek origin and is also found at Atina (CIL 10.5099).

M. Octavius Scopus - CIL 10.8171. Funerary. One of a group of twenty burials in lead urns. The cognomen is not paralleled in this area.

Q. Muci(us) Asclep(iadas) - Sgobbo, NSc 1926, 233-41 (cf CIL 10.8042). Stamp. Greek cognomen.

Q. Afusti(us) P. Mar(ci?) L(ib?) - D'Ambrosio, RAAN ns 47 (1972), 319-26. Stamp, from a villa rustica at Quagliano di Napoli. Afustus is unparalleled.

L. Ansius Zephyrus - Colonna, NSc 1890, 404. Tile stamp. The nomen is found in large numbers at Pompeii, principally stamped on household items.

M. Egnatius Beli - Galante, ARAN 17 (1893-6), 5-24. Funerary, from Palazzo di Donato cemetery. The cognomen is unparalleled.

Μομος Νυμφίου - Galante, RAAN 17 (1893-6), 5-24. Funerary. From the Palazzo di Donato cemetery.

L. Licinius L.L. Marius - Galante, ARAN 17 (1893-6), 5-24. Funerary, from Palazzo di Donato cemetery. Described as *unguentarius*.

Licinia L.L. Musa - Galante, ARAN 17 (1893-6), 5-24. Funerary, from the Palazzo di Donato cemetery. Wife of Licinius Marius.

Licinia Nice - Galante, ARAN 17 (1893-6), 5-24. Funerary, from the Palazzo di Donato cemetery. Mother of Licinius Marius.

Πορκία Παυλα - IG 14.804. Funerary. Probably of Hellenistic/Roman date, as it uses the formula *Χαίρε*. Greek text but Latin name.

Σωσιπάτρα Στατίου - IG 14.812. Funerary. Probably of Hellenistic/Roman date, as it uses the formula *Χαίρε*. Greek text. Statius already known from Naples.

Στλακκία Στοργή - IG 14.811. Funerary. Conway (584) identifies Stlaccius as primarily a Campanian name. Storge is probably Greek, but is not found elsewhere in Campania.

Φορμῖος Ἀπολλοφόνου υἱός - IG 14.816. Funerary. Greek name.



Μαρων - IG 14.797. Funerary. Probably of Hellenistic/Roman date, as it uses the formula *χρηστη χαιρε*. Stele with a relief of a seated woman taking leave of a man. Name may be Greek or Oscan.

Γρανια Φηλικλα - IG 14.774. Funerary. Stele with relief of woman taking leave of a man. Latin name.

Τυλλια Αφροδειτη - IG 14.765. Funerary. Both names well-documented.

Αρμια - IG 14.765. Daughter of Tullia Aphrodite.

Φλαβια Ζωσιμη - IG 14.814. Funerary. Well-documented Greek cognomen.

Σουκεσος - IG 14.810. Funerary. Latin name.

Αντωνιος - IG 14.767. Funerary. Latin name.

Κατιλλια Γαυριανη - IG 14.790. Funerary. Rare nomen, only known from another instance (CIL 10.8042). Cognomen is unparalleled. From Niceaea.

Μαρκος Επικτητου - IG 14.790. Funerary. husband of Katillia Gauriana.

Σεργλιος Αττικος - IG 14.808. Funerary. Latin nomen, Greek cognomen.

Μ Κλωδιος Καρικος - IG 14.792. Funerary. No parallel for Caricus.

Μ. Κλωδιος Ζωσιμος - IG 14.792. Funerary. Common Greek cognomen.

Χεια Λικινια - Colonna NSc 1890, 193-5. Funerary. Stele with relief of seated woman bathing a child. Probably an inversion of nomen and cognomen. Χεια unparalleled.

Απολλοδωρος Μαμου - Galante, ARAN 17 (1893-6), 5-24. Funerary, from the Palazzo di Donato cemetery. Probably of Hellenistic/Roman date, as it uses the common funerary formula *χρηστη χαιρε*. Greek name.

Δικα Βιβιου - Galante, ARAN 17 (1893-6), 5-24. Funerary, from the Palazzo di Donato cemetery. Probably of Hellenistic/Roman date, as it uses the common funerary formula *χαιρε*. As with a number of Neapolitan epitaphs, this shows a linguistic mixture, with a Greek name and Latin patronymic. cf Epilytos Bibiou.

Βιβιε Αρχιππου - Galante, ARAN 17 (1893-6), 5-24. Funerary, from the

Palazzo di Donato cemetery. Probably of Hellenistic/Roman date, as it uses the common funerary formula  $\chi\alpha\iota\rho\epsilon$ . Latin name and Greek patronymic.

Μονις Μαρμαρχου - Galante, ARAN 17 (1893-6), 5-24. Funerary, from the Palazzo di Donato cemetery. Probably of Hellenistic/Roman date, as it uses the common funerary formula  $\chi\alpha\iota\rho\epsilon$ . Greek name and Oscan patronymic. Mamercius known from Vibo and Abellinum (CIL 10.69, 1137, 1138).

Σοροεια Σεκονδα - Galante, ARAN 17 (1893-6), 5-24. Funerary, from the Palazzo di Donato cemetery. Latin name. No parallel for nomen.

Γαιε Ουσαεριε - Galante, ARAN 17 (1893-6), 5-24. Funerary, from the Palazzo di Donato cemetery. Probably of Hellenistic/Roman date, as it uses the common funerary formula  $\chi\rho\eta\sigma\tau\eta \chi\alpha\iota\rho\epsilon$ . Common Latin name.

Μονιμη Αρωρια - Galante, ARAN 17 (1893-6), 5-24. Funerary, from the Palazzo di Donato cemetery. Greek name.

Ηρεννιη Νυμφιου - Galante, ARAN 17 (1893-6), 5-24. Funerary, from the Palazzo di Donato cemetery. Probably of Hellenistic/Roman date, as it uses the common funerary formula  $\chi\alpha\iota\rho\epsilon$ . Oscan name and Greek patronymic.

Λουκια Νυμφιου - Galante, ARAN 17 (1893-6), 5-24. Funerary, from the Palazzo di Donato cemetery. Probably of Hellenistic/Roman date, as it uses the common funerary formula  $\chi\alpha\iota\rho\epsilon$ . Possibly a sister of Herennia Nymphiou.

Μαρμαρχε Τιθονος - Galante, ARAN 17 (1893-6), 5-24. Funerary, from the Palazzo di Donato cemetery. Probably of Hellenistic/Roman date, as it uses the common funerary formula  $\chi\alpha\iota\rho\epsilon$ . Latin/Oscan name and Greek patronymic.

Στατια Μαρμαρχου - Galante, ARAN 17 (1893-6), 5-24. Funerary, from the Palazzo di Donato cemetery. Probably of Hellenistic/Roman date, as it

uses the common funerary formula Χαίρε. Statii well documented in Campania.

M. Μαρίας Επικτετός - IG 14.720. Dedication. Marius a very common Campanian name. Epiktetos a well-documented Greek cognomen.

P. Vergilius Restitutus - CIL 10.1478. Dedication to Hercules by a demarch. Vergilii are also known at Pompeii (CIL 10.895).

Πυρρε Πυρρου - Colonna, NSc 1890, 126-7. Tile stamp. Greek name. Probably Hellenistic/Roman in date, since it uses the formula Χαίρε which was common in this period.

Cornelianus - CIL 10.1494 (=IG 14.803). Greek epitaph with Latin dedication by Cornelianus, who is described as a scriba, to his wife. Cornelianus is a derivative of the well-documented Cornelius.

M. Caecilius Eros - CIL 10.1499. Funerary. Both names common.

Flavia M.L. Themis - CIL 10.1499. Funerary. Both names common. Occurs on the same stele as Caecilius Eros, but no relationship is specified.

G. Pompeius Euphrosynus - Sgobbo, NSc 1923, 265-70. Funerary. Pompeii already attested at Naples. Common Greek cognomen.

Junia Gemella - Sgobbo, NSc 1923, 265-70. Wife of Pompeius Euphrosynus.

Cluvius A.L. Nicia[...] - NSc 1893. Fragmentary dedication of civic inscription. Cluvius seems to have been the freedman of a duumvir. The name is common in Campania.

G. Jul[ius] - Colonna, NSc 1890, 193-5. Fragment of marble pavement.

L. Hei[us] - Colonna, NSc 1890, 193-5. Fragment of marble pavement with the names of G. Julius and L. Heius. Context and the rest of the names lost. Heii are known to have been prominent elsewhere in Campania.

P. Pomponius Maganus - NSc 1880. Fragment of a public inscription.

There is no parallel for Maganus, and it may be an error for Magnus or Magianus.

P. Mevius Eutychnus - CIL 10.1480. Dedication of an aediculus. Mevii well-documented in Campania.

[.....]ανος Μαμερχου - IG 14.718 (=CIL 10 p.970 and Sogliano, Arch. stor. per le Prov. Neap. 1, 1974, 576). For Mamercus, see sv Monis Mamerchou.

Λ. Κρεσπηρειος Προκλος - IG 14.744. Dedication by the phratry Artemisia to Cresperius Proclus, the consul.

Γ. Καλπουρνιος Φηλιξ - IG 14.742. Phratry inscription. Common name.

Τ. Φλαουιος Πιος - IG 14.715. Dedication. Names well-attested.

Σαλουια Μανλια - Galante, ARAN 17 (1893-6), 5-24. Funerary, from the Palazzo di Donato cemetery. Latin name, well-documented.

Συνηθρα - Galante, ARAN 17 (1893-6), 5-24. Funerary, from the Palazzo di Donato cemetery. Greek name.

Πακκιος - Galante, ARAN 17 (1893-6), 5-24. Funerary, from the Palazzo di Donato cemetery. Oscan name.

Αντιοχε - Galante, ARAN 17 (1893-6), 5-24. Funerary, from the Palazzo di Donato cemetery. Greek name.

Νεικη - Galante, ARAN 17 (1893-6), 5-24. Funerary, from the Palazzo di Donato cemetery. Greek name.

Ιουνια - Galante, ARAN 17 (1893-6), 5-24. Funerary, from the Palazzo di Donato cemetery. Latin name.

Ποντηια - Galante, ARAN 17 (1893-6), 5-24. Funerary, from the Palazzo di Donato cemetery. Latin name.

Πομπηια - Galante, ARAN 17 (1893-6), 5-24. Funerary, from the Palazzo di Donato cemetery. Latin name.

Σωτηριχη Σωτηριχου - Galante, ARAN 17 (1893-6), 5-24. Funerary, from the Palazzo di Donato cemetery. Greek name.

ΔΙΚΑΕΤΗ - Galante, ARAN 17 (1893-6), 5-24. Funerary, from the Palazzo di Donato cemetery. Daughter of Soteriche.

ΝΥΨΙΟΣ - IG 14.726. Dedication of a bull by Nympsius and Tertius. Possibly an Oscan name, cf Livy 28.25.9 and Sartori, 40-1.

ΤΕΡΤΙΟΣ - IG 14.726. Dedication of a bull by Nympsius and Tertius.

ΛΕΥΚΙΑ ΕΥΦΡΟΝΟΣ - IG 14.783. Epitaph. Greek cognomen.

ΕΥΦΡΩΝ ἩΡΑΚΛΕΙΔΟΥ - IG 14.783. Epitaph of Lucia Euphronos and Euphron Herakleidou, probably her father.

ΑΥΡΗΛΙΑ ΑΤΑΛΑΝΤΗ - IG 14.763. Funerary. Greek cognomen.

ΑΛΚΕΒΙΑΔΗΣ - IG 14.763. Patron of Aurelia Atalanta?

ΚΟΜΙΝΙΑ ΠΛΟΥΤΟΓΕΝΙΑ - Correra, RM 1904, 185. Travertine base commemorating Plutogenia, who was priestess of Demeter. For the importance of the cult of Demeter cf Cic. Pro. Balb. 55; Stat. Silv. 4.8.46., Inscription of Voconia Severa. The text is also similar to that of Tettia Casta (IG 14.760), but it is not known which cult she was connected with.

ΠΑΚΚΙΟΣ ΚΑΛΗΔΟΣ - Correra, RM 1904, 185. Ex-archon. Husband of Cominia Plutogenia.

ΠΑΚΚΙΟΣ ΚΑΛΗΔΙΑΝΟΣ - Correra, RM 1904, 185. Ex-agoranomos. Son of Cominia Plutogenia.

ΚΑΣΤΡΙΚΙΟΣ ΠΟΛΛΙΩΝΟΣ - Correra, RM 1904, 185. Ex-archon. Grandson of Cominia Plutogenia.

ΤΙ. ΚΑΣΤΡΙΚΙΟΣ ΚΑΛΗΔΙΑΝΟΣ - Correra, RM 1904, 185. Ex-demarch. Grandson of Cominia Plutogenia.

Μ. ΟΥΨΙΟΣ ΝΟΥΨΙΟΣ ΦΑΝΝΙΑΝΟΣ - IG 14.719. Dedication to Isis and Apollo, together with details of Fannianos' administrative career.

ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΣ ΑΡΜΙΟΥ - IG 14.754. Fragment of a victory list of the Sebasteia. Alexandrian.

ΣΕΒΑΣΤΙΩΝ ΠΟΠΛΙΟΥ - IG 14.754. Fragment of victory list. Alexandrian,

although the Roman elements in his name suggest possible enfranchisement.

A. Ποστουμιος Ισιδωρος - IG 14.754. Fragment of victory list.

Junia M.L. [...] - CIL 10.1509. Fragment, probably funerary.

M. Junius M.L. [...] - CIL 10.1509. Fragment, probably funerary.

Clodia [.] L. Ma[...] - CIL 10.1509. Fragment, probably funerary.

M. Junius M.L. [...] - CIL 10.1509. Fragment, probably funerary.

Sex. Cadius Festus - De Franciscis, RAAN 49 (1974), 125-31. Dolium stamp. Catii are also known from stamps from Pompeii.

Αγαθονικη - IG 14.826. Funerary. Catacombs of S. Ianuarius. All names are in Greek although a substantial proportion are Latin names.

Αγαπη - IG 14.826. Funerary. Catacombs of S. Ianuarius. All names are in Greek although a substantial proportion are Latin names.

Αθανασις - IG 14.826. Funerary. Catacombs of S. Ianuarius. All names are in Greek although a substantial proportion are Latin names.

Αννια - IG 14.826. Funerary. Catacombs of S. Ianuarius. All names are in Greek although a substantial proportion are Latin names.

Αυγουρεινα - IG 14.826. Funerary. Catacombs of S. Ianuarius. All names are in Greek although a substantial proportion are Latin names.

Βρεισειδος - IG 14.826. Funerary. Catacombs of S. Ianuarius. All names are in Greek although a substantial proportion are Latin names.

Γαβιανος - IG 14.826. Funerary. Catacombs of S. Ianuarius. All names are in Greek although a substantial proportion are Latin names.

Γαβειανος - IG 14.826. Funerary. Catacombs of S. Ianuarius. All names are in Greek although a substantial proportion are Latin names.

Γαλα[τιχ]α - IG 14.826. Funerary. Catacombs of S. Ianuarius. All names are in Greek although a substantial proportion are Latin names.

Δρωσιμη - IG 14.826. Funerary. Catacombs of S. Ianuarius. All names are in Greek although a substantial proportion are Latin names.

Επιπολις - IG 14.826. Funerary. Catacombs of S. Ianuarius. All names are in Greek although a substantial proportion are Latin names.

Ἐ[ρμ]ερωσ - IG 14.826. Funerary. Catacombs of S. Ianuarius. All names are in Greek although a substantial proportion are Latin names.

Ευκαρπη - IG 14.826. Funerary. Catacombs of S. Ianuarius. All names are in Greek although a substantial proportion are Latin names.

Ευτυχης - IG 14.826. Funerary. Catacombs of S. Ianuarius. All names are in Greek although a substantial proportion are Latin names.

Ευτυχια - IG 14.826. Funerary. Catacombs of S. Ianuarius. All names are in Greek although a substantial proportion are Latin names.

Ευτυχ[.] - IG 14.826. Funerary. Catacombs of S. Ianuarius. All names are in Greek although a substantial proportion are Latin names.

Ιανουαρια - IG 14.826. Funerary. Catacombs of S. Ianuarius. All names are in Greek although a substantial proportion are Latin names.

Ἰλαρος - IG 14.826. Funerary. Catacombs of S. Ianuarius. All names are in Greek although a substantial proportion are Latin names.

Ζουλεια (Ιουλια?) - IG 14.826. Funerary. Catacombs of S. Ianuarius. All names are in Greek although a substantial proportion are Latin names.

Κουρουριαρου (?) - IG 14.826. Funerary. Catacombs of S. Ianuarius. All names are in Greek although a substantial proportion are Latin names.

Κυρειλλος - IG 14.826. Funerary. Catacombs of S. Ianuarius. All names are in Greek although a substantial proportion are Latin names.

Λαμπαδης - IG 14.826. Funerary. Catacombs of S. Ianuarius. All names are in Greek although a substantial proportion are Latin names.

Μαρκειανος - IG 14.826. Funerary. Catacombs of S. Ianuarius. All names are in Greek although a substantial proportion are Latin names.

Μωκος ξενος - IG 14.826. Funerary. Catacombs of S. Ianuarius. All

names are in Greek although a substantial proportion are Latin names.  
Νεικη - IG 14.826. Funerary. Catacombs of S. Ianuarius. All names are in Greek although a substantial proportion are Latin names.

Νειλος - IG 14.826. Funerary. Catacombs of S. Ianuarius. All names are in Greek although a substantial proportion are Latin names.

Νεστωριανος - IG 14.826. Funerary. Catacombs of S. Ianuarius. All names are in Greek although a substantial proportion are Latin names.

Ουικτορεινος - IG 14.826. Funerary. Catacombs of S. Ianuarius. All names are in Greek although a substantial proportion are Latin names.

Ουελταλις - IG 14.826. Funerary. Catacombs of S. Ianuarius. All names are in Greek although a substantial proportion are Latin names.

Πανταγαπη - IG 14.826. Funerary. Catacombs of S. Ianuarius. All names are in Greek although a substantial proportion are Latin names.

Παραλια - IG 14.826. Funerary. Catacombs of S. Ianuarius. All names are in Greek although a substantial proportion are Latin names.

Παυλα - IG 14.826. Funerary. Catacombs of S. Ianuarius. All names are in Greek although a substantial proportion are Latin names.

Πρειμος - IG 14.826. Funerary. Catacombs of S. Ianuarius. All names are in Greek although a substantial proportion are Latin names.

Ρουφεινα - IG 14.826. Funerary. Catacombs of S. Ianuarius. All names are in Greek although a substantial proportion are Latin names.

Σοβεινα - IG 14.826. Funerary. Catacombs of S. Ianuarius. All names are in Greek although a substantial proportion are Latin names.

Σοβεινος - IG 14.826. Funerary. Catacombs of S. Ianuarius. All names are in Greek although a substantial proportion are Latin names.

Σοβειν[.] - IG 14.826. Funerary. Catacombs of S. Ianuarius. All names are in Greek although a substantial proportion are Latin names.

Ξεουηρος - IG 14.826. Funerary. Catacombs of S. Ianuarius. All names are in Greek although a substantial proportion are Latin names.



Τερτυλλος - IG 14.826. Funerary. Catacombs of S. Ianuarus. All names are in Greek although a substantial proportion are Latin names.

Φαρνακης - IG 14.826. Funerary. Catacombs of S. Ianuarus. All names are in Greek although a substantial proportion are Latin names.

Φηλεικισιμα - IG 14.826. Funerary. Catacombs of S. Ianuarus. All names are in Greek although a substantial proportion are Latin names.

Φρουκτωσος - IG 14.826. Funerary. Catacombs of S. Ianuarus. All names are in Greek although a substantial proportion are Latin names.

Χρυσις - IG 14.826. Funerary. Catacombs of S. Ianuarus. All names are in Greek although a substantial proportion are Latin names.

[..]ουνδος - IG 14.826. Funerary. Catacombs of S. Ianuarus. All names are in Greek although a substantial proportion are Latin names.

[..]υσηρα - IG 14.826. Funerary. Catacombs of S. Ianuarus. All names are in Greek although a substantial proportion are Latin names.

P. Plotius P.F. Pal. Faustinus - Sogliano, NSc 1891, 236. Honorific inscription commemorating Faustinus, a public scribe, and his wife. The rubric naming Faustinus and Nome is in Latin, as is the closing formula, *L.D.D.D.*, but the text of the decree is in Greek.

Plotia Nome - Sogliano, NSc 1891, 236. Wife of Plotius Faustinus. The fact that she has the same nomen as Faustinus may suggest that she was his freedwoman, although this cannot be regarded as certain. The cognomen appears to be Greek.

Λακεινιος Στραβων - Consul at the time of the decree in honour of Plotius Faustinus.

Νερανιος Καπιτων - Consul at the time of the decree in honour of Plotius Faustinus.

Ερεννιος Μνηστηρ - Demarch. Decree in honour of Plotius Faustinus.

Ιουλιος Απολλιναρης - Official involved in the decree in honour of Plotius Faustinus.

Ιουλιος Προκλος - Official involved in the decree in honour of Plotius Faustinus.

Δομιτιος Ασιατικος - Official involved in the decree in honour of Plotius Faustinus.

Ιουλιος Λειουιανος - Antarchon. Decree in honour of Plotius Faustinus.

M. Cominius M.F. Maec. Verecundus - CIL 10.1504 (=IG 14.794). Commemorative. cf Tac. Ann. 14.1.

Quintia Dia - CIL 10.1504 (=IG 14.794). Daughter of Cominius Verecundus. Set up in the consulship of G. Vipstanius Apronianus and G. Fonteius Capito. The date is added in Greek.

Θυαληρια Μουση - IG 14.759. Phratry decree recording honours to Valeria Musa, and her husband, whose name is lost.

Φαννιανος - IG 14.795. Verse epitaph, of which Fannianus was the dedicator.

Ναουιος Κοσμος - IG 14.795. Verse epitaph, in honour of Naevius Cosmos.

Aelia Nice - CIL 10.1546. Dedication to Asklepios and Hygeia by a doctor and his wife. Ascribed by Mommsen to Puteoli, but also possible Neapolitan provenance. Greek cognomen.

Callistus - CIL 10.1546. Husband of Aelia Nice.

Καιδικια Μ. θυγατρι Ουικτριξ - IG 14.722. Dedication of a skyphos to the gods of a phratry.

T. Flavius Antipater - CIL 10.1571. Dedication to Jupiter Flazzus, Asklepios and Hygeia by Antipater, his wife and his freedwoman. Flavii very common in Naples. Antipater a well-attested Greek cognomen. The text is attributed to Puteoli by Mommsen but is cited as evidence for Naples by Peterson.

Flavia Artemisia - CIL 10.1571. Wife of Flavius Antipater.

Alcide - CIL 10.1571. Freedwoman of Antipater and Artemisia.

L. Granius P.L. Heliodoros - Gabrici, Mon. Ant. 41 (1951), 592.

Dedication to Venus. Greek cognomen.

[.....]του Γαιου υίου - Correra, Ausonia 1908, 55. Fragmentary phratry inscription.

Alfius Licinius - CIL 10.1680. Inscription honouring a patron of the colony.

Maxima Seiu - De Petra, Mon. Ant. 8 (1898). Funerary (?). The name is in Latin but uses the Greek onomastic form.

M. Antonius Trophimus - CIL 10.2524. Funerary. From Puteoli, but was an *Augustalis* at Naples as well. Described as *negotiator sagarius*.

T. Julius T.F. Vol. Dolabella - CIL 12.3232 (=ILS 5082). From Nimes, but Dolabella is described as holding office at Naples.

Imperius Primitivus - Colonna, NSc 1890, 90-1 (=EE 8.349). Inscription on a small conical marble.

Priscus - Colonna, NSc 1890, 90-1 (=EE 8.349). Inscription on a small conical marble.

[.....] φλακκος - Colonna, NSc 1890, 90-1. Fragment of Greek civic inscription.

Π. Πικου[.] - Colonna, NSc 1890, 90-1. Fragment of Greek civic inscription.

Δ. Ουαληριος - Colonna, NSc 1890, 90-1. Fragment of Greek civic inscription.

Τ. φλαβιος Ρουφεινος - Colonna, NSc 1890, 90-1. Fragment of Greek civic inscription.

[...]αληριος Παυλεινος - Colonna, NSc 1890, 90-1. Fragment of Greek civic inscription.

v) Undated Texts

Εωσιμος Στρατονικη - Colonna, NSc 1890, 327. Inscription on base of a lamp. Greek name.

Χαρμη Φιλίου - IG 14.817. Funerary. Probably of Hellenistic/Roman date, as it use the common funerary formula Χαιρε. Greek name.

Μηνοφαντε Διψιδιε - IG 14.779. Funerary. Probably of Hellenistic/Roman date, as it use the common funerary formula Χρηστη Χαιρε. Greek name.

Ποσειδωνιε - IG 14.805. Funerary. Probably of Hellenistic/Roman date, as it use the common funerary formula Χαιρε. Greek name. From Berytus.

Αθηνοδωρα Αντιοχου - IG 14.761. Funerary. Probably of Hellenistic/Roman date, as it use the common funerary formula Χρηστη Χαιρε. Greek name. Stele carries a relief of a seated woman taking leave of another woman, standing and accompanied by a child.

Αμμια Ασκληπιαδου - IG 14.764. Funerary. Probably of Hellenistic/Roman date, as it use the common funerary formula Χρηστη Χαιρε. Greek name.

Θεοδοτη Ιατροκλεους - IG 14.786. Funerary. Probably of Hellenistic/Roman date, as it use the common funerary formula Χαιρε. Greek name.

Δημητριε Αχαιου - IG 14.776. Funerary. Probably of Hellenistic/Roman date, as it use the common funerary formula Χαιρε. Greek name.

Διοσκοριδας Επαινετου - IG 14.778. Funerary. Probably of Hellenistic/Roman date, as it use the common funerary formula Χαιρε. Greek name. From Achaia.

Δικα Μεγακλεους - IG 14.777. Funerary. Probably of Hellenistic/Roman date, as it use the common funerary formula Χαιρε. Greek name.

Ζωσιμη Απολλοδωρου - IG 14.784. Funerary. Probably of Hellenistic/Roman date, as it use the common funerary formula Χρηστη

Χαιρε. Greek name. Wife of Attalos.

Μηνοφιλος Φιλημενος - IG 14.800. Funerary. Probably of Hellenistic/Roman date, as it use the common funerary formula χαιρε. Greek name.

Λομισκε Λομισκου - IG 14.796. Funerary. Probably of Hellenistic/Roman date, as it use the common funerary formula χρηστη χαιρε. Greek name. The suffix -ισκος/-ισκε is characteristic of Western Greek onomastics, and is particularly common at Tarentum (refs?). The stele carries a relief of two males figures shaking hands.

Αιγλη Ζωιλου - IG 14.762. Funerary. Probably of Hellenistic/Roman date, as it use the common funerary formula χαιρε. Greek name. Stele with relief of a veiled woman carrying an urn.

Αριστοβουλη - IG 14.768. Funerary. Probably of Hellenistic/Roman date, as it use the common funerary formula χρηστη χαιρε. Greek name.

Αντιοχε Αλεξανδρου - IG 14.766. Funerary. Probably of Hellenistic/Roman date, as it use the common funerary formula χρηστη χαιρε. Greek name. From Laodicea.

Δαιλο[χ?]ος - IG 14.775. Funerary. Greek name.

Έρμोक[λ]ης Ευφημου - IG 14.781. Funerary. Greek name. From Alexandria.

Ήλιοδωρος Αλεξανδρου - IG 14.785. Funerary. Greek name. from Antioch.

Αστραγαλος - IG 14.771. Funerary. Greek name. From Heraklea, although there is no indication as to whether this is the Italian Heraklea or not.

Μηνας [... ] Τροφου - IG 14.799. Funerary. Probably of Hellenistic/Roman date, as it use the common funerary formula χαιρε. Greek name, but the text is badly damaged.

Δικα [... ]εβιου - Galante, ARAN 17 (1893-6), 5-24. Funerary. Probably

of Hellenistic/Roman date, as it use the common funerary formula Χαιρε. Greek name. From the Palazzo di Donato cemetery.

Ἡρακλειδῆ Διονυσίου - Galante, ARAN 17 (1893-6), 5-24. Funerary.

Probably of Hellenistic/Roman date, as it use the common funerary formula Χαιρε. Greek name. From the Palazzo di Donato cemetery.

Μ[...].ρ[....]ου - Galante, ARAN 17 (1893-6), 5-24. Funerary. Probably of Hellenistic/Roman date, as it use the common funerary formula Χαιρε. Greek name. From the Palazzo di Donato cemetery.

Ζωίλος Ζωίλου - IG 14.724. Dedication to the gods by Zoilos and another person whose name has been lost, but who also may be the son of Zoilos. Both are described as Phratrarchs.

Ζωίλος Ζωίλου - IG 14.725. Dedication on occasion of a Pythian victory.

Φιλοφροσύνη - IG 14.770. Funerary. Relief of standing male figure and seated female figure.

Ἀριστῶν - IG 14.769. Funerary. Stele with relief - standing male figure taking leave of a child, accompanied by a woman. Verse epitaph.

Ἀρισταγόρη Χαιρέου - Galante, ARAN 17 (1893), 5-24. Funerary, from Palazzo di Donato cemetery. Priestess of Leucothea.

Κλεοπάτρα - IG 14.793. Funerary. Verse epitaph.

Μελίθων - IG 14.798. Funerary.

Κλημῆς - IG 14.787. Funerary. Verse epitaph.

Θεοδοτή - IG 14.787. Funerary. Verse epitaph.

Μοσχός Ευμορφου - IG 14.788. Funerary. Corrupt text, so name is conjectural (Keil).

Ἀδιο[.]οτενή - NSc 1885. Funerary. Very fragmentary text, and name is not recoverable.

Νίκη - IG 14.801. Funerary. Greek name.

Στιβων Σταβηνουσοφου - Colonna, NSc 1890, 126-7. Travertine base, possibly funerary. Greek name.

Ἐλενιω - IG 14.813. Funerary. Greek name.

Ευοδος - IG 14.822. Funerary. Greek name.

Παυλα Παυλου - IG 14.823. Funerary. Greek name.

Χαριτωσα - IG 14.824. Funerary. Greek name.

Χρευμενος - Galante, RAAN 17 (1893-6), 5-24. Funerary. Described as slave of Herakles.

Ἰπποκρατης - IG 14.815. Greek name.

## b) Conclusions

### (i) Language Selection: The Survival of Greek at Naples

The most obvious observation to make concerning the epigraphy of Naples is that an unusually high proportion of the surviving texts are in Greek. This indicates a sharp difference from the language ratio in other cities of Southern Italy, where Latin is overwhelmingly predominant<sup>149</sup>, and bears out the assertion of the literary sources that Naples remained Greek in language and culture until the 2nd century AD<sup>150</sup>. However, the onomastic patterns catalogued above indicate that there was a fair amount of Italicisation at a comparatively early date<sup>151</sup>, again corroborating the literary sources for the absorption of Oscan elements at Naples<sup>152</sup>. This may have enabled Latin onomastic forms to be absorbed more readily by the Greek population than would otherwise have been the case, as would the close connections with Rome and the large number of temporary or seasonal Roman residents. Whatever the cause, an onomastic study of the inscriptions from the city indicates that Greek onomastic patterns tended to die away sharply in the 1st century AD<sup>153</sup>. It is very noticeable that there is little relation

to the language chosen for an inscription and the ethnic\linguistic background of the person commemorated as indicated by the name and the form in which it is expressed<sup>154</sup>. The vast majority of the Greek funerary and commemorative texts contain Latin or Latinised names, although some retain the Greek onomastic form of Name + Patronymic (and\or Ethnic). There remains, however, a substantial substratum of mixed Graeco-Oscan names which should be considered as a continuation of the linguistic\onomastic patterns of the pre-Roman city rather than as a result of Romanisation<sup>155</sup>.

The onomastic patterns as revealed by the corpus of inscriptions seems to indicate a considerable amount of Roman immigration as well as the probable adoption of Latin conventions by the local population. This trend is similar to the general trends elsewhere in Southern Italy, but at Naples it is not accompanied by the corresponding change in the predominant language which occurs in most other areas. The lack of correspondence between the onomastic patterns and the prevailing language may be seen as an indication that the preservation of Greek at Naples was to some extent artificial, and may not have been entirely spontaneous. The adoption of very well-documented Roman names such as Cornelius, Claudius, Julius, Valerius etc.<sup>156</sup> even at a high level in Neapolitan society seems to indicate that the local elite was as Romanised as those of any other city, and that they perceived themselves, and wished to be perceived by others, as being part of mainstream Roman developments. As in other cities, the individuals who clearly hold a high social and political position within the community or who are commemorated on the larger and more elaborate funerary\commemorative monuments for the most part use Roman names, even when the text itself was in



Greek<sup>157</sup>. Greek, and Graeco-Oscan, names and onomastic forms appear far more frequently on the simpler monuments and poorer burials, indicating that it was the lower social and economic groups which continued to preserve Greek, and possibly Oscan, in its most original form<sup>158</sup>. Earlier studies of municipal development in Roman Italy have suggested that large numbers of their inhabitants, particularly those using Greek names or language, or those who incorporate Greek elements into Latin names, were freedmen or their descendents. However, given the strength of both Greek and Oscan traditions at Naples, it would be difficult to maintain this. It is significant that these trends persist from the Republic<sup>159</sup> until at least the 2nd century AD<sup>160</sup>, if not later. This degree of consistency would suggest that the trends are indicative of genuine continuity, not the result of an influx of Greek-speaking slaves and freedmen from the Eastern empire. The continuation of Oscan elements<sup>161</sup> at Naples also suggests the continuation of a local tradition in the lower ranks of municipal society, independent of external influences.

The study of the Roman attitudes to the Greek language undertaken by Kaimio<sup>162</sup> contains some evaluation of the survival of Greek in Southern Italy, in particular at Naples, although concentrating to a considerable extent on material from the Eastern empire. His study of the official documents of Naples indicates that the city retained its Greek language and culture as a result of highly specialised circumstances generated by the long-standing patronage of the city by leading Romans, and later by the emperors, on account of its Greek culture, and the fact that it was near enough to Rome to allow wealthy Romans to use the city as a holiday resort. Thus, he interprets the retention of Greek at Naples as the result of a

conscious language choice of the part of Rome rather than as the continuation of a natural tendency on the part of Naples<sup>163</sup>. This is borne out to some extent by the fact that most official communications between Romans and the city were in Latin, while official documents within Naples were in Greek or were bilingual until the 3rd century<sup>164</sup>, as well as by the fact that Greek appears to have continued more strongly as an official language than it did as a language for use on private monuments<sup>165</sup>. However, the impetus for the continuation of Greek may have come from within the city, as well as from Roman encouragement to retain the Greek character of the area. The presence of the Greek festivals of Parthenope and of the Actian Games provided a natural focus for contact with the rest of the Greek world in the Republic and early empire, which must have had the effect of strengthening the Greek elements at Naples, and it is likely that this trend became stronger after the foundation of the Sebastà and confirmation of its Panhellenic status. The epigraphy of the area contains ample evidence of the presence of athletes and musicians from the eastern empire<sup>166</sup>, and the city became a centre for Greek literature and philosophy<sup>167</sup>. These connections with the rest of the Greek world must have provided a powerful impetus for the Greek language at Naples. Thus it seems likely that the survival of Greek at Naples, although a somewhat artificial and self-conscious phenomenon, was not the result of a specific language policy imposed by Rome, but was produced by a mutually reinforcing combination of Roman patronage, in particular imperial patronage, and ongoing connection with the rest of the Greek world which had the effect of promoting the continuation of Greek language and culture.

(ii) The Epigraphic Habit at Naples

Even a superficial survey of the epigraphy of Naples indicates that the epigraphic habits of the area were very mixed, and indicate a number of different influences. There appears to be a persistent Greek trend in the types of individual monuments erected, but there is also a much stronger correspondence between the epigraphy of Rome and that of Naples, than is the case in other cities studied<sup>168</sup>. In terms of the type of funerary monument found at Naples, there is far more variation than there is in many of the other cities studied, a fact which is probably a reflection of the cosmopolitan nature of the city and the number of external influences to which it was subject. The Greek type of funerary stele is found in reasonable numbers, many examples bearing relief sculpture within an architectonic setting, usually of a farewell scene<sup>169</sup> of the type well-documented in Greece and the Aegean. Most of the inscriptions on this type of monument are in Greek, are relatively short, and contain Greek names, although there are one or two examples with Latin onomastics. Thus this would seem to represent either a survival of Greek tradition or influence from the Aegean.

Another tomb type which is found, although in smaller numbers than stelai is the chamber tomb, containing multiple burials. These appear to be distinct from the usual Roman types of multiple tomb, the columbarium or hypogaeum, and to bear a resemblance to the 4th century Oscan chamber tombs found at Paestum<sup>170</sup>. However, they are of a much later date, the most securely dated being assignable to the 1st century AD<sup>171</sup>. Again, many of the inscriptions associated with these use Greek in preference to Latin, and many of the names show a mixture of Greek and Oscan influences which seems to indicate the

continuation of pre-Roman culture and population<sup>172</sup>. However, there are also a number of columbaria and catacomb burials. These do not appear to show any significant bias towards either Greek or Latin\Italian names or any significant bias in language used, other than in the case of the catacomb of S. Ianuarius, where all burials are marked only by a single name, and all epitaphs use Greek<sup>173</sup>.

The type of funerary inscription also shows a marked polarisation, and some considerable differences between the Neapolitan material and that from other cities, in particular Tarentum. There are a high number of inscriptions which use the characteristic Roman formula D(is) M(anibus)<sup>174</sup>, in contrast to a number of cities studied, where the number of this type of inscription is abnormally low. This may be an effect of the fact that Naples had close contacts with Rome and a large transient population of Romans, unlike most areas further South, thus allowing greater diffusion of Roman customs. In terms of the language used, it is notable that a number of these Dis Manibus inscriptions are in Greek but are direct translations of the Latin form, consisting of the formula Θ(ειοις) Κ(αταχθονιοις) followed by the name and age of the deceased<sup>175</sup>. Since the names contained in these are usually Roman, it seem likely that they represent a deliberate and artificial choice of Greek rather than the adoption of Latin funerary formulae by the Greek population. The tendency towards longer epitaphs containing more information about the deceased may also be an indication of a wealthier and more self-conscious culture. It should be noted that not all of the longer and more informative texts are in Latin. There are a small but significant number of Greek epitaphs of a considerable length. Unlike the longer Latin texts these are

literary in character, some of them being in verse<sup>176</sup>, and are not analogous to the longer Latin texts, which tend to be cursus inscriptions or to contain information about the family relationships of the deceased. However, in general, the longer, more informative, and probably more expensive inscriptions tend to be those written in Latin, while Greek texts tend to be much shorter and less elaborate, often consisting only of the name of the deceased and the formula *χρηστη χαιρε*<sup>177</sup>. Thus there seems to be a certain amount of polarisation in Neapolitan funerary customs, with a much wider diffusion of Roman types of monument and epigraphic form at one social level, but a continuation of Graeco-Oscan trends in different, and possibly lower, social and economic strata.

## VELIA

### 1. Nature of the Epigraphic Evidence

The epigraphy of Velia is much less varied than that of the cities around the Bay of Naples and is rather different in emphasis. 32 of the undatable inscriptions are funerary, mostly in Greek and only bearing a single name and patronymic. They also tend to be made of local stone rather than marble. The remainder are comprised of a series of 6 dedications, to Persephone, Apollo Oulios, Hestia and Hermes Kadmilos (or the Kabiroi). Of the remaining 3 texts, one is fragmentary but is probably funerary, while the other two consist only of a series of initials and are incomprehensible. However, another example which is partly written in this manner and partly in long-hand is certainly identifiable as an epitaph, and it is possible that the indecipherable texts are also of this type.

Similarly, 29 of the dated texts are funerary. These are, by and large, Latin texts of a longer and more informative nature, thus making the process of dating much easier. However, this group also includes a substantial group of religious texts, mostly simple cippi with only the name of the deity inscribed. The deities honoured include Zeus, Hera, Athena, Poseidon, Ceres and Apollo, as well as a number of more obscure gods. There is also a series, which may be related to the religious and intellectual life of the city, which appear to be commemorative inscriptions for members of a group attached to the cult of Apollo Oulios, the exact nature of which is obscure. A small group of three civic decrees provides evidence for the continuing Greek nature of local government, and a number of

texts mentioning prominent Romans indicates some degree of high level interest in the area.

## 2. Literary Evidence for Roman Velia

Evidence for the history of Velia in general is reasonably comprehensive, largely thanks to the fact that the city produced a number of prominent philosophers which were the subject of considerable comment among later philosophical writers.<sup>1</sup> There is also a considerable amount of information on its early history and the Phocaeen colonisation of the area, which is attributed by Antiochus and Strabo to a mass migration by the Phocaeans after the fall of Phocaea to Cyrus.<sup>2</sup> However, information on its later history is much more sparse, since later writers appear to have been much more interested in its philosophers and its connections with the 6th century Pythagorean movement in Southern Italy.<sup>3</sup> The city does not appear to have been particularly wealthy, being described by Strabo<sup>4</sup> as economically reliant on fishing and associated industries, owing to the poor quality of the land. However, there is a considerable amount of circumstantial evidence which suggests that Velia's maritime interests were more diverse than simply fishing and associated activities.

The date of Velia's earliest relations with Rome is not known for certain. In 293, the city, which was held by the Samnites, was captured by Spurius Carvilius, apparently with little resistance.<sup>5</sup> The date and circumstances in which the city came under Samnite control are also obscure. The literary sources which mention the subject state that the city managed to hold off the Lucanian and Samnite incursions, unlike Paestum and Cumae. This lack of Italic

influence is borne out by the predominantly Greek character of the epigraphy, but the events of 293 indicate that this is a simplistic view. It is possible that the city never came under direct rule by the Lucanians, in the way that Paestum did, but that it was subject to some Italic connections during the Samnite Wars and was garrisoned by the Samnites, either voluntarily or by force as a result of this. The diplomatic allegiances of Velia during the 4th century are not known, but it seems likely that it belonged to the Tarentine-dominated Italiote League.<sup>6</sup> Later, Velia appears to have been a loyal ally of Rome. Nothing is known about the behaviour of the city during the Pyrrhic war,<sup>7</sup> but it is known to have supplied ships for the Roman fleet during the 1st and 2nd Punic wars, and by 210, it clearly had formalised relations with Rome in a *foedus*.<sup>8</sup>

In the post-war period, Velia seems to have continued to have some minor importance as a result of the harbour there,<sup>9</sup> and also to have taken part, in a minor way, in the building developments and encroachment of wealthy Romans which took place further up the coast, around the Naples area.<sup>10</sup> The naval contributions of the city during the Punic wars confirm the existence of the harbour and of a war fleet, although probably a small one. This is reinforced by the recent discovery of a number of religious cults which related particularly to sailors, spanning the period from the foundation of the city to the middle Republic,<sup>11</sup> and by a considerable number of literary references to the use of the harbour by various forces during the civil wars. Evidence for Velian trade also exists, although not by direct testimony in the literary sources. The distribution of Massiliote and Velian coinages seems to indicate that there were commercial connections between the two cities,<sup>12</sup> and a



trade network is also suggested by the number of Velians who had connections with on Delos in the 2nd and 1st centuries and who seem to have been particularly involved with banking.<sup>13</sup>

In general, the city seems to have been rather overshadowed by the development of the Bay of Naples as an area of major importance, but it does seem to have shared in the same process, although to a much lesser extent. For instance, Velia retained the Greek language until a relatively late date and seems to have maintained Greek customs in official and private life.<sup>14</sup> It was also a centre where some prominent Romans owned land and villas, but it was never patronised, as far as is known, by the imperial family or by the Roman nobility to anything like the same extent as Cumae, Baiae and Naples. Of the known owners of villas, only Brutus, Trebatius and Aemilius Paulus are of note.<sup>15</sup> However, the area seems to have enjoyed a vogue as a spa and health resort during the Augustan period, after Antonius Musa's cure of Augustus popularised cold water cures.<sup>16</sup>

### 3. Cults, Priesthoods and Colleges

Velia is very unusual among the cities of Magna Graecia for the abundance of evidence concerning cults and the religious life of the city. 32 texts survive, all of them concerning Olympian cults. Unlike other areas of Southern Italy, there does not seem to have been any widespread adoption of the new cults which became popular in Italy during the Roman period. Also, neither the imperial cult nor the religious/professional colleges which are found elsewhere in Italy seem to have made much impact, although there is an isolated reference to a college of *Augustales*,<sup>17</sup> an organisation which clearly had an honorific function, here as elsewhere, but does not seem to

have occupied a prominent position in the life of the city. This is particularly unusual here, in a city which was within travelling distance of the Naples/Baiae area and which clearly did have some high level connections with Rome, and also was open to a wide range of overseas influences through trade with the Aegean and connections with major Greek sanctuaries. Unusually, many of these texts have been dated, so it is possible to establish an approximate chronology.

The earliest group, most of which have been dated by Guarducci and Miranda to the 5th century B.C., consist of simple cippi, most of them dedicated to Zeus and Athena and roughly contemporary with the initial building phases of the large temple on the acropolis. This has been identified by Miranda as a temple of Athena, probably begun at the end of the 6th century and completed at some stage during the 5th, and probably the site of the main civic cult.<sup>18</sup> A fragmentary cippus found near the temple is a dedication to Zeus and Athena and probably refers to the cult housed in the temple. Unfortunately, the cult epithet is only present in fragmentary form, but has been restored as Zeus Hellenios and Athena Hellenia by Miranda. It is also possible that it may have been a cult of Zeus Xenios and Athena Xenia, an epithet which is more common for these cults when separate, but is only found at Sparta in the case of a joint cult. Given the number of cults of Zeus Hellenios and Athena Hellenia compared with the lack of parallel for Zeus/Athena Xenios, and the fact that the Hellenios cult is found in the Phocaeen foundation Naukratis, this would seem the most likely possibility. Other Zeus cults are those of Zeus Orios, Zeus Hypatos, which is described as Αθηναίου, and Pompaïos, which occurs on a separate stele found close by that of Zeus Orios, and possibly associated with the same cult. The cult of

Zeus Hypatos is specifically connected with Athens in this case, although there are cults elsewhere in Attica, as well as in Boeotia, on Lesbos and on Tenos. The cult is one which is particularly associated with high places and acropoleis. Both of the other Zeus cults, those of Orios and Pompaïos, are connected with protection of seafarers. Orios seems to have been a cult of winds favourable to sailors, and may be equated to Zeus Ourios, which extended more general protection to sailors and is found around the Bosphorus, on Delos, at Syracuse and Centuripe. It is also possible that the cult of Zeus at the Marasà shrine at Locri may have been a cult of Zeus Orios. The final cippus of this date is very worn and is dedicated to Olympios Kairos, an obscure deity who appears to have been the youngest son of Zeus.<sup>19</sup>

In the 4th century, the cult of Athena is not attested, although it must have existed if Miranda is correct in identifying it as the principal state cult. Zeus is known from a dedication to Zeus Exasterion, a cult epithet which is not known from any other sites in the Greek world.<sup>20</sup> Miranda identifies it as being more or less contemporary with the cults of Hera Thelxina and Poseidon Asphaleios, both of which were not found in the earliest periods of the colony's history. The cult of Hera Thelxina appears to have been an Athenian cult, as was the cult of Zeus Hypatos in the 5th century. The cult of Poseidon is known at a large number of other locations in Southern Italy, but not under this particular cult name.<sup>21</sup> Guarducci connects this particular cult with the function of Poseidon as a protector from earthquakes and also as a protector of sailors. It is also possible that the same cult was connected with a cult of Aphrodite Euploia, which had a similar function. A fragmentary stele bearing

the inscription [...] $\iota\delta\omega\nu$ , which is of 5th century date, may be an indication that the Poseidon cult existed at an earlier period, but cannot be regarded as definite proof. Two other cippi also fall into this chronological group. One is fragmentary, reading  $\text{Καλ}[\dots]$ , and may be a dedication to the cult of Olympios Kairos, as discussed above. The other is a cippus which appears to have functioned as a boundary stone and is dedicated to Zephyros.<sup>22</sup> There are a considerable number of cults of the winds in Magna Graecia, notably that of Boreas at Thurii,<sup>23</sup> but this is the earliest evidence for a cult of this type in this area.

The third century, the earliest period of direct contact with Rome, has produced little evidence for the religious life of the city. However, a fair degree of continuity would be expected, and this is borne out by a dedication to Zeus Polios.<sup>24</sup> Given that Zeus and Athena seem to have been associated cults at Velia, it may be possible to use this as an indication that the cult of Athena was also still in existence. The nature of the cult epithet also suggests that this may be a reappearance of the State cult of Zeus and Athena. The cult of Zeus Polios and Athena Polias is primarily an Athenian cult but is also found on Rhodes and at Agrigentum. Thus this can be seen as an indication of religious continuity and a further testimony to the religious connections between Velia and Athens. The only other document which has a bearing on the religious life of Velia during this period is a decree<sup>25</sup> concerning an embassy from the Asklepios on Kos which visited a number of Greek cities in Southern Italy, including Velia. This would presuppose a cult of Asklepios which was active enough to be recognised as important at an international level. The existence of some sort of healing cult is

borne out by later evidence for doctors at Velia, but they appear to have been attached to a cult of Apollo, and there is no further reference to Asklepios.<sup>26</sup> However, the decree of 242 B.C. does provide firm evidence for the continuation of independent diplomatic relations by Velia after the capture of the city by Rome, and also of the fact that the city, although obscure in Italian terms, was still in active contact with the rest of the Greek world. As such, this decree will be discussed more fully elsewhere.<sup>27</sup>

The evidence for the Roman period can be less readily subdivided but it is much more comprehensive than that for most cities at this period, although problematic in some respects. The continuation of the cult of Athena is indicated by two texts, which have been found at two different sanctuaries. The first of these, which dates to the 1st century B.C. or the 1st century A.D., is from the main temple of the city, on the acropolis.<sup>28</sup> It is a fragmentary dedication, of modest size, which indicates a private rather than a public dedication. The cult is reconstructed by Miranda as Polias, corroborating the speculation that the 3rd century dedication to Zeus Polios was a reference to a joint Zeus/Athena cult. It is also possible that the fragmentary first line of this text could be reconstructed to include [Z]ηνι[...].

The second of the Athena texts is from the Athenaion,<sup>29</sup> a smaller sanctuary, situated outside the city walls. It is a Latin inscription, set up by the *Astynomi Velienses* in honour of Athostenos of Aegina, who was *curator sacrorum* of the sanctuary for 40 years and was responsible for some additions to the buildings. Both the significance and the dating of this text are problematic. It is

possible that the office of *curator sacrorum* can be equated with an office of the same name which was instituted by Augustus,<sup>30</sup> thus indicating a probable date of the 1st century A.D. However, several objections have been raised, based on the fact that this was a long-term appointment, rather than an annual office, and that it was tied to one particular sanctuary, rather than involving supervisory responsibilities for all of the city's sanctuaries. The dating of the text to the 1st century A.D. has also been questioned on the grounds that Latin does not appear in the epigraphy of Velia in any significant quantities before the 2nd century, although it has been proposed that this could be a Latin copy of an earlier Greek text.<sup>31</sup>

Of these problems, that of the date is probably the easiest to tackle. There does not appear to be any absolutely convincing reason to abandon the date of 1st century, in favour of a later one on the grounds of the language used. Latin epitaphs and cursus inscriptions are known from the 1st century A.D. and earlier, the earliest example being dated to the 1st century B.C.<sup>32</sup> There is also a municipal decree of the mid 1st century A.D. which is bilingual.<sup>33</sup> The hypothesis that the *curator sacrorum* may in fact be a Latin translation of the Greek *ἑραεος* gives some support to the idea of an earlier Greek text surviving in a later Latin translation, but since translations of Greek terminology into Latin and vice versa are reasonably common, this is not a decisive argument. The form and general content of the inscription are also acceptable in terms of the conventions of Latin epigraphy, and it seems strange that if the inscription is a translation, one of the official titles mentioned in it should be translated into Roman terminology, while the other (*astynomoi*) is left in Greek, despite the fact that there is a

respectable Latin equivalent.<sup>34</sup> This mixing of linguistic terms would seem to indicate that the text should be regarded as an original rather than a later copy, written in Latin but containing some indications of the Greek background and continuing Greek institutions as well as suggesting some unfamiliarity with Latin terminology.

The most likely explanation of the term is as a Greek office, possibly that of an overseer or administrator of the sanctuary rather than a priest, which has been translated into Latin terminology,<sup>35</sup> a phenomenon for which Ebner gives a number of parallels. The fact that the person concerned is Aeginetan still poses something of a puzzle. This would provide some grounds for regarding the office of *curator sacrorum* as an administrative rather than a directly religious one, since it would be unusual to appoint a foreign or metic priest to what appears to be an appointment for life. However, there is a parallel for this in the appointment of Velian and Neapolitan priestesses to be priestess of the cult of Ceres in Rome.<sup>36</sup> These appointments were made with the deliberate intention of retaining the foreign character of the cult but involved the enfranchisement of the priestesses on appointment. Thus it is not entirely impossible that Athostenos was the priest of Athena, but it seems unlikely in view of the fact that offices which were termed curatorships in Latin usually involved some responsibility for administering some aspects of civic life. There seems to be no good reason why, if the post was primarily a religious one, the title should not have been given as *sacerdos*. Ebner suggests that since the temple of Aphaia on Aegina was one of the most important and influential of the Athena sanctuaries at the time of the founding of

Velia, it would be logical that Velia should form a connection with this sanctuary and turn to Aegina for advice on aspects of the cult. The presence of an Aeginetan official would certainly seem to indicate some connection with the local peculiarities of the cult of Aphaia.

The final question which remains is whether Athostenos represents a single occurrence of the phenomenon of a *curator sacrorum* from overseas or whether it was a regular post, which had either survived unbroken from an earlier period or had been revived under Roman rule. The fact that curatorships usually were regular civic or state offices by this date would suggest that it was not an isolated appointment, although whether the curators were always Aeginetan, or even non-Velian, cannot be determined with any degree of certainty. However, it is possible that it could represent a later revival of a post which had lapsed. If Ebner is correct in suggesting that the post was originally created for a specific purpose and filled a need at a specific point in the history of the sanctuary, it would seem unlikely that it would have persisted for seven, or even eight centuries, although not impossible. However, the revival of such a post, either under Augustus, or during the late 2nd century A.D., would be perfectly consistent with the archaising revivals of cult practices and also interstate connections which were taking place in the Greek East during these periods.<sup>37</sup> This movement seems to have been typified by connections with other states, in particular colonies. While Aegina was not connected with Velia during the colonising phase of Velian history, as far as is known, this type of religious office is the type of ceremonial connection which was being cultivated between Greek cities, in particular during



the 2nd century. The movement was also typified by the revival of sanctuaries and of civic interest in them, with a large number of dedications and improvements to the fabric of sanctuaries by local aristocracies.<sup>38</sup> While it could be argued that Athostenos was not a member of the local nobility and that improvements to the sanctuary may have been part of his duties, the fact that the additions to the sanctuary are attributed to him personally suggests that this may have been a private act of euergetism. It is true that the cities of Magna Graecia do not appear to have participated in this movement to the same extent as the rest of the Greek world, but there are some signs that the same trends existed. There appears to have been an attempt by Sparta to renew its colonial connections with Tarentum,<sup>39</sup> a city which also appears to have become part of the circuit of athletic/artistic festivals of the Greek world. Although Velia is not known to have revived any corresponding connections with Phocaea, the city had remained substantially Greek and is known to have retained diplomatic contacts and trading links with the Greek world for much longer than many of the other Italiote cities.<sup>40</sup> Thus it is not impossible that it took part to some extent in the revival of archaising religious and diplomatic features.

A further example of a persistence during the Roman period of a Velian cult of some antiquity and importance is that of Ceres/Demeter. Two inscriptions are known, one from Velia itself and one from the area mid-way between Velia and Paestum.<sup>41</sup> Both of these concern Voconia Severa, a priestess of Ceres and apparently a person of considerable importance. Both texts are written in Latin and are of imperial date, possibly 1st or 2nd century A.D., although neither are securely datable. The earliest reference to the cult is by

Cicero, but it was clearly of considerable antiquity and of international importance. Literary tradition dates the dedication of the temple to 493 B.C.,<sup>42</sup> and Cicero seems to indicate that the practice of appointing enfranchised Greek priestesses in order to maintain the Greek character of the cult dated to the earliest foundation of the cult in Rome. Whether Severa was priestess of the cult in Rome at any stage is not known, but she was clearly a person of considerable importance in Velia. Her epitaph is fragmentary, but is filled with superlatives, and one of the surviving fragments indicates that she was honoured by the college of *Augustales* and possibly also by the Senate. This prominence would seem to reflect on the importance of the cult itself.

The only piece of evidence which in any way reflects the presence of the imperial cult at Velia is a dedication to Mercury and Augustus,<sup>43</sup> which unfortunately is not dated. However, it seems reasonable to assume an Augustan or Julio-Claudian date, particularly in the light of the connection between Mercury and Augustus, which reflects a theme found in Augustan art and literature. Representations of Hermes/Mercury which are arguably intended to carry portrait heads of Augustus have been identified on a stucco ceiling of Augustan date, from a building in the grounds of the Villa Farnesina, from a gem and from the Bologna altar, as well as on a number of coins.<sup>44</sup> Literary evidence for the adoption of Hermes as a title or a persona is also found,<sup>45</sup> and suggests that there is a relation between the equation between Augustus and Hermes and aspects of the ruler cult found in the East. For instance, Alexander, Ptolemy III and Ptolemy V are all known to have been equated with Hermes and Julio-Claudians from Caesar onwards are known to have

adopted the names of various Olympian deities. Thus there does seem to be a clear iconographic connection between Augustus and Mercury which formed part of the imperial cult and directly reflects the more Eastern aspects of it and is drawn directly from the Hellenistic ruler cults.

By far the most problematic aspect of the religious life of Velia is the question of the cults of Asklepios and Apollo Oulios and the evidence for an associated medical school. The evidence comprises six Greek texts, of which two only survive in a fragmentary state, and two Latin texts, of which one is very fragmentary. The four complete Greek texts comprise a togate statue and three herms,<sup>46</sup> of which one is a portrait of Parmenides. These were found as a group, together with a number of other statues, some of them of women, and a selection of strigils and bronze instruments, possibly of a medical nature. They have been dated to the 1st century A.D., and are probably of the Julio-Claudian period, having been found in a building which appears to have been built in the early/mid 1st century, destroyed by flood, and later rebuilt in the Hadrianic period. The fact that these objects were found in the infill of Insula 1, having been used as material for the Hadrianic rebuilding, has led to suggestions that they may have been originally from another area of the city and may not in fact form a cohesive group.<sup>47</sup> However, the form of the inscriptions on the herms and one statue are so close as to be almost identical, which argues for a fairly close interrelation, whatever the connections of the group with the other finds from Insula 1. The finds raise a number of problems, in particular the possible existence of a medical school at Velia, the nature of the cult and/or philosophical group to which these were

attached, and the nature of the office of  $\phi\omega\lambda\alpha\rho\chi\omicron\varsigma$ .

Ebner speculates that the group of Greek texts refer to the successive heads of a medical school or of a Pythagorean philosophical group which traced its origins back to Parmenides. All of the texts which refer to  $\phi\omega\lambda\alpha\rho\chi\omicron\iota$  also refer to the same men as  $\iota\acute{\alpha}\tau\rho\omicron\iota$ . There also appears to be a connection between the identification as  $\iota\acute{\alpha}\tau\rho\omicron\varsigma$  and the adoption of  $\omicron\upsilon\lambda\iota\varsigma$  or  $\omicron\upsilon\lambda\iota\alpha\delta\eta\varsigma$  as part of the name, a fact which is specifically connected with Anatolia and the East Greek area.<sup>48</sup> However, the discovery of two Latin texts,<sup>49</sup> probably of later date, which make reference to the office of Pholarchus in a clearly non-medical and non-religious context indicates that the initial attempts to explain the  $\phi\omega\lambda\alpha\rho\chi\iota\alpha$  are inadequate. A later attempt to analyse the evidence by Pugliese Caratelli<sup>50</sup> removed the connection between the offices of  $\iota\acute{\alpha}\tau\rho\omicron\varsigma$  and  $\phi\omega\lambda\alpha\rho\chi\omicron\varsigma$ , a connection which cannot be sustained in the light of the evidence of the two Latin texts. One of these documents is very fragmentary but the other clearly indicates that the office of Pholarchus was not connected with a medical school or even overtly with a cult but was cited as an office held as part of an official career.<sup>51</sup> However, Pugliese Caratelli's suggestion that the meaning of the term should be sought in the root meaning of  $\phi\omega\lambda\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$ , namely a being, usually, but not necessarily, an animal who lives in a cave, hole or lair seems rather far-fetched, despite his attempts to connect this with the sacred cave which features in some of the myths and rituals connected with Asklepios. However, his view that the  $\phi\omega\lambda\alpha\rho\chi\omicron\varsigma$  may have had some administrative duties at the sanctuary rather than holding a priesthood, seem rather more plausible. However, the exact nature of these duties as defined by Pugliese

Caratelli have been reassessed in an article by Musitelli,<sup>52</sup> who suggests that rather than being the superintendent of the sanctuary *thesauros*, the *φωλαρχος* had a more directly priestly function as the official who administered the area where the patients slept during their treatment. However, if Musitelli's equation of *φωλαρχος* with *foleia/folia* which occurs in both classical and medieval Latin, can be accepted, along with his definition of *foleia* as the equivalent of *sacellum*, then another interpretation may be possible in the light of another Velian inscription. The text in question is the dedication to Athostenos of Aegina,<sup>53</sup> whose post of *curator sacrorum* of the sanctuary of Athena has been discussed above. If, as seems likely, this is a translation of a Greek word or title indicating an administrative or supervisory post within a sanctuary, but not necessarily a priestly function, then it is possible that the Greek original in question is *φωλαρχος*. At any rate, the general function of the *curator sacrorum* of the Athenaion and the *φωλαρχος* of the sanctuary of Apollo/Asklepios seems to have been similar on the above analysis, whatever the differences in actual responsibilities, which would naturally have varied according to the nature of the cult and its functions. The fact that the Greek title is retained in the Latin texts rather than being translated, as is the case in the Athostenos inscription, is not necessarily an insuperable problem. It could be accounted for simply by the adoption of different conventions in this matter by different sanctuaries, or by the generally haphazard nature of translation of titles between Greek and Latin, particularly in an area like Velia, where Greek remained a strong linguistic force until a comparatively late date.<sup>54</sup> There also seems to be no innate objection to the idea that *φωλαρχοι* could also be *ιδτροι* or vice versa,<sup>55</sup> although the Latin texts seem to

indicate that this was not invariably the case, and it seems likely, from the evidence available, that the office of pholarchus, in its Roman form, was adopted into the civic cursus and was held as part of an official career.

This leaves the question of the nature of the medical school at Velia and the relation of the ἰατροὶ of the inscriptions to the cults of Apollo or Asklepios. Nutton<sup>56</sup> has denied that there was a medical school at Velia in the sense of an institution which was recognised outside the area as being a place where doctors received training, and this seems likely to be correct. However, it cannot be denied that there was an important healing cult at Velia. The fact that all the Greek texts connected with this cult make reference to Apollo Oulios, the statues of Asklepios and Hygeia and the embassy from the Asklepion on Kos in 242 B.C. all indicate that it had an important medical cult. The popularity enjoyed by the city during the Augustan period also appears to have been due to its connection with the cold water cures which were prescribed for Augustus.<sup>57</sup> The high status enjoyed by doctors is indicated by a decree of the συνέκλητος which appears to honour a group of doctors who are described as Οὐλιαδης in terms echoing those of the Hellenistic proxeny decrees which are widely found in Greece and the Aegean.<sup>58</sup> It seems likely, given that the Parmenides herm carries an inscription referring to him as both Οὐλιαδης and φυσικος that it was believed that Parmenides had a connection with the cult. However, it is not possible to determine whether he was believed to be its founder or whether the cult had any close connection with Parmenidean philosophy. Given the date of the text, it is entirely possible that the Parmenides herm is a deliberately archaising gesture rather than a true indication of the

cult's philosophical background or historical antecedents. The final problem associated with this cult is that of the name/title Οὐλις (Οὐλιαδης), which occurs in five of the Greek texts. The fact that three of these give the name in the form Οὐλις + patronymic has led to speculation that this may have been some form of hereditary priesthood. However, the closeness of the form to that of the cult epithet, Οὐλιος, and also the presence of the form Οὐλιαδης, which must be a title, strongly suggests that Οὐλις was a name adopted on becoming ιατρος rather than an indication of a true hereditary office.

Three further cults are epigraphically attested at Velia, but none of the texts are datable. There was clearly a cult of Hestia,<sup>59</sup> known from an inscription on a small altar, and a cult of uncertain attribution, which may be related to the worship of Hermes Kadmilos or of the Kabiroi,<sup>60</sup> which is attested by a single fragmentary cippus. A cult of Persephone is known from an inscription on the base of a bronze candelabrum and also from a series of coins. The temple on Terrace B, excavated by Maiuri, seems almost certainly identifiable as the temple of Persephone.<sup>61</sup>

#### 4. Imperial Connections

Unlike the Greek area around the Bay of Naples, Velia does not appear to have been the recipient of imperial patronage on any substantial scale. There is no evidence of any imperial property in the area and no record of any imperial slaves or freedmen among the inhabitants. There is evidence of the existence of an imperial cult, of a rather Hellenistic type, in the dedication to Mercury and Augustus, which has been discussed above, and there is also an isolated reference to

the existence of a college of *Augustales*. Connections with the Julio-Claudian imperial family appear to have been strongest. Ebner has identified a number of statues found near the Porta Marina as portraits of members of this family and also speculates that Augustus may have visited Velia c. 19 B.C.<sup>62</sup> Certainly, his physician, Antonius Musa, is known to have recommended Velia as a watering place to Horace, and to have cured Augustus by means of the cold water cures which were the reason for the temporary popularity of the city among wealthy Romans. However, the evidence is purely circumstantial. Apart from this, the only evidence for imperial interest in the city is an inscription recording the building of a bath-house by Hadrian in 118 A.D.<sup>63</sup>

##### 5. Municipal Government

Velia has produced a number of valuable constitutional documents which give some indication of the development of the municipal administration and also give a number of indications of Greek survivals in the area, alongside the Romanised structure which formed the basis of administration in Italy after the Social war. Sartori proposes,<sup>64</sup> on the basis of the persistence of Greek language and culture at Velia, that the Greek forms of government may have been retained for some time after the Social War, and only superseded by Romanised municipal government during the 1st century A.D. However, the increased amount of epigraphy from Velia indicates that this is not the case. The city clearly retained Hellenistic concepts to some extent, but these existed alongside a Romanised structure which had developed by the 1st century B.C. The earliest evidence for the municipal constitution of the Roman city has been dated to the late 1st century B.C.<sup>65</sup> and is the epitaph/cursus inscription of Cornelius Gemellus, who was *dumvir* twice, *quaestor*, *quattuorvir iure dicundo*



twice, gymnasiarch, and *quattorvir iure dicundo* for a third time. Thus the city appears to have possessed a constitution which features colleges of *duumviri*, at least during the Republic. It may be significant that this is the only reference to *duumviri*, and that later inscriptions only refer to *quattuorviri quinquennales* or *quattuorviri iure dicundo*.<sup>66</sup> The repetition of two of the offices indicates that there was no prohibition on iteration of offices, a point which is borne out by the career of Gabinius Menander, who held the quaestorship twice.<sup>67</sup> In addition to the quaestorship, the city also seems to have had aediles. However, some offices of the Greek city seem to have been retained. The post of gymnasiarch existed in most Hellenistic cities, apparently fulfilling a largely liturgical function.<sup>68</sup> Parallels from Southern Italy include Naples and Rhegium.<sup>69</sup> The main problem posed by the epitaph of Cornelius Gemellus is that of the co-existence of the *duumvirate* and the *quattuorvirate*, particularly since Velia does not seem to have received any form of colony to account for the change in magistracy.<sup>70</sup> It is possible that the office could have been *duumvir aedilicia potestate*, since there is no reference to the office of aedile, which appears in all but one of the other extant *cursus* inscriptions. The office of Pholarchus, which is clearly a Greek office and is discussed above, is included in one of the *cursus* inscriptions and seem to have become part of the structure of civic offices.

Despite the Romanised structure of the main municipal magistracies, the local Senate still retained a noticeably Greek character in the 1st century A.D. A document of 29 A.D. which indicates that L. Nonius Asprenas was patron of the city makes

reference to the Decuriones et Municip[...],<sup>71</sup> but there is evidence that the decurions still conducted their business in Greek for some purposes and that the local Senate was known as the *synkletos*.<sup>72</sup> Two decrees of the *synkletos* survive, one a fragmentary Greek text<sup>73</sup> and the other complete and bilingual.<sup>74</sup> These appear to be very similar in form, in as far as the fragmentary text can be reconstructed, both being honorific in character. The Greek text, which is not securely dated but must, by its archaeological context, be of Julio-Claudian date or later, is in honour of one or more of the doctors associated with the cult of Apollo Oulis. It is fragmentary, but the terminology seems very similar to that of the proxeny decrees which are found in the Hellenistic world from the 3rd century onwards, apparently declaring the recipients [α]νδρῶν [...εὐεργετίας καὶ ἀρετ[ης ἐνεκα].<sup>75</sup> The bilingual text is in honour of a Roman dignitary, G. Julius Naso, probably the friend of Pliny the Younger and possibly the same person as the Julius Naso honoured in an inscription from Tenos.<sup>76</sup> The fact that the decree is expressed in Greek only when concerned with local issues and is issued in a bilingual form when dealing with Romans may suggest that Greek was the normal language even for official business. The form is very similar to the Hellenistic proxeny decrees, which suggests that Velia was still sufficiently in touch with the Greek world to have retained Greek diplomatic forms. However, it is noticeable that despite the use of Greek, all the magistrates known by name have Latin names and use Latin for their personal monuments, such as epitaphs and cursus inscriptions. This seems to suggest that although Greek was still used for some purposes, and the city clearly wished to retain its Greek image, the political classes, and probably the constitution were Roman, with Greek being used primarily for ceremonial and

honorific purposes, as at Rhegium and Naples.

## 6. Social and Economic Structure

### a) Onomastic Catalogue

#### (i) The Early Inscriptions (to the 1st century B.C.)

Νικας της Ζωι[λου] - IG 14.659 (= SEG 29.1024, Johannowsky, ASMG 18-20, 1977-79, 189-191). Stele with large palmette. Pentelic marble. Johannowsky identifies it as a recognisable type, with parallels from Thebes, Tanagra, Megara, Sylos, Pella, Sidon and Tarentum, but with major concentrations of the type in Attic and Thessaly. All of these are dated by Johannowsky to 317-290 B.C. This would corroborate the evidence given above for the retention of contacts with the Greek world by Velia, even at a period when the city must have been falling within the Roman sphere of influence. The discovery of a parallel at Tarentum may be an indication that these two cities had some form of trading contact or at least operated on similar trading routes. The name is Greek, with no sign of any Italic influence. There is some doubt as to whether it should be read as Νικας της Ζωιλου or as Νικαστης Ζωιλου. Both readings are possible, but the onomastic form which appears to be most common at Velia is that which adds the definite article to the patronymic, and thus the first form appears to be correct.

A[τθ]ιδ/ος Τερι/ναιος - SEG 16.583 (= Mingazzi, ASMG 1, 1954, 52, No.2, 21-55). Funerary. SEG dates it to the 3rd century B.C. but Mingazzi suggests an earlier date, probably shortly after the fall of Terina to the Bruttians in 356. This 4th century date is preferable as the addition of the

ethnic indicates an awareness of nationality which presupposes that the man in question was adult at the time of the fall of Terina. Even so, it is not impossible that he survived into the early years of the 3rd century, and in general, it appears that it was approximately contemporary with the stele of Nika, as discussed above. The name is known as a Greek personal name, but it also has strong religious connotations, being closely linked with the worship of Cybele. However, there is no evidence of a Cybele cult at either Terina or Velia. The form of the name, name + ethnic, is similar to that of a number of Italians living abroad, and departs from the usual convention of name + patronymic.

Ευθυμίσκος Ἐλεστας - SEG 32.921 (= Bernabo Brea, PP 37, 1982, 372-3). Epitaph. Found on Lipara and probably pre-252 B.C. The form of the name is the same as that of Atthis of Terina. The name itself is Greek, undiluted by any Italian influence. The suffix -ίσκος appears to be particularly characteristic of Italiote names.

Φαυλλος Ἐλεστα - SEG 32.922 (Bernabo Brea, PP 37, 1982, 372-3). Epitaph. Also from Lipara. Probably 2nd or 1st century B.C. Contact between Velia and Lipara is attested by literary sources for the earlier history of the city, and apparently persisted throughout the Republic. There is a disputed reading of the name in this text. Bernabo Brea suggests Φαυμου as a possibility.

Τερτι[ας] Πακτια[ς] του Διον[υ]σιου - IG 14.4660 (Mingazzi, ASMG 1, 1954, 21-55). Cippus, probably funerary. Unlike most of the earlier onomastic material from Velia, this text

shows clearly signs of ethnic and linguistic mixing. The form of the name is Greek, as is the alphabet, and some linguistic elements. Mingazzi argues that it contains Latin, Oscan and Greek elements. The Greek influence is indubitable, given the language and the patronymic. Similarly Pakius is a well-documented Oscan name, which is found with particular frequency in Campania. However, the origins of Tertius, and its onomastic value, are not so immediately obvious. It is not a regular Latin praenomen, although it sometimes appears as an early cognomen or female name. However, there is no parallel for it in Oscan, either as a name or as a praenomen. The most satisfactory explanation seems to be that it is a borrowing from Latin by someone whose familiarity with the language was limited and who was attempting to integrate Latin and Oscan onomastic structure with that of Greek. Similarly, it is not easy to decide whether the inscription represents a Hellenised Oscan, possibly adopted into a Greek family, or a Greek who has adopted an Italicised name. The possibility that Latin was the native language can be effectively ruled out, given the clumsiness of the form and the inaccurate misappropriation of the Latin element of the name. The possibility of adoption cannot be ruled out, but there are a number of parallels for the phenomenon of Oscan name occurring in conjunction with Greek patronymics and vice versa, which would suggest that the mixing of languages in this way was something which occurred in Campania and Lucania during the Republic, marking a period of racial and linguistic contact and exchange. It cannot, however, be

seen simply as a gradual process of assimilation of Greek and Oscan by Latin, as it was clearly a two way exchange. The instance of Karis Brittias of Cumae is an indication of adoption of Greek names by Oscan speakers, and may also possibly be used as an indication that the patronymic is a reasonably accurate indicator of original language and nationality. Thus Tertias Pakias seems to have had a Greek father but to have been given, or to have adopted, the Latin/Oscan names. This seems to have been far more common in Cumae, and more explicable, since there was a much greater degree of racial mixing, but in Velia, where Greek language and culture remained predominant and there was little contact with Oscans, there were fewer factors which would encourage this. Ultimately, name forms may have been simply a matter of fashion or of personal preference, or possibly a statement of one's political loyalties. At any rate, such a rare and identifiable phenomenon such as this would seem to indicate that there must have been some other motive than conformity to onomastic fashion.

The other remaining problem concerning this text is the date. The Italic elements in the name, and in particular the presence of Latin, must indicate a date substantially later than 293 B.C. Unfortunately, the use of Greek cannot be used to establish a viable date, since Greek continues to appear as the main language of Velian inscriptions until at least the 2nd century A.D. However, arguing from comparisons with similar examples of Cumaeans with mixed Greek/Oscan or Greek/Latin names, it would seem that the most likely date would be 2nd or early 1st century B.C., a

period in which Latin was beginning to make larger inroads on the use of Oscan and Greek, particularly for administrative purposes and for trade and economic exchange.

(ii) 1st century B.C. - 1st century A.D.

L. Nonius L.F. Asprenas - CIL 10.8342b (= NSc 1882). Probably during the consulship of Asprenas in 29 A.D. Patron of the municipium. However, it is also possible that this Asprenas may also be the rather more prominent figure who was father of the consul of 29 and was consul himself in 6 A.D.<sup>77</sup> The elder Asprenas is known from a large number of inscriptions indicating patronage of Italian municipia and although this is not a decisive argument against assigning the text to 29, it does raise a strong possibility that it could belong to 6 A.D. It is notable in the light of the Augustan connections of Velia, which are discussed under section 3, that the consul of 6 A.D. and his family were very close to Augustus. The family received special honours, which were, however, revoked by Caligula, and had connections with Quinctilius Varus. The nature of the connection between Asprenas and Velia can only be a matter of speculation, but it is possible, in view of the vogue enjoyed by the city as a spa in this period, that he owned property there and visited Velia regularly. The nomen Nonius is very common, being found in most areas of Italy. Asprenas is much rarer, and is regarded by Kajanto as an ethnic, derived from an unknown or abandoned settlement in Latium.<sup>80</sup>

Caesetius Primus - CIL 10.8342a (= NSc 1882). Dedication to

Mercury and Augustus. Date not firmly established, but since the Augustan connection with Mercury was topical in Augustus' own lifetime, it is likely that it can be dated to the late 1st century B.C. or the 1st century A.D. The name contains no indication of status, but is a rare one, being found only in Campania, with an isolated instance in Latium.<sup>79</sup> The cognomen is very common.

[.....]ius Perseus - CIL 10.8342a (NSc 1882). Apparently the co-dedicator, with Caesetius Primus, of the dedication to Mercury and Augustus. The nomen is irrecoverable, while the cognomen is clearly drawn from Greek mythology.

G. Julius G.F. Naso - Forni, Kokalos 3-4 (1957-8), 61-70; Sestieri, FA 1956; Burzachechi, Act. Int. Cong. Epig. 1967, 127. Bilingual decree of the *synkletos* in honour of G. Julius Naso. Very similar in form to a Hellenistic proxeny decree. 1st century A.D. It seems likely, as suggested by Burzachechi, that this Julius Naso can be identified as the Julius Naso who was a friend of Pliny the Younger. It is also possible that he is the same G. Julius Naso as the one who appears in a bilingual from Tenos, described as Praefectus Tesserarium in Asia Navium. Neither of the names are informative, since they are both reasonably common, but Pliny suggests that he may have been originally from Cisalpine Gaul.<sup>80</sup>

Cornelius L.F. Rom. Gemellus - Mingazzi, ASMG 1 (1954), 21-55. Epitaph. Probably late 1st century B.C. The text indicates a distinguished local career, including three quattuorvirates, two duumvirates and the office of gymnasiarch. This last presupposes a considerable degree of



wealth, since there is evidence from the Greek East that the function of a gymnasiarch was primarily liturgical. Both of the names are common throughout the South. The iteration of the offices is unusual, but there are parallels.<sup>81</sup>

Julia Lais - AE 1978. 260 (= Ebner PP 1978). Latin epitaph, possibly 1st century A.D., since it omits the D.M. formula. Apparently from a family tomb. Julia is one of the most common of Latin nomina. Lais is of Greek origin and is also found at a large number of places in the area covered by CIL 9 and 10.

A. Gabinius A.F. Rom. Menander - AE 1978. 260 (= Ebner PP 1978). Epitaph. Son of Julia Lais and Gabinius Theophilus. Holder of the aedileship and two quaestorships. The tribe, Romilia, confirms that given in the inscription of Cornelius Gemellus as the tribe of Velia. Gabinius is a fairly common nomen overall, but Conway<sup>82</sup> indicates that it is more common in Etruria and in Central Italy generally, but rare in Lucania. However, the gens is known from another inscription from Velia, also of the 1st century A.D. The cognomen is of Greek origin.

Gabinius Theophilus - AE 1978. 260 (= Ebner PP 1978). Epitaph. Husband of Julia Lais and father of Gabinius Menander. The fact that the tria nomina are given in the case of A. Gabinius Menander but not of his parents may suggest servile origin, but this cannot be taken for absolute certainty. Like Lais and Menander, the cognomen is Greek.

A. Gab[inius] Crispinus - Ebner, PP 25 (1970), 262-7. Epitaph on large marble stele. Probably 1st century A.D.

If any connection can be drawn between this and the family of Gabinius Menander, this must be the later of the two texts, since it is explicitly stated that Gabinius Crispinus and his daughter (?) Gabinia Crispina, are the last of their line. However, this cannot be regarded as absolutely certain. For the nomen Gabinius, see above sv Gabinius Menander. Unlike the other Gabinii, Crispinus has a Latin cognomen, which has many parallels in the South.

Ga[b]inia Crispin[a] - Ebner, PP 25 (1970), 262-7. Probably the daughter of Gabinius Crispinus, although no indication of relationship is given.

Q. Cae[.]ius Secundus - Ebner, PP 25 (1970), 262-7. Large marble stele with epitaph. Probably 1st century A.D. Included on stele of Gabinius Crispinus and Gabinia Crispina, which would presuppose some family relationship. The name is partially lost, but it is possible that it may have been Caesetius, since this gens is already known from Velia, although rare and found only in Campania, with an isolated instance in Latium.

Valeria P.F. Florilla - Ebner, PP 25 (1970), 262-70. Possibly 1st century A.D., since it lacks the formula D.M. The Valerii are very numerous around Puteoli and Misenum and in other areas of Campania, but are only rarely found in Lucania and Bruttium, at Volcei, Atina and Velia and in the Ager Teuranus.<sup>83</sup> There is no parallel for the cognomen Florilla, but it is a diminutive of Flora, which is a common female name.<sup>84</sup>

P. Valerius Felicio - Ebner PP 25 (1970), 262-70. Marble stele with epitaph. Freedman of Valeria Florilla. Felicio

is a well-documented cognomen.

[.....]us Sabinu[s] - EE 8.283. Very fragmentary epitaph. Sabinus appears to have been the person who set up the stone. It also appears that the deceased was a soldier.<sup>85</sup> The appearance of this and two other fragmentary epitaphs which appear to commemorate veterans of the fleet has led to speculation that there may have been some veteran settlement at Velia as well as at Paestum in 71 A.D. The city does not appear to have become a colonia, but it is possible that there was some form of viritane settlement there.

Ουλις Ευξινου - Ebner, Rass. Stor. Salern. 23 (1962), 3-44. From the base of a togate male statue. Described as ιατρος and φωλαρχος. Given that the same name is attributed to two other ιατροι in associated inscriptions, and that it has close associations with one of the cult names of Apollo, it is unlikely that it can be regarded as a true personal name. It seems more probable that it was a traditional name assigned to holders of priestly office within the cult. However, the patronymic is a genuine personal name, although not otherwise found in S. Italy.

Ουλις Αριστωνος - Ebner, Rass. Stor. Salern. 23 (1962), 3-44. Herm, with inscription identical in form to that of Oulis Euxinou, apart from the omission of the ethnic. Ariston is a very common Greek name, which is found in Italy, both as a true personal name and as a cognomen.

Ουλις 'Ιερωνυμου - Ebner, Rass. Stor. Salern. 23 (1962), 3-44. Herm, with inscription of the same formula as that of Oulis Aristonos. All three are dated by Ebner to the Julio-Claudian period.

[.] Valerius G.F. Rom. Cae[pilius] - Ebner, PP 21 (1966), 336-41, No.18; Pugliese Caratelli, PP 25 (1970). Funerary. Possibly 1st/2nd century A.D. He seems to have pursued a distinguished career, being listed as decurion, aedile, *duumvir iure dicundo* and pholarchus. The text also confirms the earlier evidence for the tribe of the city. For Valerii, see sv Valeria Florilla. The cognomen is not known from the South in this form. It is probably a diminutive of Caepio.<sup>86</sup>

Valeria Caepilia - Ebner PP 21 (1966), 336-41, No.18; Pugliese Caratelli, PP 25 (1970). Daughter of Valerius Caepilius.

(iii) 2nd century and later

Flavia Commendata - CIL 10.470. Funerary. Probably 2nd century or later. Both names are well-attested.

Gn. Voluntilius Successus - CIL 10.470. Funerary. 2nd century or later. According to Conway (591), the nomen is only found in large quantities around Praeneste.

M. Avienus Aedilis - CIL 10.470. Avienus is found in Latium, Umbria and Campania, and is a comparatively rare name (Conway 561). However, it is found at Paestum. Aedilis is clearly derived from the name of a magistracy and, as such, may be a fairly high status cognomen (Kajanto 317).

G. Sextilius Oppius - CIL 10.426. Probably 2nd/3rd century. Holder of the office of *quattuorvir quinquennalis*. Sextilius is reasonably common, with a distribution mainly in Latium and Campania.<sup>87</sup> There is no parallel for the use

of Oppius as a cognomen.

Claudia Potita - CIL 10.426. Funerary. Wife of G. Sextilius Oppius. Claudius/a is a very common nomen, but this is its first appearance at Velia. Potita has parallels from a number of places in its masculine form, but is found only at Potentia as a female cognomen.

Athostenos - Ebner, AC 17 (1965), 306-9. Honorific inscription by the *astynomoi* of Velia to Athostenos of Aegina, curator of the sanctuary of Minerva. The name is unusual and may be derived from an Aeginatan place-name.<sup>88</sup>

G. Julius Saturninus - CIL 10.471. From the area between Paestum and Velia. Probably 2nd/3rd century. Very simple inscription, with no record of the relationship between Saturninus and Julius Socrates, who set up the stone. Julii very common, as is the cognomen Saturninus.

G. Julius Socrates - CIL 10.471. Epitaph of G. Julius Saturninus, although there is no record of any relationship between them. The cognomen is Greek, but not particularly common, with parallels from Compsa, Trebula Mutuesca, Puteoli and Capua.<sup>89</sup>

Voconia Severa - CIL 10.467, AE 1978. 261, Ebner PP 21 (1966), 336-41. Three related inscriptions, of which the 1st two almost certainly refer to the same person.

(a) CIL 10.467. Dedication to Ceres by Voconia Severa, from the territory between Paestum and Velia.

(b) AE 1978. 261. Dedication or epitaph to Voconia M.F. Severa, priestess of Ceres. The text is fragmentary and it is difficult to establish whether this is an epitaph or a civic decree. However, it seems likely to be the latter.

(c) Ebner PP 21 (1966), 336-41. Epitaph of Voconia [.....], set up by her son, G. Vocon[ius .....].

Clearly Voconia was a person of importance, and the finding of a dedication in the area between Velia and Paestum suggests that she may have owned an estate there. Conway identifies the nomen as being most common in Latium,<sup>90</sup> although present in smaller numbers in Campania and Lucania. Parallels occur at Puteoli, Tarracina and Ulubrae.

Athenaeus - EE 8.849. Funerary. Probably 2nd/3rd century A.D. The single name would normally indicate low status or a non-citizen, but given the strength of the Greek tradition in Velia, it is possible that this represents some survival of Greek onomastic habits. It does not appear to have been common as a cognomen in Southern Italy, being found only at Antium.<sup>91</sup>

Sosia Germana - Wife of Athenaeus. Sosia is fairly rare, in this spelling, with parallels from Puteoli and Misenum.<sup>92</sup> The cognomen is one which is particularly frequent in Spain and Africa.

Magnesia - AE 1978. 259. Epitaph. 2nd/3rd century. Magnesia is not common as a female cognomen, with parallels only in Rome.<sup>93</sup>

L. Cominius Callisto - AE 1978. 259. Epitaph of Magnesia. The relationship between Cominius and Magnesia is not specified, which is unusual in the case of a near relative. It is possible that she was his daughter, but it seems more likely that she was a slave, particularly given the absence of a nomen. The Cominii are already attested at Velia.<sup>94</sup> It appears to be a common nomen, but more so in Latium and

Umbria than in the South. Callisto is a Greek cognomen.

Arrius Isidorus Missicius - CIL 10.469. Epitaph. 3rd century or later. The name is characteristic of late Roman nomenclature in that the praenomen has disappeared and an agnomen added. Arrius is found throughout Italy but seems to have been most common in Latium. Isidorus is Greek and is also found at Puteoli, Misenum and Formiae. There is no parallel for Missicius, but Kajanto suggests that it may have been a military cognomen.<sup>95</sup>

Silvanus - CIL 10.469. Epitaph. Son of Arrius Isidorus. Very common name.

Terentia Compes - Ebner PP 25 (1970), 262-7. Marble stele with epitaph. Terentia is common, although this is its first appearance at Velia. There is no parallel for Compes, but it may be a geographical cognomen derived from Compsa. It may also, however, be an error, for Compes.

Terentius Scymnus - Ebner PP 25 (1970), 262-7. Possibly the father of Terentia Compes, although no relationship is stated. Scymnus may be a Greek derivative, also found at Puteoli, Allifae and Corfinium.<sup>96</sup>

Philistia Iucundilla - Co-dedicator of the stele of Terentia Compes, possibly her mother. Philistia may be a Greek name, with only one parallel, from Aeclanum.<sup>97</sup> Iucundilla is a diminutive form of Iucunda.

L. Valerius M. F. Susceptus - CIL 10.466. Epitaph. 2nd/3rd century. For Valerii, see sv Valeria Florilla. Susceptus is unparalleled.

T. Cominius Susceptus - CIL 10.466. Father of Valerius Susceptus. The discrepancy in the nomina and filiation

suggests that Valerius must have been adopted by the Valerii, or that T. Cominius Susceptus is his stepfather. For the Cominii, see sv L. Cominius Callisto.

Publilia Andrea - CIL 10.466. Mother of Valerius Susceptus. Publilius/a is identified by Conway as being a Latin and Campanian name. Andrea is a Greek name, derived from Andros. There are parallels at Acerruntia, Aesernia, Venafrum and Carales.<sup>98</sup>

Julius Callistus - Ebner PP 25 (1970), 262-7. Epitaph, on marble stele. Lack of a nomen suggests a date of 3rd century or later. Julii are very common. For Callistus, see sv Cominius Callisto.

Julius Acianus - Ebner PP 25 (1970). Father of Julius Callistus. Acianus is unparalleled.

[.] Lucius A[....] - AE 1978. 258. Epitaph. The use of Lucius as a nomen is very common in Campania, but not found in Southern Italy.<sup>99</sup>

Julia Crescentia A[.....] - AE 1978. 258. Grandmother of Lucius. Both names are common.

Furia Nemesis - AE 1978. 258. Mother of Lucius. Again, both names are well-documented.

Nervilia Narbulia - AE 1978. 257. Cf. PP 21 (1966), 337 and Rass. Stor. Sal. (1965), 69. Epitaph, by Nervilius Justus, for his freedwoman and his son. Late 1st century/early 2nd century. Both names are unparalleled, but Nervilia could be related to Nerullius/a and Narbulia, to Narbulla.

G. Nervilius Justus - AE 1978. 257. Veteran of the Praetorian Guard, commemorated in the same epitaph as



Nervilia Narbulia.

G. Nervilius Justus - AE 1978. 257. Dedicator of the epitaph of Nervilius Justus and Nervilia Narbulia. Centurion of the fleet at Misenum, settled at Velia as part of a veteran deduction. This is not previously known, although the fragmentary epitaphs containing references to veterans gave an indication of some settlement.<sup>100</sup> The date is not known, but the fact that the fleet is referred to as having praetorian status dates it to the reign of Vespasian or later. It has been suggested that it was contemporary with the settlement at Paestum, which took place in 71. However, there is no evidence for any reform of the municipal constitution or any reference to Velia as a colonia.

Brittius Praesens<sup>101</sup> - Corrector of Lucania and Bruttium at the beginning of the 4th century. He appears in two other inscriptions. The name is more usually found as Bruttius, which is known from an undated inscription from Velia, and is common in S. Italy.

Ρουφα - Ebner PP 21 (1966), No.28. Greek epitaph. Very late Empire. Rufa, or Rufia, is a fairly common Latin name, despite the use of Greek, but the accompanying name, Zobios, seems to be Greek.

Ζωβιος - Ebner PP 21 (1966), No.28. Greek epitaph. Late Empire. Greek name.

(iv) Undatable Inscriptions

Εἰρωνος του Πιστου - IG 14.657. Cippus. L.1 may read Σιρωνος.

Μυριν[...] της Η[...] - Ebner, PP 33 (1978). Frag. of stele. The name may be Μυριννη.

Διονυσιος του Ευεισκου - Ebner, PP 33 (1978).

Ζηνωνος του Απολλωνιδου - Ebner, PP 25 (1970). Sandstone stele.

Ζωιλος του Σοσιος - Ebner, PP 21 (1966), No.11.

Σωφρονας της Αγαθεινου - Ebner, PP 21 (1966), No.4.

Ιρας της Θρασυος - SEG 28.819. Ebner, PP 33 (1978).

Possibly 2nd/3rd century B.C.<sup>102</sup>

Φιλιστους της Θρασυος - SEG 28.819. Ebner, PP 33 (1978).

Possibly 2nd/3rd century B.C.

Ζηνωνος του Δημητριου - SEG 28.818. Ebner PP 33 (1978).

Κοκκυδος της Προκλεου = Ebner, PP 25 (1970). Sandstone stele.

Αριστας της Φιλικου - Ebner, PP 25 (1970). Sandstone stele.

Χρυσιδος - Ebner, PP 21 (1966), No.12.

Εύβα της Ερατεωνος - Ebner, PP 25 (1970). Sandstone stele.

Αισχυριων Δι[ο]νυσιου - IG 14.656. Cippus.

Ευαγορου του Ο - Ebner, PP 21 (1966), No.5.

Δεινιας του Ζωιλου - Ebner, PP 21 (1966), No.7.

Ίκεσιας της Σ[ω]σανδρος - Ebner, PP 21 (1966), No.8.

Κληνομαχου του Δι[ο]νυσιου - Ebner, PP 21 (1966), No.9.

Ονησου του Απολλοδωρου και Αριστ[ω]νος - Ebner, PP 21 (1966), No.3.

Δι[ο]νυσιου - Ebner, PP 21 (1966), No.13. Cippus with vertical inscription.

Θεμιστους - Ebner, PP 21 (1966), No.10.

Αριστων - Ebner, PP 21 (1966), No.14. Inscribed vertically.

The above texts have been treated as a group, since the majority of them belong to a group which is known only from a 19th century manuscript, and listed by Ebner in PP 21 (1966). All are Greek and the majority of them are very similar in form, which may suggest a relatively narrow chronological span.

ΒΡΥΤΤΙΟΥ - Ebner, PP 25 (1970), 262-7. Sandstone stele with Ionic volutes. The name is Italian, and is common in S. Italian epigraphy. This is one of the few examples of an absorption of Italian names into the Greek onomastics of Velia. For another example of a Hellenised Italian of this name, see Cumae sv Kari[s] Brit[ies].

[Φ]ιλωνιδο[υ] Σωσανδρο[υ] Αριστων[υμο]υ υου - IG 14.661. Marble fragment. Top, right-hand corner of a stele. The names of the father and of both sons are Greek, but they are expressed in Latin form, with the addition of a Latin-style filiation rather than a patronymic. This may suggest a date after 293 B.C.

Hedyl[ius?] - Ebner, PP 21 (1966), No.19. Monument set up to Hedylius by someone of the same name. The deceased is described as Cerdo,<sup>103</sup> which may mean a workman or artisan. The name is known from another text from Velia, CIL 10.464, which is also a monument carrying only a single name. The name is not found elsewhere as a single name, but occurs as a cognomen at Canusium, Trebula Mutuesca and Aveia Vestina, where it occurs as Edulius rather than Hedylius, a fact which suggests that it may have been of Greek origin.<sup>104</sup>

Marsilius - AE 1978. 263. Stele, with single name. The nearest parallel is Marsillus, which is found as a cognomen

at Puteoli, Corfinium, Alba Fucens and in the Ager Amiternus.<sup>105</sup>

Galimorphus - CIL 10.463. No parallels.

Lucretius - EE 8.284. Alumnus of S. Pufius Campanus. The name is common.

S. Pufius Campanus - EE 8.284. There is no parallel for the nomen. It is possible that this is a misspelling of either Pupius or Rufius, both of which are known from Campania,<sup>106</sup> although Pupius does not appear in Lucania. Campanus is a fairly well-attested geographical cognomen which may indicate Campanian origin.

## b) Conclusions

### (i) Language

Unlike Cumae, Velia does not appear to have undergone a period of genuine linguistic mixing. The evidence available shows that Greek and Latin did not overlap to any great extent, although it is entirely likely that they co-existed. The Oscan element, which is found at Cumae, is missing entirely in terms of language choice, although there are onomastic traces of an Oscan element in the population. This corroborates the literary sources, which indicate that the city was never overrun by Italians in the same way that Cumae and Paestum were. The major difference between Velia and the majority of the Italiote cities is that Velia has a preponderance of Greek inscriptions, a phenomenon which is only found in the much larger centres of Naples and Regium. Unfortunately, the majority of these are simple grave markers, either stelai or cippi, which carry only the names

of the deceased. Thus they yield little information about the life of the city and cannot be dated with any degree of certainty. The problem is further complicated by the fact that many examples of this type of monument are known only from a 19th century manuscript, the originals having been lost. However, the Greek epigraphy of the area also includes a considerable number of religious texts which have been edited and dated, thus making it possible to trace the use of Greek in religious texts from the 5th century to the 1st century A.D., at least.

In terms of funerary epigraphy, it is noticeable that there is little overlap in terms of language and onomastics. Greek texts tend to preserve Greek names and onomastic forms, while Latin examples tend to use the form which became more-or-less standard in the Late Republic or Early Empire, with name of deceased, age, and name of dedicant. Latin names and onomastic features appear to have been absorbed into the Greek tradition in only a handful of examples. This is in sharp contrast to the large quantity of Greek epigraphy from Naples, in which Latin names, onomastic forms and funerary formulae are all adopted, so that a proportion of the texts are simply Latin texts translated literally into Greek. However, the fact that occasional Latin names and conventions do occur suggests that at least some of the Greek stelai were contemporary with the Latin epigraphy from the area, and that they do not represent a simple linear transition from Greek to Latin. For instance, the word *υίος* occurs on one occasion, a

feature which is widely used in the Greek East to translate the Latin filiation and which seems to indicate the presence of a Latinised name form. There are also a number of cases where Italian names occur in texts which are otherwise Greek in language and character, indicating that there was either the adoption of Italic names by people who were linguistically and culturally Greek, or that there was a certain amount of immigration into the city, which involved the adoption of Greek by Italians living there. Of these two, the second hypothesis is the more likely.

Perhaps the most significant aspect of the evidence for the continuation of Greek at Velia is the discovery of a number of official documents which are either in Greek only or are bilingual. The earliest of these, which can be dated to 242 B.C., shortly after the first contacts with Rome, is a decree concerning an embassy to Velia and other Italiote cities from the Asklepeion on Kos. This will be discussed in more detail elsewhere, but it provides important evidence for the fact that Velia was still an integral part of the Greek world as a whole and was recognised as such by major international bodies, and also that, despite the alliance with Rome, Velia was still apparently pursuing independent diplomatic relations with the Greek world. At a later period, in the 1st century A.D., Velia can still be seen to be using Greek, at least for honorific purposes, although there is no evidence that it was the language in which routine business was conducted by the municipal government. Two documents exist, one of which is fragmentary but appears

to be a Greek decree of the *συνκλητος* and the other of which is complete and is a bilingual decree, in Latin and Greek, also of the *συνκλητος*. These are directly comparable in that they are both honorific decrees for individuals, and are very similar to the proxeny decrees which are found all over the Greek world in the Hellenistic period. The Greek text concerns a group of doctors, who are described as *Ouliades*, a term which must indicate a connection with the cult of Apollo *Oulios*, and thus are likely to be local. However, the bilingual text concerns a Roman noble, G. Julius Naso, a fact which suggests that the bilingual convention was a concession to the fact that the recipient of the honour was not a Greek. The similarity of the form and the language of these decrees to those of some of the Greek proxeny decrees suggests that Velia still preserved Greek diplomatic forms, and had continuing contact with the Greek world as a whole.

The exact date at which Latin began to take over from Greek as the primary language of Velia cannot be pinpointed with any degree of certainty. The earliest dated Latin text is the epitaph of Cornelius Gemellus, which is probably late 1st century B.C., and there are a number of epitaphs which can be dated to the 1st century A.D., but the vast majority of the Latin epitaphs have the heading *D.M.*, which usually indicates a date of 2nd century or later. The beginning of the change of balance from Greek to Latin can possibly be traced to the foundation of a colony of veterans at Velia, at some stage in the late 1st century. This is not attested

in the literary sources, and does not appear to have been reflected in any changes to the Velian constitution or to the name of the city, but is known from an inscription which names a veteran who formed part of the deduction. It must have taken place after the grant of Praetorian status to the fleet, which was made by Vespasian. Probably the most plausible hypothesis is that the deduction was made in 71 A.D., at the same time as the founding of the colony at Paestum. Six veterans are known from Velia, most of them from the fleet and probably part of this deduction. This would be an event which would be likely to give an impetus to the use of Latin at Velia, and may account for the decline of Greek and the increase in Latin in the epigraphic record.

One curious feature is that despite the evidence for the use of Greek language and forms in the official life of the city as late as the 1st century A.D., all the known magistrates of the city appear to have been Latin speakers, who had Roman names and recorded their careers in the usual Latin epigraphic forms. Thus it is clear that the survival of Greek language and customs at Velia cannot be regarded as a straightforward process. It seems that although the *synkletos* was retained, and continued to conduct at least some of its business in Greek until a relatively late date, the magistrates of the city were not Greek but Roman and were following the usual Romanised municipal career structure. The means by which this infiltration of Roman elements took place is not clear. It is possible that they



were the result of a previously unknown colonial settlement, although the existence of the quattuorviral structure of government would be unusual, although not unknown, in this situation. However, it is more likely, given the lack of evidence for any colonising phase, that the Latin speaking population was a result of gradual accretion over the 2nd and 1st centuries B.C., which may have been given some impetus in the Late Republic or Early Empire by the minor popularity of the area among aristocratic Romans and the patronage which may have been extended to the city by Augustus. Thus, the Greek survivals in areas connected with official activities may have been to some extent a deliberate anachronism or a survival of limited importance. It seems inconceivable that there could have been a genuine dichotomy of language and character of this type between the deliberative and executive bodies of the municipium.

(ii) Immigration and Emigration

The evidence for the fluctuation and mobility of population at Velia is limited, and much of what exists has already been discussed in the context of the possible phases of colonisation. However, it is worth noting that there is evidence from the 3rd-1st centuries B.C. to suggest that there were a number of Velians who were still in contact with the Aegean probably for commercial reasons, and who may have lived in Greece on a semi-permanent basis. Of these, the most prominent is Hermon Hermonos, a banker, whose family are known to have maintained interests on Delos for several generations. However, these examples will be

discussed more fully elsewhere. Two inscriptions found rather nearer to Velia may also be indicative of trade and seafaring interests. These are the epitaphs of two Velians found on Lipara, one of which appears to belong to the early third century B.C., while the other one has been dated to the 2nd or 1st century. There is no indication of the reason for their presence, but contacts between Velia and Lipara are known from an earlier date and it is possible that a trading relationship existed.

Evidence for immigration, and particularly for immigration from other parts of Italy, is scarce, apart from the rather slight evidence for a settlement of veterans. However, the changes in language and onomastics, which have been discussed above, are a clear indication that a considerable influx of Italians must have taken place at some stage during the 1st century A.D., and possibly also the late 1st century B.C. Unfortunately, the onomastics of this period are not very informative. The nomina which are attested, which are the most reliable way of tracing geographical origin, are ones which are fairly well-attested in many areas of Italy, and thus cannot be used to identify sources of immigration. The Latin name-stock is small, if fragments and obvious outsiders are excluded. Nomina attested are Caesetius (2?), Julia (1), Cornelius (1), Gabinius (4) and Valerius (4). It may be significant that Valerii are very common at Misenum, and it seems to have been a popular name among members of the fleet, but it is not possible to trace it with any degree of certainty.

However, both Valerii and Gabinii seem to be much more common in Latium and Campania than in Lucania and Bruttium, and this may be a pointer to a migration from these areas to Velia.

(iii) Social Structure

The high percentage of Greek inscriptions at Velia makes it much more difficult to analyse in terms of its social composition than those sites which have a predominantly Latin epigraphy, since Greek epitaphs contain much less information of a type which can be used for social analysis. However, it is still possible to attempt to pinpoint individuals of particularly high or low status, which can be compared with similar figures from other Italiote cities.

In considering the presence of high status individuals, some care needs to be taken to eliminate those who are not permanent residents of the area. For instance, there are three senators who are known to have had connections with Velia, Nonius Asprenas, G. Julius Naso and Brittius Praesens. It is possible that they may have owned property at Velia, and therefore their presence is significant, but it is not likely that they are natives of the city, and in the case of Naso, this can be confirmed by reference to Pliny. There are no known senators who are native to Velia, and no known inhabitants of equestrian rank, although praetorian veterans may have counted as such. However, a considerable number of individuals are known who had high status in a local context. These include four holders of

municipal office and eight known priests, who are likely to have had considerable importance. The majority of these texts are of the 1st century A.D., although a number may have been later. However, one of the most surprising aspects of Velia, in terms of social profile, is the almost entire lack of known slaves and freedmen. Overall, only two freedmen and one slave are positively identifiable. It seems inconceivable that this can reflect the true proportions of slave/freed individuals to free citizens, and much of this must be due to distortion caused by the lack of status indicators in Greek epigraphy and in the later Latin inscriptions. However, it is possible that the proportion of slaves and freedmen was rather lower in Velia than in many other cities. The only other significant group which can be identified is a group of six veterans, who probably represent a group with fairly high social and economic status, particularly since they belong to a settlement made after the grant of praetorian status to veterans of the Misenum fleet. It is not possible to attempt an identification of the middle socio-economic groups, which were represented at Cumae by the occurrence of large family tombs, and evidence for the existence of households of substantial size, with a considerable number of slaves and freedmen.

Analysis of the evidence of cognomina is also hampered by the presence of large numbers of Greek names and the difficulties of dating. However, it may be significant that the number of Greek cognomina is much smaller than at many

of the settlements studied by Kajanto. Both free and slave/freed groups indicate a preponderance of Latin cognomina, and the total, allowing for a large number of incerti, indicates that there were less than half as many Greek cognomina as Latin. This total is further inflated, particularly on the Greek side, by the inclusion of a number of Greek derived names which occur only as single names rather than as true cognomina. In a qualitative, rather than a quantitative, analysis, the Greek cognomina used at Velia do not seem to be any more closely related to the Greek onomastics of the early period than do Greek cognomina elsewhere. There are occasional examples of actual Greek proper names, such as Socrates, Lais and Menander, but there are also a high proportion of names such as Magnesia and Nemesis, which are frequently found as servile names. However, the qualitative analysis of Greek cognomina is an area from which no firm conclusions can be drawn until further analysis is made using a larger amount of data. However, the automatic equation between all Greek cognomina and servile or freed status is not borne out in the case of Velia since there are a number of examples of families which pass down such cognomina over several generations of free birth.

## Rhegium

### 1. Nature of the Epigraphic Evidence

Comparatively little is known about Rhegium in the Roman period, compared with the information available about some of the other cities of Magna Graecia, but the epigraphic evidence suggests that the city continued to flourish and to maintain its Greek identity, despite the number of Roman colonists which were introduced.<sup>1</sup> Of the texts which have survived, 40 are Latin, while 36 are Greek and 1 is bilingual. In so far as these can be broken down into approximate chronological groups, the Greek texts are in the majority up to the end of the 1st century A.D., but gradually decline in the 2nd and 3rd centuries, and finally disappear in the Late Empire. However, there are a substantial number of Greek texts which can be attributed to the Roman period on the grounds that they contain Latin names but cannot be dated any more closely, and it is possible that these may affect the distribution of the respective languages if it were possible to date them.

As in most other cases, the majority of the texts are funerary. It is also notable that most of the funerary inscriptions are in Latin, whereas Greek predominates in some of the other classes of evidence. There are 10 religious inscriptions, and 9 relating to civic life, of which the majority are inscribed in Greek rather than in Latin. There is also a group of 8 Greek and 12 Latin texts which can be loosely grouped together as commemorative texts. A small number of miscellaneous inscriptions such as brick and tile stamps have also been found.

## 2. Historical Evidence

As with many of the cities of Magna Graecia, the historical evidence for Rhegium is relatively good for the earlier periods of the city's history, but becomes much less adequate for the period after the Roman annexation. It was founded by Chalcidian settlers<sup>2</sup>, in response to an oracle from Delphi, but also preserved a tradition of a foundation by Orestes<sup>3</sup>, which may reflect the existence of an earlier, possibly non-Greek, settlement on this site. The strategic position of the city, commanding the narrowest point of the Straits and controlling both navigation through them and the easiest crossing to Sicily, seems to have had a major effect on the political allegiances of the city. It preserved much closer links with Sicily than other Italiote cities, in particular Messana<sup>4</sup>, and does not seem to have fallen under Tarentine domination<sup>5</sup> to the same extent as the rest of Magna Graecia, although it did on occasion form alliances with Tarentum<sup>6</sup>. In the 4th century, Rhegium seems to have been integrally involved in Syracusan foreign policy, having connections with Timoleon and Dion<sup>7</sup>, as well as falling under the direct rule of Syracuse for a time, during the campaigns of Dionysios 1 in Magna Graecia<sup>8</sup>.

Relations between Rome and Rhegium appear to have been much more cordial than those with most other Italiote cities. Rhegium entered into alliance with Rome voluntarily, requesting a garrison and an alliance not long after a similar request from Thurii in 280<sup>9</sup> and appears to have remained loyal to Rome throughout the Pyrrhic and Punic wars. Its strategic position and its harbour made it a major base for Roman operations in both the 1st and 2nd Punic wars<sup>10</sup>, and there is evidence of Rhegine contributions to the Roman navy during

the 3rd and 2nd centuries<sup>11</sup>. The continuing Greek character of Rhegium is attested by Strabo and Livy<sup>12</sup>, amongst others, despite the fact that it must have received some admixture of Italian and Roman settlers, and some diminution of the Greek population during the takeover of the city by the Campanian garrison in the 270s<sup>13</sup>. During the period of the civil wars, Rhegium was again of great strategic importance, particularly in Octavian's campaigns against Sextus Pompeius, whose naval forces were based in Sicily<sup>14</sup>. Initially, Rhegium was one of a list of 18 cities which were to be given over to Octavian's veterans, but an exemption was granted, probably to secure the loyalty of the city<sup>15</sup>, although a smaller settlement of naval veterans was made, probably in 42<sup>16</sup>. Little is known about the history of Rhegium after this date, although there are passing references to its pottery and wine production<sup>17</sup>, its Greek gymnasium and to its harbour<sup>18</sup>. It seems to have increased in importance in the late empire, when it became the administrative centre for the *Correctores Lucaniae et Brittiorum*<sup>19</sup>.

### 3. Priesthoods, Cults and Colleges

A considerable amount of evidence survives for the religious life of Rhegium, but this is, for the most part, limited to documents relating to the cults of Artemis and Apollo<sup>20</sup>. In addition to these, there are number of later texts which refer to eastern religions. One of these is a dedication to Isis and Sarapis<sup>21</sup>. The remainder are all epitaphs, but of a distinctively Christian character<sup>22</sup>.

The material relating to the cults of Apollo and Artemis have already been intensively studied, most recently by Costabile<sup>23</sup>, but the evidence is very complex and requires further study. The cults



have been conclusively identified as the most important cults of the city, certainly dating back to the Chalcidian foundation, and possibly, in the case of Artemis, pre-dating it<sup>24</sup>. The epithets appear to have been Artemis Phacelitis and Apollo Archegetes<sup>25</sup>. The cults appear to have been closely connected, although they had separate precincts, that of Artemis being situated outside the city walls. The majority of the inscriptions which survive cannot be attributed with any certainty to one or the other of the cults, and the iconography on one of the surviving stones strongly suggests a dedication to both deities, since it depicts both the tripod and snake of Apollo and the bow and quiver of Artemis<sup>26</sup>.

The evidence for sacrifices to Apollo and Artemis appears to be chronologically homogeneous, being dated by most of the editors to the Julio-Claudian period<sup>27</sup>. The appearance of a large number of individuals with the name Gaius Julius strongly suggests that they belong to the period of the Augustan colonisation and the addition of the title Julia to the name of the city, although the city does not appear to have received colonial status, and the palaeography of the inscriptions has been taken as evidence of a date ranging between the period of the 2nd triumvirate and the Antonine period. However, it seems unlikely that they would be this late<sup>28</sup>.

Costabile has attempted to analyse the pattern of office and priesthoods named in these texts and to determine the nature of the occasions which they commemorate<sup>29</sup>. However, some of his conclusions seem open to challenge. It is plausible, given the nature of the offices listed, that the inscriptions commemorated important sacrifices to Artemis and/or Apollo, or possibly the selection of the

officials who would carry out such ceremonies. The list includes the πρυτανις, συνπρυτανις, θυτης, ιεροσκοπος, μαντις, ιεροκηρυξ, ιεροπαρεκτης, ιεροσαλπιστης, ταμιας, σπονδαυλης, κληναυγης, and, μαγιρος. One of the texts also contains an αγορανομος but the text in question is very fragmentary and it is impossible to reconstruct the exact context in this case<sup>30</sup>. However, the inclusion of the more specialised of these offices, such as the μαντις and the μαγιρος, suggests that the individuals mentioned are concerned with sacrifices, as suggested by Costabile. The problem arises in his assertion that these commemorate specific sacrifices, and that these occasions can be equated with the annual festivals celebrated by Rhegium and Messana, which are described by Pausanias<sup>31</sup>. The fact that there is no dedication or indication of the occasion included on any of the stelai in question raises doubts about whether these monuments can be assigned to a particular religious occasion as well as to particular cults. It is possible that these documents are lists of magistrates and priests for a given year, or simply state dedications, rather than memorials connected with a specific festival. The fact that the cults of Apollo and Artemis may well have been the state cults of Rhegium increases the danger of misattribution if attempts are made to tie down these documents too specifically, since such cults must have been the focus for a large number of state ceremonies and sacrifices throughout the year.

Costabile's arguments concerning the nature of the festival in the Roman period, and the nature of the offices named in the documents in question, also seem to require some re-evaluation. His argument that the πρυτανεις, συνπρυτανεις, and αρχοντες are civic magistrates while the rest of the offices named are religious in

character seems to be correct<sup>32</sup>, although there have been attempts to argue that all the offices are religious ones, and the names which seem more appropriate to civic offices are anachronistic borrowings. The presence of civic officials is readily explicable if the texts relate to a state cult and to state ceremonies. However, since this question related more closely to the administrative development of the city than to its religious life, it will be discussed in more detail in Section 5.

The question of the nature of the Rhegine festival in the Roman period and its relation to these texts is problematic. Costabile regards these texts as evidence that the festival referred to by Pausanias was still celebrated in the Roman period, but considers that they provide evidence of the decline of Greek culture and the debasement of Greek religion. As noted above, there is little evidence to connect these inscriptions with the local festival described by Pausanias. Moreover, the date implied by Pausanias is much earlier, probably late 6th or early 5th century, and Pausanias' use of the past tense in his description suggests that the festival had lapsed by his day, or was not known to him. This is not, in itself, an insuperable obstacle, since the inscriptions under consideration clearly belong to an earlier period, and it is possible that the festival could have lapsed in the meantime. Costabile's thesis that the inscriptions represent the remainder of the old Italiote aristocracy, now Romanised but still performing Greek functions, although in a debased form, seems to be open to question. Most of the names recorded are Latin, and many of them seem to indicate a Campanian origin, which would seem to indicate that these are not the members of the Greek aristocracy, but new families

introduced as part of the Campanian occupation in the 270's or as part of the process of settlement and colonisation which took place in the period of the Civil Wars. The few Greek names which survive are, in general, those of the lower officials or of assistants who were probably of servile status. This would seem to suggest that the inscriptions represent a Romano-Campanian aristocracy who still adhered to a form of the Greek customs, and used Greek language, for religious purposes.

One other festival is known from Roman Rhegium. This appears to have been dedicated to Athena, and evidently had games associated with it. However, no details have survived, and there is only one piece of evidence for its existence.<sup>33</sup>

Little evidence exists at Rhegium for the presence of colleges in the Roman city. Only two are known, both from single references. The inscription concerning the dedication of the Isis and Serapis temple was made by a man who describes himself as a *Sevir Augustalis*<sup>34</sup>, which indicates that there must have been a college of *Augustales*, although nothing is known of their activities. Similarly, there is a brief reference to a college of *Dendrophori*<sup>35</sup>.

#### 4. Imperial Connections

Rhegium is known from other sources to have had connections with Octavian and his family, but very little evidence of this appears in the epigraphic record. A fragment of an altar dedicated to "Vict[...] Aug[...] Sacr[...]"<sup>36</sup> has survived, as has a dedication to Scribonia and her brother, Scribonius Libo, which must belong to 40/39 B.C. since Scribonia is described as the wife of Caesar<sup>37</sup>. Some evidence

of Augustan colonisation and interest in the city has been seen in the number of instances of Gaius Julius in the onomastics of the area, but it is difficult to judge much from this as names indicating enfranchisement or other forms of patronage by the Julian family are common in all areas of Italy. In addition, three Julian freedmen are known, two being freedmen of Julia, and the other being a freedwoman of Livia.<sup>38</sup>

Other instances of imperial connections with the city before the late empire are also rare, being limited to an inscription making reference to Vespasian and Titus<sup>39</sup>, and a dedication to Hadrian<sup>40</sup>. However, in the late empire, there appears to have been a sudden upsurge of official interest in the city. It seems likely that this was connected with the introduction of the *Correctores Lucaniae et Bruttiorum*, since Rhegium was apparently one of the administrative centres for this *Corrector*, the other being Salernum<sup>41</sup>. Fragmentary texts referring to Valentinian<sup>42</sup> and Constantine<sup>43</sup> have been found, as well as a large inscription recording assistance to the city by Valentinian to help with the reconstruction of a baths building destroyed by earthquake<sup>44</sup>. A large number of texts referring to *Correctores* also survives from this period<sup>45</sup>.

##### 5. Municipal Government

The nature of the constitution of Rhegium in the Hellenistic period and as a Roman *municipium* has been much discussed, and the evidence is very problematic. Much of the problem lies in the dating of the documents available, and in assessing the nature of the surviving Greek elements. The main questions to be considered are the relation of the decree of the βουλή<sup>46</sup> to the offices listed in the dedications

to Artemis and Apollo; the nature of these offices; the nature of the evidence for the Roman constitution and the date of transition from the Greek to the Roman system of government. In addition, some comparison with similar processes in other Italiote cities may be valid.

The most convenient starting point for any consideration of these issues is the decree in honour of Gn. Aufidius. This takes the form of a decree, in Greek, of the ἄλια, the βουλη, and the εσκλητος which grants honours, possibly in relation to the festival of Athena, to Gn. Aufidius, a Roman general. The general form of this document is very similar to the proxeny decrees which are a common feature of diplomatic life in the Aegean in the Hellenistic period<sup>47</sup>. It indicates that at the period at which it was passed, the eponymous magistrate of the city was the *prytanis*, and that the legislative machinery consisted of the *boule*, together with the *halia* and *eskletos*. The date of the document has been a matter of some debate, conjectures ranging from the 2nd century B.C. to the 1st century A.D., depending on the equation of the Aufidius in question with a variety of possible Aufidii who held office in Rome<sup>48</sup>. However, the later dates suggested seem unlikely, and it is usually dated to the pre-Social War period. Thus the system of government recorded here is that of the Greek city, before the grant of Roman citizenship.

The next series of constitutional documents which have survived belong to the 1st century B.C., although it possible that one may be as early as the 2nd century<sup>49</sup>. However, these do not give much information about the main constitutional features of the city at this date. The earliest of these texts does not concern the main

machinery of government, but the administration of an association, possibly of actors, which is referred to as *κοινον των περι του Διονυσου*. It is likely that the offices referred to are those of the association rather than of the city as a whole. The other documents do not refer to the main civic magistracies, but to the office of *gymnasiarch*<sup>50</sup>. The exact status of this office is uncertain. In some cities, notably Alexandria, it is known to have developed from a specialised post concerned with the training of *ephebes* into an important office of state. Inscriptions from Velia which suggest that it became an integral part of the Roman municipal *cursus* provide a parallel for this type of change of function from within Italy<sup>51</sup>. Bowersock appears to assume that this was the case, and takes the presence of the *gymnasiarchy* as evidence of Greek survivals in the constitution<sup>52</sup>, although he does not discuss the issue in great depth. However, Sartori suggests that it did continue to be a fairly peripheral office, with specialised responsibilities<sup>53</sup>, and that its survival in 1st century Rhegium is an indication of a survival of Hellenistic culture on a general level, rather than in a specifically constitutional context. There is no evidence, as at Velia, that the office ever became a regular part of the municipal *cursus*, and it seems more likely that it remained an office concerned with the training of *ephebes*<sup>54</sup>.

The main problems in considering the survival of Greek institutions and the nature of municipal government in Rhegium lie in the interpretation of the group of 1st century A.D. inscriptions relating to the cults of Apollo and/or Artemis<sup>55</sup>. The offices mentioned in these inscriptions which may relate to the municipal government are the offices of *Prytanis*, *synprytanis*, *archon* and

*agoranomos*. However, although the title of *Prytanis* seems to indicate continuity from the 2nd century B.C., the nature of the office appears to have changed. Whereas in IG 14.612, the only magistrates mentioned were the *Prytanis*, apparently the eponymous magistrate, and the presiding official of the boule, the 1st century texts include a *Prytanis*, an archon, often the same person, and a group of *Synprytaneis*, usually three in number, but sometimes only two. Only one text makes reference to an *agoranomos*. The fact that the most frequent configuration is a *Prytanis* and three *Synprytaneis* has led Mommsen to suggest<sup>56</sup> that these magistrates in fact represent a Greek translation of the normal municipal college of four quattuorvirs. However, there are several major difficulties in this interpretation. The objection of Sartori and Costabile<sup>57</sup> that elsewhere in Southern Italy the terms *duumvir* and *quattuorvir* are literally translated as τεσσαρης ανδρες and δυο ανδρε is not conclusive, given the lack of standardisation of Italian constitutions and of the translation of local terminology into Latin. The fact that not all the examples contain three *Synprytaneis* is a rather more decisive argument<sup>58</sup>.

Sartori<sup>59</sup> has attempted to solve the problem by placing SEG 29.987, which is rather different from the other texts, in the period before the Social war, together with IG 14.612. He then interprets IG 14.617-21 as representing a transitional constitution which retained many of its Greek features as a result of specially favourable treatment by Augustus and the other Julio-Claudian emperors, in recognition of Rhegine loyalty during the civil wars. The reversion to the Italian type of municipal constitution, with quattuorvirs as the main magistrates, is dated to the end of the 1st



century A.D. or the beginning of the 2nd century. However, this does not explain the changes in the titles of *Prytanis* and archon, which would seem to indicate some change in the nature of the magistracies. In the majority of these 1st century inscriptions, the *Prytanis* is described as εκ του 'ιδιου. This office is frequently held together with the archonship, which is not documented in the epigraphy of the Greek city, and which is almost always described as πενταετηρικός. The occurrence of these two phrases seem to indicate that this cannot be regarded as a straightforward civic magistracy and a genuine survival of the Greek constitution. The key to the problem may lie in the fact that in the majority of cases, the *Prytanis*, and sometimes the archon, hold office εκ του 'ιδιου. This would seem to suggest that a system of λειτουργιαί<sup>60</sup> was in operation, and that these are ceremonial offices undertaken by the leading families of the *municipium* as a civic duty. This interpretation also accounts for the fact that only a small number of gentes appear in the lists of *Prytaneis* and archons. Costabile<sup>61</sup> suggests that the selection of candidates for these posts was in some way rigged to favour the Roman inhabitants rather than the Greeks, but there is no evidence to support this. In fact, the pattern of domination of civic office by a comparatively small number of families, often of Roman extraction, is one which is found throughout Southern Italy. Rather than suggesting that the Greek families were debarred from these posts in some way, this seems to indicate that by the 1st century A.D., the leading families of the city were Roman or Italian immigrants rather than Greeks. It also suggests that these documents cannot be used as evidence for the use of Greek as an official language at Rhegium in the empire, and indicates that the Greek features of these texts are not a reflection of a working Greek constitution. The only office

which cannot be directly accounted for is that of agoranomos, which occurs only once, and does not appear to be a regular feature of this type of inscription. This may suggest that Rhegium had retained this as a title, as did many Greek cities, for the office of aedile<sup>62</sup>.

Comparison with other Italiote cities may provide some support for this interpretation. Costabile<sup>63</sup> draws comparisons between the presence of a system of liturgies at Rhegium, and a similar, but more gradual, set of developments at Locri. However, perhaps the closest parallel for the situation is at Velia, also a *municipium* with lingering Greek trace elements. While information on the Greek constitution is not as detailed as that available for Rhegium, there are a wider range of texts and more detailed information on the workings of the 1st/2nd century municipal constitution, in the form of a series of cursus inscriptions. Here, it is clear that the the honorary decrees of the senate/συνκλητος and the religious inscriptions<sup>64</sup>, which are Greek or bilingual, are not an integral part of the municipal constitution or an indication of the continuation of Greek as an official language. Cursus inscriptions which are contemporary, or only a little later than the Greek texts, indicate that all known holders of municipal magistracies are of Italian origin<sup>65</sup>. The only Greek offices which are retained are those of gymnasiarch and pholarch<sup>66</sup>, which are integrated into the Roman municipal cursus, but otherwise, the *municipium* is governed by quattuorvirs and aediles.

## 6. Social Structure

### a) Onomastic Catalogue

#### i) Republican (up to the end of the 1st century BC)

Μεμνων - Orsi, NSc, 1909, 314-8, Guarducci, 11, 494-6. Tile stamp. 4th or 3rd century B.C. From a group of 8 Hellenistic tombs, all containing tiles stamped by Memnon. cf. I.G. 14.2400-9. Greek name.

Αινιππος - Orsi, NSc 1909, 314-8, Guarducci, 11, 494-6. Eponymous magistrate, named on the tiles manufactured by Memnon.

L. Scrib[onius] - Turano, Klearchos 2(1960), 65-75, No.5. 40/39 B.C. Commemorative inscription concerning L. Scribonius Libo, and his sister Scribonia, wife of Octavian. Currently in Reggio Museum, but the actual provenance is not known. However, the importance of Rhegium in the war against Sextus Pompeius suggests that there is a good reason for the presence of close connections of Octavian at this date.

Scribonia - Turano, Klearchos 2(1960), 65-75, No.5. 40/39 B.C. Wife of Octavian. cf. L. Scribonius Libo.

Φιλων του Φιλωνιδα - SEG 1.418; Orsi, NSc 19 (1922), 181. Honorary decree. Late 1st century B.C. One of the two gymnasiarchs. Greek name.

Ονομαστος του Αγησιππου - SEG 1.418; Orsi, NSc 19(1922), 181. Honorary decree, 1st century B.C. One of the gymnasiarchs, together with Philon.

Μυισκος του Μυισκου - SEG 1.418. Honorary decree, late 1st century B.C. Grammateus. Greek name. For names from Magna Graecia with the -ισκος suffix, see Tarentum

Γ. Νορβανος Γαιου υιος - SEG 1.418. Orsi, NSc 19 (1922), 181. Recipient of honorary decree by the *demos* of Rhegium. Roman, but no titles given, so he does not appear to be a visiting magistrate or

official. Norbanus is most common in Campania (Conway 576), and does not appear to be widespread in Southern Italy. Parallels are found at Puteoli, Capua, Antium and Pompeii (CIL 10.3786, 3036, 1964, 3891, 6639, 814).

Νικανδρος του Λευκίου - IG 14.615, SEG 29.985, Mazzarini, Klearchos 81-4 (1979), 83-96. 2nd/1st century B.C. Archon of an association of *technitai*, described as κοινον των περι του Διονυσου. Mixed name indicates some Italian settlement and intermixing.

Συμμαχος του Ἡρακλειδου - IG 14.615, SEG 29.985, Mazzarini, Klearchos, 81-4 (1979), 83-96. Archon of the association of Dionysos. Greek name.

Φ[υ]λακος του φιλιστιωνος - IG 14.615, SEG 29.985, Mazzarini, Klearchos 81-4 (1979), 83-96. Archon of the association of Dionysos. Greek name.

Κρατιππος του Κρατιππου - IG 14.615, SEG 29.985, Mazzarini, Klearchos, 81-4 (1979), 83-96. Archon of the association of Dionysos. Greek name.

Αινησων Νικονος - IG 14.615, SEG 29.985, Mazzarini, Klearchos 81-4 (1979), 83-96. Recipient of a proxeny decree by the association of Dionysos.

Νικανδρος του Νικοδαμου - IG 14.612. 2nd century B.C.? Prytane, involved in the proxeny decree of Gn. Aufidius. Greek name.

Σωσιπολιος του Δαματριου - IG 14.615. Involved in the decree of proxeny to Gn. Aufidius. Greek name.

Γναιος Αυφιδιος Τιτου υιος - IG 14.615. Roman general, recipient of a proxeny decree by the βουλη and ἄλια of Rhegium. The constitutional problems, date and possible identifications of Aufidius have been discussed in section 5, above. cf. Broughton, MRR, Waddington, Fastes de Prov. Asiat., Sartori 135-6, Ghinatti, CS

1974, 13-14.

ΑΡΙΣΤΕΑΣ ΤΟΥ ΑΡΙΣΤΟΜΑΧΟΥ - IG 14.616. Probably Late 1st century, cf. Sartori, Cost. It. 141. Fragmentary decree.

ΚΛΕΟΘΑΜΟΣ ΤΟΥ Μ[.....] - IG 14.616. Fragmentary decree. Probably late 1st century.

M. Aemilius M.F. Flavius Julianus Latinianus - EE 8.246, PIR 1<sup>2</sup>.344  
Dedicatory. Possibly the son of Julia Aemilia Calitta, or of Aemilius Latinianus, cf. CIG 2979t. PIR suggests an identification with the consul of 25 B.C. and consul suffect of 33 B.C. Municipal patron, and voted a statue as an honour by the *municipium*. All names are well-attested. The onomastic proliferation suggests that Latinianus may have been adopted into the Aemilii.

Julia G.F. Aemilia Callitta - EE 8.247. 1st Century B.C./ A.D.  
Dedication/funerary. Julius/a is very common at Rhegium, as elsewhere. Possibly the mother (natural or adoptive) of M. Aemilius M.F. Flav. Julianus Latinianus. cf PIR 1<sup>2</sup>.344. The identification given by PIR would suggest a date of late 1st century B.C., or possibly 1st century A.D.

(iii) 1st Century A.D.

Paezusa - Turano, Klearchos 2 (1960), 65-75, No.7. Funerary. 1st century A.D., on basis of lack of D.M. In Museo Nazionale, Reggio di Calabria, but original provenance uncertain, although probably from the Rhegium area. Name rare in S. Italy, and of Greek provenance. Examples are found at Naples, Puteoli, Ferentinum, Atina and Circeii (CIL 10.1501, 2362, 5883, 6423, 5091).

Hecebolus - Turano, Klearchos 2 (1960), 65-75. NO.7. Funerary. Cognatus of Paezusa, a phrase which probably indicates servile origin. No parallel for the name.

Crhesimion - CIL 10.8339c. Funerary. 1st century A.D., on basis of lack of D.M. Single name, of Greek origin. There are no parallels, although single names and cognomina with the stem Chres- are common.

ΑΚΙΥΔΟΥΕ - Turano, Klearchos 2 (1960), 65-75, No.3. 1st century A.D. Funerary. Rare example of the specification of an East Greek origin, as the ethnic indicates a native of Cyzicene.

Cornelia M.F. Severina Bassa - EE 8.245. Record of a legacy left by Cornelia Severina to the *municipium* of Rhegium. Cornelii are well-attested in Campania and Latium, but there are few examples in Bruttium. cf. Locri, Potentia, Tegianum, Volcei, and Buxentum (CIL 10.492, 13, 408, 20, 298, 434, 160). For Severinus/a, see Kajanto 257.

T. Flavius T.F. Pal. Severinus Cornelius Saturninus - EE 8.245. Heir of Cornelia Severina. Name indicates adoption, adding the names of Cornelia Severina as agnomina. All names well-attested.

Claudia Iusta - CIL 10.7. Decree voted by the dendrophori. List of names appended are all female names. Claudii are numerous in Campania, but there are only a small number of examples in Bruttium, at Ager Teuranus, Locri, Paestum, Potentia, Velia, and the territory between Atina and Volcei (CIL 10.104-5, 480, 160, 390, 462, 29). Very common cognomen (Kajanto 18).

Sicin[...] [...]iuocepta - CIL 10.7. One of the list of female names appended to an honorific decree. Too fragmentary to reconstruct with any degree of certainty.

Amullia Primigenia - CIL 10.7 One of the list of female names appended to the decree of the Dendrophori. Amullia is principally a Campanian name (Conway 558). Very common cognomen (Kajanto 18).

Satria Pietas - CIL 10.7. One of the list of female names appended to the decree of the Dendrophori. Satrii are common in central Italy,

although found in lesser concentrations in the South (Conway 583). Pietas uncommon and is found only at Grumentum, Puteoli, Teanum Sidicinum, and Minturnae. (CIL 10.202, 2788, 4794, 6006).

Claudia Ptolemais - CIL 10.7. One of the list of female names appended to a decree of the dendrophori. Greek cognomen indicating Eastern, probably Egyptian, origin.

Terentia Athenais - CIL 10.7. One of the list of female names appended to the decree of the dendrophori. Name indicates Greek origin.

[.....] Λ. υἱος Πηνινοσ - SEG 29.989. Dedication to Artemis or Apollo, Early 1st century A.D. Probably Prytane and archon. Fragmentary but form of the name would suggest a Roman or Italian. Reginus a common cognomen at Rhegium. See also, Orsi, NSA 1896, 241; Putorti, It. Ant. 9-10 (1933), 3-8; Costabile, MEF 91 (1979).

[.....] Αρτεμιδορος - IG 14.621. Fragmentary dedication to Apollo or Artemis. Office does not survive. Name indicates a Greek.

[.....] ος Αριστομ[αχου] - IG 14.621. Fragmentary dedication to Apollo or Artemis. Hierokomos. Name indicates a Greek.

[Λ.] Μαρκιος Λ.Υ.[.....] - IG 14.620. Fragmentary dedication to Apollo or Artemis. Archon. Name indicates someone of Roman or Italian extraction.

Γ. Ιουλιος[.....] - IG 14.620. Fragmentary dedication to Apollo or Artemis. Synprytane. Name indicates Roman/Italian origin.

[.....] ς Μ.Υ. Μαρκος - IG 14.620. Fragmentary dedication to Apollo or Artemis. Name indicates Roman/Italian extraction.

Γ. Ιου[λιος.....] - IG 14.620. Fragmentary dedication to Apollo or Artemis. Roman/Italian name.

[Ευ] τυχης - IG 14.620. Fragmentary dedication to Apollo or Artemis. Freedman, Greek name or cognomen.

Ζωσιμος - IG 14.620. Fragmentary dedication to Apollo or Artemis. Common Greek name. Probably servile, as does not have a patronymic. Occurs IG 14.617, as the kapnauges.

Γ. Ποπιλλιος [....]ουλιανος - IG 14.618. Dedication to Apollo or Artemis. Prytane and archon. Roman/Italian name. Popillius is principally a Latin and central Italian name, with only isolated examples in the South (Conway 580).

Γ. Ποπιλλιου Γ.Υ. Φρε[.....] - IG 14.618. Dedication to Apollo or Artemis. Synprytane. cf. G. Popillius Julianus, who may be a relative.

Τ. Βεττιος Δομιτιανος - IG 14.618. Dedication to Apollo or Artemis. Vettius common throughout Campania and Central Italy, but rare in the South (Conway 590).

Γ. Νουμωνιος Κερεαλης - IG 14.618. Dedication to Apollo or Artemis. Mantis. Roman/Italian name. Numonii probably local to Lucania and Bruttium (Conway 577).

Γ. Ιουλιος Συντροφιανος - IG 14.618. Dedication to Apollo or Artemis. Hierokeryx. Julius very common. Greek cognomen.

Κτητος - IG 14.618. Dedication to Apollo or Artemis. Probably the spondaules. Greek name, but does not have any indication of ownership, as do most of the slaves on this type of inscription.

Βραυανθος Φης[.....]ς - IG 14.618. dedication to Apollo or Artemis. Kapnayges. Probably a slave, as is the other kapnayges.

Επιτυνχανος Ιουλιανου - IG 14.618. Dedication to Apollo or Artemis. Kapnayges, and slave of Popillius Julianus.

Σεξ. Νουμονιος Σεξ. Υ. Ματουρος - IG 14.617, Cooke, Ant. Journ. 1971. Dedication to Artemis and Apollo. Prytane and Archon. Numonius a local name, and it is possible that Numonius Maturus and Numonius Cerealis are related.



Κ. Ορτωριος Κ.Υ. Βαλβιλλος - IG 14.617, Cooke, Ant. Journ. 1971.  
Dedication to Apollo and Artemis. Ortorius a rare name, found principally in Samnium (Conway 578). Balbillus is rare cognomen, found only at Fabrateria (CIL 10.5656).

Μ. Πεπονιος Μ.Υ Πουλχερ - IG 14.617, Cooke, Ant. Journ. 1971.  
Dedication to Apollo and Artemis. Peponius not otherwise found in Southern Italy. It is possible that the name is a corruption of Pomponius.

Μ. Κορνηλιος Μ.Υ. Μαρτιαλις - IG 14.617, Cooke, Ant. Journ. 1971.  
Dedication to Artemis and Apollo. Both names attested at Rhegium and elsewhere in the area.

Μανιος Κορνηλιος Ουηρος - IG 14.617, Cooke, Ant. Journ. 1971.  
Dedication to Apollo and Artemis. All names well-attested.

Γ. Αντωνιος Θυτης - IG 14.617, Cooke, Ant. Journ. 1971. Dedication to Apollo and Artemis. Antonii are comparatively rare in Bruttium and Lucania, being found only at Atina, Tegianum, and Paestum (CIL 10.333, 338-40, 345, 314, 476, 381). There has been some argument as to whether the final element of the name should be regarded as a cognomen, or whether it should be separated from the name altogether and treated as an office or priestly function. However, since all the other offices precede the name, it seems more correct to treat it as a Greek cognomen. cf. Cooke, 1971, 261.

Γ. Ιουλιος 'Ρηγινος - IG 14.617, Cooke, Ant. Journ. 1971. Dedication to Apollo and Artemis. Cognomen could be either Greek or Latin, but under the circumstances, it seems likely to be a derivation from Rhegium. Common cognomen in this area.

Γ. Καλπουρνιος Ουηρος - IG 14.617, Cooke, Ant. Journ. 1971. Dedication to Apollo and Artemis.

Κ. Καικιλιος 'Ρηγινος - IG 14.617, Cooke, Ant. Journ. 1971.

Dedication to Apollo and Artemis.

Μελιφθονγος Ματουρου - IG 14.617, Cooke, Ant. Journ. 1971. Dedication to Apollo and Artemis. Slave of Numonius Maturus. Greek name.

Ναταλις - IG 14.617, Cooke, Ant. Journ. 1971. Dedication to Apollo and Artemis. Latin name.

Ἐλικων Ματουρου - IG 14.617, Cooke, Ant. Journ. 1971. Dedication to Apollo and Artemis. Also a slave of Numonius Maturus.

Μ. Απρος Ζοσιμος - IG 14.617, Cooke, Ant. Journ. 1971. Dedication to Apollo and Artemis. Greek cognomen.

[.....] ἕυιος Μαγνος - SEG 29.987, Ferri, RFIC 7 (1929), 338-9, Costabile MEFR 91 (1979). Dedication to Apollo or Artemis. Fragment of stele with aedicula and two columns. Latin name.

[.....] Ιουλιανος - SEG 29.987. Dedication to Apollo or Artemis. cf. Popillius Julianus.

[..] Ιουνιος [.....] - SEG 29.987. Dedication to Apollo or Artemis. Latin name.

[.] Ιουλιος [.....] - SEG 29.987. Dedication to Apollo or Artemis. Latin name.

Ευτυχης - SEG 29.987. Dedication to Apollo or Artemis. Greek name, but the text is too fragmentary to place this as either a cognomen or a single name.

Ἐρμης - SEG 29.987. Dedication to Apollo or Artemis. Greek name.

G. Julius Celos - Turano, Klearchos 5 (1963), 76-82. Funerary. After 14 A.D. The text commemorates Celos and his father Thiasus, both freedmen of Julia, and also his mother, Julia, a freedwoman of Livia. The cognomen is probably a Latinisation of a Greek name.

G. Julius Thiasus - Turano, Klearchos 5 (1963), 76-82. Funerary. After 14 A.D. The text commemorates Celos and his father Thiasus, both freedmen of Julia, and also his mother, Julia, a freedwoman of

Livia. The cognomen is Greek.

Julia - Turano, Klearchos 5 (1963), 76-82. Funerary. After 14 A.D. The text commemorates Celos and his father Thiasus, both freedmen of Julia, and also his mother, Julia, a freedwoman of Livia.

### 2nd Century AD and Later

M. Naevius Felicio - Turano, Klearchos 5 (1963), 76-82. Funerary. Epitaph of Naevius Felicio, set up by Sallustia Chione.

Sallustia Chione - Turano, Klearchos 5 (1963), 76-82. Funerary. Epitaph of Naevius Felicio, set up by Sallustia Chione. Greek cognomen.

Salvia Octavia - Turano, Klearchos 5 (1963), 76-82. Funerary.

Φαβρ[ικία] Ευφρο[συνη] - IG 14.627. Funerary. Presence of Θ.K. (D.M.) indicates a 2nd date or later. Latin nomen, Greek cognomen, both well-attested. Form of the inscription is identical to that of Latin ones of the period, as far as can be determined, but is translated into Greek.

Πρωτας - IG 14.624. Funerary. Presence of Θ.K. indicates a date of 2nd century A.D. or later. Simple epitaph giving only name and age, identical in form to contemporary Latin inscriptions. Greek name.

Pavina - Turano, Klearchos 10 (1968), 97-108, No.10. Funerary. 4th century A.D. Simple epitaph. Name is unparalleled, and Turano conjectures that it may be a corruption of Paulina.

Fabia Sperata - CIL 10.11. Funerary. 2nd century or later. Both names well-attested. Bilingual inscription.

Sallustius Agathocles - CIL 10.11. Funerary. 2nd century or later. Dedicator of the tombstone of Fabia Sperata. Greek cognomen. Lack of a praenomen may indicate a relatively late date.

Epagatus - CIL 10.9. Funerary. 2nd century or later. Slave. The name

is a common Greek one.

Limen - CIL 10.9. Funerary. 2nd century or later. Described as conservus of Epagatus, and is dedicator of Epagatus' tombstone. The name could be either Greek or Latin.

Sex. Fabius Celsus - CIL 10.10. Funerary. 2nd century A.D. or later. Both names well-attested.

Vagellia Marcellina - CIL 10.13. Funerary. 2nd century A.D. or later. The Vagellii are known from Locri, Vibo and Herculaneum (CIL 10.22, 35, 87 and 1401) and the name seems to have been common in Lucania (Conway 588).

Cornelius Firmus - CIL 10.10. Funerary. 2nd century A.D. or later. Son of Vagellia Marcellina. Both names common.

Theseus - CIL 10.12. Funerary. 2nd century A.D. or later. Slave of Vagellia Marcellina. Greek name.

Caliste - EE 8.248. Funerary. 2nd century A.D. or later. Greek name.

Crysoonus - EE 8.248. Funerary. Father or patron of Caliste. Also a Greek name.

Balerius Boeotianus - Turano, Klearchos, 10 (1968), 97-108. Funerary. Probably 2nd or 3rd century A.D. Common variant spelling. Both names are well-attested.

Staberia Aprilla - Turano, Klearchos, 10 (1968), 97-108. Funerary. Buried together with Balerius Boeotianus, and probably his mother. Common names in Campania, particularly at Naples and Capua, but not paralleled in Bruttium.

Valerius Boeotianus - Turano, Klearchos 10 (1968), 97-108. Funerary. Dedicator of the tombstone of Balerius Boeotianus and Staberia Aprilla.

Cerinthus - Turano, Klearchos 2 (1960), 65-75, No.6. Greek name with no parallel from Bruttium. In Museo Nazionale, Reggio di Calabria,

but exact provenance not known.

Q. Fabius Titianus - CIL 10.1 (=ILS 4376), PLRE 1 p.918-9. 4th century. Dedication to Isis and Serapis by Titianus and his wife. The Fabii Titiani seem to have been a prominent Sicilian family, and it is possible that this Titianus may have been the same man as the consul of 337 A.D. cf. ILS 8983 (Cumae).

Fabia Candida - CIL 10.1 (=ILS 4376). 4th century. Dedication to Isis and Serapis. Probably the wife of Titianus, although the fact that the nomina are the same makes it possible that they were brother and sister.

T. Sextius T.F. Vetur(anus?) Lateranus - AE 1914.141, Putorti, NSc 1913, 152-3. Patron of the *municipium*, and probably of senatorial rank.

Q. Sattius Flavius Vettius Gratus - Orsi, NSc 1922, 151-86. Ruggiero, Diz. Ep. sv Sattius Vettius Gratus. Very late empire. Marble cippus with inscriptions on both sides, both apparently concerning Vettius Gratus. Senatorial, and patron of the *municipium*. Cursus inscription indicating that Vettius held the office of Augur and was *Corrector Sacrarum*. All names are well-attested, apart from Sattius, which is a Campanian name and not common in the South (Conway 583).

Flavius Zenodoros - Putorti, NSc 1915, 32. c.400 A.D. Honorific inscription, commemorating Zenodoros' crossing from Sicily<sup>67</sup>. Greek cognomen.

Flavius Hadrianus Hierius Zenodorus - Putorti, NSc 1915, 32. c.400 A.D. PLRE 11 p.1197. Corrector Lucaniae et Brittiorum in 401 A.D. Dedicator of the memorial to Flavius Zenodorus, together with the *municipium* of Rhegium. Greek agnomina. cf Symm. Ep. 6.25, 9.3, 9.9, AE 1916. 10.2

Pontius Atticus - Putorti, Rend. Accad. Linc. 1912, 741-802. PLRE 1

p.123. *Corrector Lucaniae et Brittiorum* in charge of rebuilding the baths at Rhegium following an earthquake, apparently on the instructions of Valentinian.

Ti. Bervenus Ti.F. Sabinus - CIL 10.6. Dating for this text varies between 2nd (Cooke, *Ant. Journ.* 1971) and 3rd century A.D. (Sartori, *Cost. It.* 135-8). Commemorative inscription, recording the details of his career (*quattuorvir aed. pot.*) and his bequests to the *municipium*. Bervenus is unparalleled.

#### iv) Undated Inscriptions

G. Julius Neopto.F. Evander - Turano, *Klearchus* 2 (1960), 65-75, No.1. Funerary. Undated. Described as a trierarch. Some features of the names indicated strong Greek influence, in particular the cognomen and the use of a Romanised form of the Greek patronymic, rather than a true filiation. Turano suggests that he may be a Romanised Rhegine of Greek descent.

G. Julius G.F. Niger - Turano, *Klearchos* 2 (1960), 65-75, No.1. Funerary. Undated. Found near harbour, together with tombstone of G. Julius Evander, and also described as a trierarch.

Διονυσίου - SEG 1.419. Vase graffitto. Greek.

Κλεοφάντης Γλαυκίου - Orsi, *NSc* 1902, 44-6. Funerary. Archaic letter forms.

Κλεομένης Εμμείδου - Orsi, *NSc* 1902, 44-6. Funerary. Archaic letter forms.

Δεμ[ο]φάνης Θρασύου - Orsi, *NSc* 1902, 44-6. Funerary. Archaic letter forms.

Neri[....] - CIL 10.8339b. Funerary. Name no recoverable.

Asyll[..] - CIL 10.8339b. Funerary. Father of Neri[..]. Name possibly Asyllius.

Βερνικη - Turano, Klearchos 2(1960), 65-75, No.4. Funerary. Greek name, and may indicate eastern origin.

Clodius Priscus - EE 8.837. Lead tablet. Name common.

Κορνηλιου - IG 14.623. Funerary. Probably the patronymic. Latin name.

[.....] Hyginus - EE 8.249. Fragment.

Σεκουνδιων - IG 14.625. Epitaph. Latin name. Possibly from Locrian territory.

Φηλικλα - IG 14.625. Epitaph. Mother of Secundia. Latin name. Possibly from Locrian territory.

Λεων - IG 14.625. Epitaph. Father of Secundia. Greek name. Possibly from Locrian territory.

Νικανδος Νικωνος - IG 14.614. State dedication. Greek name.

Μαρια - IG 14.628. Christian epitaph.

Ιουλιος - IG 14.628. Christian epitaph.

Σεργιος - IG 14.627. Christian epitaph.

Ιουνιος - IG 14.627. Christian epitaph.

## b) Conclusions

### (i) Linguistic and Cultural Changes

The epigraphic evidence from Rhegium shows indications of the retention of a considerable degree of Greek culture, at least until the late 1st century A.D. However, the data available also raises questions about the nature of the Greek culture of the 1st century A.D. and the use of the Greek language, particularly in official documents, at Rhegium. As has already been noted in consideration of the evidence from Velia, Greek inscriptions cannot always be regarded as a simple indication of local survival of Greek. In this case, assessment is made even more difficult by the fact that the documents available fall into two distinct groups typologically as well as

chronologically. The material from the late Republic and the 1st century A.D., which is predominantly Greek, consists almost exclusively of official documents and public inscriptions of various types. In contrast, the material which is dated to the 2nd century and later is predominantly Latin and consists mainly of funerary and commemorative texts. Thus, no direct comparison can be made, as it is possible that these groups reflect differences between areas of language use as well as chronological development. However, the data has been interpreted as indicative of a language shift from Greek to Latin taking place in the late 1st century and early 2nd century<sup>68</sup>.

Public documents are not necessarily the best indicators of the language which was in use in Rhegium. There are also differences between various categories of public document which may affect the choice of language. For instance, the majority of the Greek documents at Rhegium are of a religious nature, and relate to only one, or at the most two, cults. Thus cult practices may affect the choice of language, as may the mere fact that these texts are connected with religious practices dating back to the foundation of the Greek city. As demonstrated by the Velian inscriptions, it is perfectly possible to have Greek used for religious purposes at a date when it is no longer used by civic officials. The case against the use of Greek in these texts as an indication of genuine and spontaneous survival of the language<sup>69</sup> is further strengthened by two factors, the artificial nature of the Greek offices listed in these texts, and the preponderance of Romans or Italians among the holders of these offices. Thus, by the early 1st century A.D., the situation appears to be analogous to that at Naples and Velia, with Greek language and practices artificially preserved in some areas of civic



life, rather than the spontaneous survival which Kaimio suggests for all cities other than Naples. The language change, and the political Romanisation, at Rhegium appears to fall into three stages.

a) The pre-Social War period. Before 90 B.C., Rhegium was clearly a Greek-speaking *polis*, with a Greek constitution.

b) 1st century B.C. Up to the end of the 1st century, the evidence suggests that some Greek elements survived in civic life, although there is no direct evidence for the continuation of a Greek constitution. Greek appears to have remained the official language of the city, and most of the personal names recorded in official documents are Greek<sup>70</sup>.

c) 1st century A.D. onwards. After the end of the 1st century B.C., the surviving Greek texts concerned with official matters begin to look increasingly artificial in character. In particular, they reflect a change in the origin of the individuals named, since almost all the non-servile names included are Roman or Italian. This has been interpreted by Costabile<sup>71</sup> as being an instance of the adoption of Roman nomenclature by the indigenous Greek nobility. However, if this were the case, a far higher proportion of Greek cognomina would be expected, since there is no good reason why the normal convention of adding the Greek name to a Roman one as a cognomen should not have been used in this case<sup>72</sup>. In Rhegium, the number of Greek cognomina is very low, suggesting that the named officials are, for the most part, genuine Italians, not Greeks.

This hypothesis would place the date of transition in the reign

of Augustus, or shortly after, which would be historically appropriate as it would coincide with the introduction of several groups of Roman settlers in the 40's and 30's B.C.<sup>73</sup>, and the extension of imperial patronage to the city. The supposed favour shown to the city by Augustus indicated by granting the title of *Regium Julium* and removing the city from the list of communities to be turned over to Augustus' veterans, is cited<sup>74</sup> as a reason for the preservation of Greek language and constitution. However, there is no evidence that this was the case. It is just as likely, if not more so, that the introduction of new settlers and the acquisition of imperial patronage would have had the effect of drawing the city closer to Rome and accelerating the process of assimilation.

Unfortunately, there is not enough datable evidence from funerary inscriptions and other non-official texts to assess the language use of the community as whole at any period before the 2nd century A.D. What there is for the 2nd century and later suggests that Latin had become the predominant language, as in the other cities of *Magna Graecia*. However, this may be due to a difference in attitude to recording burials between the Greek and the Roman population rather than to change in the language spoken. However, the occupation of the city by a Campanian garrison, followed by a period as a Roman military base and several waves of Roman settlers is likely to have diluted Greek to a considerable extent.

## ii) Social Structure

The analysis of the social structure at Rhegium is complicated by the fact that the evidence available is biased towards official and commemorative inscriptions and there is a comparatively small amount

of datable funerary evidence. The result of this is that the municipal nobility is well represented in the epigraphic record and is relatively easy to identify, but there is little possibility of analysing the structure of the rest of the population. A number of slaves can be identified, but there is only one known freedman, and the majority of the population cannot be grouped by birth and status.

The municipal notables are fairly easy to identify. For the Republican period, the unusually high number of official texts contain named magistrates, who can be presumed to be of free birth and high social and economic status within the community. However, since many of these have names expressed in Greek form, it is difficult to trace any family patterns here. As with most other Greek colonies, the Greek nobility is not directly attested in the epigraphic documents of the Roman period. There appears to have been some continuity into the 1st century B.C., as noted above, but thereafter, all the known holders of office and municipal notables have Roman/Italian names, even though Greek survives as a major language for official epigraphic documents. Most of the individuals named in IG 14.617-21 and SEG 29.927-9 as holding one of the three main civic offices or one of the higher priesthoods can be assumed to be wealthy and of high status, since these posts appear to have been liturgical in nature. Most of the names recorded in these texts are central Italian in origin, although there are also a number of characteristically Campanian names, and also a group of nomina with a specifically Bruttian distribution. The list reflects a very high number of instances of the name G. Julius, which may reflect extensive patronage by Caesar or Augustus, although it is impossible to tell whether the majority of the G. Julii are discharged veterans

who were settled there, or local inhabitants who adopted the name in recognition of imperial patronage. However, it seems that the former is more likely. There are many parallels for the adoption of imperial nomina by discharged veterans, particularly if colonial settlements or land distributions were made at the time of discharge. In particular, two trierarchs, G. Julius Evander and G. Julius Niger, commemorated by stelai found near the harbour at Rhegium, may be used as examples. Evander's cognomen and patronymic clearly indicate that he is of Greek origin, although there is no direct evidence for Turano's assertion that he is a Rhegine Greek who has adopted a Roman name.<sup>75</sup> The high concentration of the cognomen Reginus in the Romano-Greek inscriptions of Rhegium may be an indication of the adoption of Latin-style names by local Greek inhabitants, as suggested by Turano. It is known as a cognomen but is not found with great frequency elsewhere, and a concentration of this type may be significant. It is possible that the two possible explanations of the high number of Julii outlined above are not mutually exclusive, and that some of the G. Julii found at Rhegium are Rhegines who have taken the name as the result of military discharge, while others are veterans who are not native to the area but who have been settled there.

## CROTON

### 1. Nature of the Epigraphic Evidence

As is the case with most ancient sites, funerary epigraphy forms a large part of the evidence available for Croton during the Roman period. However, unlike other sites, it does not represent the majority of the extant texts. Only five inscriptions can be positively identified as funerary, although the commemorative inscription set up by Futius Onirus for his daughter<sup>1</sup> can probably be added to this category. Other evidence includes two graffitti from the sanctuary of Hera Lacinia, the only Greek texts to survive from this area.<sup>2</sup> The epigraphy from this sanctuary also includes a dedication by an imperial freedman,<sup>3</sup> and a group of building inscriptions which indicate that there were building projects taking place at the sanctuary at several times during the empire.<sup>4</sup>

### 2. Historical Sources for Roman Croton

Croton is very badly documented by the historical sources, and information on the city in the Hellenistic period and under Roman rule is therefore limited, other than that supplied by the epigraphy of the area. However, there are indications that it played a major role in the history of Magna Graecia during the 4th century.<sup>5</sup> A number of sources suggest that this may have been due to the prominence of Pythagoreanism at Croton, and the 4th century resurgence of Pythagorean doctrine in politics in some areas of Southern Italy.<sup>6</sup> Although this is possible, it seems more likely that the prominence enjoyed by the Crotoniate sanctuary of Hera Lacinia was more significant. The sanctuary had its own harbour,<sup>7</sup> which may have contributed both to the economic prosperity and to the

military significance of the sanctuary and the city. It also appears to have had a religious significance for all the Italiote cities and for some of the neighbouring Italian peoples.<sup>8</sup> These factors, together with evidence for the extensive refurbishment of the main temple of Hera<sup>9</sup> and construction of subsidiary buildings in the 4th century,<sup>10</sup> all suggest the possibility that the sanctuary may have been the headquarters of the Italiote League in the early part of the 4th century, with the transferral of the League assembly to Herakleia taking place during the period of predominance of Archytas at Tarentum.<sup>11</sup>

The involvement of the city in the Italiote League in the early 3rd century brought Croton into the conflict between Pyrrhus and Tarentum, and Rome.<sup>12</sup> It seems to have wavered in loyalty between the two sides but ultimately supported Pyrrhus, until captured by Rufinus in 277. At this point, Croton became a Roman ally although there is no mention of a treaty. The city seems to have become seriously depopulated by the outbreak of the 2nd Punic war, only half of the area within the walls being occupied.<sup>13</sup> However, the sanctuary of Hera is described by Livy as being very rich. After a certain amount of debate, the city defected to Hannibal, and was further depopulated by the emigration to Locri of members of the pro-Roman faction, and by the later campaigns of the war, during which Hannibal fought extensively in Crotoniate territory as he retreated into Bruttium.<sup>14</sup> There seems to have been some attempt by Hannibal to repair the extensive depopulation of the city. A proposal was made, early in the war, to settle a group of Bruttian colonists there, but this was rejected decisively by the Greek population.<sup>15</sup> However, Appian<sup>16</sup> records that in 204, a group of 3,500 Thurians were settled

there during Hannibal's retreat. There is no record of the city's recapture by Rome, or of the terms of the settlement, but it seems likely that the terms may have been similar to those offered to the neighbouring city of Locri. Here, the city seems to have become a Roman ally once again and to have had a pro-Roman government consisting of the exiles who had been expelled by the pro-Carthaginian party.<sup>17</sup> There is no reference to a treaty, although one may have existed, but the Locrians were declared *Amici Populi Romani*. However, there is no evidence of the circumstances of Croton's surrender/recapture, which would have had a bearing on the terms offered. The only clue is provided by the record of a citizen colony which was founded there in 194,<sup>18</sup> a fact which suggests that there may have been some degree of land confiscation. The exact site of this foundation is not known, and it is impossible to ascertain whether the colony absorbed the existing city and resulted in direct rule for Croton, or whether it represented a foundation on confiscated territory but separate from the existing city, as at Tarentum.

There is no indication in any of the literary sources of the economic status of Croton. The city clearly had a viable harbour on Cape Lacinium, but it does not seem to have participated in trade to the same extent as some of the other cities of Magna Graecia.<sup>19</sup> The evidence for depopulation in the 3rd and 2nd centuries and the foundation of a colony, presumably on *ager publicus*, may be an indication that Crotoniate territory was affected by the gradual formation of *latifundia*. However, there is no direct evidence of this, and the whole concept of *latifundia* as large agricultural units run by a small staff of slaves and owned by an absentee landlord is

open to question. Despite this, the likelihood is strong that Croton was essentially an agricultural city, being described by Polybios as having poor communications and being isolated from the major trade routes, and reliant only on its own natural resources for its wealth.<sup>20</sup>

### 3. Priesthoods and Cults

Only one of the cults attested by the literary sources for Croton is known from the epigraphic evidence, namely that of Hera Lacinia. This is well-documented and is known to have been a shrine of major importance, both in the Greek period and in the period of Roman domination.<sup>21</sup> It is known to have been a shrine of Pan-Italiote significance<sup>22</sup> and was probably of major political significance in the 4th century,<sup>23</sup> as indicated in Section 2. There is evidence for the creation of subsidiary buildings at the sanctuary in the 4th century, of a type which may have been used for accommodating or entertaining official visitors to the sanctuary.<sup>24</sup> Cicero<sup>25</sup> mentions a major project to redecorate the temple at a similar period, for which the city employed Zeuxis of Herakleia, some of whose panels were still extant in Cicero's own day. The continuing importance of the sanctuary in the 3rd century is indicated by the fact that Hannibal chose it as the site of a large bronze stele detailing his forces and dispositions, later consulted by Polybios.<sup>26</sup> Further testimony to the importance of the temple is provided by Livy,<sup>27</sup> who describes an incident in which Fulvius Flaccus removed half of the roof and transported the tiles to Rome to roof the temple of Fortuna Equestris, which he had dedicated and also vowed to make the finest in the Roman world. This incident suggests that the temple must have been large, since only half the tiles were needed, and also that it



must have provided strong competition for Flaccus' temple in terms of grandeur. The discovery of this action by the Senate led to a severe reprimand for Flaccus, the return of the tiles and performance of the necessary reparations and purifications, but the tiles are said not to have been replaced as there were no craftsmen at Croton who understood Greek construction techniques.<sup>28</sup> The sanctuary suffered further depredations from pirate raids during the Mithridatic war, although this incident can be seen as an indication that the sanctuary was still sufficiently rich to warrant such a raid.<sup>29</sup>

The epigraphic evidence also gives strong indications that the sanctuary continued to flourish as a religious centre and as a place of civic importance. A late Republican mosaic floor contains an inscription which indicates that it was part of a bath house constructed by Lucilius Macer and T. Annaeus Trhaso, the duoviri of the colony.<sup>30</sup> The formula *Ex Senatus Consulta* may indicate that this was a municipal project built out of public funds, rather than an act of private patronage on the part of the individuals mentioned.<sup>31</sup> The nature of the funding is not made explicit here, but there are other examples of building projects carried out *Ex Senatus Consulta* which clearly are funded from the city treasury. The presence of the bath house, and several other buildings which have been identified as private houses may indicate that the secular focus of the city had moved away from the Classical site towards the sanctuary.

Kahrstedt identifies the Late Republic and Early Empire,<sup>32</sup> marked by the building phases noted above and also by new fortifications and the completion or addition to a number of Hellenistic buildings, as being the final flourishing of the

sanctuary, which then entered a period of decline. However there are a number of indications that this may not have been the case. A dedication made by a freedman procurator, probably an imperial freedman, in honour of Ulpia Marciana<sup>33</sup> can be taken as an indication that the sanctuary was still functioning at a social and a religious level. In addition, a group of inscriptions bearing contractors' marks and datable to 196-206 A.D. bear witness to the fact that there was building and possibly some degree of imperial patronage at the sanctuary in the 2nd and 3rd centuries A.D.

A considerable number of other cults are known to have existed at Croton.<sup>34</sup> These include Apollo, Zeus, Demeter, Athena, Asklepios and Herakles. There were also a number of non-Olympian cults, which included a cult of the Muses, Thetis, a cult of the local river god Aesaros and hero cults of Menelaus, Helen, Achilles and Odysseus. However, none of these are attested in the epigraphy of the area in the Roman period, although it seems unlikely, in the light of evidence from better-documented sites,<sup>35</sup> that they all fell into disuse.

The imperial cult is represented at Croton by the dedication in honour of Marciana referred to above and also by the presence of a college of *Augustales*. Two texts indicate the social prominence of the *Augustales* and suggest that they took a prominent part in civic life. Neither of these can be dated, but it seems likely from the similarities of form that they belong to roughly the same period in the history of the colony.<sup>36</sup> Both appear to have been attached to commemorative statues of members of prominent families and record distributions of money and provision for public dinners in honour of

the deceased. Both texts draw a distinction between the Decurions and *Augustales* and the populace as a whole. In one instance, the Decurions and *Augustales* are to be provided with a dinner, while the rest of the citizens receive some sort of distribution of money or food. In the other, a scale of distributions of money is indicated, according to which, the Decurions were to receive 8 sesterces, the *Augustales* 6 and the rest of the population 4 (for men) or 2 (for women). In addition, the families of Decurions and *Augustales* received money, but there is no indication that this applied to the families of the population at large.<sup>37</sup>

#### 4. Imperial Connections

Little evidence exists which can be used as direct proof of imperial connections with Croton. However, there are two inscriptions which may be used as indications that the city had some imperial connections. The city does not appear to have received any direct imperial patronage, as did Cumae and Naples,<sup>38</sup> but there is evidence that some emperors or their relatives may have had personal connection with the area. The first of these is the dedication by Oecius, a freedman procurator, in honour of Ulpia Marciana. It is not explicitly stated in the inscription, but it seems likely that he was a freedman of Marciana.<sup>39</sup> The present of such a dedication in such an out-of-the-way place as Croton would seem to indicate that both Oecius and Marciana had connections there, and that Marciana may have had an estate in the area. In addition to this, there is a funerary inscription which is fragmentary, but seems to be an epitaph for an imperial slave, and his son.<sup>40</sup> The fragmentary nature of this text means that it is impossible to identify with any degree of certainty. However, in the version published by Orsi, the text reads

CAES N SER, which may indicate a Hadrianic/Antonine date, and is almost certainly post-Flavian.<sup>41</sup> Unlike the staff of the imperial estates and villas at Cumae, this man seems to have become integrated into the local community to the point of being able to describe himself as a *colonus*.<sup>42</sup> The fact that his wife does not describe herself as an imperial slave or freedwoman may indicate that Amethusius married outside the household.

##### 5. Municipal Government

Evidence for the constitution of Croton is very limited. In 194, a colony of Roman citizens was founded there, probably fairly small in size. Although there is no direct evidence, it seems likely that the city and the colony retained separate identities until the Social War,<sup>43</sup> after which the city received citizenship and colonial status. As would be expected, the main magistracy of the city was the duovirate, which was apparently a quinquennial office and could be held at least twice by the same person.<sup>44</sup> However, there is no indication of any junior magistracies, such as aediles. Decurions are mentioned in three imperial texts. However, there is an earlier text, probably Late Republican, which refers to a building project carried out by the duoviri and sanctioned by the local senate as being done *ex Senatus Consultum*. This use of the Roman rubric contrasts with the later references to the local councillors as decurions rather than senators.<sup>45</sup> The tribe of the city appears to have been Cornelia, although this cannot be conclusively proved, since it is only attested in the case of one individual.<sup>46</sup>

## 6. Social Structure

### a) Catalogue of Onomastic Evidence

XOHP - Orsi, NSc 1912, 60-3. Graffitto from the sanctuary of Hera.

ΜΑΡΙΑ - Orsi, NSc 1912, 60-2. Graffitto from the sanctuary of Hera.

Lucilius A.F. Macer - AE 1912, 245 (= ILLRP 575, CIL 1.2542, NSc 1911). Dedicatory text from a Late Republican mosaic pavement. The building is identified as a bath house. Found in the area of the sanctuary at Lacinium. Both of the names are well-documented in the Latin epigraphy of S. Italy. It seems likely that Macer was of high status in the municipium, since he is mentioned as being a duumvir.

T. Annaeus Sex. F. Trhaso - AE 1912, 245 (= ILLRP 575, CIL 1.2542, NSc 1911). Late Republican. Also duumvir, from the bath house inscription at Lacinium. Annaeus seems to be an uncommon name, with a mainly central Italian distribution (Conway 558), but it is found at Grumentum, Salernum, Puteoli and Fabrateria.<sup>47</sup> The cognomen is almost certainly a misspelling of Thraso, which is found at Cupra Maritima, Canusium and Aquinum.

Q. Laronius - Kahrstedt 1960, 35 and 78. Brick stamp, reported by Kahrstedt, but the text is not given. Laronii are found at Vibo, Herculaneum, Anagnia and Monteleone.<sup>48</sup> A Laronius stamp is also attributed by Kahrstedt to Nicotera. Conway (573) indicates that the name was more common in Campania and in Paelignian and Hirpinian areas. Kahrstedt dates the piece to the early Empire.

Oecius - CIL 10.106 (ILS 4039). Altar, decorated with

garlands and bucrania, dedicated to Hera Lacinia for the well-being of Ulpia Marciana. The name is Greek and has no parallel in Southern Italy. He is identified as a freedman but has not adopted the *tria nomina* in this inscription, as is usual among freedmen. He is also named as a procurator and it is possible that he may have been an imperial freedman.<sup>49</sup>

Amethusius - Orsi, NSc 1912, 60-2. Epitaph. The date is uncertain, but the form in which his status is expressed would suggest a date of late 1st century or 2nd century A.D. There is no parallel for the name, but Amethustus/Amethystus is found as a single name or cognomen, and it seems likely that this is a more correct reading of the name. Parallels are found at Aesernia, Aveia Vestina, Alba Fucens, Pompeii, Herculaneum, Capua, Fregellae and Teanum Sidicinum.<sup>50</sup> The name appears to be of Greek derivation.

Olympias - Orsi NSc 1912, 60-2. Wife of Amethusius. The name is well-documented as a Greek personal name. Unlike Amethusius, she is not identified as a slave, despite the absence of the *tria nomina*.

G. Futius Onirus - Futius is not a common name in S. Italy, being paralleled only at Casinum and Pompeii in the 2nd and 3rd centuries A.D., and is identified by Conway as being primarily of Volscian origin.<sup>51</sup> Onirus is rare as a cognomen and appears to be of Greek origin (ονειρος). In S. Italy, it appears to be confined to Samnite and Picene territory, at Abella, Corfinium, Setia and Firmum Picenum. It is also found at Cumae, but as a single name, not a cognomen. It appears most frequently as the cognomen of

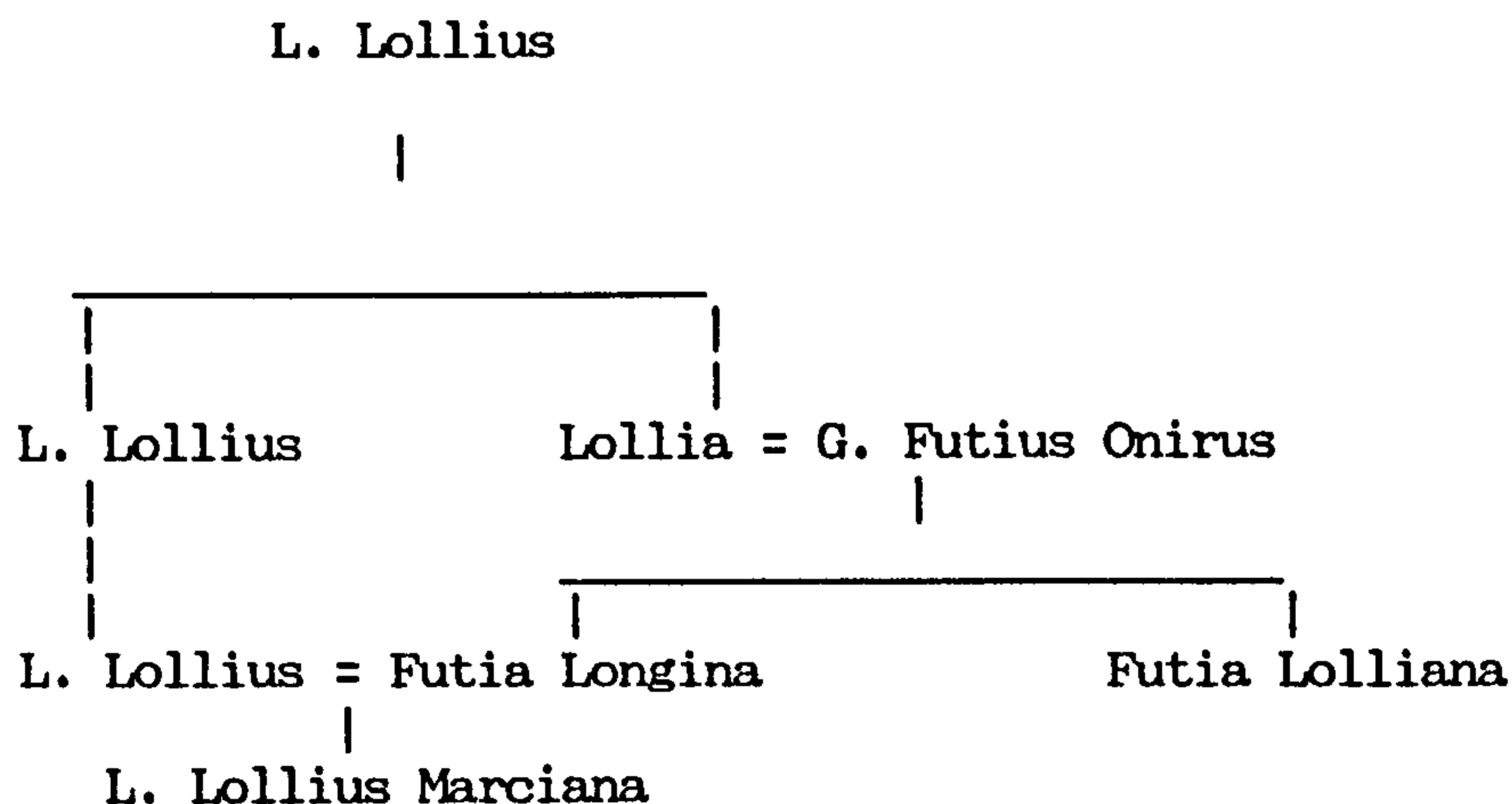
freedmen, but the Futii at Croton are clearly of free birth, Onirus having been duuvir at least twice.<sup>52</sup>

Futia Lolliana - Daughter of Futius Onirus.<sup>53</sup> The cognomen suggests that there may have been more than one intermarriage between the Futii and the Lollii. The means by which female cognomina were transmitted are obscure, but there are parallels for the derivation of both male and female cognomina from the mother's nomen.<sup>54</sup> The form of the cognomen is one which is found frequently in adoptive nomenclature, but in the case of a woman, this would seem a less likely possibility than the derivation of the name from some other source. The marriage of Futius Onirus to a member of the Lollii cannot be proved, but a further connection between two of the leading families of the area would seem plausible. The use of the feminine form of the name as a cognomen between two of the leading families of the area would seem plausible. The use of the feminine form of the name as a cognomen is found only at Croton. The masculine, Lollianus, is more common, occurring at Formiae, Beneventum, Larinum and Valle Canera.<sup>55</sup>

Futia Longina - It seems likely, given the form of the inscription<sup>56</sup> and the patronymic which is given (G.F.) that Longina was also the daughter of G. Futius Onirus. Since there is no means of accurately dating this inscription, it is impossible to make a certain identification. However, it seems highly probable that she belonged to the same family as Onirus and, given the similarities in form, it can be assumed that they are similar in date. Longina as a female cognomen does not have many parallels, being found only at

Aeclanum, Peltuinum, Puteoli, Capua, Suessa and Terracina.<sup>57</sup>

L. Lollius Marcianus - The Gens Lollia<sup>58</sup> at Croton seems to have been wealthy and powerful, Lollius Marcianus being an *Eques Romanus* and *patronus coloniae* as well as holding other unspecified honours. He is also the only individual from Croton to whom three generations of ancestors are attributed, rather than one. This argues that the family had been prominent for several generations, as does the connection with the Futii, by means of a marriage between Futia Longina and the father of Lollius Marcianus. Both the nomen and the cognomen are common in all areas of Southern Italy.



Septima Prepusa - CIL 10.109. Funerary/commemorative.

Mother of Julia Prepis and grandmother of Julius Glagus, and dedicator of a statue in their honour. The inscription also provides for a distribution of money in their honour, although it is not made clear whether this is to be a single distribution to mark the funeral or whether it is to be a recurrent event. Septimia is identified by Conway (583-4) as being widespread in C. Italy and Campania but not found in the South, other than this single example. The cognomen



Prepusa is probably of Greek origin and is found at Pompeii, Puteoli and Atina.<sup>59</sup>

Julia G.F. Prepis - CIL 10.109. Funerary/commemorative. Daughter of Septimia Prepusa and mother of G. Julius Glagus. Julii are common in all areas of Italy. Prepis is of Greek origin, as is Prepusa, and is also found at Puteoli and Salernum.<sup>60</sup>

G. Julius G.F. Glagus - CIL 10.109. Funerary/commemorative. Son of Julia Prepis and grandson of Septimia Prepusa. The cognomen is almost certainly of Greek origin and is found only at Croton.

G. Julius Anthus - CIL 10.109. Funerary/commemorative. The name occurs in the fragmentary lines at the end of the epitaph of Prepis and Glagus. He is described as *[Prep]usa lib* but his connection with this particular monument is not recoverable. It is possible that he was also to be commemorated or to share the same tomb, or that he had made some contribution to the monument. Like the other cognomina of the Julii, Anthus is of Greek origin.

Julia Gramma - CIL 10.111. Funerary. Very short epitaph to Julia Gramma. For Julii, see above, sv. Julia Prepis. Gramma also seems to be a possible Greek derivative. There is no parallel in S. Italy. It is possible that, like Julius Anthus, Julia Gramma and her husband were freed slaves of Septimia Prepusa and her husband, but since the name is so common, it is impossible to prove this. The heading D.M.S. would suggest that the text was of at least 2nd century date, if not later.

Sex. Julius Primus - CIL 10.111. Funerary. husband of

Julia Gramma. No indication of social or legal status is given, but possession of the same nomen can be an indication that the couple were freed slaves of the same household. However, the nomen Julius is so common that it is difficult to use this as proof. The cognomen Primus is also very common.

Modius Anacreon - AE 1912, 246 (Orsi, NSc 1911, 77-123). Building inscription, with contractor's marks. 200 A.D. From stone column section. Modius is a well-documented nomen (Conway 558), but appears to be principally Central Italian, with no examples south of Campania. Anacreon is Greek but there is no parallel in Southern Italy.

Julius Quadratus - AE 1912, 246 (Orsi, NSc 1911, 77-123). Building inscription on stone column section. 200 A.D. Both names are common.

Epictetus Aus[ti servus] - Orsi, NSc 1911, 77-123. Building inscription. 206 A.D. Possibly from the same building or the same project as the column section discussed above. Epictetus is a common Greek name. Austius, however, seems to be rare, being found only at Histonium.<sup>61</sup> Conway identifies it as a purely Frentanian name (561).

Aurelius Demetrius - Orsi, NSc 1911, 77-123. *Beneficiarius*,<sup>62</sup> mentioned on a building inscription of 206 A.D. Possibly a veteran. Demetrius is a well-documented Greek name.

Aurelius Epitu[itianus] - Orsi, NSc 1911, 77-123. Curator of the building project discussed above. The presence of the same nomen as that of Demetrius may be an indication of some connection between them, for instance, veterans

discharged at the same time or from the same unit. It is also possible that they may have gained citizenship at the time of discharge, thus accounting for the adoption of imperial nomina. The cognomen Epitiutianus has no parallel in Souther Italy, if this is a correct reconstruction. However, other names with Epitu- which do appear in CIL 9 and 10<sup>63</sup> appear to be mainly of Greek origin.

Q. Maecius Valentinus - AE 1933, 156. Funerary. Not certainly datable, but the lack of the heading D.M. may indicate a date in the late 1st or early 2nd century. Maecius is well-documented in S. Italy but occurrences are concentrated mainly in Campania and in Latium (Conway 573). Valentinus is also very common. It is notable that Maecius is one of the few certainly recognisable immigrants into the area, since he is identified on the stone as a native of Salona. The fact that he was buried by a friend rather than a relative confirms that he was a first generation immigrant with no family ties in the area.

Octavius - CIL 10.8053.155. Lamp stamp.

Sextilia Dionysia - Kahrstedt 1960, 76. Apparently an epitaph, briefly referred to by Kahrstedt but otherwise unpublished. No indication of size or type of monument or of exact reading of the text. Sextilii are reasonably common in S. Italy, but are confined to Campania and Latium (Conway 584). Dionysia is a common Greek cognomen.

Q. Iventius - Lo Porto ACMG 23, 428. Amphora stamp. Probably 1st century B.C. or A.D. The name is probably a misspelt form of Iuventius.

Decius Alexander - Lo Porto ACMG 23, 428. Titulus Pictus

from an amphora. From the Hellenistic/Roman cemetery.  
Greek cognomen.

Julius Gayrus - Orsi, AE 1922. 103. 200 A.D. From a  
worked marble block, probably part of a column. Curator of  
the building works. The cognomen is unusual and may be a  
corruption of Gaurus.

b) Conclusions

Epigraphic evidence seems to suggest that a small number of  
families rose to a position of considerable local  
importance, but that Croton did not produce any senators or  
other figures of national importance, a trend which appears  
to have been common in Bruttium as a whole.<sup>64</sup>

A number of office-holders are known. Lucilius Macer,  
Annaeus Thraso and Futius Onirus are known to have been  
duumvirs. In addition, the Lollii Marciani were of  
equestrian rank and at least one member was *patronus*  
*colonia*. It is also significant that there was at least one  
intermarriage between the Futii and the Lollii. A third  
family, the Julii, are known to have been wealthy but there  
is no evidence of them holding civic office. However, the  
fact that Septimia Prepusa was able to act as public  
benefactress in the same manner as the Futii and the Lollii  
suggests that the family belongs to the same social and  
economic stratum.

Crotoniate society, as reflected by the epigraphic  
evidence, also shows a dichotomy which is found in many

other parts of Italy, between the free-born nobility with direct access to power through the local magistracies, and a wealthy and influential group comprised of freedmen. This can be seen in the emergence of freedmen officials, mostly in imperial service, and the colleges of *Augustales*, which appear to have been a close second to the Decurions in the local hierarchy, as indicated in Section 3. The presence of an imperial procurator is a further indication that freedmen of high rank were at present in the area.

Unlike other cities, such as Cumae, there does not seem to be a recognisable "middle class" in Croton. This group, which can be loosely identified with those whose material remains suggests moderate economic status e.g. veterans, possessors of small family tombs etc. are almost entirely unrepresented, unless the builders and contractors employed on the 3rd century constructions at the sanctuary of Hera could be regarded as falling into this category.<sup>65</sup>

The degree of continuity in Crotoniate society is impossible to assess using such a small amount of data. Apart from the ubiquitous Julii, there appears to be no continuity in the nomina represented. The impression given by the evidence available is that the more prominent families, such as the Futii, Lollii and Julii had been settled in the area for some time and had been of local importance for some generations. However, the presence of a small number of imperial slaves and freedmen and the possible presence of an imperial estate in the area

indicates at least one source of immigration into the area. Unlike Cumae, where there is no trace of the large number of imperial slaves who are known from literary sources to have existed, there is evidence at Croton for a greater degree of integration. At least one imperial slave became a *colonus*, and it is possible that he was not an isolated example. Another possible source of immigration into an area was by means of veteran settlement. There is no overt evidence for this at Croton, but a *beneficarius*, found in an inscription concerning a building project at the sanctuary of Hera may be a veteran, and since a large number of ex-soldiers are known to have been involved in the building trade elsewhere,<sup>66</sup> this may be an indication that some of the other individuals mentioned in these two inscriptions may also have been veterans. The only known individual from elsewhere to have settled at Croton, Q. Maecius Valentinus, may also have been a veteran. There is no reference to this in his epitaph, but circumstantial evidence is fairly strong. he is buried by an *amicus*, apparently having no family, which could readily be explained if he were a veteran, while his place of origin, Salona, was an area which a large number of troops were recruited during the late 2nd century.<sup>67</sup>

Unlike some of the other cities of Magna Graecia, Croton does not seem to have undergone any traceable linguistic shifts. It is possible that this may be attributable to the lack of epigraphic evidence for the 3rd-1st centuries B.C. but it could also be that the establishment of a Latin

speaking colony, close to an already weakened and depopulated city, had the effect of establishing the predominance of Latin over Greek far more quickly and completely than was the case for most of the other Greek speaking cities. The only traces of Greek which remain are in areas such as the use of Greek cognomina, which cannot be regarded as survivals of an earlier tradition.

A statistical breakdown of the material available by social status and onomastic characteristics, using a modification of the method employed by Kajanto,<sup>68</sup> gives results which seem to indicate that the proportion of slaves and freedmen in Croton may have been rather smaller than that which is found in other, larger cities. This may be partly accounted for by the difficulty of identifying freedmen in the Later Empire, when the use of filiation and libertination began to die out, but the proportion of freedmen and slaves does seem to be significantly smaller, even when this is taken into consideration. Unfortunately, the small amount of material available makes it impossible to assess whether there is any chronological fluctuation in these patterns. The question of Latin and non-Latin cognomina is similarly hampered by lack of directly identifiable data. The results appear to be similar to those obtained by Kajanto but are rendered inconclusive by the large proportion of individuals of unknown social status. However, a study of the cognomina attested at Croton does indicate the fallacy of the view that the vast majority of Greek cognomina were regarded as being

indicative of low status and were therefore not passed on to children. The family of Septimia Prepusa shows that Greek cognomina were retained for at least three generations by a family which appears to have belonged to the highest social group in the city. Similarly, Futius Onirus, who was twice elected duumvir and was also a leading member of the community had a Greek cognomen. Indifference towards Latin nomenclature is also displayed by the procurator Oecius, who names himself by a single Greek name, rather than the Latin *tria nomina*, despite his importance.



## Herakleia, Metapontum and Thurii

For the purposes of this study, these three sites will be treated together, since they have not produced sufficient epigraphic evidence to yield significant results individually.

### 1. Nature of the Evidence

a) Herakleia - Despite the fact that Herakleia has been extensively excavated, the area has produced very little epigraphy. The evidence which has been found is overwhelmingly religious in character, although a small number of fragmentary funerary texts have been found, as have a number of tile stamps and grafitti on domestic objects. The only text of any length is the Table of Herakleia, which has fragments of a Greek edict concerning land distribution and boundaries on one side and fragments of a Roman law on the other. However, since most of the material contained in this document is outside the scope of this study, it will not be discussed in detail. Most of the evidence from Herakleia can be dated to the 4th and 3rd centuries B.C. and there is very little from the Roman period.

b) Metapontum - Like Herakleia, Metapontum has produced very little epigraphic evidence, and much of what does exist can be dated to the 6th and 5th centuries B.C. The vast majority of this early material is religious in character, with 9 certain dedications and 3 fragmentary pieces which may be of a similar nature. The same chronological group includes 2 domestic utensils inscribed with names and 2

unidentified fragments. The 4th century material shows a similar pattern, with 3 religious texts, a grafitto from a red figure krater and a Hellenising inscription from the fortifications of Serra di Vaglio, grouped with the Metapontine texts by Manni Piraino although it is not actually from the immediate vicinity of Metapontum, which may have had connections with Pythagoreans at Tarentum and Croton. Even during the Roman period, the epigraphic tradition remains almost entirely Greek. Only 7 texts survive. Of these, two amphora stamps and a grave stele can be attributed to the 2nd century B.C. and two oscilla and a second grave stele to the 2nd century A.D. The only Latin text to survive, an epitaph, cannot be securely dated and is of an unusual type. The omission of most of the standard formulae which occur in Latin epitaphs may indicate an early date and also some considerable local variance from the main epigraphic traditions.

- c) Thurii - Unlike the two sites discussed above, Thurii has a marked preponderance of Latin texts from the imperial period. Only two Greek texts are extant, both verse inscriptions on gold tablets. Of the Latin epigraphy, 5 texts are dedications concerning emperors, one is an inscription recording the building of a basilica by local magistrates, two are epitaphs, and the final example is a fragment, possibly also from an epitaph, but not identifiable with any degree of certainty.

## 2. Summary of Literary Evidence

- a) Herakleia - The city was one of the later foundations of

Magna Graecia, being founded in 433 B.C. by Tarentum,<sup>1</sup> near to the site of the earlier foundation of Siris, which was destroyed by Sybaris in the 6th century. The motive for the foundation seems to have been to provide a counterweight to the power of Metapontum and Croton, protect against the incursions of Italian tribes and to check any possible expansion on the part of the new Panhellenic foundation of Thurii.<sup>2</sup> Little is known of the early history of the city. It appears to have remained a Tarentine satellite throughout its history,<sup>3</sup> but clearly enjoyed some artistic and economic importance<sup>4</sup> and was also of some international significance as being the meeting place of the Italiote League until the 330's.<sup>5</sup> The nature of the Herakleote economy is not certain, but it is known to have been a centre for pottery production<sup>6</sup> and also as the home of the painter Zeuxis.<sup>7</sup> It clearly was in touch with the Pythagorean movements which took place in other Italiote cities.<sup>8</sup>

As a Tarentine satellite, Herakleia must have been involved in the wars against Rome in the 3rd century. The status of the city in the period between 272 and 212 is not certain, but it seems very probable that the city was a Roman ally, although whether the famous treaty was granted at this stage is not certain.<sup>9</sup> Cicero attributes it to Fabricius, but since it was clearly a very favourable settlement, it seems unlikely that it would have been negotiated at this time. Nothing is known of Herakleia between the 270's and 212, when the city followed the lead of Tarentum and Metapontum in defecting to Hannibal,

although apparently with some reluctance. The circumstances in which Herakleia rejoined the Roman alliance are not recorded, although it seems that it was not one of the cities which continued to fight to the bitter end. Thereafter, the history of the city is obscure, its main claim to significance being that it attempted initially to refuse Roman citizenship in 89 B.C. and requested to retain the relationship based on a treaty. Although the Roman reply to this is not recorded, and there is no direct evidence,<sup>10</sup> the presence of the Latin sections of the Table of Herakleia, which deal with the mechanisms of municipal government, indicate that the transition did take place.

- b) Metapontum - Metapontum has a similarly sketchy history. It was an Achaean colony, like Croton, and was founded in the 7th century, although sources do record an earlier, semi-mythical foundation by the sons of Nestor which may reflect an earlier phase of colonisation.<sup>11</sup> Throughout its early history, the city seems to have been involved in rivalry with Siris, which it was instrumental in destroying, and with Tarentum.<sup>12</sup> Despite this, it seems to have fallen under some degree of Tarentine influence to the extent that it was a member of the Italiote League, which was dominated by Tarentum. It was also one of the cities which fell under considerable Pythagorean influence.<sup>13</sup> Despite being a wealthy city, with considerable agricultural resources,<sup>14</sup> it appears to have suffered during the period of Sicilian invasions and campaigns by various Greek generals.<sup>15</sup> However, few details are available. It is known to have

contracted an alliance with Alexander of Epirus, and was probably his base of operations, since it was there that his body was sent for shipment back to Greece.<sup>16</sup> During the Pyrrhic War, it fought against Rome, falling in 272. Nothing is known of the period between 272 and 212, but in 212 it defected to Hannibal very readily and continued to support him until the very end of the war.<sup>17</sup> A substantial amount of the population appears to have elected to follow the Carthaginian forces on their retreat into Bruttium after 207, giving rise to a degree of depopulation in the area.<sup>18</sup> The nature of the initial settlement is not known, although it is likely that it was similar to that made with Tarentum. Thereafter, it largely disappears from the historical record. There are isolated references to widespread depredations by Spartacus in the area,<sup>19</sup> which suggest that there were a number of villas in the territory of Metapontum. This is to some extent borne out by recent survey results, which show the decline of large centres in favour of a great number of smaller ones.<sup>20</sup>

- c) Thurii - Like Herakleia, this city was a comparatively late foundation. It was a Panhellenic venture, although Athens was the dominant city, and was founded in 443, close to the site of Sybaris.<sup>21</sup> During the Peloponnesian War, the foreign policy of Thurii seems to have been dominated by pro and anti-Athenian factions,<sup>22</sup> but events in Sicily clearly had a considerable influence on the behaviour of the city, and this appears to have been a major consideration during the 4th century.<sup>23</sup> Thurii was a member of the Italiote

League and also the site of the League assembly for a period, after the transfer of this away from Herakleia.<sup>24</sup> The fact that Thurii was chosen would seem to suggest that it was anti-Tarentine, since the main purpose of the move seems to have been to remove the main decision-making body of the League from Tarentine domination. It is also notable that it was a Thurian appeal for Roman rather than Tarentine assistance against the Lucanians which precipitated the Pyrrhic War.<sup>25</sup> Very little is known about Thurii in the period between the Pyrrhic War and the invasion of Hannibal, apart from the fact that the city was a Roman ally. However, Thurii did revolt during the spate of secessions from Rome in 213/2,<sup>26</sup> and appears to have been a staunch ally of Hannibal. Like Croton and Metapontum Thurii suffered a considerable amount of depopulation during the closing stages of the war which may have been partly offset by the granting of a Latin colony in 193.<sup>27</sup> It seems to have been a prosperous city, with evidence for agriculture and wine-making.<sup>28</sup> It also appears to have had a harbour,<sup>29</sup> although not noted for its trade to the same extent as Naples and Tarentum.

### 3. Cults, Priesthoods and Colleges

- a) Herakleia - The evidence indicates that there were a number of cults at Herakleia, of which the cults of Athena and Demeter<sup>30</sup> seem to have been the most important. Excavation has produced evidence for cults of Herakles, Dionysos, Artemis, Aphrodite, Hestia, the Dioscuri and Ares.<sup>31</sup> However, most of these are represented only by votives rather than by direct epigraphic testimony. The best

attested cults are those of Athena and Dionysos, since the surveying of the land belonging to these sanctuaries is the subject of the Table of Herakleia.<sup>32</sup> This particular cult of Athena appears to have a number of Athenian characteristics, and it is possible that it was originally derived from Thurii, although it was also a prominent cult at Tarentum and had existed in Siris.<sup>33</sup> It is notable that the other cult with which the Table is concerned, that of Dionysus,<sup>34</sup> is also very well documented at Tarentum, as is that of the Dioscuri.<sup>35</sup>

The cult which is best known from excavations is that of Demeter, whose sanctuary has been extensively excavated.<sup>36</sup> A relatively large number of the votives have inscribed dedications, all datable to the 4th and 3rd centuries B.C., apart from one fragmentary example which may be late 5th century. These fall into two distinct groups, one inscribed on bronze tablets dedicated by the ephors,<sup>37</sup> and one on fragments of pot which appear to be purely private dedications.<sup>38</sup> All are short and follow very similar formulae. In addition to the evidence for the cults discussed above, there are texts which record dedications to Aphrodite and Hestia,<sup>39</sup> and also to Artemis Soteria.<sup>40</sup>

- b) Metapontum - The best documented of the Metapontine cults is that of Apollo Lykeios.<sup>41</sup> A series of six dedications has been found, all belonging to the 6th and 5th centuries.<sup>42</sup> The cult is reasonably widespread, and does not seem to have any particular connections with any other specific area,<sup>43</sup>

although it appears to be the only occurrence of this particular cult of Apollo in the West. The other cults which are known are those of Zeus Aglaios<sup>45</sup> and Zeus Ankulometes,<sup>46</sup> also in dedications of the 6th-4th centuries. The evidence of literary sources and of coinage suggests that there was a much larger number of cults at Metapontum,<sup>47</sup> but none of these are reflected in the epigraphy of the area, and none of the cults known, in particular those which are epigraphically attested, seem to have persisted into the Roman period.

- c) Thurii - Unlike the other sites discussed in this section, Thurii has produced a number of Latin inscriptions but very little Greek material, and no evidence of the religious life of the city has survived, despite the fact that a number of cults are known from literary evidence and from coinage.<sup>48</sup>

#### 4. Imperial Connections

The only city of the three discussed in this section which appears to have any connections with the imperial family is Thurii, where dedications concerning emperors form the majority of surviving texts. Unfortunately most of these are fragmentary and therefore undatable and unattributable. The only complete text to survive is a dedication to Tiberius, which can be dated to 32/3 A.D.<sup>49</sup> Of the others, two appear to be of the late 3rd century, commemorating Aurelian and Tacitus,<sup>50</sup> while another may belong to the Antonine period.<sup>51</sup>

#### 5. Municipal Government

- a) Herakleia - The main sources of information about the



constitution of Herakleia both in the Greek and the Roman periods comes from the Table of Herakleia. This has been extensively discussed by modern scholars.<sup>52</sup> The major features of the constitution of the Greek city appear, as would be expected, to be based on those of Tarentum, the founding city. The eponymous magistrate was the Ephor.<sup>53</sup> It seems likely that there were a college of ephors as there were at Sparta, and probably at Tarentum. The text also makes reference to *polianomoi*, another college of annual magistrates who may correspond in their status and duties to the *astynomoi* elsewhere,<sup>54</sup> and thus be comparable to the aediles in the Roman municipal structure. The main executive body appears to have been the *Halia*.<sup>55</sup>

The Roman municipal structure is not documented, despite the discovery of the text of a Roman municipal law at Herakleia. This has not been identified with absolute certainty, but is probably a collection of measures proposed and drafted by Caesar but passed by Antony after Caesar's death. Its presence at Herakleia must indicate that the city had been absorbed into the Roman system, despite some attempts to argue for the retention of the foedus for some years after the Social War. However, its provisions pertain to Rome and to the Italian *municipia* in general, not specifically to Herakleia.

- b) Metapontum - There is no epigraphic evidence of the constitution of Metapontum, either during the Greek period or after the Roman occupation.<sup>56</sup>

c) Thurii - Thurii is very different to the cities discussed above, in that there is no epigraphic evidence for the nature of the Greek constitution,<sup>57</sup> but there is a certain amount of evidence for the administration of the Roman city. An epitaph,<sup>58</sup> possibly of the 1st century A.D., records the deaths of G. Marius Rufus, *quattuorvir iure dicundo* of Thurii and of M. Dossenius Ulsianus, *duumvir iure dicundo* of the nearby town of Blanda Iulia, who appears to have been his relative. His age is given as 21, although it is not certain whether this is the age at time of death or at the time of holding office. Whichever interpretation is correct, it must indicate that the office could be held at a very young age. This difficulty is resolved by Sartori<sup>59</sup> by assuming that the censors, who appear in an earlier text recording the building of a basilica, are in fact the highest magistrates in the colony.

## 6. Social Structure

### a) Onomastic Evidence

#### (i) Herakleia

Δορκας - IG 14.646. Dedication to Aphrodite and Hestia.

Ισοδικη - Orsi, NSc 1912, 60-2. Grafitto on small terracotta pyramid.

Τελλεον - SEG 30.1150. Late 5th century. Dedication from the sanctuary of Demeter, written in Laconian/Tarentine alphabet.

Σωδομος - SEG 30.1152. Late 4th/3rd century. Dedication to Demeter. Grafitto on lip of hydria

Ζωπυριοκος - SEG 30.1153-6. 4th/3rd centuries. Series of four dedications to Demeter. Grafitti on sherds of hydriae.

For names ending in -ισκος, cf. Tarentum.

Ἄγυλος - SEG 30.1163. Late 4th/3rd century. Dedication to Demeter, inscribed on bronze tablet. Ephor. The name also appears in a Pythagorean context at Croton. Iamb. Pyth. 36.

Λε[.....] - SEG 30.1165. 4th century. Bronze tablet dedicated to Demeter by an ephor.

Ἀρχίας - SEG 30.1170. 4th/3rd century. Bronze tablet, dedicated to Demeter, by an ephor.

Ἐωπολις Φιλοξένα - SEG 30.1166. Bronze tablet, dedicated to Demeter, by an ephor.

Ἀρισταρχος Ἡρακλειδα - IG 14.645 (Table of Herakleia). Ephor.

Φιλωνυμος Ζωπυρισκου - IG 14.645. One of the ὀρισταί.

Ἀπολλωνιος Ἡρακλητου - IG 14.465. One of the ὀρισταί.

Δαζιμος Πυρρου - IG 14.645. One of the ὀρισταί.

Φιλωτας Ἰστιειω - IG 14.645. One of the ὀρισταί.

Ἡρακλειδας Ζωπυρου - IG 14.645. One of the ὀρισταί.

(ii) Metapontum

Κλυμενος - Manni Piraino PP 23 (1968), No.25. Late 5th/4th century. From S. Biagio. Grafitto on fragment of pottery, probably from a krater. White figure on black glaze.

Ευξενος Φιλιστιδα - IG 14.648 (=Manni Piraino, No.21). Early 4th century (400-375). Fragment from Cippus.

Δακον - Manni Piraino No.3. Late 6th century. Grafitto on black glaze vase.

Τελεσιβολη - Manni Piraino, PP 23 (1968), No.27. Inscription on bronze patera handle. Ionic decoration but Doric name. Early 5th century. Probably Tarentine.

Ευαρης - Manni Piraino, PP 23 (1968), No.1. Late 7th century.

Θεαλος - IG 14.647. Dedication to Apollo Lykeios.

Νικαιο - Manni Piraino, PP 23 (1968), No.7. Mid 6th century. Dedication to Apollo Lykeios.

Φιλων - SEG 30.1175. 3rd century. Defixio, listing names of seventeen physicians.

Νεαρχος - Some of the names correspond to those of Pythagoreans known to have lived at Tarentum, Croton and Metapontum.<sup>60</sup>

Δικαις

Θευσωρος

Ε[... ]ης

Σιμυλιων

Τρη[....]

Λεων

Αγίας

Θετωριδας

Βακαλλης

Φιλοκλης

[..]ουχος

Τερη[...]

[....]ων

Ζωιλος

Ξε[...] - possibly Ξενοκαδης cf. Iamb. Vit. Pyth. 36.267.

Διονυσοδωρα - Manni Piraino, PP 23 (1968), No.18. 3rd century. Grave stele.

Δαματριος - Manni Piraino, PP 23 (1968), No.17. 3rd century. Brick stamp.

Φιλωνις - Manni Piraino, PP 23 (1968), No.11. Mid 2nd century B.C. Grave stele.

Ἄρις - Manni Piraino, PP 23 (1968), No.16. Early 2nd century A.D. Oscillum.

Φιλλυρα Manni Piraino, PP 23 (1968), No.15. 2nd century A.D. Oscillum.

Ἄλκιος - Manni Piraino, PP 23 (1968), No.14. 2nd century B.C. Stamp on handle of amphora. Pythagorean. Iamb. Vit. Pyth. 36.3.

M' Occius M' F. Festus - CIL 10.8089. Funerary. Cippus with inscription of rather idiosyncratic type. The form of the name has been restored by the editor. Occius is identified by Conway<sup>61</sup> as a rare name, found only in Lucania, Samnium and Campania. There are no parallels in Bruttium, and the only other occurrences appear to be at Pompeii and Puteoli.<sup>62</sup>

The cognomen is relatively common.<sup>63</sup>

### (iii) Thurii

G. Marius P.F. Aem. Rufus - CIL 10.125. Funerary. Possibly 1st century A.D.? *Quattuorvir iure dicundo* of Thurii. Marii are comparatively rare in Bruttium, being found only at Locri and Petelia.<sup>64</sup> Rufus is a well-documented cognomen.

P. Marius P.F. Rufus - CIL 10.125. Funerary. Father of P. Marius, the IV vir.

M. Dossenius M.F. Ulsianus - CIL 10.125. Funerary. Brother (presumably adoptive) of P. Marius P.F. Rufus, and *Duumvir iure dicundo* of Blanda Iulia. Both names are very rare.

Dossenius is paralleled only at Aeclanum,<sup>65</sup> while Ulsianus is completely without parallel. It is probably derived from a gentilicial name, but no examples of the root survive.<sup>66</sup>

Cincia G.F. Rufa - CIL 10.125. Funerary. Mother of M. Dossenius Ulsianus and P. Marius Rufus. Only one other example of the nomen is known from Bruttium, from Vibo, although the name is very well-attested in other parts of Italy, in particular in Latium and in Campania.<sup>67</sup>

L. Titius [....] - CIL 10.124. Titii are well-attested in most areas of Italy, but there are no other occurrences in Bruttium.

P. Magius P.F. Iunc[us?] - CIL 10.123. Building inscription, commemorating the construction of a basilica. Probably 1st century B.C. Magius is not otherwise attested in Bruttium.

Q. Minucius L.F. - CIL 10.123. Building inscription, recording the construction of a basilica. Minucii are known from Vibo, Locri and the Ager Teuranus.<sup>68</sup>

M. Caninius Alexander - Guzzo, NSc 24 (1970) Supp.3, 551-3. Funerary. Early 1st century A.D. Greek cognomen may indicate a servile origin.

Domitia P.L. Hyle - Guzzo, NSc 24 (1970) Supp. 3, 551-3. Funerary. Wife of M. Caninius Alexander. Greek cognomen.

T. Annus Lotus - Guzzo, NSc 24 (1970) Supp. 3, 551-3. Rare cognomen, found only at Gaeta and Pompeii.

Cossutia Amarantha - Guzzo, NSc 24 (1970) Supp. 3, 441-3. Cognomen not paralleled.

Domitia P.L. Fausta - Guzzo, NSc 24 (1970) Supp. 3, 551-3. Common cognomen. Mother of Domitius Felix and Domitia Hyle.

Domitius P.L. Felix - Guzzo NSc 24 (1970) Supp. 3, 551-3.

Common cognomen. Brother of Hyle.

G. Julius Plato - Guzzo, NSc 24 (1970) Supp. 3, 551-3. His relationship to the rest of the family is unclear but this name appears to be contemporary with the main text rather than the addition. Guzzo suggests a friend, or possibly a client, rather than a relative.

b) Conclusions

The small number of inscriptions available for study and the patchy nature of the evidence makes it very difficult to draw any definite conclusions about the social structure and composition of the three cities under discussion. However, it is clear that they were very different in character. The use of the Greek language clearly remained in Metapontum, even into the 2nd century A.D., and may have done so at Herakleia, although the lack of evidence for any period later than the 3rd century B.C. makes it difficult to draw any conclusions. At Thurii, the opposite appears to have taken place. Very little Greek epigraphy survives, but there are a number of Latin texts, which indicate that this was the language in use and that Roman institutions had replaced Greek ones. It seems likely that the founding of a colony of substantial size in the territory of Thurii, and ultimately incorporating the Greek city into it, had had the effect of swamping the existing Greek language and culture. The Thurian inscriptions appear to be those of the Latin colonists rather than the native Greek population. In this respect, Thurii can be more closely compared with Paestum

than with any of the other cities of Magna Graecia.



## TARENTUM

A considerable amount of research on the epigraphy of Tarentum has already been undertaken, in three long articles by L. Gasperini.<sup>1</sup> To avoid undue repetition, the material used by Gasperini will not be used here, but a brief summary of his results will be given in each section. However, in order to present an accurate record of the evidence available, the material used by Gasperini has been included in the analysis of social structure and epigraphic types, and also in considering the question of linguistic change.

### 1. Nature of the Epigraphic Evidence

The vast majority of inscriptions found at Tarentum and in the surrounding areas are funerary, comprising 47 texts, most of which are published in CIL or *Ephemeris Epigraphica*. The rest of the material consists of 9 public inscriptions, 5 dedications, 1 sculptural fragment, 10 graffiti and 8 unclassifiable fragments. There are also a considerable number of amphora stamps, brick/tile stamps etc. The large majority of them are Latin (60 texts and all the stamps, with the exception of one *titulus pictus*), with only 19 Greek texts.

Unfortunately, it is virtually impossible to assign dates to the Tarentine inscriptions on the basis of their form and type or on the formulae used, as it is clear from comparison of the material with dated evidence from Tarentum and the Salentine peninsular that the normal chronological indicators, such as the presence or absence of the *D(is) M(anibus)* formula, cannot be applied.<sup>2</sup> Since it is impossible to attempt to assign dates on the basis of palaeography without access to the original stones, dates have not been assigned

except where there is historical evidence to indicate a possible date. As usual, the D(is) M(anibus) formula has been accepted as indicating a date of the late 1st century A.D. or later.<sup>3</sup> However, the absence of D(is) M(anibus) has not been used as a chronological indicator.

## 2. Historical Background

Since much of the historical evidence for Tarentum in the Hellenistic and Roman periods has already been discussed in some detail, only a brief outline will be given here. Tarentum was founded by Sparta, probably in the 8th century B.C., and appears to have retained its Doric identity until a relatively late date in its history.<sup>4</sup> There are two foundation myths, one involving the eponymous hero Taras, who appears on the city's coinage and whose dolphin was the symbol of the city, and the other relating how Phalanthus founded the city in response to a Delphic oracle, as leader of the *Parthenioi*, a group of illegitimate children born to Spartan mothers during the Messenian war.<sup>5</sup> Of these, the second appears most likely to have some grain of historical truth, but the first clearly retained a powerful symbolic value for the Tarentines.<sup>6</sup>

The city appears to have flourished, although under constant pressure from neighbouring Italian tribes and from powerful Greek neighbours such as Metapontum and Croton.<sup>7</sup> Evidence of success against the Italians can be seen in the dedication of two major victory monuments at Delphi in the early years of the 5th century,<sup>8</sup> although there was also a major defeat in 473, which resulted in the massacre of a large number of the city's inhabitants.<sup>9</sup> However, the rise of Tarentum to the position of *hegemon* in Magna Graecia was largely due to a successful attempt to gain control of the Italiote

League and to have Herakleia, a Tarentine colony founded in 433,<sup>10</sup> nominated as the meeting place of the League assembly.<sup>11</sup> This control was maintained until the intervention of Alexander of Epirus in 334/3, who transferred the assembly to Thurii.<sup>12</sup> It is likely that this was reversed after the death of Alexander, but this may have exacerbated the tension between Tarentum and Thurii which was ultimately one of the causes of the Pyrrhic war.<sup>13</sup> There is some evidence that the respective spheres of influence of Rome and Tarentum began to coincide,<sup>14</sup> and there was an incident in 320 in which Tarentum tried to exert some influence in the war between Rome and the Samnites.<sup>15</sup> There is also some slight evidence for the existence of a treaty demarcating the spheres of influence of Rome and Tarentum, which may date to 320, although other dates have been proposed.<sup>16</sup>

The period after the Pyrrhic War seems to have been one of relatively good relations with Rome, but the city was one of the few to reject alliance with Rome and secede to Hannibal in the 2nd Punic war. Sources for Tarentine history after the recapture of the city by Rome become very scarce. The details of the settlement made in 209 are not known, but it seems likely that it was similar to that made with Locri,<sup>17</sup> which involved the installation of pro-Roman exiles as the governing party and the declaration that the Romans and the Locrians were to be *socii et amici*. Thereafter, the city seems to have lost some of its importance, although it seems unlikely that it declined to the extent that some of the sources suggest.<sup>18</sup> As with Cumae and other areas of Magna Graecia, depopulation and desolation appears to have become a literary commonplace which in some cases bore little resemblance to fact. The foundation of

Brundisium and the building of a branch of the Via Appia connecting Tarentum and Brundisium must have had some effect on Tarentine trade, but there is evidence that it remained a major port for both military and commercial purposes.<sup>19</sup> The foundation of the Gracchan colony of Neptunia in 123 B.C.<sup>20</sup> seems to have made a fundamental alteration to the character of the city, but it still appears to have retained its Greek character to some extent, even after the grant of citizenship in 89 B.C.<sup>21</sup> The area seems to have suffered from widespread unrest in the 2nd century,<sup>22</sup> but does not seem to have been directly involved in the Social war. During the Civil wars, Tarentum seems to have played a major role as a naval base,<sup>23</sup> and was particularly associated with Octavian, a fact which is reflected in the epigraphy.<sup>24</sup>

Economically, it is likely that the city continued to flourish, since there are a large number of references to Tarentine production of wine and oil,<sup>25</sup> and in particular to a textile industry producing high quality woollen cloth and purple dye.<sup>26</sup> There are also a considerable number of inscriptions which indicate that individual Tarentines took part in trade in the Aegean from the 3rd century onwards, and were involved in trade and in banking on Delos.<sup>27</sup>

### 3. Cults, Priesthoods and Colleges

Most of the inscriptions recording the religious life of the city have been collected and edited by Gasperini.<sup>28</sup> These indicate the presence of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, Neptune, Hercules, Minerva and Diana. Many of these are Latin and appear to be from an early period in the history of the Roman city, possibly the period of the Gracchan colony. However, it is notable that two of the dedications, both to Diana/Artemis, are bilingual and preserve some Doric features.<sup>29</sup> The

more detailed of these, a dedication by A. Titinius, also seems to contain some trace elements of Oscan and has been dated by Gasperini to the 2nd century B.C., tentatively identifying it with the Gracchan colony. There are also two Greek dedications to Athena and one to Apollo Alaios.<sup>30</sup> The Apollo inscription, on a large white marble *louterion*, may indicate that the *louterion* had been manufactured in Tarentum but was intended for the temple of Apollo Alaios at Crimissa, since this particular Apollo cult is unknown at Tarentum. However, it is notable that all the other cults apart from that of Jupiter Optimus Maximus are documented at Tarentum in the Greek period.<sup>31</sup>

The principal inscription which is not discussed by Gasperini is that which records the presence of G. Umbricius Melior,<sup>32</sup> an imperial haruspex who is known to have served with Galba. Although there is no evidence for Umbricius practising as a haruspex in Tarentum, he clearly had a strong connection with the city since he was declared *Patronus Coloniae* under the terms of his will. It may also be significant that the stone carries a number of depictions of a dolphin, the symbol of Tarentum.

### 3. Imperial Connections

It is notable that there are a considerable number of Tarentine inscriptions which indicate imperial connections, and it seems very likely that there was at least one imperial estate in the area of Tarentum.<sup>33</sup> Gasperini lists a group of imperial slaves and freedmen, which include Ulpus Agathangelus and Ulpus Fortunatus, both apparently freedmen of Trajan, and Fortunatus' mother Ursilla, an imperial slave. Another stele is that of Hermadius, an imperial slave who served two emperors. This was set up by his brother, who

is not explicitly referred to as an imperial slave, but is likely to have been so. Gasperini speculates that the emperors may have been Aurelius and Verus, Aurelius and Commodus or Severus and Caracalla. The fact that this stele was found very near to that of Ursilla (near Palude) has prompted speculation that the imperial property may have been in this area.

There are also a large number of dedications to emperors and their families. Of those which can be identified, the largest number are Augustan, possibly a reflection of Augustus' connections with Tarentum during the Civil war. Of these, one is a dedication to L. Caesar to mark his election to the consulship in 3/2 B.C., and another is a dedication to Agrippa Postumus, dated to 4-14 A.D.<sup>34</sup> Since he is referred to as the son of Augustus, it must be later than his adoption in 4 A.D., but it seems inconceivable that it could post-date his exile to Planasia in 7 A.D. A third dedication is fragmentary but is attributed by Gasperini to Augustus or a member of his family on palaeographic grounds. Finally, there exists a very problematic text which could potentially be assigned either to Julius Ceasar or to Octavian. Gasperini argues for an indentification of this *G. Julius G.F.* as Caesar, on the basis that there is a very similar text from Brundisium describing Caesar as *Pater Patriae*, a title which he was only granted in 44 B.C. and is rarely found in inscriptions. However, there remains the problem of the title *dictator rei public[ae constit]uendae*, which appears in this text. There is some doubt about whether this is in fact a correct reconstruction of the text, but it appears to be plausible, and if it is correct, it would point with some degree of certainty towards Octavian rather than Caesar. The fact that the subject of the text

is *G.[F]*. rather than *Divi [F]*. should, however, confirm Gasperini's view that this is in fact a dedication to Caesar. Dedications for the Later Empire include dedications to Faustina Minor, Commodus, Constantine and Trajan.<sup>35</sup>

Of the texts which are not discussed by Gasperini, two are fragmentary but clearly refer to emperors, and are probably imperial cursus inscriptions, although the names cannot be restored.<sup>36</sup> In addition, an elaborate funerary urn of the 2nd century A.D., probably of local workmanship, may provide further indication of the presence of imperial property at Tarentum, since it commemorates an imperial freedman, P. Aelius Blastus. The name makes it clear that he was a freedman of Hadrian.<sup>37</sup> The design of the urn may also provide some further insight into the religious life of Tarentum, since the central feature is a bearded anthropomorphic figure which may represent Ammon.

The final piece is the commemorative inscription of Umbricius, which has been discussed above. His presence may be an indication of a purely personal connection but his position as haruspex of Galba, if not other emperors, would seem to reinforce the imperial connections outlined above.

##### 5. Municipal Government

Very little new material for the government of Tarentum is available. As noted in section 2, Tarentum originally appears to have had a government of a similar type to Sparta, but appears to have developed as a democracy.<sup>38</sup> A recent Greek inscription on an amphora dated to the 3rd century B.C.<sup>39</sup> confirms the existence of the Ephorate, previously undocumented at Tarentum. There is no evidence of the nature of this office at Tarentum. However, the fact that Ephors in

the parent city, Sparta, and in the colony, Herakleia, were collegiate suggests that the same is likely to have been true at Tarentum.<sup>40</sup>

The principal problem in studying the constitution of Tarentum in the 3rd century is that of the relationship between the Ephorate and the other documented magistracy, the *Strategia*, which is known only from literary sources. The prominence of the office of *Strategos* in the 4th century is attested by reference to Archytas as *Strategos* seven times, and there is a reference to the election of the pro-Roman politician Agis as *Στρατηγος Αὐτοκράτωρ*.<sup>41</sup> Sartori<sup>42</sup> assumes that the *Στρατηγος Αὐτοκράτωρ* was an extraordinary magistrate, elected only in times of crisis, but that by the 3rd/2nd centuries B.C., the regular *Strategos* was the main magistrate of the city. However, Ghinatti<sup>43</sup> suggest that the *Strategia* was not exclusively a Tarentine magistracy, but was an office of the Italiote League. There is nothing in the literary evidence to contradict this view, and the *Strategia* would certainly be appropriate as a League generalship/magistracy. The ancient literary sources consistently fail to draw a distinction between the activities of the Italiote League and those of its *Hegemon*,<sup>44</sup> and it would be natural that in a period of Tarentine domination, the League magistracies should be dominated by Tarentines.

Under Roman rule, it seems likely that an aristocratic form of government was encouraged, at least after 209,<sup>45</sup> but no details of any constitutional change are known. The foundation of the colony of Neptunia by Gracchus in 123 does not seem to have caused any fundamental change in the first instance, since the colony appears to



have been separate from the city, probably being based on allocations of *ager publicus* in the γῶρα of Tarentum. There is evidence that the city retained municipal status for part of the Roman period,<sup>46</sup> and it is likely that Tarentum only received colonial status in the 1st century A.D., with the foundation of the Neronian colony.<sup>47</sup> There are a number of epigraphic fragments which refer to Duumvirs,<sup>48</sup> which can be dated to the 1st century B.C. and 1st century A.D., but there is also evidence that the main civic magistrates after 90 B.C. were Quattuorvirs.<sup>49</sup> This seems to confirm that the colony and the Greek city remained separate until 90/89 B.C., when the colony was merged with the city, and some of its magistracies incorporated into the municipal structure.

## 6. Social Structure

### a) Onomastic Catalogue

Unlike that from other areas of Magna Graecia, material from Tarentum cannot readily be dated using the usual criteria based on forms of inscription and in particular, on funerary formulae. Therefore dates have only been assigned where there are clear historical indications or where the presence of the formula D(is) M(anibus), a relatively well-dated feature, can be used to give an indication of approximate date.

Μοσχίς - SEG 19.619. 4th century B.C. Cf. also Neutsch, Röm. Mitt. 68 (1961), 163. Inscription on one of a pair of reclining male figures. Possibly a dedication.<sup>51</sup> Greek name.

Φιλίστις - SEG 19.619. Neutsch, Röm. Mitt. 68 (1961), 163. Inscription on a figurine of a reclining male figure. Cf. Μοσχίς. 4th century B.C.

Νουιος Βαννιος - SEG 29.1026, Zimmerman, M.H. 36 (1979), 179-84. C. 330 B.C. Inscription on a bronze cuirass of Tarentine manufacture. Exact provenance unknown. However, it indicates contact between Tarentum and the Oscan tribes of the hinterland. Novios seems to be a common Italic name, and Bannios appears to be similarly of Hellenised Oscan provenance. The use of the Greek alphabet further indicates that the owner of the cuirass was Hellenised. Zimmerman dates the cuirass to the period of the interventions of the Greek dynasts in Magna Graecia. It is possible that it is a piece captured during these wars and reused by an Italian, but it is equally possible that it was transmitted by trade or belonged to an Italic ally of Tarentum.

Αρτεμιδωρος - Buonarotto, NSc 1960, 428-31. Cf. Gasperini 1978. 4th century. Name inscribed on a large white marble louterion, dedicated to Apollo Alaios at Crimissa, but apparently was never taken there. Name of one of the *agonothetes*.

Κριτολα[ς] - Buonarotto NSc 1960, 428-31. Cf. Gasperini 1978. 4th century. Name of one of the *agonothetes* inscribed on a white marble louterion dedicated to Apollo Alaios. Cf. Artemidoros.

Πολεμορχος - IG 14.668. Gasperini 1970. 3rd/2nd century B.C. Lead tablet, one of a pair containing lists of names, found in the territory of Tarentum. Many of the names have Spartan connections e.g. Agis, Eurotas.<sup>51</sup>

Αισχρων

Τιμοκρατης

Νικοκρατης

Ξενοκαδης

Βιας

Παισων

Στιλπα

Ευροτος

Σαμνθα

Φιλωτας

Αγισ

Ζωπυρα Μαχαν

Ίστιαια

Επαινετος

Φαριχος

Εφενδων

Δαμοτελης

Φιλη[...] - IG 14.668, Gasperini 1978. 3rd/2nd century B.C.

List of names contained in the second of two tablets found in the territory of Tarentum. More fragmentary than Tablet 1. No overt Spartan connections here, but a number of the names have the characteristic -ισκος ending which is particularly characteristic of Tarentine onomastics.<sup>52</sup> It is possible that the list contains at least one female name, i.e. Πλειστω, which may have acquired an erroneous final ι.<sup>53</sup>

Βοτ[...]

Ίστ[ι]αιος Όλ

Κρατισκος

Πολυ[λ]ις

Καλλικρατης

Γλαυκος

Σιμυλις

Ανθρωπισκος

Δαμεινετος

Φιλιστα

[Λ]ευκα

Ζωπυρος

Τυριχα

Βοτυρος

\*Ιστιαιος Λι

Αριστα[ρχ]ος (Αρισταιος?)

Αριστοδαμος

Πλειστωι

[.....]ου \*Ρωμαιος - NSc 1894. Gasperini 1978. 3rd/2nd century. Dedication to the Θειοι. Most of the name lost but genitive ending would suggest a Greek onomastic form, consisting of name and patronymic. However, the ethnic indicates a Roman, providing evidence of the integration of people of Roman origin, and of the use of Greek forms and language by Romans, and also the adoption of Greek cults.

[.....Α]ντιγονου - Cf. [.....]ου Ρωμαιος.

Λεων \*Επικορω - NSc 1894. Gasperini 1978. 3rd/2nd century B.C. Dedication to Athena. Similar examples are found in Metapontum.<sup>54</sup>

Γλαυκα NSc 1894. Gasperini 1978. Wife of Λεων \*Επικορω.

[.....]ιδας - SEG 16.579. Buonarotto, NSc 8.10 (1956), 93, n.111. 3rd century B.C. Fragment of list. Buonarotto speculates that these may be the names of magistrates in charge of the issue of coinage, since many of the names correspond to the names of issuing magistrates which appear

on 3rd century coinage.

Αριστ[οκλής?]

[....]ενια

Ἀριστις

[Σεν]εας

Αρ[ι]στηιδας

[Καλλι]κρατης

Αριστοδαμος - De Iuliis, *Magna Graecia* 20, 1-2 (1985), 17.

3rd century B.C. Titulus Pictus from the handle of a Chiote amphora, probably a transport amphora. Aristodamos is named as an ephor, providing the first epigraphic evidence for the existence of ephors at Tarentum.

G. Memnus Ani[us] - EE 8.64. Viola, *NSc* 1892, 60-71.

Fragmentary funerary monument. The name form is anomalous, and it seems possible that the nomen and cognomen have been inverted, or that some form of stonecutter's error has occurred. Annii are known as a gens, although not from the area of Tarentum, but Anius is not paralleled as a cognomen. Similarly, Memnus is not found as a cognomen, although in terms of form it seems more likely to be a cognomen than does Anius. However, the alternative reconstruction, Anthus, proposed by Viola would be a valid cognomen. The name Memmius, as a nomen, is already well-documented at Tarentum, and it seems most likely that Memnus is simply an error for Memmius.<sup>55</sup>

Graecinia Sevia - EE 8.60. Viola, *NSc* 1892, 60-71. Funerary.

Simple text, using H.S.E. formula. Graecinius is found at Larinum and Canusium only,<sup>56</sup> but Conway (570) suggests a greater occurrence of the name in Latium and Umbria. Sevia

has no parallel.

Octavia M.L. Prima - Marangio, AC 31 (1979), 132-40.

Probably Augustan. Both names are common, but the text is unusual in Tarentine epigraphy as it is one of the few, other than those of veterans or imperial freedmen to include an indication of status. The form is typical of that of Tarentine and Sallentine epigraphy as it inverts the normal order of age and the formula H.S.E., a feature which is very common in the Sallentine peninsular.<sup>57</sup>

G. Memmius Dionysius - CIL 9.246. Funerary. Memmii are found at Lupiae and in the Sabine areas of Italy, and are well-documented at Tarentum.<sup>58</sup> Dionysius is a common Greek cognomen.

Julia Maria - CIL 9.246. Funerary. Wife of G. Memmius Dionysius. Julia is a common nomen, but Maria is more problematic. It is well-documented as a nomen in Oscan areas,<sup>59</sup> being the feminine form of Marius, but it is rare as a cognomen and in this context it may indicate a Jewish or Christian background.

M. Aurelius Eutychetis - CIL 10.34. Funerary. There appears to be some doubt about the provenance of this inscription, and it is possible that it may not be from Tarentum.

Memmia Secundina - CIL 9.247. Funerary. For Memmii, see sv G. Memmius Dionysius. Secundina is well-documented.

Memmius Saenianus - CIL 9.247. Husband of Memmia Secundina. Saenianus is known as a senatorial cognomen.<sup>60</sup>

Titinia Daphne - CIL 9.253. Funerary. There are numerous other Titinii from Tarentum, some of whom appear in dated

texts which show that the family was present in Tarentum at least from the 2nd century B.C. to the late 1st century A.D.<sup>61</sup> Many of the other texts, particularly the earlier ones, indicate that the Titinii were high status, having held civic office and made a number of significant religious dedications in the city. However, the simple nature of this burial may suggest a freedwoman rather than a direct descendant. The name is identified by Conway (587) as being particularly common in Campania and Calabria.

M. Plotius Sygnomus - Sogliano, NSc 1893. Plotii are already documented at Tarentum,<sup>62</sup> and the nomen is widely distributed elsewhere. There are no parallels for Sygnomus.

Sosime - Fiorelli, NSc 1883. Common Greek name, using some Greek letters. Single name and simple nature of text indicates low status and possibly a late date.

[.....]eria [.....]ntina - EE 8.68, Viola, NSc 1892, 60-71. Fragmentary funerary monument. Not possible to reconstruct name.

Nemectoria Phoebe - Sogliano, NSc 1893. No parallel for nomen. The nearest form to it is Nemestronia, which is found at Brundisium.<sup>63</sup> Phoebe is a common Greek cognomen.

A. Hordonius Essper - EE 8.61. Hordonius is identified by Conway as a Campanian name (573) but there is no parallel for Essper. It is possible that it is a variant of Hesper.

Titinia Saturnina - Sogliano NSc 1893. See above sv Titinia Daphne.

Q. Ve[...]rius [...]echio - Sogliano, NSc 1893. Fragmentary.

G. Umbricius G.F. Scapt. Melior - AE 1930, 52. Dedication, to commemorate the declaration that Umbricius was Patronus Coloniae. Umbricius was clearly a prominent figure, as imperial haruspex. He is mentioned by Tacitus as the haruspex of Galba, and is also mentioned by Pliny.<sup>64</sup> The connection of the name with the profession of haruspex was clearly well-recognised, since Juvenal makes sarcastic reference to the practice of inspecting frogs' entrails in connection with another Umbricius.<sup>65</sup>

Διονυσίος Διονυσίου Αθηναίος - Lippolis, Taras 4, 1-2 (1984), 119-53. 1st or 2nd century A.D. From a sculptural dedication, probably a statue of Apollo.

Κοσμίανος - Lippolis, Taras 4, 1-2 (1984), 119-53. Co-dedicators, with Dionysios, of a statue, probably Apollo. While Seleucos and Dionysios are both Greek names, Cosmianos seems to be Latinised.

Σελευκος - Lippolis, Taras 4, 1-2 (1984), 119-53. Co-dedicator of a statue of Apollo.

Natalis Q. Her. Ser. - Marangio, AC 31 (1979), 132-40. 1st century A.D. Tufa stele. Natalis is known from this area but is not widespread. The Herennii are not paralleled at Tarentum, but the name, which is of Oscan origin, is found with great frequency around Beneventum.<sup>66</sup>

Titia P.F. Apula - CIL 9.249. Titia is a common nomen in the South and is found at Beneventum. Apula suggests a local origin.<sup>67</sup>

Valerius Italus - CIL 9.249. Dedicator of the stele of Titia Apula.

G. Julius Ambrosius - CIL 9.242. Both names are common.



D. Lucretius Iustus - CIL 9.242. Son of G. Julius Ambrosius. Both names well-documented.

T. Calpurnius Cratistus - CIL 9.237. Calpurnii are well-documented but there is no parallel for Cratistus, as a cognomen, although it is well-known as a Greek name.

Calpurnia Cratista - CIL 9.238. Mother of Calpurnius Cratistus.

G. Mutius Faustus - EE 8.65. Faustus is well-documented as a Latin cognomen. Mutii are known from Beneventum and Alba Fucens.<sup>68</sup> The funerary formulae used here suggest a continuing Greek influence, since the formula used is *Salve* rather than any of the more common abbreviated forms. It seems likely that this is an alternative to *Have*, which is in itself probably a Latinisation of *χαίρε*, the formulaic phrase which frequently occurs in Greek epitaphs of the Hellenistic and Roman periods.<sup>69</sup>

Serasinius Amasonicus - Sogliano, NSc 1893. No parallel for either of the names, although it is possible that the cognomen may be of Greek origin.<sup>70</sup>

P. Aelius Blastus - Marangio, AC 31 (1979), 132-40. White marble urn, of characteristic Tarentine type. Imperial freedmen. Blastus unknown in this area, but found at Rome, Chieti, Parma and Capua.<sup>71</sup>

A. Pettius [...].ntinus - Lippolis, Taras 4, 1-2, (1984), 119-53. Pettii are found at Teanum Apulum,<sup>72</sup> but are also known to have existed at Tarentum from the place-name, Fundus Pettianus.

Helpius Hordionius - Sogliano, NSc 1893. This seems likely to be a case of inversion of the nomen and cognomen.

Hordionii are known from Lucania and Latium but are particularly frequent in Campania.<sup>73</sup> The name is also attested at Tarentum (cf. Hordionius Essper).

[.] Pompi[...]us Pan[.....] - NSc 1882. Fragmentary epitaph. The names are not certainly restorable, but it seems likely that the nomen is Pompilius.

L. Cassi[us?] Fortunatus - NSc 1912. Both names are well-documented.

G. Julius Abascantus - EE 8.63. Parallels for the cognomen are found at Canusium, Histonium, Carsioli, Aequicoli and Marsi Marruvinorum.<sup>74</sup>

Sextia Saturnina - EE 8.63. The only parallels for Sextii in this area are from Brundisium.<sup>75</sup>

M. Allecinus - EE 8.59 (cf. Fiorelli, NSc 1884, 124, No.118). No parallel.

Felicla - Marangio, AC 31 (1979), 132-40. 3rd century A.D. Name not widely diffused in Apulia.

Tala[.]us - Marangio, AC 31 (1979), 132-40. 3rd century A.D. Husband of Felicla. The name is restored by Marangio as Talamus, or Talassus, both of which are Greek in origin.

Sex. Licinius Priscus - CIL 9.245. Both names are well-documented.

Julia Filematin(a?) - CIL 9.243. Julii common. No parallel for the cognomen, but is of Greek origin.

A. Titinius Fructus - CIL 9.251. For Titinii, see sv Titinia Daphne.

Titinia Procula - CIL 9.255. For Titinii, see sv Titinia Daphne.

Laenia Primigenia - CIL 9.244. Primigenia a common

cognomen. Only parallel for Laenii in this area is from Brundisium.<sup>76</sup>

Festus - CIL 9.241. Common name.

Lupula - CIL 9.241. Wife of Festus. Parallels are known from Bari, Allifae, and the territory between Compsa and Aeclanum.<sup>77</sup>

Messia Roda - CIL 9.248. Messii are known from Beneventum, Venusia, Bari and Brundisium.<sup>78</sup> There is no parallel for Roda, but it seems to be Greek and of a geographical derivation.

Cor[.....] Fortunatus - CIL 9.248. Husband of Messia Roda. Name fragmentary.

M. Kaninius Euhethes - CIL 9.240. Parallels for Kaninius are known from Brundisium and Venusia, and for Euhethes, from Canusium.<sup>79</sup>

Pardalas - CIL 9.240. No parallel, but probably a Greek name.

Kaninius Proclus - CIL 9.240. Grandfather of Pardalas.

Crusis Titiniorum - CIL 9.240. The form of the name is irregular, and would suggest that it is a direct transliteration of Greek. The name has no parallel but is clearly Greek. The use of the plural in the second element would suggest a slave of the Titinii rather than a true patronymic.

Furius Cl. Togius Quintillianus - Lippolis, Taras 4, 1-2 (1984), 119-53. ILS 5700, PLRE 1 p.760. Dedicatory inscription from the Thermae Pentascinenses. The second element of the name is probably Claudius. Lippolis suggests a possible connection with the Togius Quintillianus, curator

of Regio 11, who is attested in an inscription from Aeclanum,<sup>80</sup> or the Togius Maximus, who appears in an inscription from Beneventum.<sup>81</sup>

Aurelius Petrius - Lippolis, Taras 4, 1-2 (1984), 119-53. Probably Curator of Works for the building of the Thermae Pentascinenses.

G. Marc[...] - Lippolis, Taras 4, 1-2 (1984), 119-53. Fragment from the Thermae Pentascinenses.

Julius - EE 8.62. Common name.

Ἰστίηλος Ἰστίωνος - SEG 19.620; Neutsch, AA 1956, 236-7; Robert, REG 72 (1959), 281, No.537. Epitaph. Greek.

Ἰστίων - SEG 19.620. Included in the epitaph of Histieios.

Αυαθ[ο]ξεν[ος] - IG 14.761. Possibly an artist's signature.

Συμφορος - Lippolis, Taras 4, 1-2 (1984), 119-53. From a sculptural fragment.

Euca(rpia?) - NSc 1897, 466-70. Stele. Only parallel for restored name is from Beneventum.

M. Acilius - Sogliano NSc 1897, 302-4. Potters stamp. Parallels for the name are found at Beneventum, Allifae, Corfinium, Canusium, Venusia and Septempeda.<sup>82</sup>

[.....]s Epidius P.F. M[.....] - EE 8.55. Building fragment. Epidii are well-documented, but the nearest parallel is from Venusia.<sup>83</sup>

Vennonia Prosdia[...] - EE 8.67. No parallel in the area for either name.

Gratu[...] - EE 8.67. Mother of Vennonia.

D. Veneris - NSc 1897, 68-9. Funerary.

Iucundus - NSc 1897, 68-9. Funerary. Slave.

Hyllus - NSc 1897, 68-9. Funerary.

Thalame - NSc 1897, 68-9. Funerary.

Quintia - NSc 1897, 68-9. Funerary. Mother of Thalame.

Gn. Nearchus Nepos Fabianus - CIL 9.239. Funerary of Commemorative, as set up D(e) S(ua) P(ecunia). Not dated, but the proliferation of cognomina would suggest a date of the 2nd century A.D. or later. The name is significant for its historical associations, and for its irregularity of form.<sup>84</sup> Historically, it seems to be a deliberate reference to the connections between the Fabii and a Tarentine known as Nearchus, in 209, a connection which is described by Cicero.<sup>85</sup> The irregular name form and the adoption of a Greek name into what is otherwise a normal Roman name would suggest that this may be intended to make a point, possibly a claim to descent from Nearchus, or adherence to the Pythagorean philosophy which was the cause of the meeting between Nearchus and Cato, Fabius' quaestor. If so, it appears to be an instance of deliberate archaism, based on local tradition.

G. Domitius Diomedes - Viola, NSc 1881. Small stele.

Possibly a line missing, containing the age of the deceased.

Domitii are not previously attested at Tarentum. Greek cognomen.

T. Julius Evander - Viola, NSc 1881. Small stele. Greek cognomen.

G. Junius Felix - Viola, NSc 1881. Small stele. Both names common. Set up by father.

G. Junius - Viola, NSc 1881. Small stele. father of Junius Felix.

G. Barrius Severus - Viola, NSc 1881. Small stele. Rare

nomen, found only in Calabria (Conway 561).

P. Gere[....] - Viola, NSc 1881. Fragment of funerary monument.

[.....]mis - Viola, NSc 1881. Fragment of funerary monument.

Dafne - Viola, NSc 1881. Funerary monument. Common name, Greek origin.

G. Tigidius Barbarus - Viola, NSc 1881. Funerary monument. Rare nomen, found principally in Picenum (Conway 587).

Euaristus Nepotis Ser. Thielvstre - Viola, NSc 1881. Funerary monument. Probably Late empire. The name is presented in unusual form, but may be Euaristus Sylvester, slave of Nepos. Greek name.

L. Ae[...] Capha[....] - Viola, NSc 1881. Funerary monument. The name is fragmentary, but the nomen is possibly Aelius, already attested from Tarentum. The cognomen may be Greek in origin, or Oriental, since it contains the non-Latin 'ph'.

Phiale - Viola, NSc 1881. Funerary monument. Greek name.

Domitia Ania - Viola, NSc 1881. Funerary. Inscribed on reverse of monument to Phiale. Very rough execution.

Felicio - Viola, NSc 1881. Funerary monument. Dedicator (?) of the monument to Domitia Ania.

M. Samiarius Valens - Viola, NSc 1881. Funerary monument. Lettering regular and well-executed. The name is uncommon, and is attested principally at Cumae, and on Delos.

Calvia Veneria - Viola, NSc 1881. Funerary monument. Wife of M. Samiarius Valens.

Γαλινοσ [Πα?]χιδα[.....] - Viola, NSc 1892, 60-71.

Fragmentary funerary monument. Latin name, but Greek inscription.

Vargu[...] Optata - Viola, NSc 1892, 60-71. Fragmentary funerary monument. The closest parallel cited by Conway (588) is Vargunteia, which is a Volscian/Hirpinian name, but Vargunius is known from the Salletine peninsular (Susini 119), and may provide a better parallel.

L. Helvius Dic[...] - Viola, NSc 1892, 60-71. Fragmentary funerary monument. Husband of Vargu[nia] Optata.

L. Tampanus Optatus - Viola, NSc 1892, 60-71. Fragmentary funerary monument. No parallel for nomen.

[A]quila Julia - Viola, NSc 1892, 60-71. Fragmentary funerary monument. Inversion of nomen and cognomen.

[...]pa Julius - Viola, NSc 1892, 60-71. Fragmentary funerary monument.

Grapte - Viola, NSc 1892, 60-71. Fragmentary funerary monument.

[M]inatus [...] [Z]osimu[s] - Viola, NSc 1892, 60-71. Fragmentary funerary monument. Minatus appears to have been a common Oscan name.

[...]ianu[s...] [...]aria - Viola, NSc 1892, 60-71. Fragmentary funerary monument.

[...]eria [...] Intina - Viola, NSc 1892, 60-71. Fragmentary funerary monument.

M. Ani[...] Ianu[arius] - Viola, NSc 1892, 60-71. Fragmentary funerary monument.

Decia [...] - Viola, NSc 1892, 60-71. Fragmentary funerary monument.

Juli[us] - Viola, NSc 1892, 60-71. Fragmentary funerary

monument.

[....]un[...] - Viola, NSc 1892, 60-71. Fragmentary funerary monument.

Afri[....] - Viola, NSc 1892, 60-71. Fragmentary funerary monument.

Que[ne]rius Maechio - Viola, NSc 1892, 60-71. Fragmentary funerary monument. Greek cognomen. No parallel for nomen.

[..]elvia - Viola, NSc 1892, 60-71. Fragmentary funerary monument.

Sabinianus - Viola, NSc 1892, 60-71. Fragmentary funerary monument.

L. A[...] [...]gili[...] - Viola, NSc 1892, 60-71. Fragmentary funerary monument.

////ia[...] [...]lyde - Viola, NSc 1892, 60-71. Fragmentary funerary monument.

M. Clodius Primogene[...] - Viola, NSc 1892, 60-71. Fragmentary funerary monument.

P. Publilius Lucrio - Viola, NSc 1892, 60-71. Fragmentary funerary monument.

G. Vetius Ecnus - Viola, NSc 1892, 60-71. Fragmentary funerary monument.

L. Xalidius Venerius - Viola, NSc 1892, 60-71. Fragmentary funerary monument. Presumably a Hellenised form of Calidius, which well-documented in Campania and Samnium, and is also found in the Sallentine peninsular (Conway 563, Susini 49).

Paezusa - Viola, NSc 1892, 60-71. Fragmentary funerary monument.

M. A[...]nius M.F. Mallus - Viola, NSc 1892, 60-71.



Fragmentary funerary monument.

Acerronia Eleutheria - Viola, NSc 1892, 60-71. Fragmentary funerary monument.

Phaleres - Viola, NSc 1892, 60-71. Fragmentary funerary monument.

Artimna Aphroditia - Viola, NSc 1892, 60-71. Fragmentary funerary monument.

G. Scevius Hilarus - Viola, NSc 1892, 60-71. Fragmentary funerary monument. Nearest parallel for the nomen is Scaefius, which is found in Bruttium (Conway 583).

Claudia Prima - Viola, NSc 1892, 60-71. Fragmentary funerary monument. Commemorated on the same monument as G. Scevius Hilarus.

Pathria Ampliata - Viola, NSc 1892, 60-71. Fragmentary funerary monument.

Pophinius Serclypus - Viola, NSc 1892, 60-71. Fragmentary funerary monument. No parallel for nomen.

Artemidorus - Viola, NSc 1892, 60-71. Fragmentary funerary monument. Dedicator of monument of Pophinius Serclypus.

Ferox - Viola, NSc 1892, 60-71. Fragmentary funerary monument. Dedicator of the monument of Pophinius Serclypus.

Itzia Fortunata - Viola, NSc 1892, 60-71. Fragmentary funerary monument. The closest parallel for the nomen is a rare Frentanian name, Itia (Conway 571).

Laquius Sater[.]? - Viola, NSc 1892, 60-71. Fragmentary funerary monument. Husband of Itzia Fortunata.

[...]ius Firmus - Viola, NSc 1892, 60-71. Fragmentary funerary monument.

[....] S.F. Div[...] - Viola, NSc 1892, 60-71. Fragmentary

funerary monument.

[....]n[....] - Viola, NSc 1892, 60-71. Fragmentary funerary monument.

[....] Por[....] - Viola, NSc 1892, 60-71. Fragmentary funerary monument.

[.....] Sextu[s..] - Viola, NSc 1892, 60-71. Fragmentary funerary monument.

b) Conclusions

(i) Language

The most notable feature about Tarentine epigraphy is the very small number of Greek inscriptions from the city or from the territory, a fact which Kahrstedt interprets as an indication of a local tradition of non-epigraphic grave markers etc.<sup>86</sup> However, this does not explain why there is so little in the way of epigraphy of any kind written in Greek, and it may be safer to assume that the small number of Greek texts is due to an imbalance of finds and excavation rather than a general lack of written texts.

This lack of direct evidence for the Greek language may be modified to some extent by other indications, which do exist in the epigraphic record, of the continuing use of the Greek language and the continuation of Tarentum as a city of Greek culture and in touch with the rest of the Greek world. A small number of inscriptions, which may be of dates between 209 and 89 B.C., are bilingual, and there is a case of two Romans making a dedication to the gods of Tarentum in Greek only.<sup>87</sup> Thus there appears to be some slight, but

potentially significant evidence for the continuing recognition of the Greek nature of Tarentum and of attempts by Roman settlers to adapt to this in the period following the invasion of Hannibal. However, it is notable that most of these texts are dedications, and it may be that the Roman colonists in the area were more willing to maintain local customs in religious matters than in other respects. The fact that the dedications which contain the names of the dedicators all indicate that these were undertaken by Romans<sup>88</sup> also suggests that a local epigraphic tradition already existed for them to imitate, at least in terms of dedicatory inscriptions.

In addition to the evidence given by inscriptions from the Eastern Mediterranean, there is also a small amount of evidence from Tarentum itself for the continuation of contacts between Magna Graecia and the rest of the Greek world. These include a statue, possibly of Apollo,<sup>89</sup> dedicated to the θεῷ Ἰσταντῷ by Dionysios of Athens and Kossmianos and Seleucus, possibly also of Athens, although the text does not make this clear. In addition, there are three texts of the second century which are primarily concerned with the revival of agonistic festivals. One records a cultural embassy from Sparta to Tarentum, as part of the officially sponsored effort to renew ancient colonial connections which occurred under the Antonines.<sup>90</sup> The other two suggest that there may have been a festival at Tarentum which formed part of the international artistic and athletic circuit. An Alexandrian athlete and trainer appears to have

retired to Tarentum, after a distinguished career in Alexandria, and Tarentum appears on the victory list of at least one athlete.<sup>91</sup> The date of the foundation of this festival is not known. It may have been a traditional local festival which gained prominence as a result of the foundation of the Panhellenion and the renewal of connections with Sparta, and also benefited from the Capitolina and the Eusebeia.<sup>92</sup> However, the case of Archias is a clear indication that Tarentum was on a major international circuit for poets and literary figures at a much earlier date, and this may point to the existence of a major Greek festival of some sort as early as the 1st century B.C., although there is no evidence of it as an athletic festival.<sup>93</sup> Possibly it should be viewed as a local Tarentine festival which gained some importance in the Greek world during the Hellenistic and Roman periods but did not have a great deal of significance in Roman terms, in the way that the festivals of Naples and Puteoli did.

(ii) Epigraphic Variation

The epigraphy of Tarentum shows a significant degree of local variation, when compared with that from other cities, Greek or Italian, from other areas. In particular it shows a considerable contrast with that of the Bay of Naples, which appears to be very closely linked with mainstream Roman epigraphy. The principal features of Tarentine funerary epigraphy are the extreme brevity of a large number of the texts, giving only name, age, and sometimes an indication of the name of the dedicator of the stone, and

the presence of H.S.E. as a funerary formula. These features are identified by Susini as being typical of the funerary epigraphy of the Sallentine peninsular. Unfortunately, this means that the normal chronological indicators based on the form of the inscription cannot be applied, as has been discussed above. It is notable that the texts which tend to be longer and more informative are those of people who are more likely to have had close contact with Romanising influences, if not with Rome itself, in particular, veterans and imperial freedmen. The type of monument found is also rather different. The vast majority are cippi or stelai, rather than the tabulae which tend to mark burials in columbaria and family tombs, suggesting that the local trend was towards individual burials rather than collective tombs, although one communal tomb, built by the collegium of the *viatores*, is attested. Undoubtedly, the simplicity of the texts and the small size of the tombs may be an indication of the low social and economic status of the families concerned, but the fact that this pattern of funerary and epigraphic type is common to the whole of the Sallentine peninsular and appears to persist over a period of approximately three centuries, if not longer, suggests that it may be more indicative of local attitudes to burial and epigraphy than simply an indicator of status. It may also be significant that the data studied by Gasperini includes a number of free-born members of the gens Titinia, which appears to have been among the leading families of the city, who have very simple stelai of this type.<sup>94</sup>

One feature of Sallentine and Tarentine epigraphy which may also represent a local variation is the frequency with which age at time of death is recorded. Age is a regular feature of funerary epigraphy elsewhere, but a record of age does not seem to appear on funerary monuments elsewhere with the same frequency with which it appears here.<sup>95</sup> This phenomenon has recently been studied by Macmullen,<sup>96</sup> who has attempted to assess the significance of age, as well as other features, on epigraphic monuments. Macmullen identifies the Roman style of funerary inscription, and to some extent the appearance of epigraphy in any quantity or type, as an index of Romanisation. As such, the appearance of age on an epitaph is an indication of the degree of Romanisation, and of the presence of Roman settlers in the area.<sup>97</sup> However, he also attempts to draw a fundamental distinction between Roman and Greek attitudes to age, as expressed in the percentage of tombstones which assign ages within certain ranges.<sup>98</sup> A sample of 9,980 Greek and Latin funerary inscriptions from Rome have been plotted as a graph showing the percentages of recorded ages for each language which fall into each of ten age groups. This shows a markedly different curve for each of the two language groups, which Macmullen identifies as being characteristic of the attitudes towards the ages of the dead in the two cultures, the Romans being much more likely to record the ages of young children and unlikely to record the ages of older people, while the Greeks are comparatively unlikely to record the age of a child but much more likely to record the age of an adult. However, a similar graph, based on the

inscriptions of Tarentum, indicates that this must be treated with caution. Although the sample is drawn entirely from Latin epigraphy, since there is no surviving Greek funerary epigraphy which preserves the age of the deceased, the curve produced is very similar to that plotted by Macmullen for the Greek population of Rome. The elements which do differ are the lack of a steep rise in the number of recorded ages among the elderly, and the peak of deaths occurring among people in their fifties and early sixties. However, this second difference can be explained by the fact that the epigraphy of Tarentum includes the funerary monuments of a considerable number of veterans, probably from the settlement of 60 A.D., who would be aged approximately between 45 and 50 at the time of settlement and would possibly artificially boost the death rate of the colony for the 50-59 age range. The other major divergence, the lack of an upsurge of ages in the 70+ age range, is less easy to explain, but it is possible that this is to some extent the result of having only a small sample available for study. Thus it appears that Macmullen has been premature in assuming that a particular distribution of recorded ages is characteristic of a particular culture and that a certain pattern of age distribution can be used as an index of Romanisation. It seems much more likely that age distributions are features which vary according to local custom in the recording of ages and the significance which is attached to age.<sup>99</sup> However, it may be significant that a preliminary study of ages recorded on monuments from the other cities of Magna Graecia appear to show a pattern very

similar to that plotted for Tarentum, despite the fact that these statistics are drawn almost entirely from Latin epigraphy. On current evidence, the only city which seems likely to produce results in any way resembling Macmullen's graph of the Latin age distribution is Cumae. This will be discussed in more detail at a later stage, but it would seem, from preliminary findings, that Rome, and places which maintained a close connection and some seasonal interchange of population with Rome, were anomalous in their breakdown of recorded ages, and do not reflect the patterns found in the rest of Italy. By extension, this would suggest a significantly different perception of age within Rome. The extent to which the ages recorded on tombstones have any bearing on the actual age of the deceased has been much debated, but it would also seem plausible to suggest that the curve produced for Rome represents a genuinely higher infant mortality rate and a lower average age of death, a pattern which has been identified as characteristic of large cities in more recent periods of history.<sup>100</sup> It seems more reasonable to assess attitude to age by the proportion of tombstones which record age, rather than those which represent certain age groups.

Thus while Macmullen may be correct on a very general level in assuming that the number of Latin inscriptions from an area is an index of the extent to which it was Romanised, the existence of distinctive local epigraphic types, as in Tarentum and the Salentine peninsular, must surely indicate that local traditions persisted with some strength, and that



connections with Rome and transmission of changes occurring there was weak, and possibly met with some resistance.

(iii) Social Structure

As noted above, it is very difficult to assess the social and economic structure of Tarentum, as the local variations on the funerary formulae used in inscriptions and the types of burial and grave marker tend to be of a uniform type and so obscure social and economic distinctions. The easily recognisable groups are those formed by a common background or employment, in particular the imperial slaves and freedmen and the veterans. Gasperini estimates that slaves accounted for 40-50% of the population of Tarentum, which is in line with the figures available for the rest of the Sallentine peninsular.<sup>101</sup> However, he appears to estimate this on the basis that all of the burials marked only by cippi, with a simple text, are likely to be the tombs of slaves. While a considerable number of these do seem to be slave, or low status, burials, there is also some evidence, which has been discussed above, for the fact that this type of text is a local variation and cannot be tied with any degree of absolute certainty to the social status of the deceased.

However, a higher number of slaves give positive indication of their status in their epitaphs, a phenomenon which is not the case in any of the other areas studied. This could be accounted for by a number of factors, including the date of the text, the number of slaves in the

area or the attitude to slavery. If dating were to be accepted as a factor, the number of slaves known would be concentrated in the period before, approx., the 2nd century A.D., since it was up to this time that status indicators in names were the rule rather than the exception. However, this can only be used as a guideline and it is relatively easy to find examples to disprove the assertion that the presence or absence of a status indicator can be used as a method of dating in anything other than the most general sense.<sup>102</sup> Since the epitaphs containing the H.S.E. formula have been attributed by Susini<sup>103</sup> to the 1st-3rd centuries A.D., the most that can be said is that the number of known slaves in Tarentum appears to have been relatively high in this period. The distribution of the cippi throughout the territory of Tarentum, and the nature of the occupations, where these are indicated, seem to suggest that the majority of these cippi are the tombstones of agricultural workers. Again, this corresponds with the findings of Susini for the Salentine peninsular.

In contrast to the number of known slaves, the number of certainly attested freedmen and freedwomen is very much lower than in other areas studied. Only 9 freedmen are definitely attested, as against 24 slaves and 25 free citizens. On superficial analysis this would suggest that the rate of manumission was very much lower here than in many other areas. Undoubtedly there are a considerable number of freedmen concealed in the large proportion of Tarentines whose social status cannot be recovered, and the

small amount of data available makes an accurate statistical study impossible, but the discrepancy is sufficiently marked to suggest that there was a significant difference in attitudes to manumission. This may be accounted for by a consideration of the nature of slavery at Tarentum. As noted above, many of the known slaves may have been agricultural slaves, living in the *χώρα* of Tarentum rather than in the city, and may not have had as much opportunity for gaining freedom by saving their *peculium*<sup>104</sup> as slaves in the city. Alternatively, the cost of replacing, and the unlikelihood of the freed slave contributing to the running of the farm, may have deterred masters from manumitting slaves in large numbers. In addition to the certainly attested slaves, there are also a number of texts which include an indication of the occupation of the deceased, many of which seem to indicate probable slave status.<sup>105</sup> It may be also worth noting that the funerary epigraphy of Tarentum also seems to include a considerable number of individuals who had only a single name. This is a feature which became the norm in the Later Roman Empire,<sup>106</sup> but since the likelihood is that most of these texts belong to the first three centuries A.D., it is more likely that these represent slave names. Thus it seems that slaves did account for a large proportion of the population, and freedmen for a smaller one than is usual.

The free population of Tarentum is less easy to identify, as there is no correspondingly convenient way of making an onomastic differentiation between free citizens and

freedmen,<sup>107</sup> as there is in identifying slaves. However, the figures available suggest a relatively high proportion of free inhabitants. This is to some extent explicable in the light of the three colonial foundations there, in 123 B.C., 60 A.D. and at some other date in the late 1st century A.D. A high proportion of the free population of Tarentum can be accounted for by veterans of the settlement of 60 A.D.<sup>108</sup> Despite this, there are enough cursus inscriptions and dedications by magistrates to indicate the existence of a municipal aristocracy and suggest that a certain amount of civic building etc. was taking place.<sup>109</sup> In particular, the gens Titinia seems to have been prominent, possibly appearing in the area as a result of the Gracchan colonisation. Titinii are found throughout the period documented, although some of the cognomina attested may indicate that these were freedmen of the family. However, they seem to have been of purely local importance, despite their long period of influence at Tarentum, and do not appear in any list of Italian senators.

The Literary Sources for Magna Graecia in Relation to the Epigraphic Evidence

Study of the literary sources for Magna Graecia, in particular those concerning the development of the region after 90 B.C., indicates that there are a number of characteristics attributed to these cities which appear so frequently that they seem to have assumed the character of literary commonplaces. This impression is greatly reinforced by the fact that most of these references occur in later Greek or Roman authors, many writing with a specific moral or philosophical bias, and frequently recur in forms so similar as to suggest transmission from one author to another without, necessarily, any reference to the contemporary state of Magna Graecia.

These themes include changes of decadence, luxuriousness, indolence and drunkenness on the part of the Italiotes in general, and the Tarentines in particular; decline and depopulation of the area after 270 B.C.; untrustworthiness and lack of loyalty to Rome; political instability and endemic conflict between the "sound" aristocratic elements and popular demagogues; decline in the Greek culture of the South and a growing degree of barbarism or Italicisation. Of these themes, some have little relevance to the questions raised by the epigraphic evidence, and will be examined elsewhere.<sup>1</sup> However, two have a direct bearing on the study of the epigraphy of the area, and need to be re-examined in the light of this evidence, namely the question of decline and depopulation and of the survival of the Greek language and culture in Southern Italy.

Both of these themes have been discussed in recent years in the light of research on 4th century Pythagoreanism,<sup>2</sup> and many of the later literary commonplaces have been attributed to Timaeus, or one of the historians directly influenced by him. While it is true that a Pythagorean view of history, characterised by a cyclical progression of achievement which reaches a peak and is followed by a period of decline and degeneration (τροπή), can be applied to the history of some of the Italiote cities,<sup>3</sup> it seems unlikely that all of the commonplaces concerning Magna Graecia can be attributed to the derivation of all surviving historical tradition from Timaeus and his followers. In particular, it would seem unwise to regard the evidence of Polybios as dependent on Timaeus, given that Polybios explicitly declares himself opposed to Timaeus' views and his methods as a historian.<sup>4</sup> It also seems unlikely that all Roman authors were so ignorant of the conditions of the south as to make all their statements on the Italiote cities and their history discountable as being merely a reflection of an earlier, and very biased, authority.<sup>5</sup> On the other hand, it cannot be denied that Timaeus was very influential in the development of Roman historiography,<sup>6</sup> and also that his anti-Italiote bias was likely to find favour amongst Romans writing after the revolt of 216-205 B.C.<sup>7</sup> However, it is not necessarily the case that all the hostile commonplaces in the sources can be attributed to a single historian. It is notable that the themes of moral decline and an indulgent life-style, which are levied against the Tarentines by a number of sources,<sup>8</sup> are reflected in earlier sources for Siris and Sybaris, both of which are said to have fallen as a result of ὑβρις and τροπή,<sup>9</sup> but also recur in Roman literature as attributes of all Greeks, and in particular those of Asia.<sup>10</sup> Thus the charges of levitas, idleness and decadence cannot

be seen simply in terms of Timaeian prejudices against the Italiotes, particularly since this topos occurs principally in later authors, but must be seen in terms of the ambivalent Roman attitude to Greeks in general.<sup>11</sup> It seems more likely that, as with the evidence for other areas of Roman history, the work of later historians and essayists reflects the gradual accretion of a number of different, but compatible, sources, rather than the perpetuation of a single authority. In particular, it does not seem valid to dismiss passages which appear to be genuine historical narrative rather than general comment, as being merely transpositions of 4th/3rd century accounts of the wars with Alexander of Epirus or Pyrrhus.<sup>12</sup> Thus it seems necessary to weigh the literary evidence for Magna Graecia with particular care in order to distinguish underlying factors from the elements of propaganda or literary generalisation.

#### Depopulation and Decline in Southern Italy

This theme, of the lost greatness and the economic, physical and moral decline of the Italiote cities, is one which is found from the 1st century B.C. onwards, and is one which can be studied in the light of the epigraphic evidence.

There are many references of a general nature in the literature of this period which indicate that Southern Italy was, not surprisingly, suffering from some degree of depopulation and economic decline as a result of Hannibal's invasion.<sup>13</sup> There is also evidence of widespread brigandage in Apulia and Bruttium, particularly in the early 2nd century B.C., which may be indicative of the generally impoverished state of the area.<sup>14</sup> Given that the South had suffered almost continuous warfare since 216, there seems to be no good reason

to doubt the truth of these sources. However, these themes persist in the literary tradition long after they must have ceased to be true.

In particular, Italiote cities which are indicated by Cicero and others<sup>15</sup> as being no longer important but still inhabited are, by the 1st century A.D., referred to as being deserted, or in serious decline, in the face of solid epigraphical and archaeological evidence to the contrary.<sup>16</sup> In particular, the city of Cumae, which is named as being deserted, but inscriptions reveal that Cumae was a flourishing centre, the administrative centre for Baiae and Bauli and thus with a large shifting population of Roman notables. Although it is possible that the city had lost a considerable amount of its territory,<sup>17</sup> its position as administrative centre of such an area must have ensured continuing prominence, and the numbers of inscriptions found, although not a sure guide, seems to be an indication of a flourishing city. Leading families of Cumae and Puteoli are known to have been on close terms with Cicero and other leading Romans in the 1st century B.C.,<sup>18</sup> and given the continuing importance of the area, it seems likely that such contacts would have increased rather than diminished. Thus, Juvenal's assertion that Cumae was deserted must be an exaggeration, intended to introduce the theme of his satire by contrasting an area used as a country retreat by many Romans with the stresses of life in Rome, rather than anything approaching reality. The suggestion that Juvenal intends to draw attention to the city's desertion by the Greek population and loss of its Greek character, is less likely. The theme is less well-represented in literature than many others, and Cumae seems to have participated in the general emphasis on Greek culture on the Bay



of Naples.

Other references to the decline of the Greek cities are also suspect, although none disregard contemporary evidence quite as glaringly as Juvenal. Livy<sup>19</sup> indicates, in quite specific terms, that Croton had suffered a considerable degree of depopulation by the late 3rd century. This is corroborated by his account of the deprivations of Fulvius Nobilior, who stripped the tiles from the temple of Hera Lacinia, only to have them returned by order of the senate. The tiles were then not replaced, by implication as a result of lack of money and manpower. However, the sanctuary of Hera remained a major focus of religious and economic activity, and epigraphic evidence indicates that major building projects at the sanctuary took place in the 1st century B.C.<sup>20</sup> and 2nd/3rd centuries A.D.,<sup>21</sup> a fact which suggests that the resources of the city and the sanctuary were still considerable.

The theme of depopulation and the decline of Magna Graecia is also borne out by the sources in more general terms, with references to the desertion of the entire area by the 1st century B.C.<sup>22</sup> Since the epigraphic evidence indicates that these cannot possibly be true, it would seem that the sources are drawing an implied comparison between the past importance of the area and its present condition, rather than indicating a literal truth.

#### Strabo 6.1.2: The Continuity of Hellenism in Italy

The second literary theme which requires discussion in relation to epigraphy, is that of the "barbarisation" of Magna Graecia and the continuation, or otherwise, of Greek culture in the area. This is

less frequent than other literary themes, but is reflected very strongly in Strabo,<sup>23</sup> who asserts that all the Greeks but the Tarentines, Rhegines and Neapolitans had, by his day, become completely "barbarised", by absorption by the neighbouring Italians, who then became Romanised as a consequence of Roman expansion. It appears, from the context, that he intended this to refer to the time of composition, the 1st century A.D. However, epigraphic support for this statement is patchy, to say the least, and has been used to discredit Strabo's evidence by attributing the statement to one of his earlier sources, possibly Poseidonius or Antiochus, and thus making it anachronism.<sup>24</sup>

Despite this, there does not appear to be enough evidence of the disappearance of Greek civilisation to discredit Strabo or to suggest that his evidence is anachronistic. Although, it is impossible to determine exactly what Strabo regarded as the criteria for continuing "Greekness" in this instance, it seems very likely that the basis of the definition was the continuation of the Greek language, supported, possibly, by the continuation of Greek dress and religious customs, together with Greek administrative features.<sup>25</sup>

On this definition, there is certainly enough evidence, both from literary and epigraphic sources,<sup>26</sup> that Naples was primarily a Greek speaking community until at least the 2nd century A.D., and continued to maintain Greek religious festivals and other features of civic life. However, the nature of Hellenism at Naples seems to be profoundly influenced by encouragement received by influential Romans, in particular the imperial family.

Evidence for the continuity of Hellenism at Rhegium is more tenuous, and at Tarentum, it is almost non-existent. At Rhegium, a small number of Greek epitaphs<sup>27</sup> attest the continuation of Greek on a private level, although not on a large scale, and there is evidence that Greek continued to be used for official purposes until the 1st century A.D.<sup>28</sup> However, as at Naples, it seems to have been to some extent an artificial survival, as do a number of Greek constitutional features found at Rhegium and in other Bruttian cities. There is also some evidence that Rhegine Greek contained perceptible Latinisations during the Empire.<sup>29</sup> Traces of a very similar pattern are also found at Velia. Thus, although the system is more complex, there is enough evidence at Rhegium to support Strabo's assertion that Hellenism continued into the early Empire, and also at Velia,<sup>30</sup> a site not mentioned by Strabo.

At Tarentum, there is a complete lack of evidence for the use of Greek even in private inscriptions of the Roman period,<sup>31</sup> and similarly no indication of the continuation of Greek as an official language. This fact has led to some scepticism as to the reliability of Strabo's statements on the issue of continuing Hellenism in Southern Italy. However, there is a possible explanation which would account for the discrepancy of the epigraphy of Tarentum and the testimony of Strabo. It should also be noted that other literary sources imply a continuing degree of Hellenisation at Tarentum<sup>32</sup> in the 1st century B.C., and also a resurgence of interest in Hellenism in the 3rd century A.D.<sup>33</sup> In considering the epigraphy of Tarentum, several things should be noted before Strabo's testimony is dismissed.

Firstly, Strabo's evidence belongs to the Augustan period, whereas it is likely that most of the inscriptions found at Tarentum belong to the later 1st century A.D. at the earliest. The vast number of inscriptions at Tarentum are epitaphs, with very few public inscriptions of Republican or early imperial date, other than the legal fragments, which would normally be published in Latin. The religious inscriptions and decrees of local administrative bodies which provide most of the evidence for bilingualism and continued use of Greek elsewhere are completely lacking at Tarentum. It may also be significant that the majority of the epitaphs studied, in particular those used by Gasperini,<sup>34</sup> are not from the city of Tarentum but from its territory, and may represent the staff of villas and estates in the area rather than the indigenous population. Tarentum seems to have been subject to several influxes of new inhabitants,<sup>35</sup> as had a number of other Italiote cities, and it may be these, rather than the original Greek population who are represented in the epigraphy. One group which can be pinpointed in particular are the veterans of the colony of 60 A.D., but it is possible that, as Gasperini suggests, the epigraphy of the area represents the colonists of 123 B.C. rather than the Greek city.<sup>36</sup>

Thus there are a number of reasons why the epigraphic evidence cannot be taken as an invalidation of Strabo, particularly since Strabo is corroborated by other literary sources which are more nearly contemporary with him than the majority of the inscriptions. In general, it seems that Strabo's statement regarding the continued existence of Greek culture in Southern Italy can be regarded as valid for the 1st century A.D., and is corroborated by sufficient epigraphic evidence that Greek culture and language existed at this

date, and later, in two of the three sites mentioned, as well as others not referred to. Given the rather different nature of the evidence for Tarentum, the continuation of Greek culture and language there cannot be ruled out on the basis of lack of epigraphic evidence, and seems probable on the basis of other literary evidence.

Although the continuation of Greek language and culture in some of the cities of Magna Graecia is indisputable, the nature of this survival must be carefully examined. The epigraphic evidence strongly suggests that the nature of Greek culture in Southern Italy may have changed profoundly and to have survived largely as an artificial phenomenon, existing in conjunction with the normal apparatus of Romanised municipal life.

#### Cults, Sanctuaries and Priesthoods in Epigraphic Evidence

The evidence for the religious life of Magna Graecia varies enormously from one city to the next, depending, largely, on the survival of evidence and on the nature and situation of the sanctuaries concerned. There is evidence to suggest that a large number of Greek cults did survive, and that a number enjoyed official Roman support or patronage from high-ranking individuals, a factor which probably reflects the degree of contact with Rome and openness to Roman influence. Without more detailed evidence, it is frequently impossible to distinguish which Olympian cults were of Greek origin and preserved their Greek characteristics and which were adopted after the Roman conquest, or assumed Roman characteristics. However, it seems fairly safe to assume that where there is no firm evidence to the contrary, such as the cult of Jupiter Optimus Maximus<sup>37</sup> at Locri, that Olympian cults are of Greek origin rather than being

Roman imports.

Indeed, the pattern in some cases is the direct reverse of this, with Roman adoption of Greek cults and rites, such as the establishment of a Greek cult of Ceres/Demeter at Rome,<sup>38</sup> and Roman interest in the Sibyl and the cult of Apollo at Cumae.<sup>39</sup> There are also remarkably few cases of adoption of entirely foreign cults. Cults of Isis are known at Rhegium and Naples and there may have been a cult of the Magna Mater at Cumae.<sup>40</sup> Many sites have a small number of Christian burials from the late Empire, but only Naples shows any sizeable influx of eastern mystery cults,<sup>41</sup> probably due to the large population of Asiatic Greeks attracted there by the Sebastà or by the city's reputation as a centre for writers and philosophers. Both Naples and Cumae indicate that there was a certain amount of Oscan influence, with cults of Jupiter Flazzus (Flagiui),<sup>42</sup> but the evidence for this is not extensive.

The vast majority of the cults attested are clearly Greek in origin. However, it is frequently impossible to prove continuity from the Greek to the Roman period as many cults are only known from a single inscription. Despite this, the evidence which exists indicates that in most cities, at least some cults continued into the Roman period, and may even have received official encouragement. The cult of Apollo at Cumae received a considerable amount of sponsorship from Augustus, and was still in existence in the 2nd century A.D., as indicated by a dedication to Apollo Cumanus by one of Hadrian's legates.<sup>43</sup> At Naples and Velia, the priestesses of Demeter<sup>44</sup> continued to be prominent in the 1st and 2nd centuries A.D., and it is probable that Rome continued the tradition that the cult of Ceres

at Rome was headed by priestesses from these states. The healing cult of Apollo Oulios at Velia also flourished in the 1st century A.D., and may have received patronage from visiting Romans as a result of the city's brief popularity as a cold water spa.<sup>45</sup> The cult of Athena is well-attested as having existed from an early date and is known to have continued in a sanctuary outside the city walls at least until the 1st century A.D. The Greek nature of the cult is underlined by the fact that even at this date, one of the sanctuary officials was an Aeginetan, apparently in continuation of a tradition of the sanctuary.<sup>46</sup> A similar pattern is found at Rhegium and Croton, the only other sites for which there is detailed information. At Rhegium, the cults of Apollo and Artemis continued to celebrate Greek festivals and sacrifices, recorded in Greek until at least the 1st century A.D. The documents are especially striking since they indicate that the celebrants of these festivals, at least in terms of the higher officials, were apparently Italians, despite the use of Greek forms and language.<sup>47</sup> There is, however, no evidence of external patronage of the cult. At Croton, although there is no evidence of continuing Greekness, the sanctuary of Hera Lacinia continued to be a major religious centre. There is evidence of extensive building there in the 1st century B.C. and the 2nd/3rd centuries A.D., apparently at imperial expense in the latter case. Since this was the major religious and political focus of the Italiotes, it is unsurprising that it remained prominent and it seems likely that it retained a Greek character, despite the obvious Roman interest in maintaining it.<sup>48</sup> This continuation of religious life, and the efforts of Rome to become involved with it, are in sharp contrast to other areas of Italy, where local shrines begin to fall into disuse during the 1st century B.C.

### Imperial Contacts and Patronage by Individuals

The amount of contact between the various Greek cities and the emperor/imperial family, or other prominent Roman individuals tends to vary widely, from emperor to emperor. This pattern is one which is well-documented from other sites in Italy and in the provinces, and it should be noted that the pattern of imperial patronage shown in Southern Italy is consistent with that shown elsewhere.<sup>49</sup> The imbalance between emperors in the production of inscriptions and other physical records of imperial patronage is undoubtedly affected to some extent by the problems of survival of texts, but seems too pronounced to avoid the conclusion that some emperors were significantly more generous in terms of municipal patronage than others. As such, this appears to be reflected in the south to the same degree as elsewhere.

The forms taken by this contact can be divided into several categories - direct patronage, i.e. imperial expenditure on civic projects, private holdings and contacts by the emperor and his family e.g. private estates, expressions of civic or individual loyalty to emperor or his family, for example through honorific decrees, the imperial cult etc., and patronage by other leading Romans, as evidence of contact with them. Most cities show evidence of one or more of these processes, and many show other aristocratic connections.

As would be expected from the literary sources, the Bay of Naples shows a significantly larger degree of imperial patronage than other areas, from the Augustan period onwards. This can be regarded



as largely inevitable, given the proximity to Rome, the extensive imperial residences at Baiae and the economic, cultural and strategic importance of the coast between Misenum and Naples. Augustus' interest in Greek culture in general and the Apollo/Aeneas/Sibyl myths in particular generated much patronage for Cumae and Naples. However, there is little testimony to these imperial contacts at Cumae. A fragment of the Feriale Cumanum and dedications to Augustus, Agrippa and Drusus Caesar are all that remain. There are also references to the existence of temples to Augustus and Vespasian, indicating the presence of the imperial cult. Other imperial documents are dedications to Antoninus and Verus and to Severus (or possibly Caracalla), and a series of lead pipes stamped with the name of Ulpia Marciana, possibly indicating the presence of an imperial villa. It is particularly noticeable on the Bay of Naples, and particularly at Cumae which was the administrative centre responsible for the imperial palaces at Baiae, that there is very little evidence of Imperial slaves and freedmen. This would seem to indicate that the staff of imperial palaces or aristocratic villas did remain separate from the local communities, in particular being buried separately, and may not have been permanently resident, but have commuted from Rome with the owners of the property.<sup>50</sup>

Evidence of emperors is more plentiful at Naples, with epitaphs by a group of imperial slaves/freedmen, a number of building dedications by emperors and a state dedication to the empress Helena. There are also three individual dedications to emperors, Antonine and Constantinian in date and phratry dedications to Claudius and Livia. Thus the epigraphic evidence broadly corroborates the literary evidence for imperial involvement, although only on a small scale. A

relatively high proportion of documents concern the late Empire.

Velia shows a similar sporadic survival of documents concerning emperors. At Velia there is a cult of Augustus and Mercury and some conjectural imperial portraits of Augustan date, and a bath-house built by Hadrian. At Rhegium, findings are similar with only a very small number of imperial documents. At Croton, the presence of a post-Flavian imperial slave and a dedication to Marciana by an imperial procurator suggests the possible presence of an imperial estate in the area. There is also extensive patronage in the late 2nd/early 3rd century for the sanctuary of Hera Lacinia invoking considerable building marks, which seems to argue for the continuing religious and political importance of the site.

It is at Tarentum that the largest group of imperial documents is found. A group of epitaphs of imperial slaves, one of Trajanic and the others of Aurelian and Severan date has led to the suggestion that there may have been an imperial estate in the *χώρα* of Tarentum.<sup>51</sup> There was clearly a strong Augustan connection, with a dedication to L. Caesar, a group of fragmentary texts dedicated to Agrippa Postumus and a text which could be a dedication to either Octavian or Caesar. There are also epigraphic references to Trajan, Hadrian, Faustina Minor, Commodus and Constantine and two unattributable fragments which appear to be from imperial cursus inscriptions.

Thus evidence for imperial contacts with the south can be said to broadly corroborate the literary evidence but are patchy in the extreme. Given the extent of the literary sources, this must be due

to lack of survival of the epigraphic evidence. However, sufficient has survived to tentatively identify imperial estates at Tarentum and Croton and to indicate some degree of imperial patronage elsewhere. The extent of patronage by prominent individuals outside the imperial family is also obscured by the deficiencies of the evidence, but there is sufficient indication that there was an extensive degree of patronage on the Bay of Naples, as would be expected. Elsewhere, patronage tends to focus on important and prestigious cults such as Hera Lacinia, or on administrative centres such as Rhegium, where evidence for the presence of important individuals, and for imperial patronage, increases dramatically after the city became the administrative centre for the *Corrector Lucaniae et Bruttiorum*.

#### Constitutional Change and Municipal Administration

Documentation concerned with civic life and its development after 90 B.C. is inadequate for most of the cities of Magna Graecia, although documents of a substantial length have survived in some places. However, it should be noted that it is not the purpose of this study to discuss the Table of Herakleia, the Locrian tablets or the Lex Tarentina in great detail. These documents have been given extensive consideration by other authorities,<sup>52</sup> and are more concerned with the details of Roman attitudes to municipal constitutions, rather than with the adaptation, in practice, of existing administrative features. Since most of the other evidence comes not from specialist documents, but from statements embedded in other texts, such as cursus inscriptions or epitaphs, it is not possible to reconstruct a comprehensive list of the civic magistracies and how they operated. However, it is possible, to gain enough information to attempt an analysis of the survival of Greek elements and how these fitted into

the Roman framework. It should be noted that the information on the constitutional arrangements prior to 90 B.C. is very sparse and is particularly poor for the period of transition between the status of *socius* and *municipium*, so concentration is, by virtue of the evidence, on the constitution of the 1st century A.D. and later.

Not all Greek cities retained any element of their Greek constitutions under the Empire. However, this may be due to deficiencies of evidence in some cases, or to the fact that in a number of cities, the Greek administrative structures had been overlaid by Oscan ones prior to the Roman conquest. The foundation of colonies at some of the sites in question would also weigh heavily against the survival of existing Oscan or Greek features.<sup>53</sup>

The cities which are of the greatest interest in terms of the survival of Greek language for official business or Greek offices and political or diplomatic forms are Velia, Naples and Rhegium. Cumae and Locri<sup>54</sup> also show indirect traces of pre-Roman practices in civic life, but there is no comparable evidence from Tarentum, Heraklea, Thurii or Croton.<sup>55</sup> Paestum, being a Latin colony from 273 B.C., must be largely discounted for the purposes of this discussion.<sup>56</sup>

Of the three cities concerned, by far the largest body of Greek evidence comes from Naples. However, this is somewhat heterogeneous in character, and the problems raised by it are considerable. An examination of the evidence for Greek offices at Naples seems to indicate that a larger number survived here than elsewhere, and that the Greek language was more widely diffused in civic life than elsewhere. The continued existence of Greek culture at Naples in

general, and more specifically, of Greek administration, must have some connection with Roman patronage and willingness to encourage Neapolitan Hellenism, a feature which may also have been true of Greek administration at Velia and Rhegium, at least in the 1st century A.D. What does seem certain is that there is a complex mixture of the two administrative systems which cannot be accounted for simply in terms of the wholesale continuance of the Greek constitution or the retention of Greek terms applied to fundamentally Roman institutions. In terms of civic magistracies, the demarchy survived, but by the 2nd century this appears to have been a largely honorary office which could be conferred on non-Neapolitans, the most illustrious being the emperors Titus and Hadrian.<sup>57</sup> As with the Greek institutions at Velia and Rhegium, it seems to have fulfilled a largely ceremonial purpose, although the date of the transition cannot be pinpointed. It seems likely that the main power rested with the duumvirs, although there is an early reference to the τεσσαρες ανδρες, or quattuorvirs. Many of the other Greek offices are clearly ceremonial or euergetic in function, such as the gymnasiarch, agoranomos and agonothetes. At Naples, these have clear links with the Σεβαστὰ, but similar offices exist in other cities. The office of laukelarch persists until the 2nd century A.D., but its nature is irretrievable. It may have been religious, and to have found its way into the municipal cursus by gradual transformation into an office with a primarily euergetic function, as did the office of the pholarchos at Velia. However, it is noticeable that in Naples, Greek is used as the regular language for administration until the 2nd century.

Other civic bodies retained their Greek form, at least in

outward appearances, but it is notable that the assembly fades in significance in favour of the *senatus/συνκλητος*, thus corresponding to the pattern at Rhegium, the only other city where an assembly is documented. The other major civic bodies at Naples, the phratries, continue well into the 3rd century, but like some of the magistracies, they are clearly honorific and euergetic rather than functional in character. It is impossible to trace the changes from their original Greek character since their early history is badly documented.<sup>58</sup> However, in the Roman period they appear to have acted as a means of channelling wealth and patronage into the city and of honouring both local and Roman benefactors. Each had its own meeting house, cults and regular meetings and dinners, in a manner very similar to those of Roman collegia, and many appear to have received rich donations from patrons.<sup>59</sup>

The same pattern is borne out in the civic life of both Velia and Rhegium. At Velia, Greek or bilingual texts are found honouring individuals, but the office-holders all have Roman names, as do most of those at Naples. The Greek offices which survive appear to be those with an euergetic function, embedded in a Roman municipal cursus. However, the continuing knowledge and sensitivity to Hellenistic forms is shown in the fact that honorific decrees to individuals are couched in the same terms as Hellenistic proxeny decrees. This is true of Rhegium both in the 1st century B.C. and 1st century A.D. Rhegium is an interesting case in that there is some evidence of the pre-Social War constitution in the decree in honour of Gn Aufidius,<sup>60</sup> and of a transitional period in which some Greek constitutional elements remained. However, the majority of Greek offices known appear to have had a largely bilingual character,

connected primarily with the religious life of the city.

The constitution history of other cities is, by and large, less informative. Cumae had lost much of its Greek organisation well before the grant of *civitas sine suffragio* by Rome. However, it is possible that the Oscan office of *meddix* may underly the Roman praetorship, which appears to have been the main magistracy.<sup>61</sup> At Thurii, Croton and Locri, there is firm evidence that the main was the duumvirate.<sup>62</sup> The constitution at Paestum is one of the best-documented, since colonisation phases there are well-known and the coinage, bearing the name of the issuing magistrates, which provides a firmer relative chronology than elsewhere, indicates the change from the quattuorvirs of the Latin colony to the duumvirs of the later colony.<sup>63</sup>

Thus it can be seen that, as with religious survivals, the Greek elements persisted, and may have received Roman encouragement, but were largely ceremonial or euergetic in function and co-existed with a Roman municipal structure.

### Language and Society

#### (a) Survival of Linguistic Substrata

The question of linguistic substrata in Southern Italy is hampered by the sporadic nature of the evidence, and it is not possible to investigate these questions scientifically, using the methods developed in other fields of historical linguistics. To enable this, a larger number of distinct language fields, present in each of the chronological phases, would be needed.<sup>64</sup> In fact, not all major language fields are represented, and most are represented in only one

or two chronological groups, making comparison difficult. However, even an informal analysis reveals that linguistic substrata continued to exist into the 1st century B.C. in the case of Oscan, and into the 2nd century A.D. in the case of Greek. The imbalance can almost certainly be ascribed to the fact that Greek was a "respectable" literary language and that Greek culture had been adopted and cultivated by many leading Romans.<sup>65</sup> It was also a recognised language for political, diplomatic and religious use by virtue of contacts with the Aegean and the Hellenistic East. The dominance of Greek culture over Oscan can be seen at its sharpest in the efforts of Italicised communities in the South to invent Greek foundation myths for themselves.<sup>66</sup> It is also notable that the bilingual or purely Oscan inscriptions at Cumae are of a very different nature from those Greek texts which survived at Naples and elsewhere. This may in part be accounted for by discrepancies in chronology, since many of the Oscan texts are earlier than the Greek ones, but this cannot account completely for the differences. The Oscan texts of the 3rd century, when Cumae was a genuinely Oscan-speaking city,<sup>67</sup> are primarily funerary or religious in nature. However, the later Oscan or bilingual texts, which are of 2nd/1st century date and thus may well post-date the advent of Latin as the official language, are all curses, found deposited in graves or sacred springs. This may suggest that Oscan survived in connection with religious practices, and in particular with chthonic cults.<sup>68</sup> However, it may also be an indication of its survival as a colloquial language. What cannot be assumed is that it survived only at a low social level. Some of the families named in the curses are of very high status in Campanian terms,<sup>69</sup> and the single tablet which names the grievance which gave rise to the curse apparently concerns a law-suit, which presupposes a



certain degree of wealth.<sup>69</sup> Outside Cumae, Oscan survives only in a very occasional inscription,<sup>71</sup> although the survival of Oscan names is widespread in Campania, and will be discussed in the next section.

The nature of Greek bilingualism is very different, and Greek/Latin bilingualism lasts much longer than does Latin/Oscan.<sup>72</sup> Greek seems to have been used as a 'pseudo-official' language for certain defined purposes until the 2nd century A.D. in some areas,<sup>73</sup> although its significance was more circumscribed and it does not appear to have been an official language for all public business. It also appears to have been widely adopted by non-Greeks among the populations of cities such as Velia, Rhegium and Naples.<sup>74</sup> Indeed, one of the most notable things about the Greek inscriptions, which survive in Southern Italy, is that the majority of them are public documents, not private ones.<sup>75</sup> Naples and Velia both have a substantial minority of Greek epitaphs, but Rhegium, where there is a strong survival of Greek in public inscriptions, has very few. There are also a number of other discrepancies in the Greek inscriptions of the South, both public and private. In terms of epitaphs, the Greek texts from Velia and Rhegium appear to be genuinely Greek in their form of expression and in the onomastic forms used. This would seem to suggest a Greek speaking population, although possibly at a low social level, since many of the monuments with Greek epitaphs are rough cippi. However, at Naples the pattern is not as clear. There are simple inscriptions in Greek, some of which have names of Greek type, but others contain Latin names of a type which frequently indicates low social status. However, there are a number of Greek inscriptions which appear, in fact, to be Greek translations of the Roman D(is) M(anibus) type of inscription and a large number of the

individuals named have adopted Latin onomastic forms, although Greek cognomina are common. This type of inscription is prevalent even among some of the immigrants from East Greece and Asia.<sup>76</sup> This would seem to indicate, at the very least, a population which was substantially Romanised and a group of individuals who wished to present themselves in a Roman manner, even where Greek was still a major spoken language. However, it could also be seen as the reverse of this process, namely that Roman or Italian groups who had moved to the city had retained their own forms of expression but adopted Greek as a medium of communication.<sup>77</sup> Whichever of these is true, the epigraphic record indicates an extensive degree of linguistic and cultural interchange.

The official documents show an even more striking degree of linguistic and cultural mixing. Superficially, the constitutional and religious documents available seem to be an indication that Greek customs and institutions had continued unchanged until the 1st century A.D. (or 2nd century at Naples). However, closer inspection indicates that this is not the case. The earliest of the documents relating to municipal administration at Naples and Rhegium do seem to indicate a continuity of Greek administrative forms, although not without some change. However, in all cases, the official documents of the 1st century A.D. indicate considerable Roman influence, to the point where some documents appear to be merely Greek translations of Roman forms. For instance, the *Senatus* at Velia also appears as a *συνκλητος*, issuing Greek or bilingual decrees, which, however, bear a considerable resemblance in form and content to the proxeny decrees issued by cities in the Aegean.<sup>78</sup> At Rhegium, the pre-Social War constitution seems to have disappeared, in favour of a Romanised

system, but retaining Greek magistracies, or at least their titles.<sup>79</sup> These offices, however, appear to have become largely liturgical and euergetic in nature, appearing only in connection with religious festivals and being held εκ του ιδιου and/or πεντοετηρικων, not annually, as would normally be the case for a political/administrative office.<sup>80</sup> Naples is a more complex case, as the epigraphic evidence there is more abundant. However, it is clear that some offices have become ceremonial in nature. The demarchy clearly loses its political significance, probably during the 1st century A.D.,<sup>81</sup> and in the 2nd century, appears to have been used as a means of honouring the city's benefactors. A notable example of this was the emperor Hadrian.<sup>82</sup> There are also a number of religious offices which appear to have been absorbed into the local cursus, presumably indicating loss of much of their religious significance. Examples of this are the offices of Pholarchos (Velia) and Laukelarchos (Naples).<sup>83</sup> The decrees of the βουλη which are extant are mainly euergetic rather than administrative in character, dealing with matters such as the award of honours to benefactors of the city and public burials and memorials to eminent citizens.<sup>84</sup> In addition, the apparent change in the role of the phratries seems to indicate that the situation cannot be regarded simply as a perpetuation of the Greek tradition.<sup>85</sup>

A further feature which is particularly noticeable is that with the exception of some of the earliest decrees at Naples, most of the priests, magistrates and other officials named in the documents which have survived, are, on the evidence of their names, Roman, or at least sufficiently Romanised to have adopted Roman forms of nomenclature. The extent to which these individuals represent the

original Greek ruling class, camouflaged by the adoption of Roman names and onomastic forms, is debatable.<sup>86</sup> There is little or no evidence of such a procedure, and the cognomina used, which frequently give an indication of linguistic origin or original name, are in this case entirely Roman/Italic. It is possible to argue that in a purely Italian context, the pressure on those municipal aristocrats who wished to pursue a Roman-style political career, would be overwhelmingly in favour of adoption of a Roman name.<sup>87</sup> However, in the face of any definite evidence, it is impossible to do more than suggest that, while it is unlikely that the old Greek ruling class disappeared entirely, the probability is that many of the leading families were Italian, or Romanised to the extent of adopting Roman names. In either case, this would be evidence of a very high degree of pressure towards onomastic and linguistic Romanisation despite the survival of Greek.

Thus it seems that, although the evidence is inconclusive, the following assertions can be made:

- (a) The literary evidence indicates a gradual encroachment of Latin, but also a continuing element of Latin/Greek bilingualism in Italic as well as Greek cities in the south, continuing into the 1st century A.D.
- (b) The epigraphic evidence is sufficient to disprove Quintilian's assertion that languages other than Latin had entirely died out by his time, although it is likely that Greek was only used in specialised contexts by this date. It should be noted, however, that since Italy had a large number of Greek immigrants, and since bilingualism was the norm for educated Romans and Italians, his assertion must be taken to refer to the lapsing of

Oscan and Greek as official languages.

- (c) Evidence suggests the immigration of Romans and Italians into Greek communities, and for the Romanisation of the Greek upper classes, arguing for a high degree of pressure towards Romanisation. The use of Greek for private documents is very limited in most areas (the exceptions being Naples and Velia), suggesting that its significance may have been declining.
- (d) Evidence for public and official documents suggests that Greek continued to be used in at least three locations until the 2nd century A.D., but in contexts which suggest that it was not the official language of the cities concerned. The constant recurrence of the language in decrees and other documents which are primarily of an euergetic or ceremonial nature suggests that Greek was not the language of routine administration. However, the continuation of particularly Greek forms of honorific document, expressed in Greek, argues that efforts were being made to preserve Greek tradition and that there was a continuing consciousness of the Greek past.
- (e) The evidence for Oscan/Latin bilingualism is slight, and thus less conclusive. However, the texts which do survive suggest that Oscan persisted throughout the 2nd century B.C. and possibly into the 1st century, indicating a survival after the official introduction of Latin at Cumae. The nature of the survival, in epitaphs and curses seems to suggest that it survived as a spoken language, and possible as one for religious use, but does not seem to have continued in any official capacity, as did Greek.

(b) Onomastic Evidence: Social Implications

The onomastic patterns shown by the inscriptions of Magna Graecia are

very much those which would be expected, from the evidence of other areas of the south which have already been studied in this way.

In most of the cities studied, Greek name forms disappear relatively early, only surviving in any quantity at Naples and at Velia. However, this may to some extent be due to the Italicisation of some cities, prior to the Roman conquest.<sup>88</sup> In areas which are known to have been Oscanised, Oscan names and name forms can be seen to continue into the 1st century B.C. Onomastically, the presence of a high proportion of Italic and Roman names in most areas makes it possible to attempt an analysis of the changes in social composition, to some extent. The breakdown of basic statistics such as the number of Latin and Greek names, instances of the interchanging of name form and language, and social composition based on status indicators included in names, will be given as an Appendix.

Some work has already been done on this aspect of Magna Graecia. Mello's study of Paestum during the Roman period<sup>89</sup> is aided by an unusually precise chronology based on numismatic evidence and a correlation of epigraphic evidence with a number of well-dated colonisation phases. In this instance, it has proved possible to trace changes in the composition of the ruling élite, and also to use the onomastic evidence to trace patterns of immigration and emigration.

Unfortunately, the evidence from other areas is not sufficiently precise to attempt a similar study. Coin sequences which provide a dated list of magistrates' names are lacking, as is certain information on phases of colonisation and settlement. Thus, a

detailed trace of changes in population has not been attempted, and the following comments are intended to illustrate general trends, where observable, not to provide a detailed onomastic/social analysis.

As would be expected, the name-stocks of the various regions of Magna Graecia do not change a great deal. Most of the nomina found are of a general Southern Italian origin, many of them being listed by Conway as being of Campanian origin. However, the widespread distribution of many of these nomina would seem to indicate a general Oscan background rather than a specifically Campanian one. Within this category, there are some perceptible local name-groups. A number of the nomina found at Tarentum are attested only in the Sallentine peninsular and Southern Apulia.<sup>90</sup> Similarly, many of the nomina found at Locri, Rhegium and Vibo are characteristically Bruttian and are rarely found outside the area.<sup>91</sup> In a number of cases, the only known parallels for the names in question are not from other areas of Italy but from Delos, thus supporting Hatzfeld's thesis that many of the merchants with connections on Delos were from the extreme south of Italy.<sup>92</sup>

Thus the onomastic patterns seem to indicate that the cities of the extreme South of Italy were comparatively isolated from Rome and the North, as would be expected, and also that they were integrated with their immediate locality, a feature which marks a considerable departure from the local hostilities of earlier periods. In contrast to this, there are also clearly recognisable groups of new population, principally discharged veterans settled as colonists. These groups tend to be notably more Romanised in their names,<sup>93</sup> even

when ethnics are given which indicate origins elsewhere, and also in the ways in which their careers were recorded.<sup>94</sup> This illustrates graphically the pressure towards Romanisation of nomenclature among social and professional groups which had close connections with Rome, a feature which provides further support for the idea that the Greek population did not disappear, but is camouflaged by onomastic changes and by a lack of epigraphic tradition.

One feature which emerges very strongly from the study is that it is impossible to make any certain statements about the attitudes towards forms of nomenclature since the evidence of language and onomastics is frequently in conflict, as in the official inscriptions of Naples and Rhegium. However, the onomastic evidence is conclusive on one point. It corroborates the literary sources for the Italicisation of some Greek cities<sup>95</sup> in the 4th and 3rd centuries. At Cumae, Naples and Velia, there is a small but significant number of names which combine Greek and Oscan onomastic elements, using either a Greek name and Italian patronymic or an Italian name and Greek patronymic.<sup>96</sup> The existence of this latter combination would seem to indicate that languages and cultures co-existed on an equal basis, with no decisive pressure in favour of one or the other. The phenomenon cannot be regarded as a simple case of a linear trend towards Italicisation in language and onomastics, or conversely the absorption of Oscan by Greek. The same phenomenon can be observed among the Italiotes attested in inscriptions from the Aegean.<sup>97</sup> Where datable, most of these texts belong to the 2nd or 1st century B.C., thus attesting a continuing Oscan/Greek influence even in a community such as Cumae, which was officially Latin-speaking.<sup>98</sup>



Thus it would seem possible to identify a number of different phases and themes in the onomastic development of Magna Graecia.

- (a) Up to the 3rd century B.C., the principal languages at all social levels and for all purposes were Greek and Oscan, existing independently and dependent on location, but with some degree of overlapping between the two communities.
- (b) During the 2nd and 1st centuries B.C., there appears to have been a period of transition, with clear signs of onomastic and linguistic merging between Greek and Oscan at Cumae, Naples and Velia, and among the Italiotes attested on the inscriptions in the Aegean. There are signs that Oscan continued as a spoken language during this period, although it had ceased to be used officially in the communities under consideration. Greek appears to have been the official and spoken language in all other communities, although there is evidence that Latin was gaining ground, with the foundation of a number of colonies in the South during the 2nd century.
- (c) In the 1st and 2nd centuries A.D., there seems to have been a move away from Greek towards Latin, and Oscan virtually disappears. Latin is clearly the official language in most of the cities under consideration, and probably also the most commonly spoken one for private use, although this is difficult to document. Where Greek does exist, it seems to have a specialised function as a language used for some religious and honorific purposes, but not as the language of day-to-day government. By the 3rd century, Latin was paramount, even in areas such as Naples, where Greek culture was deep-rooted and had much official support and patronage.
- (d) Greek name-forms persist at only Naples and Velia, where they

form only a small minority of the names attested. Even where Greek was adopted as the medium of communication, Latin name-forms are adopted relatively early - by the 1st century B.C. in most cases, and by the 1st century A.D. in all. This factor, taken together with the small amounts of evidence which exist for changes of name other than on change of citizenship or adoption, suggests that the Greek inhabitants of Magna Graecia may have been under considerable pressure to adopt Roman names, particularly among the municipal aristocracy. Thus it is possible that the onomastic evidence represents an assimilation of the Greek population and Italian/Roman colonists rather than a complete disappearance of the Greek population.

- (e) Study of the Latin onomastics of the region indicates that by the 1st century A.D., the Greek cities of the South were considerably better integrated with their immediate neighbours than was the case in the 2nd/1st centuries B.C. This is reflected in the emergence of distinctively local groups of nomina in Apulia and Bruttium, within the overall Campanian/Oscan name-stock of the area. This seems to indicate a considerable degree of isolation among the local élites of these areas of Italy. However, it is also possible to trace the arrival of colonists, mostly discharged soldiers, who may have had a significant impact on the Romanisation both of the name-stock of the area and on the more general character of the cities in question.

Study of the cognomina of the cities in question does not reveal any surprising results. Kajanto's classification of names<sup>99</sup> by social status and by ethnic origin of cognomina has been applied to

the names available but does not show any startling results. The statistics<sup>100</sup> broadly agree with those of Kajanto<sup>101</sup> in indicating that slaves and freedmen were more likely to have a cognomen of Greek origin than were those of free birth, even in the areas where Greek is attested and where the use of Greek cognomina may be expected to have less social stigma. However, it should be noted that individuals of undeclared status far outnumber those whose legal status is indicated, and thus the results may not be statistically significant. It should be noted that, following Kajanto's method, only those with a status indicator specifically included in the name have been classed as free, slave, or freedman. The rest have been grouped as *incerti*, even though it is sometimes possible to guess at probable social origin from the form of a name.<sup>102</sup> It should also be noted that the patterns reflected are those of the 1st and 2nd centuries A.D., since cognomina were rare before the 1st century, while praenomina and status indications fell into disuse during the later 2nd/3rd centuries.

Given the Greek background to Southern Italy, the possibility of qualitative differences within the category of non-Latin cognomina has been explored. However, there are difficulties in defining criteria to assess this. Many of the Greek cognomina are names which do not appear as personal names in the classical period, and which appear to be of the nature of pet names or nicknames,<sup>103</sup> which would be expected to indicate lower social status than a name which appears as a valid personal name in Greek. However, this indicated that "genuine" personal names used as cognomina were comparatively rare,<sup>104</sup> and also that categories tended to overlap,<sup>105</sup> with some Greek names appearing frequently among those of demonstrably low

social status.

(c) Social Composition

The relatively thin spread of evidence, both chronologically and geographically, and the limiting factors inherent in the onomastic evidence make it difficult to do more than generalise about the social composition of the communities studied. Even so, the information reveals significant differences over the areas studied. However, it should be noted that as with names, the sample of socially identifiable individuals excludes many of those with Greek names, since these do not include a status indicator, and also many of those later than the end of the 2nd century A.D.

On purely statistical evidence,<sup>106</sup> free citizens are the least well-represented category in all the cities studied, followed by slaves and freedmen, with those of uncertain origin being much the largest class, for the reasons explained above. However, it is notable that Tarentum appears to have a significantly higher servile population than elsewhere. Gasperini estimates that approximately 40-50% of the population are of servile origin. This may be due to the fact that many of the individuals recorded appear to have been agricultural workers on estates in the area. Elsewhere, the figures indicate a somewhat lower slave population of 30-40%.<sup>108</sup>

Indications of the activities of local élites are not as prominent as elsewhere, and there is very little evidence for the municipal aristocracy of the South entering public life at Rome. Only a small number of senators from Magna Graecia are known, and the vast majority of these are Campanian.<sup>109</sup> Therefore the South lacks

the pattern of municipal benefactions generated by a politically ambitious local aristocracy which is observable in other parts of Italy.<sup>110</sup> Nor is there much evidence for exercises such as public building projects carried out by members of the local élite. Many of the projects which are known seem to be undertaken by patrons from outside the area.<sup>111</sup> However, this is not to say that the local élites of Magna Graecia were inactive or completely impoverished. Evidence such as the sportula inscriptions at Croton<sup>112</sup> and the records of the festival of Artemis and Apollo at Rhegium<sup>113</sup> indicate that civic benefactions were made and that the local aristocrats were performing liturgical functions. Given that there are observable patterns in the type of epigraphic records set up, which appear to be too pronounced to be the results simply of archaeological excavation or survival,<sup>114</sup> it is possible that municipal euergetism in the South took the form of sportulae and festivals rather than the creation of more tangible monuments. In Campania, a wealthier area in its own right, and able to attract more powerful patrons, there is evidence of civic munificence, such as the reconstruction of the Demeter sanctuary at Cumae by the Lucceii,<sup>115</sup> and the construction of phratry meeting houses at Naples.<sup>116</sup> However, there are also a number of commemorative inscriptions which point to more intangible benefactions such as the holding of civic offices at personal expense, distributions of food or money, holding of games etc. In particular, the phratries at Naples, like the Augustales, Dendrophori and other colleges elsewhere, channelled a considerable amount of wealth into the city, attracting rich donations from patrons both of Neapolitan and non-Neapolitan origin.<sup>117</sup>

(d) Epigraphic Trends and Regional Variation in the Epigraphy of Southern Italy

One of the feature most strongly highlighted by the epigraphic evidence for Magna Graecia is the extent to which individual areas develop their own epigraphic identity, with local conventions in the type of public records set up, and in the typology of epitaphs and funerary monuments. The fact that there are considerable differences between provinces in the type of records set up, and the conventions used, has already been identified by comparative studies using material from Spain, Africa and other Western Provinces.<sup>118</sup> However, very little attempt has been made to study the development of local epigraphic habits within Italy, despite the fact that areas such as Magna Graecia suggest that these existed. These may be taken as a reflection of the response of an area to Romanisation,<sup>119</sup> as well as of cultural differences and differences in social and economic development. The evidence seems to indicate that these local traditions continued to develop, independently of Roman influence, under Roman rule.

Given the lack of reliable evidence for dating many of the inscriptions from Magna Graecia, it is not possible to produce a detailed chronological distribution of the inscriptions from the area. However, the bulk of the epigraphic evidence appears to belong to the 2nd and 3rd centuries A.D., reflecting a pattern found in most other areas of Italy. Similarly, the bulk of the evidence available consists of private inscriptions, particularly funerary monuments, again reflecting the overall pattern for most of the Roman world.<sup>120</sup> However, there is considerable variation among the cities studied, in the use of public inscriptions. Cumae and Naples have produced a

large number of public texts such as decrees, commemorative inscriptions, building inscriptions, dedications etc., as has Rhegium, while Tarentum is notable for having produced very little of this type of evidence. Similarly, sportula inscriptions are found principally at Croton, an otherwise badly-documented area. While it is not always possible to make a firm distinction between a genuine imbalance in the types of inscriptions produced by different communities, and one produced by the patterns of survival of evidence or of excavation, the pattern here is so marked that it may indicate a genuine difference in attitude towards public records between the different communities.<sup>121</sup>

The epigraphic feature which is most glaringly obvious in Southern Italy, and which is common to all of the cities studied, is the extreme lack of evidence for the period before the Roman conquest.<sup>122</sup> Even after the area came under Roman influence, there is very little epigraphic activity, with only a small proportion of texts datable before the 1st century A.D., and even fewer before the 1st century B.C.<sup>123</sup> While it is true that in all areas of Italy, inscriptions do not become widespread until the 1st century B.C., very few have such a small number of early inscriptions as does Magna Graecia. It is possible that this reflects lack of excavation, and the fact that many of the sites concerned have been continuously inhabited from the Greek period to the present day, thus destroying much of the evidence. However, it should be noted that it is also true of the sites which are no longer inhabited, such as Velia, Metapontum, Herakleia and Locri. The principal exception is Paestum, which was a Latin colony and thus had a high proportion of Roman settlers, introduced at an early date. It may also be significant

that there is a higher proportion of early inscriptions from Cumae, most of them Oscan. Thus it may be possible to argue that the Greeks of Southern Italy did not have a strong epigraphic tradition, and that the presence of inscriptions can be taken, to some extent, as an indication of Oscan or Roman influence.<sup>124</sup> It cannot be argued that an epigraphic tradition was entirely lacking, since some early Greek texts have been found, and numbers have increased due to recent excavation.<sup>125</sup> It is also true that Italiotes who emigrated to the East have left epigraphic records. However, there does not seem to have been the same strength of tradition that there was either elsewhere in Italy, or in the Aegean. This leaves open the possibility that the later inscriptions represent a very distorted view of the cities studied, with only the Roman or Romanised sections of the community leaving epigraphic records. If true, this could go some way to explaining the lack of Greek epigraphy in some areas, and the very Romanised nature of the Greek epigraphy which does exist.

Within this overall pattern, there are discernible local variations which appear to have developed after the Roman conquest. These can be seen most clearly, not in the different groups of inscription, but in the variations in the typology of monuments and texts within the largest group, that of funerary monuments. There is a marked difference between the monuments of areas of strong Roman influence, such as the Bay of Naples, and those of other areas. A similar division can be observed in other areas which have colonies of discharged veterans, who tend to have a very different type of epitaph from those of other inhabitants of the area.<sup>126</sup>

On the Bay of Naples, the prevailing type of epitaph is the



Latin D(is) M(anibus) inscription, which accounts for a high percentage of the Latin funerary texts of the 2nd century or later at both Naples and Cumae.<sup>127</sup> It is notable also that a number of the Greek epitaphs from these cities have the form of Latin epitaphs translated into Greek,<sup>128</sup> a further indication of the strength of Roman influence in this area. However, it is also true that Naples has a substantial minority of sculpted stelai which carry Greek epitaphs and are similar to the Aegean style of funerary monument.<sup>129</sup> Cumae is unique in having produced a number of inscriptions suggesting family tombs, a feature which is found in Rome and Latium, but is not found elsewhere in Magna Graecia.<sup>130</sup>

The most idiosyncratic of the cities studied is Tarentum, where there is clear evidence for the development of a local tradition and local conventions, in sharp contrast to the veteran colonists, whose epitaphs correspond to the standard type of military cursus inscription.<sup>131</sup> In contrast to other areas, which produce a large number of stelai and stone tablets suggesting multiple burials of the columbarium type, the characteristic monument of Tarentum and the Sallentine peninsular is the cippus, often rough-hewn and made of local stone.<sup>132</sup> The inscription on monuments of this type is often very simple, consisting only of the name of the deceased, the age at time of death, and the formula H(ic) S(itus) E(st). The name of the dedicator of the epitaph is sometimes included, but the D(is) M(anibus) formula appears in only a small proportion of cases, in sharp contrast to its ubiquity elsewhere. These cippi cover the period from the 1st to the 3rd century A.D., and appear not just at Tarentum, but also in whole of the Sallentine peninsular, a fact which seems to indicate that Tarentum was part of a genuine local

tradition. The simple nature of the monuments may be an indication of the the social status of the deceased, particularly since a large number of these monuments have been found in the territory of Tarentum, and may be commemorating farm labourers. However, the fact that the type is so widespread in the Sallentine peninsular as a whole would suggest that there was a strong local tradition here, which contrasts sharply with the type of epitaph diffused from Rome. The dangers of attributing different types of monument solely to the social and economic status of the deceased, and ignoring factors of cultural variation are illustrated by the epitaphs found at Velia. Here, there are a large number of undecorated stelai, often with very simple Greek inscriptions, but these are of considerably higher quality workmanship.<sup>133</sup> A smaller number have some decoration, which suggests that they cannot be dismissed simply as the product of poverty.

Other variations in the epigraphic habit are observable. The question of age recording, and the accuracy of ages given, has been the subject of a considerable amount of research.<sup>134</sup> It has been suggested that the ages recorded are an indication of cultural assumptions about age, or of the degree of literacy and numeracy in a community, rather than an indication of the true age of the deceased.<sup>135</sup> In particular, Macmullen<sup>136</sup> has attempted to argue for fundamental differences in attitudes to age between Greeks and Romans, on the basis of different patterns of age recording on Greek and Latin tombstones from Rome. This reveals a pattern of high recording of child deaths on Latin tombstones, and a pattern of low recording of child deaths and a much higher recording of ages on adult epitaphs on Greek tombstones. A similar examination of the

evidence for ages on tombstones in Southern Italy indicates two main features. The first of these is that there is a very marked variation in the geographical distribution of age recording, with a very high proportion of ages recorded at Tarentum, a smaller proportion on inscriptions from Bruttium, and relatively few from the Bay of Naples.<sup>137</sup> There is also a clear cultural difference in that the vast majority of Greek epitaphs do not include the age of the deceased, and those that do, are principally those which show a high degree of Romanisation in the copying of Latin forms of epitaph and the use of Latin onomastic forms. Thus the recording of age seems to be a primarily Italian rather than Greek feature, but with a distribution which suggests that there were clear local variations and traditions.

The pattern of ages recorded matches that of Macmullen's Greek distribution almost exactly, with a certain amount of infant mortality, falling off among young adults, then a peak of deaths in the 30-40 age group.<sup>138</sup> At Tarentum, there is a further peak in the 55-65 age group, but this can be accounted for by the large group of veteran colonists, who would have been over fifty at the time of settlement in the area. The only place which produces a graph similar to Macmullen's Latin distribution is Cumae. The emphasis on the Italicised elements in the recording of ages would seem to suggest that the patterns cannot be taken as an indication of cultural differences between Romans and Greeks, since ages on Greek tombstones are comparatively rare, but should be considered as yet another element in the continuation of local traditions of epigraphy, which illustrate the continuing strength of regionalism in Italy. While a degree of inaccuracy and rounding in the recording of ages is

inevitable, the age distributions cannot be dismissed as being totally implausible. A large city, such as Rome, is likely to have a much higher rate of infant mortality, and a lower average age of death, than would be the case in smaller communities of the type studied.<sup>139</sup> An average age of death in the 30-40 age group is also consistent with population figures for Medieval and Renaissance Europe.<sup>140</sup> A further suggestion, that the degree of age rounding, to multiples of five or ten, can be taken as indicative of the degree of literacy and general level of education is also negated by the evidence from Magna Graecia.<sup>141</sup> If this were true, the highest number of unrounded ages should be found in the area around Naples, whereas in fact, the highest number of unrounded ages coincides with the highest number of ages recorded, and occurs at Tarentum, where the distribution of epitaphs, and the low quality of the funerary monuments would suggest a population of low social and economic status and less likelihood of education.<sup>142</sup>

## Conclusions

### Magna Graecia 270-90 B.C.

The period following the Roman conquest of Magna Graecia (326-270 B.C.) is characterised by a lack of evidence which renders detailed discussion of the development of the area difficult. However, some general conclusions can be drawn. All of the cities studied retained their Greek or Oscan identity until a relatively late date. Of the two main cultural and linguistic traditions present in the area, Greek persisted much longer than Oscan, but traces of Oscan language and culture are found in places such as Cumae as late as the 1st century B.C., long after the establishment of Latin as an official language. However, the pace of Romanisation is likely to have increased considerably after 200 B.C.

The period 270-90 B.C. is largely dominated by the pre-Roman political and diplomatic patterns. The events of the first period of conflict with Rome indicate some degree of political instability within many cities, although not the simplistic divisions envisaged by Livy. They also indicate a profound division among the Greek states themselves over their allegiances to Rome or to Tarentum, the two main powers in the South. It is also likely that events were influenced by relations with other powers, in particular Syracuse and Carthage, but these are not well documented, and can only be guessed at. In particular, the cities which were politically and geographically most distant from Tarentum seem to have been the most ready to break with the Italiote League and ultimately, to have been the most loyal to Rome. This pattern can be seen, not just in the events of the Pyrrhic War, but also in the behaviour of the Greek

cities during Hannibal's invasion. The cities which remained most steadfastly loyal to Rome were those of Campania, whose contacts with Rome were of longer standing and which may never have been as fully involved in the activities of the Italiote League as those cities further South. Of the Southern cities, the only one which did not revolt was Rhegium, which may not have been integrated into the Tarentine power block by this date. Thus the evidence seems to suggest that the diplomatic patterns of the 4th century reasserted themselves during the 3rd, and that the allegiances of the Greek cities corresponded closely to the membership of the Italiote League.

A further major factor which appears to have profoundly influenced the development of the Greek South during this period is the question of relations between the Greeks and their Italian neighbours. There had always been tension between the two groups to some degree, often erupting into outright warfare. Not surprisingly, this continued to be a major factor in deciding Italiote policy, even after 270 B.C. No details are known of the period 270-218, but the prominent part played by the tensions between Italians and Greeks in deciding the allegiances of the 2nd Punic war suggests that local conflicts had continued in the intervening period and were regarded as a factor of greater importance than the wider issues raised by the war. Even after 200 B.C., the Greeks of the South appear to have been isolated from their neighbours, and it is possible that the Greek aloofness during the Social War was in part due to the fact that the anti-Roman coalition was composed largely of Oscans, who were the hereditary enemies of the Greeks.

Rome itself appears to have taken a detached attitude to

Southern Italy. Between 270 and 218 B.C., there is little evidence of Roman contact with Southern Italy. The Greek cities seem to have had considerable diplomatic freedom, and it is possible that relations with Rome in this period were based on *amicitia* rather than on *foedera*. However, it is probable that control increased after 200, with a greater degree of Roman supervision and interference in the South, and possibly the negotiation of more restrictive and binding treaties.

The South of Italy clearly suffered economically from the effects of the 2nd Punic War, but evidence would suggest that although there was unrest in the 2nd century, and probably some degree of political change involving exiles, there was no large-scale emigration from Magna Graecia. A reasonable number of Italiotes are attested in inscriptions in the East during the 2nd and 1st century B.C., but the circumstances of most of these would suggest that the people concerned were not exiles or emigrants living permanently in the East. The evidence rather seems to suggest that there were strong ongoing cultural and economic contacts between Magna Graecia and the Aegean during the later Republic, which may have helped foster the continuing consciousness of Greek identity which seems to be indicated by the epigraphic evidence for Magna Graecia under the Empire. Thus it seems likely that during the Late Republic, the Greek South was showing some signs of economic deprivation as a result, not just of Hannibal's invasion, but also of the Slave wars, Spartacus' revolt, and the Civil Wars, but still maintained flourishing trading and cultural contacts with the Greek East. Although there was clearly an admixture of Roman settlers in many cities, as well as some Italic element, and possibly some pressure on

the local élite to Romanise, the Greek South clearly retained a strong Greek identity.

#### Epigraphic Variations and Regional Identity in Southern Italy

Study of the typology of epigraphic monuments in Southern Italy, and of the nature and distribution of the evidence has indicated profound differences in the epigraphic habits of the cities within the region. It may be possible to regard this as an indication of the continuing importance of local identity and traditions, and to use the introduction of Roman types of monument and epigraphic features as an indicator of the diffusion of Romanisation. In particular, the epigraphy of the Bay of Naples is clearly Romanised in character, even when expressed in Greek, many of the Greek inscriptions being merely translations of Roman forms. The other group of inscriptions which are very Romanised are the epitaphs and cursus inscriptions of discharged veterans settled in Southern Italy. At the other end of the scale, the Tarentine and Velian epitaphs show very distinct local variations in monument typology and in form of inscription, which are common not just to these cities but to the surrounding areas, a fact which suggests a local tradition and which may be indicative of a lesser degree of Romanisation. A survey of other epigraphic features such as age recording in epitaphs from Magna Graecia also reveals marked differences between different areas of the South. Thus it seems possible that the more remote areas of Southern Italy retained strong local identities, as expressed in variations in epigraphic forms, beneath a superficial layer of Romanisation. However, the possibility of using detailed comparison of epigraphic forms and monument types as an indicator of the extent of Romanisation or of local identity on a more general level, and as a means of documenting



the diffusion of Roman influence, must be tested more fully on data from a wider range of areas before any firm conclusions can be reached.

### Romanisation and the Survival of Hellenism

Perhaps the major question concerning the Greek South in the period after 270 B.C. is that of the extent to which Greek culture and identity survived, the forms in which it did so, and the nature of the processes of Romanisation in this very unroman area. The analysis of these problems is complicated by the fact that divisions between Greeks and Italians had already begun to blur even before the Roman intervention, thus introducing a further factor which clearly affected Roman responses to relations with some cities and may also have influenced their perception of the area as a whole. The concept of Magna Graecia in ancient sources seems to reflect this, in that it is frequently conflated with that of *Italia*, or taken to include some of the non-Greek hinterland of the Italiote cities. The processes of assimilation and Romanisation seem to have been considerably more rapid in the areas which had been substantially Oscanised prior to the Roman conquest, and also in the cities which had received Roman or Latin colonists at a relatively early date. However, the survival of Greek culture does not reflect a simple continuation from the period before 270 B.C., but a changing phenomenon which co-existed with Roman features of civic life and which adapted, as did Greek culture in the eastern empire, to the centralising influences of Roman culture.

The concept of Magna Graecia in the ancient sources may provide some sort of indication of the way in which both Greeks and Romans

viewed Southern Italy. The idea seems to have originated in the 6th century, but appears most frequently in later Greek, or Roman, authors, which strongly suggests that the sense of the significance of the concept was still strong in the Roman empire. The existence of the Italiote League is an indication that despite the disunity of the Greek cities, there was still perceived to be a degree of common interest and common culture between them. Even after the dissolution of the League and the political unification of Italy, the concept that parts of Southern Italy maintained a distinctly Greek identity remained, and there is clear evidence of continuing connections with the Greek world, which change in response to developments in the Roman world as a whole, but which remain perceptible. However, the persistence of the concept of Magna Graecia is not a simple indication that Southern Italy was still perceived as having a distinctive Greek identity. Many sources include Italian areas of Southern Italy in this definition, and some include the whole of Italy, specifically identifying Rome as a Greek *polis*. This seems to be in part a reflection of the genuine spread of Hellenisation in Southern Italy which took place in the 5th and 4th century B.C., but also to reflect a growth of Roman interest in Greek culture and a wish to identify with it. This process is complemented by the continuing interest of the Greek and Hellenised cities of the South in their past history, and there is evidence of active attempts to maintain Greek customs and features of civic life which are similar in nature to the growth of antiquarian interest in civic history which is found in the Greek cities of the East.

Thus it can be concluded, from study of both literary and epigraphic sources, that Greek culture, and the Greek identity of the

South, was actively promoted by a number of the cities studied, and was expressed in the continuation of Greek religious ceremonies and festivals, and of the use of Greek forms in diplomatic and political transactions of an honorific or ceremonial nature. It seems very likely from the evidence available, particularly that from Naples, that this process was encouraged by Rome, and in particular by a number of emperors, specifically Augustus and Hadrian, in the same way that Hellenism in the East received official encouragement. In practical matters, the evidence indicates that the municipal administration of these cities was probably Romanised. In terms of language, it seems probable that both Greek and Latin were used as media of communication, although Oscan appears to have died out as an official language in the 2nd century B.C., and as a spoken language in the 1st century. Greek seems to have disappeared as an official language by the 3rd century A.D., but may have survived as a spoken language. Thus it can be said that, in general, the cities of Magna Graecia retained some Greek identity until the 2nd century A.D., although the nature of Greek culture changed profoundly as a result of Roman influence.