

*Sous la direction
de Clara Berrendonner, Mireille Cébeillac-Gervasoni
et Laurent Lamoine*



Collection Histoires croisées

LE QUOTIDIEN MUNICIPAL DANS L'OCCIDENT ROMAIN

Presses Universitaires Blaise-Pascal

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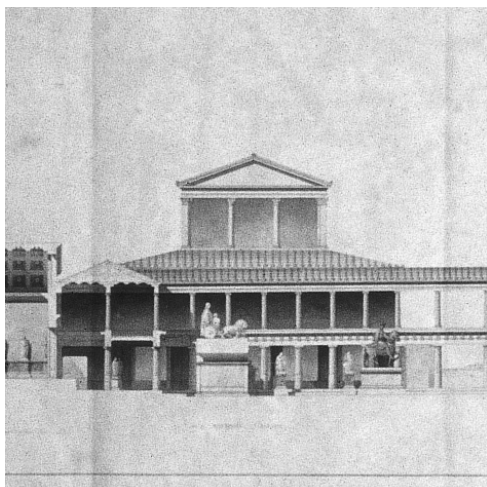
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publiée par le Centre d'Histoire "Espaces et Cultures" (C.H.E.C.), Clermont-Ferrand.

Illustration de couverture : gravure extraite de
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Vignette : Félix-Emmanuel Callet, Forum de Pompéi, 1823, feuillet 3
(grande coupe transversale : détail)
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ISBN 978-2-84516-385-0
Dépôt légal : quatrième trimestre 2008

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Publié avec le concours de l'Université Paris I Panthéon-Sorbonne

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Le colloque

“LE QUOTIDIEN MUNICIPAL
DANS L'OCCIDENT ROMAIN”

s'est tenu à Clermont-Ferrand (Maison des Sciences de l'Homme) et à Chamalières (IUFM d'Auvergne) du 19 au 21 octobre 2007.

Il a été organisé par Clara Berrendonner et Mireille Cébeillac-Gervasoni (UMR 8585 Centre Gustave Glotz du CNRS) et Laurent Lamoine (CHEC de l'Université Blaise-Pascal), en collaboration avec l'École française de Rome.

Il a bénéficié de subventions du ministère de la Recherche, de l'IUFM d'Auvergne, de la Ville de Clermont-Ferrand, de Clermont-Communauté, du Conseil Général du Puy-de-Dôme et du concours du Crédit Agricole et de l'Hôtel Holiday Inn de Clermont-Ferrand.

Cette publication a bénéficié de subventions du ministère de la Recherche, de l'Université Paris I Panthéon-Sorbonne et du Centre Gustave Glotz.



MINISTÈRE
DE L'ENSEIGNEMENT SUPÉRIEUR
ET DE LA RECHERCHE



*à la mémoire
d'Augusto Frascetti*

DES ENQUÊTES RÉGIONALES

PREMIÈRE
PARTIE

SICILIA AND BRITANNIA: EPIGRAPHIC EVIDENCE FOR CIVIC ADMINISTRATION

Jonathan R.W. Prag

In an ideal world, a study of this sort would set out to compare two of the great island provinces of the Roman empire. At the theoretical level, a rational case can be made for such a comparison: besides the shared banalities of island and provincial status, the fact that Sicilia was the first province, while Britannia only attained that status some three centuries later, should allow for an examination of the evolution of provincial administration (*cf.* Stephen Dyson's remarks on comparing Sardinia and Britannia¹). Further arguments in support could also be offered, such as the value of comparing an urbanized "Greek" province (but one geographically situated in the West) with a "tribal" and "Latin" province.

However, the reality is rather more disappointing. It quickly becomes apparent, when examining the available evidence for civic administration and organization, that the two islands have rather more negative things in common: neither has a genuinely strong epigraphic habit²; and consequently, for the purposes of this

1. S.L. Dyson, "Roman Sardinia and Roman Britain", *in:* R.H. Tykot and T.K. Andrews (eds.), *Sardinia in the Mediterranean: A Footprint in the Sea*, Monographs in Mediterranean Archaeology 3, Sheffield, 1992, p. 484-492, at p. 484.

2. On the "epigraphic habit" in Britain, see in particular J.C. Mann, "Epigraphic Consciousness", *JRS*, t. 75, 1985, p. 204-206, but also, *e.g.*, M. Biró, "The Inscriptions of Roman Britain", *AArchHung*, t. 27, 1975, p. 13-58; A. Cepas, *The North of Britannia and the North-west of Hispania. An Epigraphic Comparison*, BAR IS 470, Oxford, 1989; T.F.C. Blagg, "Architectural Munificence in Britain: The Evidence of Inscriptions", *Britannia*, t. 21, 1990, p. 13-31; V.M. Hope, "Words and Pictures: The Interpretation of Romano-British Tombstones", *Britannia*, t. 28, 1997, p. 245-258; A. Sargent, "The North-South Divide Revisited: Thoughts on the Character of Roman Britain", *Britannia*, t. 33, 2002, p. 219-226. On Sicily, in particular in relation to the Roman period, see, *e.g.*, G. Salmeri, "I caratteri della grecità di Sicilia e la colonizzazione romana", *in:* G. Salmeri, A. Raggi and A. Baroni (eds.), *Colonie romane nel mondo greco*, Minima Epigraphica et Papyrologica separata 3, Rome, 2004, p. 255-308; K. Korhonen, "La cultura epigrafica della colonia di Catina nell'alto impero", *in: ibid.*, p. 233-254; J.R.W. Prag, "Ciceronian Sicily: The Epigraphic Dimension", *in:* J. Dubouloz and S. Pittia (dir.), *La Sicile de Cicéron, Lectures des Verrines*, Besançon, 2007, p. 245-271; J.R.W. Prag, "Epigraphy by Numbers: Latin and the Epigraphic

study, neither provides a very coherent set of information. Moreover, since cities of Roman or Latin status do not appear in Sicily before the end of the Republic, not only are some of the superficial differences of less immediate relevance, but also the similarities of civic practice, between two islands that entered the empire by such diverse routes, are all the more striking. It is normal to discuss civic administration in either island by filling the gaps from better known regions such as Roman Gaul or North Africa; readers of this volume will be able to do that for themselves, and therefore this paper has the much more modest ambition of synthesizing the evidence from two of the epigraphically poorer relations and setting them alongside one another, in the hope that that exercise will itself be of some use.

A direct consequence of the relatively weak body of epigraphic documentation from both islands (and the even scantly literary sources for the Imperial period), is a high degree of uncertainty about even the most basic questions of civic status. Both islands possessed a small number of *coloniae*, and a very uncertain number of *municipia*; it is the very fragmentary epigraphic record (with some support from the numismatic material) that underpins most of the resulting debate amongst scholars. Precisely because civic status is so uncertain, it has not seemed helpful on this occasion to limit attention to material coming only from those communities of certain status.

I shall examine each island in turn, following the approximate sequence of analysis of the original data collection³, that is: attested activity by magistrates, priests, the curial class, the curia and the people together, and finally the people alone, as well as the evidence for local administrative personnel. In neither province does the material lend itself to any sort of quantitative discussion; indeed, the survey will be necessarily impressionistic, in a world where a single new discovery could radically alter the consensus.

Culture in Sicily”, in: A.E. Cooley (ed.), *Becoming Roman, Writing Latin*, JRA Suppl. 48, Portsmouth RI, 2002, p. 15-31; L. Bivona, “Brevi considerazioni sulla epigrafia latina di Sicilia”, in: G. Angeli Bertinelli and E. Donati (dir.), *Varia Epigraphica, Atti del colloquio internazionale di epigrafia, Bertinoro, 8-10 giugno 2000*, Bologna, 2001, p. 49-61; and G. Manganaro, “Greco nei pagi e latino nelle città della Sicilia romana tra I e VI sec. d.C.”, in: A. Calbi, A. Donati and G. Poma (dir.), *L'Epigrafia del villaggio*, Faenza, 1993, p. 543-594.

3. Undertaken during my participation in the project organized by Prof. M. Cébeillac-Gervasoni and Dr. Cl. Berrendoner. It is a genuine pleasure to thank them both for inviting me to participate, for their repeated hospitality, and for tolerating my abuse of the French language.

BRITANNIA⁴

Britannia acquired three veteran *coloniae* in the first century AD: Colchester (Camulodunum, AD 49); Lincoln (Lindum, perhaps in the period AD 90-6); and Gloucester (Glevum, probably AD 96-8). A fourth, York, was created much later, a *colonia* of the honorific variety (Eboracum, perhaps under Caracalla, by AD 213). Only St. Albans (Verulamium) is attested explicitly as a *municipium* (under Claudius, on the basis of Tac., *Ann.*, 14.33), but the status of both London (Londinium) and other *civitates* such as Leicester (Ratae) is a very open question⁵.

In fact the majority of the material comes from the “*civitas* capitals” of the province, or from smaller units such as (military) *vici*⁶. The only explicitly attested activity in Britannia on the part of a civic magistrate is the building of a *pro-scaenium*, at his own expense (“*de suo*”) by an *aedilis vici*, in the mid-second century at Brough-on-Humber (Petuaria)⁷. The *duumviri* of Glevum (Gloucester) are extensively witnessed on brick- and tile-stamps of the second century, generally found within the territory of Glevum, where they appear in what is probably a dating formula; the very brevity of the document type, however, means that any further function, such as that their presence in the stamp served to indicate some process of production control, can only be inferred. The public production and/or destination of the material is confirmed by the other half of the stamp, which takes the general form (when expanded) of: *res publica Glevensium duovirorum unius et alterius*. In some years the *duumviri* are replaced by *quinquennales*⁸. A similar formula is found on a lead-sealing from Glevum, which is itself partially paralleled (for the first half of the formula only, the magistrates are omitted) by another lead-sealing bearing the title of the *C(ivitas) Cor(i)el(tavorum)* (Leicester)⁹. All these

4. Any claims to comprehensiveness would be foolhardy; this survey is based primarily on the material in *RIB I* (= R.G. Collingwood and R.P. Wright, *The Roman Inscriptions of Britain*, I. *Inscriptions on Stone*, Stroud, 1995 repr. with *add. et corr.* by R.S.O. Tomlin), and the annual surveys of Romano-British epigraphy to be found in *JRS* to 1969 and in *Britannia* from 1970 onwards.

5. See in particular J. Wachter, *The Towns of Roman Britain*, London, 1995 (2nd ed.); H. Hurst (dir.), *The Coloniae of Roman Britain: New Studies and a Review (Papers of the conference held at Gloucester on 5-6 July, 1997)*, *JRA* Suppl. 36, Portsmouth RI, 1999; and the papers of R.J.A. Wilson, “Urban Defences and Civic Status in Early Roman Britain” and R.S.O. Tomlin, “Was Roman London ever a *colonia*? The Written Evidence”, both in R.J.A. Wilson (ed.), *Romanitas. Essays on Roman Archaeology in Honour of Sheppard Frere on the Occasion of his Ninetieth Birthday*, Oxford, 2006, p. 1-47 and 58-64.

6. On the former, J.M. Reynolds, “Legal and Constitutional Problems”, in: J. Wachter (ed.), *The Civitas Capitals of Roman Britain*, Leicester, 1966, p. 70-75; on the latter, most recently C.S. Sommer, “Military *vici* in Roman Britain Revisited”, in: R.J.A. Wilson (dir.), *Romanitas [...]*, *op. cit.*, p. 95-145.

7. *RIB* 1.707.

8. I list all the examples, grouped according to the variations in the stamps: *RIB* 2.5.2487.1, 2, 4, 5, (6), 7, 8, 9, 15, 19, 20, *Britannia*, t. 31, 2000, p. 439 n° 23 (cf. *RIB* 2.5.2487.10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 16, 17, 21, 22); *RIB* 2.5.2487.6 (cf. 18); *RIB* 2.5.2487.3, 23 (cf. 18); *RIB* 2.5.2488.1-3; *RIB* 2.5.2488.4. See *Britannia*, t. 13, 1982, p. 60-75.

9. Gloucester: *RIB* 2.1.2411.40, cf. 2.5.2487.21; Leicester: *Britannia*, t. 24, 1993, p. 318 n° 18. A *regula*, from Tripontium (Caves Inn, Warwickshire), bearing the graffito “[*c*]ivitatis Corieltavorom [...]” is also known, but a graffito makes its official status uncertain (*RIB* 2.5.2491.150).

imply state-controlled (economic) activity in some form, but without further evidence the institutional mechanisms involved are a matter for speculation.

Priests are rather more visible, but in general only making dedications of altars (and mostly at Aquae Sulis – Bath), and in the one case where the finances are explicit, it is a privately financed dedication¹⁰. It is only with a *sevir*, in the *colonia* of Lindum (Lincoln), that we find any more substantial activity, but without any indication of the processes at work: “o[b | hon]orem II[IIII | virat]us temp(lum) r[ef(ecit)...]”¹¹. A single votive altar set up by the *curia Textoverdorum* is the only apparently communal act of dedication attested¹².

Unsurprisingly perhaps, communal honorifics are more common. In one instance we see a fairly full process at work: the “*res publ(ica) civit(at)is Silurum*” honours a legionary legate “*ex decreto ordinis*”¹³; in two other fragmentary texts a *civitas* honours the Emperor¹⁴. Two further texts come from smaller communities: one, a fragmentary inscription from the settlement south of Housesteads Fort on Hadrian’s Wall, was set up “*d(ecreto) vica[norum]*”; the other, a dedication of an altar *pro salute domini nostri* by the “*vik(ani) Mag(...?)*”, was financed “*a(ere) col(lato) a v(ikanis)*”¹⁵. The first and the last of these honorifics cast a very fleeting light on the potential sequences of decision-making and financing of these acts, but it is scarcely enough with which to generalize, beyond noting the intermediate agency of the *ordo* in the larger community of the *civitas*.

Two particular categories of document stand out in the Romano-British material: the first is the inscriptions recording the building work (*corvée* labour?) by various southern *civitates* (alongside military units such as the *classis Britannia*) on Hadrian’s Wall, probably in the second century¹⁶; the second, a number of mile-

10. *JRS*, t. 56, 1966, p. 217 n° 1 (the *D.D.* abbreviation most likely signifying *d(edit) d(edicavit)*); *RIB* 1.1129; *RIB* 1.2065; *RIB* 1.1314 + *add.*; note also the mosaic dedicated to Mars *ex stipibus* by what appear to be a pair of local religious officials, in *RIB* 2.4.2448.3 (Gloucestershire).

11. *Britannia*, t. 10, 1979, p. 345 n° 5.

12. *RIB* 1.1695, found near Chesterholm, place of origin unknown; the significance of the word *curia* is debated (perhaps from Celtic **corio-*, and so signifying *pagus*).

13. *RIB* 1.311, a statue base, set up at Venta Silurum (Caerwent), shortly before AD 220.

14. *RIB* 1.288, erected by the “*civitas Cornov[iorum]*”, AD 129/30, found *in situ* near the entrance to the forum at Viroconium (Wroxeter); *JRS*, t. 46, 1956, p. 146 n° 3, a monumental inscription, variously restored as the “*civitas Catu]vel[launorum]*” or the “*res publica] Ver[ulamien]sum*” or the “*municipium] Ver[ulamium]*”, dated AD 79, and found at Verulamium (St. Albans).

15. Housesteads: *RIB* 1.1616; *vikani Mag.*: *RIB* 1.899 + *add.* (cf. *CIL*, 7, 346 with p. 307), found in 1842 at Old Carlisle, dated AD 238–44.

16. *RIB* 1.2022 “*civitat(is) Brig<ig>*”, i.e. Brigantum; *RIB* 1.1962 “*civitate Catuvellaunorum Toss[o]dio*”; *RIB* 1.1843 “*civitas Dum(no)ni(or)um*”; *RIB* 1.1844 “*civitas Dummoni(or)um*”; *RIB* 1.1672 “*c(ivitas) Dur(a)tr(i)g(um) [L]endin(i)e(n)sis*”; *RIB* 1.1673 “*ci(vitas) Durotrag(um) Lendine(n)si[s]*”. On these, see now M. Fulford, “*Corvées and civitates*”, in: R.J.A. Wilson (dir.), *Romanitas* [...], *op. cit.*, p. 65–71, noting their significance for the character of some (small) urban centres of the rank of *civitas*, and in the case of the individual Tossodio, that “like the names of the centurions [in parallel texts], it suggests a foreman and a degree of local leadership” (p. 69).

stones set up by various communities in the third century¹⁷. One point to note is that in the former group the form *civitas* + genitive plural of the tribal name is consistently used; but in the latter group the term *res publica* is always employed, together with the genitive plural of the tribal name, with or without *civitas* also; the one minor exception is the *colonia* of Lindum (Lincoln), which appears as the *res publica Lindensis*, but whose presence simultaneously reveals that the use of *res publica* is not, on this occasion, dependent upon civic status. But whether this variation in title between *civitas* and *res publica* relates to the nature of the activity (*corvée* labour in contrast to more honorific activities), to some other formal distinction, or simply reflects a shift in usage between the second and third centuries, is not clear¹⁸.

Returning to the *vici*, two texts appear to indicate building activity by urban *vici*: *RIB* 1.2, from Londinium, has been taken to refer to the restoration of a shrine of the *Matres* by the *vicinia* at its own expense¹⁹; while *RIB* 1.270, an inscribed architrave from Lindum (Lincoln), now lost, records the “*vic(us) HRAPO Mercure(n)sium*”. Two further inscriptions belong to military *vici*, and, in contrast to the earlier examples where the institutional activity of the *vici* appeared more streamlined, both show the appointment of an individual to oversee the action undertaken. Both are dedications of altars, in resolution of a vow, by the *vicani*, and in both cases an individual is named “*curam agente*”²⁰.

Few, if any, administrative personnel are securely attested for the island: an “*ark(arius)*” is recorded making a dedication, which “[*d(e) s(uo)*] *p(osuit)*”, at Noviomagus Regnensium (Chichester), but there is no certainty that he is a municipal *arcarius*²¹. A range of other individuals are attested in funerary inscriptions and more fragmentary texts, but little if anything can be said about them: two texts record activities by *curatores*, at their own expense, but of what sort we cannot tell²²; a *lapidarius* (but no need for the position to be official)²³; a possible *conduc-*

17. *RIB* 1.2250 “*r(es) p(ublica) c(ivitatis) D(obunorum)*”; *RIB* 1.2222 + add. “*r(es) p(ublica) B(e)l(garum)*”; *Britannia*, t. 16, 1985, p. 324 n° 3 “*r(es) p(ublica) B(elgarum)*”; *RIB* 1.2240 “*r(es) p(ublica) L(indensis)*”; *JRS*, t. 55, 1965, p. 224, n° 11 “*r(es) p(ublica) c(ivitatis) Car(vetiorum)*”.

18. One might infer some sort of connection with the other, contemporary, category of milestone / statue-base erected to the Emperor with the words *bono rei publicae nato*; cf. *RIB* 1.289 + add.; *RIB* 1.412; *RIB* 1.930; *RIB* 1.2308; *RIB* 1.2314; *Britannia*, t. 1, 1970, p. 308, n° 15.

19. “*Matr[ibus] vicinia de suo res[tituit]...*”; the editors of *RIB* observe that, although *Vicinia* can be a personal name, on analogy with *CIL*, 13, 3652 the meaning “district” seems preferable.

20. *RIB* 1.1700 + add.: “*vicani Vindolandesses curam agente [...]*”, found 100 m west of Chesterholm Fort, on Hadrian’s Wall (late second, or third century). *JRS*, t. 47, 1957, p. 229 n° 18: “*vikani consi[s]tentest castel[lo] Veluniate cu[ram] agente Ael(io) Mansueto v(otum) s(olverunt) l(aeti) l(ibentes) m(erito)*”, found near Carriden Fort, West Lothian, Scotland.

21. *Britannia*, t. 10, 1979, p. 339, n° 1; cf. *RIB* 1.385 + add. with the restoration “*ex arc(a publ[ica])*”.

22. *RIB* 1.247 (Lincoln); *RIB* 1.700 (York).

23. *RIB* 1.149.

tor vici²⁴; more than one *magister* of uncertain type²⁵; and the recently unearthed *moritix Londiniensium*²⁶. Funerary inscriptions also provide the majority of attestations of, for example, *decuriones*²⁷.

There is, additionally, an extensive set of more fragmentary material, which may or may not pertain to civic activities. There is little profit in listing all such texts, but they cannot be entirely ignored; for instance, the only British instance of the formula *l(ocus) d(atu)s d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)* is a conjecture in an extensively restored text from Eboracum (York)²⁸. Another fragmentary text from York may very plausibly record repair work by officials of the *colonia*²⁹. Others, such as a stilus tablet from London, simply tantalize with references to elements of a *civitas*³⁰, as do allusive (public) boundary markers³¹.

It will be apparent that only the most limited picture can be obtained from the British material; the fact that much of it echoes what is known from elsewhere should be unsurprising; equally, any account will be heavily reliant upon inference from parallels in other provinces. It is essentially impossible to tell whether, for instance, the absence of common formulae such as *L.D.D.D.* simply reflects the general weakness of the epigraphic habit (undoubtedly the most likely explanation). But such a weakness itself is perhaps suggestive of the (? limited) extent of activities of, for example, civic officials and the decurial class – it may be that it is not merely the epigraphic habit which was weak in Britannia (building activity is, by contrast, occasionally attested on the part of provincial officials). That there is at least as much, and very probably more material of this sort from the *civitates* and *vici* than from the cities of colonial or known municipal status is also noteworthy.

24. *RIB* 1.181 + *add.* (from Keynsham Hams villa, Somerset), an imperial dedication, with the abbreviation in l. 5 “*CON VIC GA*”, for which the editors note that A. Birley has suggested “*con(ductor) vic(i) Ga(...)*”.

25. *RIB* 1.457 + *add.*; *RIB* 1.627.

26. *Britannia*, t. 34, 2003, p. 364 n° 5, cf. J.N. Adams, *ZPE*, t. 143, 2003, p. 275-276.

27. Note *RIB* 1.933 + *add.* (Old Penrith, now lost), a funerary inscription to Flavius Martius recorded as “*sen(atori) in c(ohorte) or c(ivitate) Carvetior(um) questorio*”, etc. If *senator* is not understood as a late military title, and the alternative expansion of “*c*” is accepted, giving “councillor and ex-quaestor of the canton of the Carvetii”, this would be the only instance of a *decurio* in a *civitas*.

28. *Britannia*, t. 8, 1977, p. 430, n° 18.

29. *RIB* 1.648: “*Hercu[li ...] T(itus) Perpet[...], Aetern[us ... col(oniae)] Ebur[acensis ...] rest[ituerunt...]*”.

30. *RIB* 2.8.2504.29 (=2.4.2443.19), AD 118, with reference to a *silva*, “*quod est in civitate Cāntiacorum pago DIBVSSV...*” and a passing mention of a “*via vicinale*”.

31. *JRS*, t. 56, 1966, p. 217 n° 2, “*(terminus) p(ublice) p(ositus)*” (Thrapston, Northants); cf. *RIB* 1.230 (Sawtry, on line of Ermine Street); *RIB* 1.325 (Caerleon Church, now lost).

SICILIA³²

It is normal to bemoan the lack of material from Sicily; but in comparison with Britannia Sicilia looks relatively rich. Sicilia was the recipient of five – or six – veteran *coloniae* in the early Augustan period: Catina (Catania), Syracusae, Tauromenium (Taormina), Thermae Himerenses (Termini Imerese), Tyndaris, and probably Panhormus (Palermo). With the exception of Tauromenium, which may date to 36 BC, these were all founded in connection with Augustus' visit to the island in 21 BC³³. Lilybaeum also became a *colonia* (without veterans), c. AD 193³⁴. As Fergus Millar has observed, the group in Sicilia is large and notable in relation to the Greek East (but still a surprisingly late and small number if considered in relation to proximity to Italy, length of Roman rule, and the example of North Africa), but this group has rarely if at all been considered in relation to the eastern empire; indeed, Sicilia's omission from Maurice Sartre's survey of the eastern *coloniae* is unfortunate, not least because the patterns that he elucidates arguably fit Sicilia much better than western models³⁵. A very uncertain number of Sicilian cities also received municipal status, usually evidenced by the existence of *duumviri* in inscriptions or coin legends, and the debate over their number and date is not dissimilar to that over the status of *civitates* in Britannia (see the bibliography cited in n. 33).

There are scarcely twenty inscriptions attesting to actual activity on the part of civic magistrates in Sicily (the simple existence of, e.g., *duumviri* is rather better attested, in particular from fragmentary and funerary inscriptions, and coinage), and the majority of these come from the *coloniae*. *Duumviri* appear in various

32. Again, claims to comprehensiveness would be mere hostages to fortune. I have compiled this survey using my own database, which itself incorporates material for Sicily from *CIL*, *IG*, *AE*, *SEG*, and the various city / museum corpora now published for Sicily, and many other publications in periodicals and elsewhere. The following special abbreviations are employed: *ILMusPal* = L. Bivona, *Iscrizioni latine lapidarie del Museo di Palermo*, Sikelika 5, Palermo, 1970; *IGMusPal* = M.T. Manni Piraino, *Iscrizioni greche lapidarie del Museo di Palermo*, Sikelika 6, Palermo, 1972; *ILMusTerm* = L. Bivona, *Iscrizioni latine lapidarie del Museo Civico di Termini Imerese*, Sikelika 8, Rome, 1994; *IMusCat* = K. Korhonen, *Le iscrizioni del Museo Civico di Catania*, Commentationes Humanarum Litterarum 121, Helsinki, 2004.

33. The precise distribution of status in Sicily after 44 BC is much debated; I do not here enter into the question of Latin and Roman rights on the island after 44 BC. R.J.A. Wilson, *Sicily under the Roman Empire. The Archaeology of a Roman Province 36 BC-AD 535*, Warminster, 1990, p. 33-45 summarizes the issues excellently and is essentially followed here; cf. G. Manganaro, "La Sicilia da Sesto Pompeo a Diocleziano", *ANRW*, Berlin, t. 2.11.1, p. 3-89, at p. 11-22. See also the thorough recent discussion by D. Vera, "Augusto, Plinio il vecchio e la Sicilia in età imperiale", *Kokalos*, t. 42, 1996, p. 31-58. For the important relevant numismatic material, see conveniently A. Burnett, M. Amandry, and P.P. Ripollès, *Roman Provincial Coinage. I. From the Death of Caesar to the Death of Vitellius (44 BC-AD 69)*, London-Paris, 1992, esp. p. 166-167. Panhormus' status is less certain than the other five, omitted by Pliny, *HN*, 3, 88-90, but included by Str. 6.2.5; see R.J.A. Wilson, *Sicily [...]*, *op. cit.*, p. 37 and 358 n. 40.

34. See in particular R. Marino, "Su alcune iscrizioni latine del palazzo municipale di Marsala", *Kokalos*, t. 24, 1978, p. 77-111, at p. 92-96.

35. F.G.B. Millar, "The Greek City in the Roman Period", in: M.H. Hansen (dir.), *The Ancient Greek City-State*, Copenhagen, 1993, p. 232-60, at p. 238; M. Sartre, "Les colonies romaines dans le monde grec. Essai de synthèse", *Electrum*, t. 5, 2001, p. 111-152.

guises: in a dating formula, which may imply oversight of a dedication / building work (the problem being similar to that of the stamps from Glevum)³⁶; in an important inscription from Catina, acting “*consensu paucorum decurionum*”, in opposition to an imperial *procurator* in a dispute over the financing of major public building works (probably work on the city’s port)³⁷; at Centuripae a father and son duumviral pair build a *sphaeristerium*, “*pro honore Ilvira[tus]*”³⁸; at Lilybaeum (post-193) an individual denoted as *duumvir* and *decemprimus* oversaw and himself financed honours for the provincial quaestor, decreed by the *ordo* of the *colonia*³⁹; at Panhormus the *duumviri* are present in a pair of imperial honorifics set up by the “*res p(ublica) Panhorm(itanorum)*”, and decreed by the *decuriones* – but whether they had an active role is left unspoken⁴⁰; in a very fragmentary inscription from Piazza Armerina (perhaps relating to Henna?), a *duumvir* appears to be honoured by the *decuriones*, possibly with a *corona*, perhaps for building work⁴¹; at Thermae a *duumvir* constructed a portico at his own expense⁴²; and at Tauromenium the *duumviri*, besides functioning as the eponymous magistrates, undertook several tasks in relation to the public finances, recording deposits and individually safeguarding parts of the balance intended for *sitōnion*⁴³.

Aediles are no less active, but primarily in building work and with less evidence that they have a supervisory role: at Catina an individual is recorded in an unknown activity as quaestor and aedile, acting *pro honore*⁴⁴; at Lilybaeum aediles are known both before and after the city’s elevation to colonial status – one donated money to the city “*ob honorem aedilitatis*”, but the use to which it was then put was determined by the provincial quaestor, while a second, likewise “*ob honorem aedilitatis*” dedicated a statue to the *genius* of the *municipium*, “*ex arg(ento) [P.] V.P.S. [P.]*”, and a third built a shrine to the *genius* of the *colonia*, with his own money (“*s(ua)*

36. *SEG*, 46, 1252 (Agrigentum, a Greek text, of Augustan date).

37. *IMusCat*, n° 22 (*CIL*, 10, 7024), AD 164-6; see also G. Manganaro, “Epigrafi frammentarie di Catania”, *Kokalos*, t. 5, 1959, p. 145-158. Another, fragmentary, inscription from Catina records a *duumvir* doing something and mentions *impensa* (*CIL*, 10, 7029). In general, for the Catania material, see the discussion by Kalle Korhonen in: *IMusCat*, p. 70-76.

38. *CIL*, 10, 7004, perhaps second-century.

39. *CIL*, 10, 7236 “*pecunia sua cur(ante) Veturio Proculo Xprim(o) Ilv(iro)*”.

40. *ILMusPal*, n° 16-17 (*CIL*, 10, 7274-5), AD 198/9.

41. G. Manganaro, “Die Villa von Piazza Armerina, Residenz des kaiserlichen Prokurators, und ein mit ihr verbundenes Emporium von Henna”, in: D. Papenfuss and V.M. Strocka (dir.), *Palast und Hütte*, Mainz am Rhein, 1982, p. 493-513, at p. 503-506, n° 11.

42. *ILMusTerm*, n° 19 (*CIL*, 10, 7353), Julio-Claudian in date.

43. These important Greek financial documents probably belong to the period of Sex. Pompeius, i.e. 43-36 BC: *BE* 1966.512 and *IGSI ad Ius Pert.*, n° 13; see in general G. Manganaro, “Le tavole finanziarie di Tauromenion”, in: *Comptes et inventaires dans la cité grecque : actes du colloque international d'épigraphie tenu à Neuchâtel du 23 au 26 septembre 1986 en l'honneur de J. Trébeux*, Neuchâtel, 1988, p. 155-190.

44. *CIL*, 10, 7026 (cf. G. Manganaro, “Iscrizioni latine nuove e vecchie della Sicilia”, *Epigraphica*, t. 51, 1989, p. 161-209, at p. 173, under n° 44).

p(ecunia)”⁴⁵; at Lipara an aedile acts *nomine suo et collegae*, employing *aes* derived from his aedileship supplemented by his own money, with decurial authorization (*L.D.D.D.*)⁴⁶; at Tauromenium aedilician *fasti* survive, erected by someone “*d(e)s(ua) p(ecunia)*”, but whether an aedile we cannot tell⁴⁷.

A random scatter of other officials is also attested, although their exact status is usually very uncertain: at Catina, three *curatores* are attested for the construction of the city’s aqueduct, perhaps in the Augustan period⁴⁸; an inscription known only from a manuscript, from Drepanum (Trapani), records in Greek a dedication set up by a *chiliarch*, which has more in common with Hellenistic texts from the island, but ends in the letters Π.Π., which could be the Latin *P(ecunia) P(ublica)*⁴⁹; from Panhormus a fragmentary text records a “*cur(ator) portensis kal(endarii)*”, and *munerarius*⁵⁰; a *praefectus* is recorded undertaking building repairs “*sua pecunia*” at Segesta in the first century⁵¹; and in the Tauromenium financial inscriptions, an unknown number of *tamiai* can be seen managing the public accounts (see n. 43).

Priests are rarely visible taking a role in civic life in the epigraphic documentation: a *flamen* is present in a seemingly eponymous role in a building dedication from Augustan Agrigentum (see n. 36); at Syracuse a [*flamen Serapis et omnium deorum*] is honoured for restoration work “[*sine ul]la publica inpen[sa...]*”⁵²; at Henna, in a heavily restored text, a public (?) priestess of Ceres is given funerary honours at the decree of the *decuriones* (“*L.[D.D.D.]*”)⁵³; otherwise priests are only known through, *e.g.*, funerary inscriptions⁵⁴.

Inscriptions recording activity by the decurial *ordo* (alone) are more standard. The vast majority come from two cities, Lilybaeum and Thermae; however, a significant number of those from Lilybaeum date to its period as a *municipium* rather than as a *colonia*. Of the other *coloniae*, Syracuse, Catina, and Tyndaris produce only a handful of texts, while inscriptions from Panhormus, with one exception, instead record activity either jointly by the *res publica* and the *decuriones*, or by the

45. *AE*, 1964, 181 (AD 169-72); *CIL*, 10, 7223 (C1-2 AD); *CIL*, 10, 7222 (after AD 193).

46. *Meligunis-Lipara*, t. 12, 2003, n° 757 (*CIL*, 10, 7490), undated.

47. *Duumvir(i)* perhaps more likely; cf. B. Ruck, “Die Fasten von Taormina”, *ZPE*, t. 111, 1996, p. 271-80 (Augustan or Tiberian, after 8 BC).

48. *IMusCat*, n° 25 (*CIL*, 10, 6999); cf. R. Wilson, *Sicily [...], op. cit.*, p. 98, 370 n. 256.

49. *SEG*, 52, 893; the interpretation is a suggestion of Tybout’s in *SEG*; the abbreviation recurs in a second text, *SEG*, 52, 894. For this type of dedication in Sicily, cf. *IG*, 14, 353-5 and *SEG*, 37, 759-761.

50. *ILMusPal*, n° 31 (*CIL*, 10, 7295), second-century.

51. *AE*, 2000, 642; for civic *praefecti (pro Ilviro)* in Sicily, cf. *CIL*, 10, 7211 and *ILMusTerm*, n° 15 (below, n. 63).

52. G. Manganaro, “Iscrizioni latine [...]”, *art. cit.*, p. 182, n° 62.

53. *NSA*, 1947, p. 242, with restorations suggested by G. Manganaro, *ArchClass*, t. 17, 1965, p. 189; the text is inscribed within a *tabula ansata*.

54. As in *CIL*, 10, 6978 from Messina, a *flaminica divae Aug(ustae)*.

res publica alone (see below). All of the documents in this class record honorific actions (or are so fragmentary that nothing more can be said).

At Lilybaeum texts honouring both citizens and the Emperor employ the formula *l(ocus) d(atu)s d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)*, and when dateable these pre-date the foundation of the *colonia*⁵⁵. In one instance the formula is expanded to *l(ocus) p(ublice) d(atu)s d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)*⁵⁶. The texts of this general category securely dated after the award of *colonia* status in AD 193 are different: in two instances, the *ordo splendidis col(oniae)* (etc.) honours provincial quaestors (in the first text at the expense of a *duumvir*; in the second, where the quaestor is also *curator rei publicae*, the *ordo* acted “*decreto publico facto*”, and set up the statue “*p(ecunia) p(ublica)*”⁵⁷; in a third case, of perhaps the later fourth century, a former consular governor is honoured as *patronus* by the “*universa curia in coetu splendido* [sic]”⁵⁸. Finally, a peculiar Greek text appears to record honours for a *decurio* (*bouleutēs*), concluding with the Greek letters δ.δ.β., which might be expanded as δ(όγματι) δ(εκουριώνων) β(ουλής), that is, *d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)*⁵⁹.

At Thermae the majority of these inscriptions are funerary texts, recording the grant of the burial plot by decree of the *decuriones* (the precise formula varies)⁶⁰; a further (Augustan) text, either funerary or honorific, may also contain the formula *L.D.D.D.*⁶¹. Honorifics at the decree of the *decuriones* also exist, one to a veteran and *duumvir* (first-century), a second, at public expense, to the Emperor Commodus⁶²; within a longer text honouring several individuals we see one individual “[*cui*] *ordo dec(urionum) orn(amenta) aed(ilicia) d(ecrevit)*”⁶³. In contrast to texts from Lilybaeum at least, the formula *d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)* is regularly preceded by *ex*, a peculiarity that is highlighted by the preposition’s absence in the honours

55. *CIL*, 10, 7202, honouring the Emperor (AD 119); *CIL*, 10, 7213; *CIL*, 10, 7243, honouring a citizen; *CIL*, 10, 7247, funerary inscription of a citizen, “*L.[D.D.D.]*”.

56. *CIL*, 10, 7237, honouring an *equus* from Lilybaeum as *patronus*, dated AD 185-92.

57. *CIL*, 10, 7236; *AE*, 1990, 438 (third-century).

58. *AE*, 1906, 75bis; photograph and translation in R.J.A. Wilson, *Sicily [...], op. cit.*, p. 180, fig. 152.

59. *AE*, 1935, 123, cf. *BE*, 1971, 767.

60. *CIL*, 10, 7377, a citizen, “*locus public(e) d(atu)s ex d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)*”; *ILMusTerm*, n° 179, fragmentary, “*ex d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)*”; *ILMusTerm*, n° 178, fragmentary, “[*ex d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) l(ocus) p(ublice) d(atu)s*”; *ILMusTerm*, n° 138, a citizen, “[*ex d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)*”; *ILMusTerm*, n° 110, a citizen, “*ex d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) locus*”; *ILMusTerm*, n° 114, a citizen, “*ex d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) l(ocus) p(ublice) d(atu)s*”; also *ILMusTerm*, n° 177, a stele reading simply *D.D.*

61. *ILMusTerm*, n° 16 (*CIL*, 10, 7351), honouring a citizen of equestrian rank; only *l(ocus)* survives from the formula.

62. *ILMusTerm*, n° 12 (*CIL*, 10, 7348), “*ex d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)*”; *ILMusTerm*, n° 6 (*CIL*, 10, 7342) “*d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) p(ecunia) p(ublica)*”.

63. *ILMusTerm*, n° 15 (first-/second-century); the text is important for its evidence for the Thermae *cursus*, attesting to the positions of *quaestor*, *aedilis*, *Ilvir*, *Ilvir quinquennalis*, and *praefectus pro Ilviro*; see L. Bivona, “Una iscrizione inedita di Termini Imerese”, in: *Studi di storia antica, offerti dagli allievi a Eugenio Manni*, Rome, 1976, p. 55-66 for full discussion.

erected at Thermae c. AD 100 for a provincial quaestor *pro praetore* by the “*Hispellates public(e) d(ecurionum) d(ecreto) patrono*”⁶⁴.

Decurial action is much less well attested across the rest of the island. At the *colonia* of Catina, an individual is attested as *Q(uaestor) d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)*, and a woman, mother and wife of *duumviri*, is honoured with a public funeral, public burial plot, and a statue in the forum, *d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)*⁶⁵. A fragment, of high Imperial date, may attest to the Greek phrase *psēphismati boulēs*⁶⁶. At Tyndaris, two texts record imperial honours *p(ecunia) p(ublica) d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)*, while a third honours a quaestor “[*L.D.*] *D.D.*”⁶⁷. Panhormus produces a single, unusual text, best placed in this category: the “*principales viri ex aere collato*” honour a provincial *legatus* as *patronus* of the *colonia*⁶⁸. Beyond the *coloniae*, there are only very isolated texts: fragments from Acrae (Palazzolo Acreide) and Hadranum (Adrano) record decurial action⁶⁹; at Lipara, a Tiberian procurator is honoured with public money⁷⁰; at Messana a mother honours her daughter at her own expense, the plot granted by decurial decree⁷¹; a fragment from Piazza Armerina (perhaps pertaining to Henna?) appears to record honours decreed by the *decuriones* for a *duumvir* engaged in building work⁷².

Honours decreed jointly by the people and the decurial *ordo* are rather fewer and more diverse in their formulation. The exception is Panhormus, which produces a series of imperial honorifics in the period between the 190s and 280s AD, set up by the *res p(ublica) Panhorm(itanorum)* and at the decree of the *decuriones*; a single later Greek text honours a *Corrector* of the province at the instigation of the *boulē kai dēmos*⁷³. The same Latin formulation appears in a contemporary imperial honorific from nearby Soluntum, and in another from further along the north

64. *ILMusPal*, n° 53 (*ILMusTerm*, n° 8, *CIL*, 10, 7344).

65. *CIL*, 10, 7026 (cf. G. Manganaro, “Iscrizioni latine [...]”, *art. cit.*, p. 173 under n° 44); G. Manganaro, “Iscrizioni latine [...]”, *art. cit.*, p. 172, n° 43 (*AE*, 1989, 341m), “... *funere publico elata et lo[co] | publico sepulta et sta[tua] | data in foro (vac.) d(ecurionum) d(ecreto)*”.

66. *IMusCat*, n° 43, “[*ψηφισματι [βουλῆς (?)]*”. A late fragment from Syracuse (*SEG*, 43, 634, fourth-century or later) records action by the *βουλ[ῆ]*.

67. *CIL*, 10, 7473; G. Manganaro, “Iscrizioni latine [...]”, *art. cit.*, p. 163, n° 6-7; *ibid.*, p. 164, n° 13 (*AE*, 1989, 338i).

68. *ILMusPal*, n° 28 (*CIL*, 10, 7286), of c. AD 200.

69. G. Pugliese Carratelli, “Silloge delle epigrafi acrensi”, in: L. Bernabò Brea, *Akraï*, Catania, 1956, p. 151-81, n° 59, a fragment, reading “*D.D.P.P[.]F*”; *AE*, 1962, 314, a fragment, part of an altar, including the word *aedem*, and the letters “*S.P.D.[.]Dr.[.]*”, for which “*s(ua) p(ecunia) d(icavit) d(ecur) r(ionum) [d(ecreto)?]*” has been suggested (G. Manganaro, “Iscrizioni di Adrano”, *PP*, t. 16, 1961, p. 126-135, at p. 131).

70. *Meligunis-Lipára*, t. 12, 2003, n° 756 (*CIL*, 10, 7489), “*ex d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) p(ecunia) p(ublica)*”.

71. *AE*, 1989, 337, “*s(ua) p(ecunia) p(osuit) l(oco) d(ato) d(ecurionum) d(ecreto)*”.

72. G. Manganaro, “Die Villa von Piazza Armerina [...]”, *art. cit.*, p. 503-506 n° 11, with the phrase “*ex decurionum d[ecreto]*”.

73. *ILMusPal*, n° 15 (*CIL*, 10, 7273); *ILMusPal*, n° 24 (*CIL*, 10, 7282). Two texts also include the *duumviri*: *ILMusPal*, n° 16 (*CIL*, 10, 7274); *ILMusPal*, n° 17 (*CIL*, 10, 7275). A fifth text, *ILMusPal*, n° 21 (*CIL*, 10, 7279), of AD 222-3, offers a slight variation, “*co[l](onia) Aug(usta) Pan[hor]m(itanorum) d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)*”. The Greek text is *IGMusPal*, n° 149 (*IG*, 14, 296), of AD 314-5.

coast at Tyndaris⁷⁴. Some distinction of process may be signified at Panhormus, since a number of similar texts are set up in the name of the *res publica* alone (see below).

This particular *res publica* formulation is absent elsewhere, and joint actions are otherwise attested in diverse and isolated formulations. Both Lilybaeum and Thermae honour individuals in the name of the *ordo et populus*⁷⁵; but they employ other formulations also. At Lilybaeum the “*populus Lilybitanus*” [sic] honours one of its citizens, with a “*l(ocus) p(ublice) d(atus) d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)*”⁷⁶; and in the fourth century we find a reversion to Greek usage, as at Panhormus, with a consular honoured by the “βουλὴ καὶ δῆμος Λιλυβαιοῦν”⁷⁷. At Thermae, a priestess is honoured “*ex voluntate pop(uli) d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)*”, in part at least for having remitted her public costs and made a donative to the citizens⁷⁸. At Syracuse, a single late inscription of the fourth century records honours for a consul, with a Latin heading (“*p(opulus) Syrac(usanus)*”) and Greek epigram (citing the [Συ]οηκοσίων τόδε ἄστυ, and οἱ ἄριστοι)⁷⁹. Finally, it is worth recalling the official’s letter to the Emperor from Catina, recording a dispute over finances, in which appear the *Catinenses*, glossed subsequently as “*Ilviri consensu paucorum decurionum*” (above, n. 37). With the exception of the Soluntum text, which mimics those of Panhormus, (and of the Augustan text from Lilybaeum) all these inscriptions come from *coloniae*, and once again are limited to the sphere of honorific actions.

Finally, we come to actions ascribed generically to the people. In general terms, these fall into two clear groups: honorifics of the Augustan period set up by a number of *municipia* (on the north coast); and honorifics of the later second and third centuries AD, set up by the *coloniae*. There are, as with the other categories, a number of unusual texts scattered amongst these.

Halaesa (nr. Castel di Tusa), Haluntium (S. Marco d’Alunzio), and Segesta all produce inscriptions honouring either members of the imperial family, or else local citizens, explicitly in the name of the *municipium*⁸⁰; in one instance from Haluntium the text is in Greek, with the Latin word *municipium* simply transliterated into Greek letters⁸¹. As Marina Silvestrini has noted, the use of the abstract

74. Soluntum: *ILMusPal*, n° 48 (*CIL*, 10, 7336), of AD 202-5. Tyndaris: *AE*, 1989, 338f, of c. AD 200, with the fuller form “*r(es) p(ublica) col(oniae) Aug(ustae) Tyndarit(anorum) p(ecunia) p(ublica)*], *d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)*”.

75. Lilybaeum: *CIL*, 10, 7240, honouring a citizen as *patronus perpetuus*, Augustan, cf. *IG*, 14, 277. Thermae: *ILMusTerm*, n° 9 (*CIL*, 10, 7345), honouring a consul, at his expense, either third- or fourth-century.

76. *CIL*, 10, 7211 (now lost?).

77. *AE*, 1966, 167 (320s AD).

78. *ILMusTerm*, n° 18 (*CIL*, 10, 7352), perhaps second-century.

79. *IG*, 14, 14 = *CIL*, 10, 7125, cf. G. Manganaro, *Archivio Storico per la Sicilia Orientale*, t. 54, 1958, p. 18-19. Cf. the other fourth-century Greek text, cited above n. 66.

80. Halaesa: *CIL*, 10, 7458 (Augustan). Haluntium: *CIL*, 10, 7463 (Augustan); *CIL*, 10, 7464 (Claudian?); *IG*, 14, 367 (see next note). Segesta: *AE*, 1945, 64 (honouring a *duumvir*, Augustan?).

81. *IGMusPal*, n° 44 (*IG*, 14, 367), “Ἀλουρίων”, honouring a private individual, probably Augustan in date.

term is unusual, otherwise best paralleled in (later) *tabulae patronatus*; the Sicilian examples are the earliest⁸². Also in this period, the “*populus Drepanit[anorum]*” (Trapani) is recorded honouring Augustus⁸³.

By contrast, the *coloniae* of Panhormus and Tyndaris set up inscriptions honouring members of the Imperial house from the 160s onwards, and especially during the Severan period. At Panhormus these are consistently in the name of the *res p(ublica) Panhormit(anorum)*⁸⁴. At Tyndaris, the standard formulation is instead the *col(onia) Aug(usta) Tyndarit(anorum)*⁸⁵, although on one occasion this is expanded to the “*res p(ublica) col(oniae) Aug(ustae) Tyndar[itanorum]*”⁸⁶. In two of these texts, the action was carried out under the supervision of a *curator rei publicae*⁸⁷.

At Lilybaeum the picture is more mixed, with imperial honorifics of the Severan period in the name of the “*col(onia)*” and of the “*res p(ublica) col(oniae)*”⁸⁸; an apparently earlier text, from the city’s time as a *municipium*, was set up at Agrigentum by the “*res publica Lilybitanorum*”, together with the proconsul and quaestor of the province⁸⁹. Additionally, three texts from the beginning of the third century were set up in honour of provincial magistrates, as *patroni*, by the *XII trib(us)* of Lilybaeum, while a fourth records honours (between AD 185 and 192) for another *patronus*, set up by the “*tribules trib(us) Iovis Aug(usti) pecunia sua*”⁹⁰.

The remaining *coloniae* have little to offer. From Thermae, a fragment records honours for a *duumvir* by the “*co[lonia] T[h]er[mitanorum]*”, and a funerary inscription records simply “*locus publice d[at(us)]*”⁹¹. At Syracuse, two fragments

82. M. Silvestrini, *Un Itinerario epigrafico lungo la Via Traiana: Aecae, Herdonia, Canusium*, Bari, 1999, p. 110, and *Ead.*, in: M. Chelotti, R. Gaeta, V. Morizio and M. Silvestrini, *Le Epigrafi romane di Canosa*, I, Bari, 1985, p. 68-69, n° 36. See also the comments of J. Nicols, “*Tabulae patronatus: A Study of the Agreement Between Patron and Client Community*”, *ANRW*, t. 2.13, 1980, p. 535-561, at p. 541. It is my intention to return to these texts and to the unusual Greek terminology in the Sicilian municipal and colonial inscriptions in a future paper.

83. All the relevant inscriptions from Drepanum are preserved in an antiquarian manuscript, reported by A. Filippi, “Trapani: testimonianze storiche ed archeologiche”, *Sicilia Archeologica*, t. 100, 2002, p. 73-87; this text p. 73. A second text (*SEG*, 52, 892, Filippi, *ibid.*, p. 73) in Greek and set up by the *damos* looks more typically Hellenistic.

84. *ILMusPal*, n° 11 (*CIL*, 10, 7270), AD 162-3; *ILMusPal*, n° 12 (*CIL*, 10, 7271), AD 195-211; *ILMusPal*, n° 13 (*CIL*, 10, 7272), AD 195; *ILMusPal*, n° 22 (*CIL*, 10, 7280), AD 217-18; *ILMusPal*, n° 23 (*CIL*, 10, 7281), 270s AD; *ILMusPal*, n° 25 (*CIL*, 10, 7283), AD 305-7.

85. *ILMusPal*, n° 66 (*CIL*, 10, 7474 + *AE*, 1989, 338c), AD 160-1; *ILMusPal*, n° 67 (*CIL*, 10, 7475), AD 161; *ILMusPal*, n° 68 (*CIL*, 10, 7476), Caracalla or Severus; *ILMusPal*, n° 71a (*CIL*, 10, 7480), fragmentary.

86. *ILMusPal*, n° 69 (*CIL*, 10, 7478), AD 222-35.

87. *ILMusPal*, n° 66 and 67: “*curante M. Valerio Vitale curatore r(ei) p(ublicae)*” (composite text).

88. *CIL*, 10, 7205 (post-AD 193) and 10, 7228 (of AD 213; a second text on the side records the participation of the quaestor *pro praetore* of the province).

89. *CIL*, 10, 7192 (first-century?).

90. *CIL*, 10, 7206, 7233, *AE*, 1964, 183, and *CIL*, 10, 7237. See F. Sartori, “Le dodici tribù di Lilibeo”, *Kokalos*, t. 3, 1957, p. 38-60 and G. Barbieri, “Nuove iscrizioni di Marsala”, *Kokalos*, t. 7, 1961, p. 15-52 at p. 45-51.

91. *CIL*, 10, 7210, found at Mazara del Vallo; *CIL*, 10, 7399, cf. *ILMusTerm*, n° 91.

mention the *colonia*⁹². From Catina comes the only text pertaining to more than the mere erection of honours, a funerary altar of the first or second century AD, dedicated to the deceased as “*Ilvir(o) suffragiis popul(i) creato*”. Inevitably, there is no way of knowing whether this was an exceptional instance, or in fact a reflection of normal practice in the city⁹³.

The evidence for administrative personnel on the island is negligible. In addition to a funerary inscription from Messina for a *scriba publicus*⁹⁴, and a mosaic dedication from Lilybaeum by a “*serv(us) act(or) port(us) Lilybitni* [sic]”⁹⁵, several texts appear to record individuals designated as *tabularii*, although in what capacity is unclear⁹⁶. A bronze stamp from Syracuse appears to record a *viator*, and a lead weight from Camarina refers to the *agorachos* responsible for the weight⁹⁷. But not all these texts are certain, and there is no reason to assume that, e.g., a *tabularius* acted in a public capacity.

It is difficult to draw out many patterns from this material⁹⁸. The small clusters of coherent material are to be found in the *coloniae*; but this is in turn almost all limited to the *coloniae* of the north and west of the island. Interestingly perhaps, the majority of Augustan honorifics come from the *municipia*, several in an unusual format; the majority of the honorifics from the *coloniae* belong to the Severan period (as has been noted before). Although these clusters of material generally conform to types known from elsewhere, it is also apparent that there is a degree of local variation in formulae, titles, and possibly even institutional involvement. Local imitation, sometimes beyond the confines of the *colonia*, also seems to be detectable (as, e.g., at Soluntum). It is however impossible to say whether this reflects local administrative or institutional variation (with the obvious exception of the mysterious tribes of Lilybaeum): why did Panhormus honour emperors in the name of the *res publica*, but Tyndaris in the name of the *colonia*? Why does Panhormus alone produce a significant number of honorifics jointly from the people and the *decuriones*? Why instead do honorifics from Lilybaeum mostly occur *l(ocus) d(atus) d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)*, while at Thermae this formulation is most frequent in the realm of funerary honours? Is it legitimate to suggest, e.g., that

92. *CIL*, 10, 7131, “[*colonia L[...]*] [*...S*]yracusanor[um]”, and 10, 7132 “*Syracusae colonia Augusta*” (on which Mommsen commented “*Vereor ne subsit non fraus, sed error*”).

93. *IMusCat*, n° 17 (*CIL*, 10, 7023) with the comments of Korhonen *ad loc.*

94. *CIL*, 10, 6979, “*scriba publicus fidelissimus*”, etc.

95. *CIL*, 10, 7225.

96. At Catina, *IMusCat*, n° 38, “*Aug(usti) [lib(ertus)] tabul(arius)*”; at Syracuse, reported on a Greek *sigillum* (G. Manganaro, “La Sicilia [...]”, *art. cit.*, p. 38), and among the inscriptions on the seats of the amphitheatre (*CIL*, 10, 7130, n° 7, cf. G. Manganaro, “Iscrizioni latine [...]”, *art. cit.*, p. 185); and suggested as the resolution of a monogram on a fragment from Tyndaris (G. Manganaro, *ibid.*, p. 164, n° 17b, cf. *Id.*, “La Sicilia [...]”, *art. cit.*, p. 38, n. 180-1).

97. *Viator*: G. Manganaro, *Epigraphica*, t. 68, 2006, p. 29, n. 54. *Agorachos*: *SEG*, 50, 1008, dated AD 152-92.

98. For further observations on epigraphic patterns from this period, see G. Salmeri, “I caratteri della grecità [...]”, *art. cit.*, p. 281-286 and J.R.W. Prag, “Epigraphy by Numbers [...]”, *art. cit.*, p. 25, 27-30.

the *res publica* formulations are normally reserved for imperial honorifics (in both provinces)? Since almost all of the material is honorific, and mostly very formulaic, it is difficult to say much at all about actual administrative organization or practice. The occasional text provides a glimpse of electoral processes, of supervision by civic or provincial magistrates, and of concern for finance, but when these texts are so isolated it is very hard to know whether a norm or an exception is being presented, or why. The isolated Greek texts, not all of them late / from the fourth century, do not obviously reflect variation in institutions, but are, arguably, of more cultural and linguistic significance.

Overall, the very limited and uneven material to be found in these two provinces is disappointing for what it can tell us about institutional practice. Set beside material from elsewhere, one may hazard a guess about the significance of occasional texts that in their local isolation raise more questions than they answer (*e.g.* was duumviral election by the people the norm or not; was it standard for the provincial quaestor to decide how a municipal aedile spent his money?) – but comparisons from another province will always be open to challenge. For instance, how valid is it to compare the usage of with *res publica* between British *civitates/municipia* and *coloniae* and Sicilian *municipia* and *coloniae*? This problem becomes all the more apparent when we are presented by such a small sample, itself containing a significant number of unusual texts (such as those of the Sicilian *municipia*, or the British *vici*). Much of what is visible highlights instead the local and cultural variation, which has rightly come to be increasingly emphasized in studies of the imperial provinces. But nonetheless it is precisely the overarching frameworks of the Roman-inspired institutions which enable us to pick these out.

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Le quotidien municipal dans l'Occident romain constitue le bilan de cinq années de recherches internationales, coordonnées par Clara Berrendonner et Mireille Cèbeillac-Gervasoni, sur le fonctionnement des cités en Italie et dans les provinces occidentales de l'empire romain entre le II^e siècle av. J.-C. et le III^e siècle ap. J.-C. Une quarantaine de contributions et une chronique des débats permettent d'envisager plusieurs secteurs de la pratique municipale : procédures et personnels politiques et administratifs, gestion financière, liens avec les acteurs économiques, construction publique et évergétisme, célébration des notables, relations avec l'empereur, rapports avec les substrats indigènes. Ce colloque international fut co-organisé les 19-21 octobre 2007 à Clermont-Ferrand par l'UMR 8585 du CNRS et le Centre d'Histoire "Espaces et Cultures" de l'Université Blaise-Pascal, avec la collaboration de l'École française de Rome.



Presses Universitaires Blaise-Pascal

C o l l e c t i o n H i s t o i r e s c r o i s é e s

Ce colloque est dans la lignée d'une série de tables rondes et colloques qui s'inscrivent dans le programme EMIRE de l'UMR 8585 du CNRS ; tous ont été publiés dans des revues scientifiques prestigieuses ou dans des volumes dont on trouvera ci-dessous, pour les plus récents, les références :
Les élites de l'Italie péninsulaire de la mort de César à la mort de Domitien entre rupture et continuité. Classes sociales dirigeantes et pouvoir central (2000).
Les élites et leurs facettes. Les élites locales dans le monde hellénistique et romain (2003).
Autocélébration des élites locales dans le monde romain : contextes, images, textes (II^e s. av. J.-C. - III^e s. ap. J.-C.) (2004).



ISBN 9 782845 163850 / PRIX 55 €