

## LATIN INSCRIPTIONS FROM ACHAIA AND THE CYCLADES

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*CIL* III, which appeared at the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century, collected a good number of Latin inscriptions from Greece (which since 146 B. C. was officially called Achaia), and thus made possible the study of the impact of the Latin element in this Graeco-Roman province *par excellence*, and to a certain extent also its Romanisation.\* The only person who has dealt more extensively with this problem has been H. Mihăescu in a very recent series of articles, published in *Revue des études sud-est européennes* (from 9, 1971 on) and entitled: '*La diffusion de la langue Latine dans le sud-est de l'Europe*'. His approach was mainly confined to charting all the provenances of Latin inscriptions in this vast area, and thus to determine and better illuminate the boundary between the Greek and Latin speaking part of the empire. His work was, at least regarding Achaia, fairly superficial; moreover, he did not take into account the larger part of the discoveries made after the publication of *CIL* III.

The Latin inscriptions which have come to light in Greece and been published since Mommsen's time, are about as numerous as those already at our disposal in *CIL* III.<sup>1</sup> The majority come from places already known as strongly Romanised centres, like the two Roman colonies Patrae (with Dyme) and Corinth; further, a great number of them have been found in Athens, Delphi and Delos. From the indices of *CIL* III an impressive list can be compiled of sites yielding Latin inscriptions (although sometimes no more than one or two); among these are Taenarum, Tegea, Clitor, Cynaetha, Epidaurus, Megara, Eretria, Anthedon (in Boeotia), Lebadeia, Ptoion, Amphissa and Naupactus,<sup>2</sup> sites where one would hardly expect to come upon any vestige of Latin at all. That the occurrence of Latin inscriptions in these cities was indeed isolated, is confirmed by the fact that in this century no others have since been recovered from any of them. On the other hand Latin inscriptions occur in places where they had not been known previously. The purpose of the article is confined to selecting these new sites and commenting very briefly on the Latin inscriptions found there, mainly to draw attention to them, as some are



1 Latin inscriptions from Achaia and the Cyclades. — *Latinski napisi iz Ahaje in s Kikladov*

published in rather inaccessible journals or in the publications where one would not expect to look for them; only a small number have been reproduced in *L'année épigraphique*. Thus the picture given by *CIL* III and repeated by Mihăescu (who includes only a few additions) will be completed. The new sites are: in the Peloponnese, Aegium, Sicyon, Isthmia and Cenchreiae on the Corinthian *ager*, and Gytheim; in the rest of the province (I exclude Thessaly, as do the editors of *CIL* III, because for many centuries it was part of Macedonia and therefore somewhat more Latinised), Thespieae<sup>3</sup> and Aegina; from the Cyclades, Andros, Syros and Tenos.

In Aegium a short but important inscription was found, dating from ca. 74 B. C. (shortly after the *lex Plautia Papiria* accorded Roman citizenship to the Italians):

*Italicei | quei Aegei negotiantur | P. Rutilium P. f. Nudum | q(uaestorem).<sup>4</sup>*

This, the oldest Italian community hitherto attested in the Peloponnese, was conveniently situated on the route from Rome via Brundisium to Athens, from whose port at Piraeus other eastern cities were easily accessible. This line of communication was still well used by the *negotiores* in the 1<sup>st</sup> century B. C. — only towards the close of the Republic did their migration from Italy to the East gradually cease. Similar inscriptions attesting Republican *negotiores* come from Delos,<sup>5</sup> Ephesus<sup>6</sup> and Argos; the two from Argos are dated to the

years 69—67 B. C.<sup>7</sup> *Negotiatores* from Delos are known to have been installed on the island at least since the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century B. C., and after the decline of Delos they might have transferred their business to Argos.<sup>8</sup> One cannot estimate how old was the establishment of the *negotiatores* at Aegium but the fact that they still named themselves *Italici*, a title juridically no longer correct, doubtless points to a certain tradition.<sup>9</sup>

Since Aegium, which until 146 B. C. was the centre of the Achaean League, has always had a good harbour of great commercial potential, the presence of the *negotiatores* is by no means astonishing. P. Rutilius Nudus, the quaestor whom they honoured, was doubtless the same person who had held a naval command under the consul M. Aurelius Cotta at the battle of Chalcedon (in 74 or 73 B. C.) and might as such have been charged with a temporary mission in the northern Peloponnese.<sup>10</sup> The association perhaps hoped to have its services engaged.

In Sicyon three Latin inscriptions were discovered during the excavations of the city. The first is a dedication by Sulla of a statue of Mars, on a base found south of the sanctuary of Artemis.

*L. Cornelius L. f. Sulla imper(ator) Martei.*<sup>11</sup>

Sulla's inscription certainly dates from the time of his disastrous activity in Greece in 87—85 B. C., while he was engaged in the war against Mithradates; and it is very appropriately dedicated to Mars. It was at the end of this period that he assumed the title of *imperator*. It seems that Sicyon was forced to pay heavy taxes under Sulla.<sup>12</sup>

With its famous cultural past Sicyon was doubtless a popular place of call for numerous Romans who happened to be staying in Greece. Mark Antony's first wife Fulvia died in the city.<sup>13</sup> That at least a small Latin speaking community was actually resident in Sicyon,<sup>14</sup> is testified by the two following inscriptions, likewise found during the excavations.

*C. Iulio Aug(us)ti l(iberto) | Epagatho. Ithacus | amicus.*<sup>15</sup>

The inscription is Augustan or a little later. Epagathus was very probably charged with the management of some imperial property believed to have existed at Sicyon,<sup>16</sup> or else he was established in Sicyon on his own business, either in commerce, transport or agriculture.

The second is a tombstone of an apparently rich family.

*V(ivus) M. Calpetanus Co|rinthus sibi et Fulviae | Eutychidi uxori et Cal|petanis Ianuario et Ma|gna liberis et M. Pacuio | Euporo et libertis.*<sup>17</sup>

The inscription probably dates from the 2<sup>nd</sup> century A. D. A distinguished senatorial family of Calpetani is known in the first century A. D.;<sup>18</sup> it would be difficult, however, to say from which member M. Calpetanus Corinthus — or his ancestors — received the Roman citizenship. He might equally have been a freedman. Calpetanus is a very rare *nomen gentile* in the Roman empire, especially in the eastern provinces.<sup>19</sup> The *cognomen* Corinthus is likewise not frequent.<sup>20</sup>

Excavations at Isthmia and Cenchreiae after the publication of *CIL III* have yielded the first Latin inscriptions known from these sites. Since both

sites were in the territory of the colony of Corinth, they have produced a greater percentage of Latin inscriptions than it is usual in Roman Achaia. From Isthmia a total of ten Latin texts is known,<sup>21</sup> most of them very fragmentary. Of the only two which are preserved entirely one is a dedication from the base of a statue of Callicratea, priestess of *Providentia Aug(usta)* and *Salus publica*, the text almost identical to one already known from Corinth,<sup>22</sup> only the name of the dedicator differs — at Corinth the Corinthian tribe Agrippia, at Isthmia the tribe Claudia. Important also is a dedication *ex visu* to Hercules, the only epigraphic testimony for the worship of the hero at Isthmia and in Corinth.

*Hercul[i] | sacr(um) | ex visu.*<sup>23</sup>

It was perhaps set up by a traveller from the Latin speaking part of the empire, or by an inhabitant of colonial Corinth.

Of the two Latin tombstones found at Cenchreiae, the eastern port of Corinth, the first is a huge but extremely fragmentary inscription, tentatively ascribed to L. Castricius Regulus, a *II vir quinq.* from Corinth.<sup>24</sup> The other is the gravestone of a veteran of *legio II Adiutrix*.

*D. M. f(ecit) | v(ivus) M. Iulius M. f. | Aem(ilia | tribu) Crispus | veteranus | leg(ionis) II Adiu(tricis) sibi et | Iuliae Basilae | coiugi sue lib(eris)que suis | libertis liberte|sque suis F.? f(aciundum) c(uravit).*<sup>25</sup>

As the Aemilia was the tribus of Corinth, it is very probable that M. Iulius Crispus retired to his native city. He is the only certainly attested veteran from Corinth. The inscription should probably be dated to the early 2<sup>nd</sup> century A. D. (at the turn of the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> century the legion was stationed in Upper Moesia, later in Aquincum, Pannonia), but certainly not much earlier, as the legion was only raised by Vespasian, who recruited it from former sailors during the civil war in A. D. 69.<sup>26</sup>

In Gytheum a marble statue-base with a bilingual dedication has been unearthed, set up by *cives Romani* to C. Iulius Eurycles.<sup>27</sup>

*C. Iulium Lacharis f. Euruclem | cives Romani in Laconica | qui habitant, negotiantur | benefici ergo | Γάϊον Ἰούλιον Λαχάρους | υἱὸν Εὐρυκλέα Ῥωμαῖοι | οἱ ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν τῆς | Λακωνικῆς πραγματευόμενοι τὸν αὐτῶν εὐεργέτην.*

The dedication not only attests the existence of a community of Roman citizens in Gytheum, an important commercial centre and Sparta's harbour (though an independent *polis*) to which Romans had been attracted already in the age of the Republic,<sup>27a</sup> but also of similar communities in other Laconian cities. The existence of such a community in Boiae (modern Neapolis) has been confirmed by a recent epigraphic discovery in the modern town.<sup>28</sup>

*Ἄ πόλις καὶ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι | Γάϊον Ἰούλιον Εὐρυκλῆ Λαχάρους υἱὸν τὸν αὐτῶν σωτῆρα | καὶ εὐεργέταν.*

Boiae was one of the richest *poleis* of the Eleutherolacones; the city's prosperity lay mostly in iron mining and quarrying on Mount Alike. It was not previously known who invested the capital necessary for the exploitation of



these natural resources;<sup>29</sup> it is not astonishing to find that the capital was probably Italian. There are numerous dedications to the Spartan dynast C. Iulius Eurycles in Greece, and especially in Laconia,<sup>30</sup> but it is interesting to note that in both the inscriptions just mentioned he is honoured by *cives Romani*: at Gytheum by the latter only, and at Boiae by both the city and the Ῥωμαῖοι. Eurycles, himself greatly favoured by Augustus, encouraged in his turn the Romans who were resident in Laconia and whose benefactor he is affirmed to have been.

No other organised Roman communities are attested in Laconia<sup>31</sup> but they are known in a few other cities in the Peloponnese under the empire. Similar communities are very often recorded in other eastern Greek cities especially during the 1<sup>st</sup> century B. C. It would perhaps be useful to list here other such groups at present attested in Achaia, as some of them could not appear yet in Hatzfeld's study.<sup>32</sup> At Pellene (in Achaia) a statue was set up by ἡ πόλις τῶν Πελληγνέων καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι οἱ κατοικοῦντες<sup>33</sup> of their benefactor (τὸν ἐκ προγόνων εὖεργέτην) P. Caninius Agrippa, procurator of Achaia under Augustus, and doubtless the same as the homonymous *II vir quinq.* of Corinth.<sup>34</sup> It is noteworthy that Augustus employed people whose ancestors were Greek, as were those of Caninius, to serve in the higher provincial administration. At Elis the city and the resident Romans (ἡ πόλις ἡ τῶν Ἡλείων καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι οἱ ἐνγαρϋντες),<sup>35</sup> who had been installed there at least since the time of Cicero and had founded an association for land transport,<sup>36</sup> honoured P. Alfius Primus, a proconsular legate in Achaia, probably under Augustus.<sup>37</sup> In the Peloponnese such communities also flourished during the early imperial period, a prospering not so usual in other E. Mediterranean provinces.<sup>38</sup> At Argos two inscriptions attest that Italians, and later Romans, were present in the city as an organised body since the republican period.<sup>39</sup> At Mantinea the city and Ῥωμαῖοι οἱ πραγματευόμενοι ἐν αὐτῇ<sup>40</sup> honoured a couple who had embellished the local agora at their own expense. Roman communities are further known to have been established at Megalopolis<sup>41</sup> and at Messene (Ῥωμαῖους τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ κατοικοῦντας)<sup>42</sup> where they are likewise known from several other inscriptions already under the Republic.<sup>43</sup>

In the immediate environs of Thespieae, at *Kopai*, a bilingual tombstone was found.<sup>44</sup>

#### C. Varius | Stratullus | Γ.Οὐάριος | Στράτυλλος

Varius is not an uncommon *nomen gentile* among the Romans who resided in the Greek East.<sup>45</sup> His *cognomen*, however, indicates that he was a Greek who had acquired the Roman citizenship, his ancestors having been either of a low origin, perhaps *liberti*, or else he belonged to a distinguished family whose sympathies were on the side of the Romans. They had been established at Thespieae since the 1<sup>st</sup> century B. C.<sup>45a</sup> It is interesting that this was the only other Roman community, hitherto attested in the province of Achaia outside the Peloponnese under the principate. Ῥωμαῖοι οἱ πραγματευόμενοι ἐν Θεσπιάεις erected a statue of their local benefactor Polycratides, son of Anthemio, a member of the outstanding family of Roman Thespieae on whose descendants the Roman citizenship was bestowed later in the Flavian era.<sup>46</sup> Members of

the senatorial family of the Statilii, too, had had connections with the city.<sup>47</sup> Thespieae and Tanagra were, according to Strabo, the most prospering Boeotian cities in the imperial period, a fact which was at least partly due to their pro-Roman policy and confirmed by the epigraphical and archeological evidence.<sup>48</sup> Thespieae had the advantage both of its harbour Creusae and its commercially favourable position on an important road across Boeotia, as well as of its two well known festivals Museia and Erotideia.

The majority of inscriptions in which Roman communities are mentioned, if not all, are dated to the 1<sup>st</sup> century A. D. This must certainly be connected with the revival of Greece's economy under the Augustan principate, a revival which lasted, on the whole, throughout the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> centuries A. D., and notably under the Antonines. Boeotia, Corinthia and Sicyonia, Achaia, Elis, Laconia and especially the Argolid have always been fertile rural districts. In the immediate neighbourhood of Gytheum a large number of Roman villas have been noted.<sup>49</sup> Arcadia was famous for its cattle and horse breeding, and its timber industry. To this the textile industry (mostly in Elis and Achaia) should be added, as well as marble mining and the purple trade (in Laconia), and commerce.<sup>50</sup>

Latin inscriptions appear sporadically, as we have seen, in the neighbourhood of the Romanised centres, usually along the important highways. Republican Italian *negotiatores* are epigraphically recorded (almost always on Latin or bilingual inscriptions),<sup>51</sup> mostly in the well known places, such as Aegium, Argos, Delos. The imperial Roman communities, on the other hand, can be found in many prospering but small cities in the Peloponnese, but outside the latter only in Thespieae. Clearly the Romans had settled in economically flourishing areas. It is interesting to observe that the language they used on the inscriptions is almost always only Greek. The patrons whom they honoured, sometimes doing so together with the city in which they were established, were mostly members of the local upper classes and representatives of the Roman government. The latter were occasionally, as in the case of P. Caninius Agrippa, of Greek origin: that is, they were people with their roots in Greece, who could therefore be of much greater assistance to the Roman residents than the high officials present in Greece for only a brief term of office. It would be instructive to know at least the approximate period of duration of these communities, but the evidence is not conclusive. There is one clue however: all the relevant inscriptions come from the 1<sup>st</sup> century A. D., and a large number of these, moreover, from its first half. Did the communities continue at all into the 3<sup>rd</sup> century? As organised units surely they did not survive the beginning of general economic decline and increasing interchange of people from different parts of the empire on the one hand, as well (especially after the *constitutio Antoniniana*), as the diminished importance of one's origin on the other. Assimilation with the local inhabitants (shown already by the use of Greek in the inscriptions) was thus inevitable.

On some of the islands Latin inscriptions have only been found after the publication of *CIL* III. Those from Syros had been published by Stephanos as early as 1875,<sup>52</sup> but were overlooked by the editors of *CIL* III and therefore lost for scholarship until their later inclusion in *IG* XII 5.

A fragmentary *mensa ponderaria* was recently found on Aegina, not far from the ruins of the sanctuary of Apollo. The Latin inscription it bears, the only one so far discovered on the island, is dated to the 1<sup>st</sup> century B. C.<sup>53</sup>

*L.Cocceius L.f.L[e]m(onia) Piso cur(ator) cor[p(or)]is] O. I[— —]*

The provenance of the inscription is not entirely assured; although it was found in the town of Aegina it might possibly originate from Delos, where similar societies are epigraphically very well documented. The transportation of the inscribed blocks and other antiquities from the island has already been noted.<sup>54</sup> The association of which L. Cocceius Piso was the *curator* was possibly that of *olearii*.<sup>55</sup> Aegina would have been certainly an extremely suitable place for the base of an Italian commercial society. It was still a living city even during the principate;<sup>56</sup> not only was the island fertile but also it possessed two good harbours and easy accessibility from both Athens and the Argolid. Having been bought by Attalos I., it belonged administratively to Asia for a while.<sup>57</sup> The commercial connections of the *gens* Cocceia with the Greek East are here recorded for the first time.

Two Latin inscriptions have been discovered on Andros. One is on a square marble column from Gaurion, its poor Latin the result of its composition by a Greek with only a limited knowledge of that language; it is dated by Sauciuc to the beginning of the period of Roman rule on Andros (end of 2<sup>nd</sup> century B. C.).<sup>58</sup>

DIOGENHS PISCINAM  
BETEREM NOBAM  
[F]HCIT TOTAN

It is unusual that the text is not in Greek; the motive for use of the Latin can perhaps be explained by prestige reasons.

The other is an interesting inscription from Paleopolis, dated to a year between A. D. 198 and 209, most probably 202.<sup>59</sup>

*Pro salute imp. Caesari (sic) | L. Septimi Severi et M. Aur. Antonini | Aug-  
g(ustorum) et P. Septimi Gaetae Caesari (sic) | M. Aur. Rufinus evocatus  
Augg(ustorum) nn(ostrorum) | sancto deo invicto speleum constituit cum  
| mil(itibus) pr(aetorianis) Fl(avio) Clarino, Ael(io) Messio, Aur. Iuliano.*

It seems that M. Aurelius Rufinus is the same person as the homonymous praetorian from Bizye in Thrace, mentioned on an inscription from Rome,<sup>60</sup> although the name is frequent. After ending his campaign against the Parthians early in A. D. 202, Septimius Severus may have stopped on Andros for a few days on his way back to Italy. It is not certain whether the praetorian unit was detached to Andros to protect the harbour for a longer time, or whether it only accompanied the emperor and his suite. Monuments of the Mithraic cult, which was especially popular under the Severi, are very rare in Achaia, being known only from Patrae, Eleusis, Athens and the Argolid.<sup>61</sup> This inscription is the only evidence for the connection of the cult with Andros.

Four Latin inscriptions have been found on Syros. One bears only the two names — probably of casual travellers — together with a few Latin words (among many more Greek graffiti), and is inscribed on the rocks of

the promontory in the small port Τῶν Γεγραμμάτων situated on the island's western coast.<sup>62</sup>

*L.Vettius Mella* | vac. *ℓ. J. III*

*Phi*[*l*]eros | — *i*[*a*]el.

[*I*]mper[*a*]tor *v* [— —] incerta.

Another is a fragment of a tombstone:<sup>63</sup>

[— —] *Sabino* [— —] | [— —] *faciend*]um cu[*ravit* — —] | [- - Σα]βεινω [- -] |  
| [- - ἐπε] μὲλ' ἡθ' [- -]

The third inscription is more substantial, and is dated approximately to the beginning of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century A. D.<sup>64</sup>

*Claudius Secundus viator* | *tribunicius* | *templum Isidis cum omni ornatu* |  
*sua pecunia* | *fecit*.

The function of *Claudius Secundus* seems to have been that of a messenger of a member of the imperial family, or perhaps of the *princeps* himself, who possessed the *tribunicia potestas*.<sup>65</sup> The same man, who was doubtless a freedman (such is the usual origin of the *viatores*), was probably honoured in an inscription from Ephesus.<sup>66</sup> The cult of Isis was widespread all over the Greek world.<sup>67</sup>

The fourth inscription is a tombstone of a Roman who had died on the island.

*Dis manibus* | *Mario Severo* | *Potiolano*.<sup>68</sup>

The remaining three inscriptions, all bilingual, come from Tenos, and confirm the attachment of the island to the province of Asia, a fact which had earlier been disputed.<sup>69</sup> The name of P. Servilius Isauricus, the proconsul of Asia in 46 B. C., is preserved on two identical bases, adorned with reliefs, which had both been restored by him.<sup>70</sup> The third inscription mentions a hitherto unattested function of a *praef(ectus) tesserar(iarum) nav(ium)*.<sup>71</sup>

*C. Julius Naso* | *praef(ectus) tesserar(iarum) in Asia nav(ium)* |

Γάιος Ἰούλιος Νάσων ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν τεσσαραίων ἐν Ἀσίᾳ πλοίων.

It dates from the time of Caesar or Augustus. The *naves tesserariae* were probably at the disposal of governors and other Roman provincial officials for any official transport and dispatches, especially the transport of post.

Latin inscriptions thus appear in greater number than expected also on the islands, which all doubtless had good communications both with each other and with the mainland, whether Greece or Asia. In antiquity sea traffic with its many advantages played a far greater role than land transport.

\* I am very grateful to A. Spawforth for his suggestions and critical remarks.

<sup>1</sup> They will be perhaps republished as a separate volume in a few years time.

<sup>2</sup> Th. Mommsen, *CIL* III, Suppl. IV Conspectus operis XLVI—XLVII.

<sup>3</sup> It could be argued that *CIL* III 7301, its provenance given as Thebes, very likely originated from Thespieae, for



which cf. *IG VII* 1. 1854 and J. Hatzfeld, *Les trafiquants italiens dans l'Orient hellénique*, *Bibl. Ec. Fr. Ath. et Rome* 115 (1919) 68—69; also L. Robert, *Hellenica* 2 (1946) 8.

<sup>4</sup> J. Bingen, *BCH* 78 (1954) 82—5, phot. 83 fig. 3; D. v. Berchem, 'Les Italiens d'Argos. Un post-scriptum', *BCH* 87 (1963) 322—4; *L'année épigraphique* (-AE) 1954. 31. Degraffi, *ILLR* 370.

<sup>5</sup> For the *negotiatores* see generally A. Wilson, *Emigration from Italy in the Republican Age of Rome* (New York 1966). *CIL* I<sup>2</sup> 714; 830 and 831 probably 2<sup>nd</sup> century B. C.; republished in *Inscriptions de Délos* 1694; 1695—7; 1620; 1698.

<sup>6</sup> *CIL* III 14195, 39: 1<sup>st</sup> century B. C.

<sup>7</sup> *CIL* I<sup>2</sup> 746; 747.

<sup>8</sup> D. v. Berchem, 'Les Italiens d'Argos et le déclin de Délos', *BCH* 86 (1962) 312.

<sup>9</sup> The same point is used by v. Berchem for the Argive *negotiatores*, *ibid.* 306.

<sup>10</sup> Bingen, *ibid.* 85.

<sup>11</sup> A. Orlandos, Πρακτικά Ἀρχ. Ἐταιρ. (1938) 121, phot. 2; P. Lemerle, *BCH* 62 (1938) 459; *AE* 1939. 42. *CIL* I<sup>2</sup> 2828; Degraffi *ILLR* 224.

<sup>12</sup> *Plin. n. h.* 35.127; Lippold, *RE* 2 A (1923) 2543 s. v. Sikyon.

<sup>13</sup> *App. b. c.* 5.55; *Dio* 48.28 — Xiphilin. 58.13.14; *Plut. Ant.* 30.

<sup>14</sup> For the connection of the Avianii with Sicyon see E. Rawson, *PBSR* 43 (1975) 36 and n. 5.

<sup>15</sup> A. Arvanitopoulos, Πρακτικά Ἀρχ. Ἐταιρ. (1908) 147 n. 5.

<sup>16</sup> U. Kahrstedt, *Das wirtschaftliche Gesicht Griechenlands in der Kaiserzeit*, *Diss. Bernenses* I 7 (1954) 40—41; see also Hatzfeld, *o. c.* 74.

<sup>17</sup> Said to be published in Πρακτικά Ἀρχ. Ἐταιρ. but I failed to find the reference. Now at the museum, inv. n. 972.

<sup>18</sup> *PIR*<sup>2</sup> C 235, 236.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. *ILS*, indexes.

<sup>20</sup> P. A. Clement, in: *Tribute to B. D. Meritt* (1974) 37 n. 8; A. Spawforth, *GRBS* 15 (1974) 299.

<sup>21</sup> To be published in a forthcoming article probably in *Arheološki vestnik* 29 (1978). Cf. *AE* 1971. 440—2.

<sup>22</sup> A. B. West, *Corinth VIII* 2.110.

<sup>23</sup> O. Broneer, *Hesperia* 27 (1958) 23 n. 4, Pl. 9 e.

<sup>24</sup> W. Willson Cummer, *Hesperia* 40 (1971) 220—3, Pl. 43, publishes only some of the total of 41 marble fragments be-

longing to this remarkable inscription from the Roman tomb at Cenchreiae.

<sup>25</sup> S. I. Haritonidis, Ἀρχαιολογική Ἐφημερίς (1952) 205—7, phot.; *AE* 1957. 22.

<sup>26</sup> E. Ritterling, *RE* 12.2 (1925) 1437 ff s. v. Legio.

<sup>27</sup> S. B. Kougeas, Ἑλληνικά 1 (1928) 8—16, phot. 2; E. Kornemann, 'Neue Dokumente z. Lakon. Kaiserkult', *Abh. d. Schlesischen Gesell. für vaterländische Cultur Geisteswiss.*, R. I. Breslau (1929) 5—6, Pl. 1; V. Ehrenberg, A. H. M. Jones, *Documents illustr. the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius* (1955<sup>2</sup>) n. 350; *SEG* 11.924; cf. A. Arvanitopoulos, *Polemon* 1 (1929) 39.

<sup>27a</sup> Hatzfeld, *o. c.* 80 ff.

<sup>28</sup> J.-P. Michaud, 'Chronique', *BCH* 95 (1971) 888.

<sup>29</sup> Kahrstedt, *o. c.* 212—3.

<sup>30</sup> G. W. Bowersock, *Augustus and the Greek World*, Oxford (1965) 91—2.

<sup>31</sup> They may also have been in some of the other cities of Roman Greece; for Sparta cf. *IG V* 1.741.

<sup>32</sup> Hatzfeld, *o. c.* 148 ff.

<sup>33</sup> A. Orlandos, Πρακτικά Ἀρχ. Ἐταιρ. (1931) 80, phot. 81; *AE* 1934. 163.

<sup>34</sup> E. Groag, *Die römischen Reichsbeamten von Achaia bis auf Diokletian*, *Schr. der Balkankommission*, ant. Abt. 9 (1939) 139—40.

<sup>35</sup> *Inscr. Olymp.* 335.

<sup>36</sup> Hatzfeld, *o. c.* 149.

<sup>37</sup> Groag, *o. c.* 99.

<sup>38</sup> Hatzfeld, *o. c.* 149.

<sup>39</sup> *IG IV* 605, 606; Hatzfeld, *o. c.* 149.

<sup>40</sup> *IG V* 2.268 — *SEG* 3.783; Hatzfeld, *o. c.* 150.

<sup>41</sup> Hatzfeld, *o. c.* 150.

<sup>42</sup> *SEG* 23.207, l. 7.

<sup>43</sup> Cf. for example *IG V* 1.1434; cf. Hatzfeld, *o. c.* 79; also Kahrstedt, *o. c.* 220.

<sup>44</sup> T. G. Spyropoulos, Ἀρχ. Δελφῶν 25 (1970) B 1 228; J.-P. Michaud, 'Chronique', *BCH* 96 (1972) 708.

<sup>45</sup> Cf. Hatzfeld, *o. c.* (index) 406. For the *cognomen* cf. W. Pape, G. Benseler, *Wörterbuch d. griechischen Eigennamen II* (1959<sup>3</sup>) 1447.

<sup>45a</sup> *IG VII* 1862; *Cic. ad Fam.* 13.221.1; Hatzfeld, *o. c.* 68 ff.

<sup>46</sup> P. Jamot, *BCH* 26 (1902) 297 n. 16; *AE* 1908. 55; for the date see C. P. Jones, 'A Leading Family of Roman Thespieae', *HSCP* 74 (1970) 227; cf. also Hatzfeld, *o. c.* 68, who has dated the inscription to

the middle of the 1st century B. C. Cf. L. Robert, *Bull. ép.* 1971. 341.

<sup>47</sup> Jamot, *l. c.* 291 n. 1; Jones, *l. c.* 227 n. 6, where T. Statilius Taurus is honoured by the member of the same Thespian family which was in turn honoured by the 'Πρωτοί'; *CIL* III 7301, where liberti of Statili ar mentioned. Cf. n. 3.

<sup>48</sup> Strab. 9.2.25 (403); Kahrstedt, *o. c.* 78, 81.

<sup>49</sup> See the map published by Kahrstedt, *o. c.*

<sup>50</sup> J. A. O. Larsen, 'Roman Greece' in: *An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome*, vol. 4 (1959, ed. by T. Frank) 483 ff; Kahrstedt, *o. c.* 203 ff (for Laconia) 128 ff (Arcadia), 242 ff (Elis).

<sup>51</sup> *Inscr. Délos* 1727 may be a possible exception, but the inscription is very fragmentary.

<sup>52</sup> K. Stephanos 'Επιγραφαί τῆς νήσου Σάμου (1875).

<sup>53</sup> G. Manganaro, *Annuario Atene* n. s. 21/2 (1959/60) 427—8, phot. 3—4.

<sup>54</sup> Manganaro, *ibid.* 428 n. 5.

<sup>55</sup> In comparison with the inscriptions from Delos: *Inscr. Délos* 1712 — *CIL* III 14203,6.

<sup>56</sup> Paus. 29.6; 30.11 ff.

<sup>57</sup> D. Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor*, Princeton (1950) 155, 744, 971.

<sup>58</sup> T. Sauciuc, *Andros — Untersuchungen zur Gesch. u. Topographie der Insel*, Sonderschr. d. OeAI 8 (1914) 145 n. 2; *IG* XII suppl. 290; D. Pashalis, 'H Άνδρος 535 n. 111; T. Reinach, *Rev. épigr.* 2 (1914) 343.

<sup>59</sup> T. Sauciuc, *Röm. Mitt.* 25 (1910) 263—272, phot.; *Id.*, *o. c.* 94; *AE* 1911. 56; U. Antonielli, *Bull. comm. arch. commun.* 40 (1912) 243 ff; F. Cumont, *Die Mysterien des Mithra* (1933<sup>4</sup>) 229; M. Durry, *Les cohortes prétorienne*, Paris (1938)

342; *IG* XII suppl. 274; D. Pashalis, *o. c.* 549 n. 153.

<sup>60</sup> *CIL* VI 32640 l. 25.

<sup>61</sup> *CIMRM* (Vermaseren) 2346—2353.

<sup>62</sup> *IG* XII 5.712 (3, 4, 45, 49); Stephanos, *o. c.* 74 n. 3, 4; 83, n. 45, 49.

<sup>63</sup> Stephanos, *o. c.* 61 n. 34; *IG* XII 5.700.

<sup>64</sup> *IG* XII 5, p. 191; Stephanos, *o. c.* 42 n. 11. Vidman, *SIRIS* 155.

<sup>65</sup> C. Habicht, *RE* 8 A 2 (1958) 1929 s. v. Viator; Secundus perhaps accompanied Hadrian on his journeys: cf. for example *IG* XII 5.675.

<sup>66</sup> *CIL* III 12254 (— 6078): *Ti. Claudio | Secundo | viatori tribunic(io) | accenso velato, licito/ri curiato, gerusia -h[ol]/noris causa sua | [pec(unia)]*. Follows the Greek translation.

<sup>67</sup> W. H. Roscher, *Ausführliches Lexikon der griech. u. röm. Mythologie* 2 (1890—94) 382, where viator is wrongly attributed to Claudius Secundus as his cognomen; see as last F. Dunand, *Le culte d'Isis dans le bassin oriental de la Méditerranée* II, *Etudes prélim.* 26 (1973).

<sup>68</sup> Stephanos, *o. c.* 60 n. 33; *IG* XII 5, p. 195 ad n. 700.

<sup>69</sup> In general outline assigned to Achaia by J. Keil, The Greek provinces, *CAH* 14 (1954<sup>2</sup>) 556; E. de Ruggiero, *Diz. epigr.* s. v. Achaia (1895) 26; further V. Chapot, *La province rom. procons. d'Asie*, Paris (1904) 83 and n. 3; 319 n. 1; to Asia Hiller v. Gaertringen, *JÖAI* 4 (1901) 167; Dittenberg, *OGIS* 2.463; Groag, *o. c.* 111—2.

<sup>70</sup> P. Graindor, *Musée Belge* 10 (1906) 339 n. 7; *AE* 1907.204; *IG* XII 5.917, phot.

<sup>71</sup> O. Hirschfeld, *JÖAI* 5 (1902) 149—51; *AE* 1902, 165; *IG* XII 5.941.

## LATINSKI NAPISI IZ AHAJE IN S KIKLADOV

### Povzetek

Več zvezkov Korpusa *Inscriptionum Latinarum* III, ki so izšli na začetku tega stoletja, je prineslo razmeroma veliko število latinskih napisov iz Grčije, kar je šele prav omogočilo študij latinskega elementa v rimski provinci Ahaji in do neke meje tudi njene romanizacije. Edini, ki se je v zadnjem času delno dotaknil tega problema, je bil Mihăescu, vendar ni k problematiki rimske Grčije doprinesel ničesar novega, kajti kasnejšega gradiva, čisto raztresenega v precej nedostopnih grških revijah, večinoma ni upošteval. Od izida *CIL* III do danes je bilo objavljenih nekako prav toliko novih latinskih napisov, kolikor jih je uspelo zbrati izdajateljem Korpusa. Mommsenov seznam najdišč latinskih napisov je nepričakovano obsežen, dasi so med kraji tudi taki, kjer sta bila najdena le eden ali dva. Kljub

temu pa jih je med novimi najdišči nekaj, kjer so bili prej znani le grški napisi — in prav te obravnava pričujoči sestavek. Gre v glavnem za kraje na Peloponezu: Aegium, Sicyon, Isthmus in Cenchreiae na korintskem teritoriju in Gytheum; sicer še Thespieae, Aegina, Andros in Syros.

V Aegiu so pred leti našli zanimiv napis iz 1. st. pr. Kr. (op. 3), ki so ga dali postaviti v mestu naseljeni italški trgovci v čast P. Rutilia Nuda (*P. Rutilius Nudus*), poveljnika rimske mornarice l. 74, ki mu je bila verjetno poverjena začasna vojaška misija na severnem Peloponezu, pri kateri so si Italiki obetali dobiček. Podobna trgovska združenja Italikov so dokumentirana tudi v Argosu, na Delosu in v Efezu (op. 4). Iz Sicyona so znani trije latinski napisi, od katerih je poleg Sullove dedikacije Marsu (op. 6) zlasti važen avgustejski napis vladarskega osvobodjenca C. Iulia Epagatha (op. 9, *C. Iulius Epagathus*), ki je bil zelo verjetno zadolžen za imperialno lastnino, ki je v Sicyonu izpričana še iz drugih virov.

Med napisi z Isthma in iz Cenchreiae ni nobeden historično posebej ilustrativen, omembe vredno je le posvetilo Herkulu *ex visu* (op. 17) in nagrobnik veterana legije II. *Adiutrix* (op. 19). Pač pa je zelo zanimiv napis iz Gythea (*Gytheum*), ki so ga dali postaviti skupaj s kipom C. Iuliu Euryklu (*C. Iulius Eurycles*) *cives Romani*, ki prebivajo v Lakoniji (op. 21). Napis ni le dokaz za rimsko manjšino v Gytheu, največjem špartanskem pristanišču in pomembnem trgovskem centru, ampak tudi v drugih lakonskih mestih. To je potrdil pred kratkim objavljeni napis iz Boiae (Neapolis), ki ga je skupnost Rimljanov (*Ἀ πό λ ι ε ς καὶ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι*) postavila v čast istemu Euryklu (op. 22), zloglasnemu špartanskemu dinastu, ki je v času Avgusta vladal ne le nad špartansko *polis*, temveč je imel v finančni oblasti malodane celo Lakonijo. Čeprav lahko pričakujemo podobne napise tudi v drugih mestecih južnega Peloponeza, ni naključje, da se je napis ohranil prav v Boiah, ki so bile v zvezi Eleutherolakonov (*Eleutherolacones*) ekonomsko najmočnejše, zahvaljujoč predvsem rudnikom železa in kamnolomom na gori Alike.

Podobnih skupnosti rimskih državljanov v Lakoniji ne poznamo več, pač pa vemo, da so bile v nekaterih drugih mestecih Ahaje. V Pellenah so *polis* in Rimjani postavili zahvalni napis (op. 25) P. Kaniniju Agripi (*P. Caninius Agrippa*), prokuratorju Ahaje pod Avgustom. Na podobne napise naletimo v Elis (op. 28), Mantineji (op. 33), Megalopolisu (op. 34), Messenah (op. 35) in Argosu (op. 32), kjer se dá lepo zasledovati kontinuiteta sprva italskega (za časa republike), kasneje, v imperialnem obdobju, pa rimskega elementa. Iz ostale province so *Ῥωμαῖοι οἱ πραγματευόμενοι* (tak je njihov običajni naziv), dalje evidentirani le še v Thespijah (op. 38). Da je mesto aktivno živelo celo v začetku principata, ko je cela Grčija, popolnoma izčrpana od državljanskih vojn, kazala nasplošno kaj žalosten obraz, priča Strabon (op. 39), ki jo omenja poleg Tanagre kot najpomembnejše beotsko mesto; njegovo poročilo pa potrjujejo tako epigrafska kot arheološka evidenca. Od tod izvira tudi dvojezični nagrobnik (op. 36).

Večino napisov, kjer se omenjajo skupnosti rimskih državljanov, če ne vse, je treba datirati v 1. st. po Kr. Njihov nastanek lahko povežemo z razmeroma močnim ekonomskim razcvetom v Grčiji, ki se je začel pod Avgustom, in se je ohranil več ali manj skozi obe stoletji po Kr. V naštetih primerih gre za centre rodovitnih področij, kjer je bila poleg poljedelstva razvita še tekstilna industrija (v Elis in pokrajini Ahaji); v Arkadiji živinoreja in gozdarstvo, v Lakoniji znamenito pridobivanje purpurnega barvila in kamnolomi marmorja, k vsemu je treba prišteti še kot važen vir dohodka zlasti trgovino. Kljub relativni ekonomski in politični nepomembnosti, gledano s stališča celega imperija, je provinca Ahaja nudila rimskim manjšinam dovolj dobro ekonomsko osnovo za njihov uspešen razvoj. Zanimivo je, da v teh krajih večinoma ni bilo najdenih latinskih napisov, kar se da verjetno razložiti le z razmeroma hitro asimilacijo z lokalnim, kulturno morda višje razvitim prebivalstvom. Kar zadeva življenjsko dobo obstoja teh skupnosti, razpoložljiva evidenca ne dopušča konkretnjših zaključkov, vendar vse kaže, da niso preživele splošne ekonomske krize 3. stoletja po Kr., pa tudi ne vse večjega mešanja prebivalstva iz raznih delov imperija in s tem združeno naraščajočo nepomembnost posameznikovega etničnega in socialnega izvora.

Latinski napisi so bili v novejšem času odkriti tudi na nekaterih otokih, tako republikanski napis na kamenitem modelu za utežne mere (*mensa ponderaria*) na

Aegini (op. 43), ki po vsej verjetnosti omenja združenje trgovcev z oljem, ki je bilo doslej znano iz Ahaje le na Delosu. Dalje dva napisa z Androsa, od katerih je zlasti važen drugi (op. 49). Gre za posvetilo Mitri, ki ga je dal *pro salute* Septimija Severa, Karakale in Gete postaviti skupaj s podzemnim svetiščem preto-rijanec M. Aurelius Rufinus. Morda se je Septimij Sever ustavil za krajši čas na otoku, ko se je vračal z zaključene kampanje proti Partom l. 202 v Italijo. S Syrosa so znani štirje latinski napisi (op. 52, 53, 54, 58), s Tenosa pa trije, vendar prav ti kažejo, da otok ni pripadal Ahaji, kar bi bilo sicer z geografskega stališča mnogo bolj razumljivo, in kar je bilo doslej precej ustaljeno mnenje, temveč provinci Aziji (op. 59).