Resta, viator, et lege: thoughts on the epigraphic habit

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Introduction

It is well known that the emergence of writing is important for the development of societies. The written word, the codification of laws, land registers, censuses, and the recording of rituals and' history provide obvious cases emphasizing the difference with customary or oral traditions; writing also allows for record-keeping which stimulates economy and state bureaucracies (in general, cf. Goody 1986). The immense archives of papyri and ostraka in the Fayum, or the Vindolanda writing tablets are just two examples that highlight the extent of literacy and record keeping in the Roman empire. Notwithstanding these examples, for most communities of the Roman empire inscriptions on stone and marble remain our only source of evidence. As dedications and epitaphs are commemorations for posterity, they furnish a very different kind of source. It seems tempting to use the term 'ritual' in order to describe the high degree of standardization of Latin epigraphy, especially in urban centres. Indeed, with regard to Etruscan epigraphy, John Wilkins (1995) has argued for a ritual dimension to inscriptions where writing need not communicate to an audience or convey a meaningful message, where inscriptions might not always have been accessible. However, this was not the case in the Roman empire where inscriptions were an important medium intended to be seen and to communicate.

As evidence of changing cultural practices, there is the ubiquity of Latin epigraphy in the Roman west. This is a phenomenon which needs to be explained if we are to understand the nature of Latin epigraphy. As will be shown, it is an oversimplification to suggest that Latin inscriptions merely reflect the culture of 'colonists', i.e. of people of Italian descent who settle in conquered territories? We need to take into consideration that Italy itself was multilingual and multicultural, incorporating so-called Samnites and Latins, Gauls and Greeks as reflected by the various writing systems which were developed there from the 7th century BC. Consequently, our starting point has to be the question when and why it was *Latin* epigraphy - and not Etruscan, Greek or Gallic - that became commonplace throughout Italy and Rome's western empire? This change to Latin must be correlated with other developments, such as changes in material culture, settlement pattern and the evolution of an imperial ideology.

To a certain degree, we witness parallel developments in different regions of Italy. Leaving aside some singular incidents, the widespread adoption of Latin takes place in Campania, Lucania, Etruria, and Cisalpine Gaul during the 1st century BC (cf. Torelli 1996; Coarelli 1996), but at the same time the epigraphic habit changes and one can recognize an increase in the number of inscriptions in this period throughout the empire (MacMullen 1982). I largely aim at focusing on the case of northwest Italy (Fig. 1) because it provides well-defined phases of this process. The *municipium* of Vercellae – situated between Milan and Turin – is a type-site because it originates from a significant 'indigenous' La Tène settlement and is the site of a bilingual Gallo-Latin inscription, whilst from the Principate onwards, the epigraphic record leaves

Figure 1 Map of locations in north west Italy

hardly any trace of 'indigenous' onomastics there. As standardization prevails in Latin epigraphy, can inscriptions be seen as evidence of 'ethnic' or 'cultural' identity? Is it fair to say that Latin epigraphy simply reflects a colonialist's culture?

Alternatives to Latin Epigraphy

It has been argued that the 'boom' of Latin inscriptions in the early Principate reflects the uncertainties provided by the socioeconomic possibilities of the early Empire. In this view, inscriptions can be seen as providing a 'medium' to address social uncertainties - and with Latin epigraphy Rome presented the 'model' (Woolf 1996: 39). But this view is difficult to substantiate in those areas of the empire where epigraphy had already existed. In Italy, inscriptions are not an invention of the Roman period. From circa the 7th/6th centuries BC, there were inscriptions in Greek and Etruscan, from Campania to Umbria, inscriptions were written in 'Oscan'; in

northeast Italy in 'Raetic'; and in the northwest, in Gallo-Lepontic (cf. in general Prosdocimi 1991; Conway 1864 - 1933).

Consequently, one can ask a very different set of questions stemming from the fact that epigraphy exists independently of the Roman conquest with inscriptions being part of wide-ranging state formation or urbanization processes (cf. Wilkins 1995; Goody 1986). What is important for our purpose is the period of transition from those 'regional' inscriptions (written in Gaulish, Etruscan, Oscan or Greek) to Latin epigraphy during the 1st century BC. As this is unlikely to reflect a change in the spoken language, one has to take account of the 'nature of epigraphy', both pre-Roman and Latin.

The adoption of a writing system *de novo*, together with conventions and language, is uncommon. Instead, one can witness instances of adaptations and modifications. For example, during the Etruscan 'colonization' of North Italy in the 6th/5th century BC, Gallo-Lepontic epigraphy emerged in the Lago Maggiore/Como region with the adoption of the Etruscan alphabet (Lejeune 1971). This could be explained by the 'need' to express social 'uncertainties' in a period of prosperity and urbanization (cf. Woolf 1996; Cannon 1989). But just as 'indigenous' material culture was not *replaced* by Etruscan artefacts, so the Gallo-Lepontic alphabet reflects the *conscious* decision to modify the Etruscan alphabet in order to suit indigenous concepts. One must bear this in mind when discussing the relatively 'uncompromising' adoption of Latin epigraphy in the 1st century.

Roman domination stimulated an increasing self-awareness, and as local identities were rejuvenated, epigraphy acquired new connotations. In the 2nd century BC, the Gallo-Lepontic alphabet was used for legends on Padane *drachmas* (a coinage which circulated north of the river Po and in Piedmont (Pautasso 1962)), as well as on coins in Gallia Narbonensis and Noricum where it took the place of the Greek and Venetic alphabets respectively (cf. Pautasso 1980; Marinetti and Prosdocimi 1994). Was the Gallo-Lepontic alphabet ideologized as a 'national' alphabet, in an attempt to consciously reject the Latin alphabet, as argued for by Marinetti and Prosdocimi (1994; also Prosdocimi 1991: 56-7)? It seems unlikely that alphabets were considered to be of 'ethnic' or 'political' relevance. Considering that previous writing systems continued to be used throughout Italy in this period, it rather shows the intensifying state character of North Italy – and the importance of one of its major central places, Mediolanum (Milan) – stimulated by being part of the Roman empire and the Roman economy.

As I argue elsewhere (1998; 1999b), Roman domination might have acted as catalyst for societal change within the conquered 'indigenous' societies by further stimulating already existing state formation processes, as well as fostering 'local identities' (even 'ethnicities'), since Rome demanded manpower from what it perceived as ethnic entities (*ethnos*). If existing forms of 'authority' were threatened, politically and economically, one might expect the reinforcement of existing institutions. Following Graeco-Roman examples, monumental writing is used at sanctuaries at Cureggio (Gambari 1990-91), Briona (Campanile 1982) and Vercellae (Lejeune 1977). Institutions and magistracies are recorded, such as the *argentacomaterecus* (*infra*), the

'rex' in both *rikoi* (Pautasso 1962) and *rikanas* (Gambari 1989) or the Samnite *touta* in the *takos toutas* (Lejeune 1988: 11-25) and *toutipouos* (Pautasso 1962).

The bilingual inscription from Vercellae (Fig. 2) might be considered symptomatic of this period. Dating to around 100 BC (following Lejeune 1977; also cf. Baldacci 1977; Tibiletti Bruno 1977), the inscription recounts that a certain Akisios/Acisius dedicated a *campus* marked by four *lapides* to gods and humans. Conflicting identities among the north Italian élite of that time are apparent. There is the dominant power, Rome, whose language and alphabet dominate the inscription. The Latin text provides more details, indicating that a greater importance is attributed to it. However, it is a translation from the Gallic, and the dedicant bears a Gallic name (and title) even in the Latin version, while the context – a *campus* (forum or temenos?) – seems to be of non-Roman character simply because for Akisios there did not seem to be a more suitable Latin word available than relatively vague *campus* (cf. Lejeune 1988: 33).

Figure 2 Bilingual inscription from Vercellae
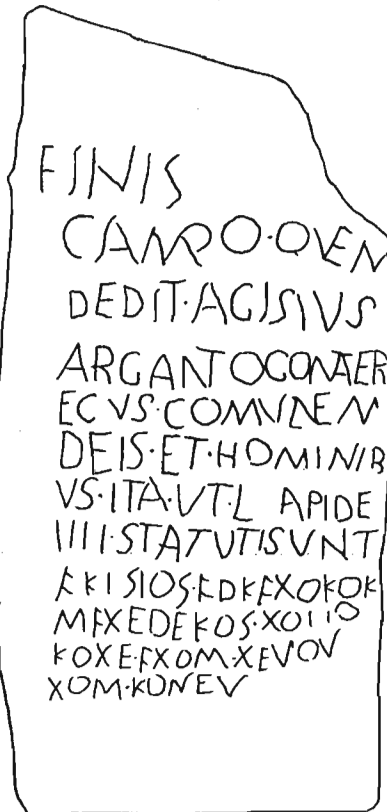
If we assume a publicizing message - and therefore an audience - bilingual inscriptions usually reflect two different communities – in this case 'conquerors' and 'conquered', or 'rulers' and 'ruled'. One might suggest a conflict situation in which Akisios intended to protect an 'indigenous' *temenos* from Roman 'conquerors' who had already settled at the nearby colony of Eporedia. Alternatively, if we assume that the Libici profited from Rome's victory over the neighbouring Insubres and Salassi, then this inscription might mark one stage in Vercellae's development to the important central place it would be in the 1st century AD. Indeed, recent archaeological excavations have shown that this was a period of growth and perhaps even urban development for Vercellae (Spagnolo Garzoli 1995).

More certainly, however, this inscription reflects the ambiguous position of Akisios/Acisius himself. Whereas his name stands within an indigenous tradition, he chooses Latin as a medium, but without adopting any typical 'Latin' formulae (unlike, for example, the inscription of Arrènes, written in 'Gallic', but concluding with a Roman *v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)* (CIL XIII 1452)). Akisios points the way to the adoption of Latin as the 'official' language or 'social code' which would dominate the 'epigraphic culture' of Vercellae during the Principate. As a member of the local élite he might be expected to participate in Roman politics, be it in the army or attached to the Roman 'governor'. This can be compared with other, more or less contemporary developments, such as the form *Kuitos lekatos* used at Briona, which may perhaps be interpreted as a Latin name (Quintus), while *lekatos* could mean *legatus*, which would stress the increasing importance of an 'ambassador' to represent the interests of a local community at Rome (cf. Campanile 1982; Lejeune 1988: 11-24).

Although Bandelli has suggested that bilingual inscriptions are the first step towards 'assimilation' (1992), epigraphy nonetheless lags behind social development since by the time of the first bilingual inscriptions, the Latin language had already become a focus of study in respect of rhetoric and poetry. Caecilius Statius, a *malus auctor Latinitatis* (Cic. *Att.* 7, 3, 10), is the earliest attested example of such scholarship from Mediolanum (Milan) – basically a La Tène community – the place Vergil would visit for his studies later in the first century BC (cf. Plin. *Ep.* 4, 13, 3, Donatus *Vita Verg.* 7). In this respect, Vercellae, and similarly the bilingual inscription from Todi (Lejeune 1988: 42-52), may be just the tip of the iceberg, manifesting the extent to which the Latin language had already become a useful means of communication for local élites. This development stemmed from a need for a common language among an élite operating empire-wide (not only in military campaigns), and because of the importance of rhetoric in representations to the Roman authorities. For Vercellae, the relationships of this period may represent the beginning of the contact and patronage networks that would be so influential in later years, and the *campus* of Akisios could have laid the foundation for the later *municipium* of urban character.

At this stage, it is important to realize that it was not Roman domination *per se* which caused the spread of Latin epigraphy in the Late Republic. Existing forms of élite control were adapted to suit the new sociopolitical situation. Throughout Italy, existing writing systems remained in use, albeit adapted to suit the 'Roman reality' (e.g., Oscan inscriptions from Bantia (Galsterer *et al* 1996) and the 'Iguvine' tables

(Wilkins 1994)), while Italy's élites shared a common 'Hellenistic', rather than 'Roman' culture. The non-Roman appearance of both Gallo-Lepontic inscriptions and the iconography and language of the Padane *drachma* should be noticed. This is highlighted by the material culture of North Italy, which – save for sporadic imports from Etruria and the Hellenistic world – remained clearly embedded in a La Tène context down to the first century BC (De Marinis 1977).

Considering the increasing sophistication, application and spread of regional writing systems as a medium mainly to communicate élite messages by the early first century BC, the change to Latin epigraphy is significant. Unlike the adoption of epigraphy, the need to know the Latin language had already started much earlier among members of the governing élites – people like Akisios or Kuitos needed Latin for political and military purposes. This 'Roman identity', however, must have been 'alien' to the supposed audience in the local context. If epigraphy (or material culture, architecture or dress) was used to reinforce the status of local élites (as suggested, for example, by Keay 1992), then the 'message' needed to be understood. As far as Italy was concerned, military involvement as Roman allies might have stimulated a bilateral understanding (Gabba's (1984) *conscienza unitaria)*, but it must have been the social 'upheaval' of the Social and Civil Wars of the 1st century BC which created a 'common identity' and a 'Roman focus' for the many, which would make specifically Roman media of social control acceptable throughout Italy.

At the same time, one has to be aware that the adoption of *single* Latin attributes might not necessarily reflect any concept of identity. For instance, the adoption of Latin titles may illustrate that a magistrate's authority increasingly depended on Rome's authority, i.e. communities negotiated their position within a world and a society dominated by Rome. Already Mommsen (1850) had noticed that 'q(uaestor') is an alien element within the Oscan inscription of Bantia. The mentioning of *censores*, for example, shows the way in which local politics were increasingly affected by Rome's military and financial requirements. However, the case of Akisios reminds us that 'indigenous' writing systems had the potential to adapt and that, *c.*100 BC, Akisios did not feel it necessary to acquire a Latin name or title.

Indeed, the significance of adopting Latin names has often been overemphasized. Already Mócsy (1983) has pointed out that 'indigenous' onomastics could easily incorporate Latin names which were known via the army and colonists. By contrast, within a Roman context, standardization prevails. In 117 BC, for example, Ligurian names become 'Latinized' by the authors of the *sententia Minuciorum* (*ILLRP* II, 517; cf. Bianchi 1996). There, names do not reflect 'Romanization' of the indigenous population, but Roman *interpretatio* or 'fabrication', which does not seem too dissimilar to the evidence from many urban centres and army bases throughout the empire.

Culture Clash in Latin epigraphy

In some areas of the empire, inscriptions reflect a more dynamic picture between 'indigenous' traditions and 'Roman' protocol. One such area is the Canavese, the

plain situated between Turin and the Alpine foothills, and, further south, the Cuneese. Why are inscriptions from these areas different from the 'norm'? First, they are almost exclusively restricted to funerary inscriptions, but without the common reference to the *deis manes*, the spirits of the dead. Second, the names of the deceased are frequently introduced in the nominative, rather than the conventional dative. Third, Latin formulae are only rarely employed, the main exception is the occasional *v(ixit) a(nnos)*, usually followed by an unorthodox age, such as 80 or 90 years. Fourth, most names consist of *cognomen* (in the position of the *praenomen*), *gentilicium* and filiation, although the inhabitants must have been Roman citizens and therefore eligible to use the Roman *tria nomina* which dominates the epigraphic record from towns. Fifth, the funerary marker is not a rectangular marble stone, but usually a stone of irregular shape and size.

These inscriptions provide a vivid picture how Latin names were inserted into and combined with 'indigenous' onomastics. Purely 'Gallic' inscriptions are rare (e.g., CIL V 6903: *Macco | Duci f(ilius)*), though cognomina are frequently of 'Gallic' origin, for example, *Diutto* in *Diutto Allius L(uci) f(ili)* (TROS No. 4) or *Macco* in *M(arcus) Aebutius Spuri f(ilius) Macco* (TROS No. 3). Sometimes the *nomen* is derived from non-Latin names - rather than reflecting the adoption of the *nomen* of a Roman patron, for example Curho in *Bassus Curho Sexti f(ili)*. It has been argued that such inscriptions reveal underlying 'indigenous' differences between 'Gallic' and 'Ligurian-Venetic' onomastic practices (Untermann 1956. 1958, 1959-61).

The conventional interpretation of what Mennella and Cresci Marrone call 'epigrafia povera' focuses on two aspects: first, 'cultural resistance' against Roman rule, and secondly, 'una committenza privata' compared with the more prominent messages from the nearby *municipia* (Cresci Marrone 1991, Mennella 1983). However, as inscriptions are a commemoration for posterity, those in the Canavese are therefore not less 'public' than those in towns. Inscribing might have been an additional process to the setting up of a stone in an already existing ancestor worship; the latter is well attested from the Lunigiana or the Val Camonica where stones were erected in a similar way (but without inscription) during the Bronze Age (Fedele 1996; Ambrosi 1992).

Regarding 'cultural resistance' and 'loyalty' to traditional values, Mennella cites the case of *Enicus Roucarius Dissi f(ili) decurio* from Pollentia in the Cuneese (Roda 1982: 203; Mennella 1983: 25). Enicus only used indigenous onomastics, the *cognomen* has taken the place of the *praenomen*, yet he describes himself as a decurion. For Mennella, a simple 'river-stone' can hardly have been a monument suitable for Enicus' rank and his economic resources. Instead, it could be argued that Enicus adapted monumental writing to suit 'indigenous' cognition. Inserting the use of 'river stones' into 'indigenous' forms of social representation (cf. the 6th century BC januform stelae from Transalpine Gaul (Frey 1991), or the 1st century BC Gallo-Latin 'menhir' of Naintré (Lejeune 1988: 70-82)), the Enicus stele no longer appears as a 'poor' version. The effort to move the stone to the chosen location reflects a significant control over people; similarly, the effort to carve it. Such a monument might engage more attention than a row of standardized, decorated marble inscriptions in a necropolis or in the forum. A stele provided a focus point within the

landscape – a marker claiming possession over land and people. At the same time, Enicus sees himself as member of the *decuriones* - the only Latin word in his inscription. This reflects the ambiguous position of people like Enicus (also cf. *Mocus Caranius* (CIL V 7656 = IIt IX 1, 197)) who negotiated their place between 'indigenous' forms of authority and an imperial hierarchy.

One should also bear in mind that north-west Italy was radically colonized in the last phase of the Republic. Roman *agrimensores* re-shaped the 'indigenous' landscape and organized land for Roman settlers (Fraccaro 1957; Negro Ponzi Mancini 1981). For the inhabitants of the Canavese and Cuneese, the threat of dispossession must have been imminent in the Augustan period. This may help to explain why Latin was used. Under the threat of dispossession, the majority of steles demarcate a claim of property within a 'Roman' landscape. The presence of Roman magistrates and colonists introduced Roman concepts of property - a typical conflict in 'colonial' encounters as debates in Victorian Britain about 'native' perceptions of property show (cf. Chakravarty-Kaul 1997). This may explain why the Canavese inscriptions provide just enough onomastic information to fulfil Roman requisites, whilst the importance given to old age (table 1) has to be seen as an expression of a superior ancestral claim to land.

Place/age	6	30	40	45	50	55	60	65	73	75	80	81	90	91	100
Cirié		3													
Favria			10				7	9				8			
Levone	16		14, 17	13				11			15, 21		18		
Rivara								22		23					
Rivolo					28										
S. Benigno															32
S Ponsa									38		66		47		
Valperga						53, 58	55						84	80	

Table 1. Inscriptions in the Canavese referring to years of age (Numbers refer to inscription in Cresci Marrone 1991).

So far, one might attempt to categorize the change to Latin. First, within an 'indigenous' context, *Romanitas* or *Latinitas* was hardly an issue for the dedicants of the Gallo-Lepontic inscriptions from Vercelli, Cureggio or Briona. Second, the rural inscriptions from the Canavese reflect a more dynamic picture of negotiation between 'Roman' and 'indigenous' concepts. The next 'category' can be exemplified by the stereotypes found in urban epigraphy where 'indigenous' concepts are scarcely apparent.

Urban inscriptions

The epigraphic record from many urban centres throughout the empire offers us the most realistic approach to Roman socio-economic history. Yet, urban epigraphy shows both homogeneity and diversity, i.e. the 'repertoire' follows the same rules and

the 'degree' of *Latinitas* is often the only variable. But if the form is standardized, what information do we acquire about the individual community?

For example, is it possible to assess the demographic composition of a town on the basis of Roman inscriptions? The record from the 'indigenous' oppidum *Vercellae Libiciorum ex Salluis ortae* (Plin. *Nat.* 3, 17, 21), where the bilingual inscription of Akisios was found (*supra*), is not untypical. Indeed, the onomastic evidence from Vercellae reflects the (almost ideal) image of what the epigraphy of a 'typical' 'Roman' town should be like: it consists mainly of *tria nomina*, Latin names, Roman-style careers, and Latin formulae. The abundance of *tria nomina* cannot be taken to signify Roman citizenship, which had already been granted to the whole of Italy between 89 and 49 BC (Luraschi 1979; Ewins 1955). Elements, such as single names, Gallic or Ligurian onomastics are virtually absent – quite unexpectedly for an 'indigenous' settlement. The main exception in Vercellae's territory is the village of Victumulae (Cerrione) with inscriptions similar to the Canavese, such as *Fronto, Verionis f(ilius)* or *Secuttius Ebrisci f(ilius)* (*AE* 1988: nos. 617-22), with names and titles indicating 'Gallic' origin. In sharp contrast to names of Gallic origin, Greek names are relatively common (cf. e.g., at Aosta (Cavallaro and Walser 1988)) and usually refer to slaves and freedmen, teachers and physicians.

Tribus and *origo* - part of a Roman citizen's name - are no more helpful. Communities, which acquired Roman citizenship, were assigned to one of the 35 Roman *tribus*, usually in such a way that neighbouring municipalities belonged to different voting tribes (cf. Taylor 1960). For instance, at Vercellae the local *tribus Aniensis* prevails which is usually interpreted as suggesting 'local origin', i.e. it may mean that the people recorded were of 'indigenous' origin, but it is not impossible that immigrant families had acquired the citizenship of Vercellae in order to hold office in this *municipium*. The *origo*, also part of a Roman-style name, does not inform us about any 'ethnic' origin, but only about the 'legal' place of birth within a municipalized Roman landscape. It is useful as an indicator of spatial mobility, but not for *ethnos* or even a person's *Selbstverständnis*. In this case has Vercellae been deserted by its 'indigenous' population some 100 years after Akisios' inscription?

This phenomenon is similar in many parts of the Roman empire. It seems to have been in the *outward* looking nature of the early Principate to emphasize the bonds with the centre, as well as to follow Roman practice with regard to formulae and onomastics. By the 3rd century AD, the situation had changed (cf. Häussler 1993: 63-67). One can recognize a 'renewal' of local élites, though not necessarily the impoverishment of the old, wealthier and more 'Romanized' élite (as suggested, for example, by Nierhaus 1939: 94). More importantly, Rome's rôle as centre was weakened during this period, giving way to more variety in forms and expressions at a time (cf. Le Glay 1977; Raepsaet-Charlier 1995) when Latin onomastics, the Latin language and Roman practices already appear to have been merged and integrated into local onomastics, reflecting the extent of the 'intrusion' of Roman cultural models into everyday provincial life.

By contrast in the early Principate, there is a stronger emphasis on Rome – and in promoting *Romanitas*. The inscriptions of the 1st and 2nd century AD reflect an

imperial society – people with links to the army and the emperor: soldiers, magistrates, equestrians, senators, and priests of the imperial cult. Local and imperial authority become increasingly intertwined with the Roman army playing an important rôle in promoting Roman concepts of authority – a development stimulated during the civil wars of the 1st century BC.

Considering the dominating importance of the army in Roman power structures (with its 'peace keeper' function as important as providing coercive force within the empire), it comes as no surprise that epitaphs of army personnel comprise a significant proportion of all Latin inscriptions. Their predominance can be explained by the creation of *collegia funeraticia* which paid for a tombstone. Consequently, not only do epitaphs mainly record soldiers who died on duty, but also these epitaphs need not represent concepts of a personal 'identity', since they provide an excerpt of official records containing a Latinized name, rank, unit(s), years of age and years in service.

Life after the army – as documented in North Italy, one of the major recruitment and retirement areas in the first centuries BC/AD (see Appendix 1) – shows the extent to which the Roman army opened up opportunities; rank and a plot of land in a *colonia* allowed social and political participation. In this case, we seem to gain an insight into the extent to which regional structures became increasingly dependent on external relations. It is through the Roman army, be it the legion or auxiliary units, that social advancement was possible – bypassing existing forms of interdependence and affiliation. The occurrence of veterans varies, and at some cities, like Augusta Taurinorum or Hasta, soldiers dominate the record.

For many *milites*, the rank of *centurio* or *primus pilus* was the pinnacle of achievement after 20-25 years of service in the Roman army. But this was often sufficient to acquire civil honours and some *primi pili* achieved lower-ranking magistracies. *[Titus ---]laeienus* from Hasta, for example, acquired the quaestorship (Mennella 1984: 230), others the aedileship, or they may even have become *duoviri*, such as Quintus Carrinas (CIL V 7600). More remarkable is the career of Gaius Valerius Clementus from Turin. Having been *primi pilari*, he held the most important civic magistracy, the *IIvir quinquenalis*, was appointed *flamen Augustalis perpetuus* by the emperor, and Turin chose him as *patronus coloniae* (CIL V 7007).

But not only *milites* joined up. Members of the land-owning 'aristocracy' occupied the ranks of *tribunus* and *praefectus* in the army as this allowed them to maintain their rôle in society after Rome took over the organization of the army levy and army structure. This would otherwise have threatened the authority of an élite whose previous status had been reflected in military achievement (cf. warrior funerals still prevailing in the first century BC, e.g., at Esino (Tizzoni 1986: 202) or Ornavasso (Graue 1974)). In the urban context, *tribuni* and *praefecti* aspired for high-ranking civic careers, as quaestors, aediles or *duoviri* or *quattuorviri*. Exemplary achievements include Quintus Attius Priscus, from Libarna, to whom the *plebs urbana* put up a dedication as someone who held the most important magistracies - *aedil*, *duovir quinquenalis*, the *flamen Augustalis* and *pontifex*, as well as having a rather remarkable military career: he had been the prefect of three cohorts, the

military tribune of *legio I Adiutrix* and the prefect of the first Augustan Thracian *ala* (CIL V 7425). By comparison, Muxius P. Sius Publicus Verus, the *patronus municipii* of Albingaunum, had been a tribune of the third Gallic legion and an *eques Romanus*, proclaimed *civis optimus* by the *plebs urbana* (CIL V 7784). It becomes clear that for the local *municipium*, authority was closely correlated with an army career, or rather, by defining one's position within an 'imperial' hierarchy.

Distance to the *princeps* becomes crucial. With regard to the élite, besides important civic magistracies, their rôle as commanders in the army (already a position of trust endowed by the emperor) granted them the position of *flamen Augusti*. This substantiated the relationship between the emperor and the individual, who negotiated power relationships between the local municipality and 'Rome' as *flamen*. At the same time, he appropriated the political and religious power which allowed him to enforce his authority in the local context. This is an institutionalization of power which had no equivalent in the Republican period, and it shows the increasing importance of external bonds. Already Elias has demonstrated that during the process of integrating a 'tribal' society into a 'state', similar to the *Imperium Romanum*, the importance of internal bonds decreases and that of external bonds increases (Elias 1974, cf. Slofstra 1983). For Rome's Italian allies, the chance to participate in the running of the empire, especially after the Social War (91-89 BC), meant that status became increasingly defined by an imperial hierarchy with well defined social 'classes', such as *senatores, equites* or *decuriones*; their status was even enhanced by Augustus' legislation.

Besides being *patroni, equites Romani* held important local offices, such as the *duoviri* or *quattuorviri iure dicundo*. But more characteristic for Elias' 'external bonds' are the *senatores*. Rather than coercion or bureaucracy, the empire was held together through patronage (in general, cf. Gordon 1990) and the period of conquest made individual Roman families responsible for the safety of their new *clientes*. The name of their *gens* became common-place in the annexed territory. Domitius was the conqueror and organizer of the province of Narbonensis; subsequently, Domitius became common as a name in this province (cf. e.g., Burnand 1975: 239 for the Domitii of Aix-en-Provence). Or with Aulus Atilius Serranus having campaigned in South Piedmont in 170 BC (Liv. 43, 9, 1-3), the Atilii still remained relatively common in Piedmont 300 years later. Gnaeus Atilius Serranus, for example, was Libarna's *p]atr(onus) co[loniae]* (CIL V 7428; cf. Manino 1987).

One should not underestimate the rôle of senatorial families in spreading, maintaining and consolidating Roman power structures and in introducing associated forms of imperial iconography and ostentatious display. Senators are attested at almost every community in Italy and the Narbonensis. Cities like Verona, Patavium or Brixia have 44, 20 and 39 members of senatorial rank respectively (cf. Alföldy 1982: 309-68). These are families with empire-wide connections through economic, political and social relationships. This explains why their need for common forms of communication, and the Latin language, Roman art and iconography are mere means for intra-élite interaction.

Once again, the *municipium* of Vercellae is used in order to demonstrate the rôle of senators. There are at least 6 members of senatorial families attested (after Alföldy 1982: 358-9) – among them the *Apollinae Vercellae* (Martial 10, 12, 1f) and Domitii (IGRRP III 559). A certain Domitia Vetillia was honoured by Vercellae's *seviri Augustales* as the wife of the consul of AD 136, Lucius Roscius Pasculus, presumably from Lusitania (CIL V 6657, cf. CIL II 468 from Emerita Augusta). And some 150 years after Akisios/Acisius dedicated his conspicuous *campus* at Vercellae, the family of the senator Lucius Iunius Quintus Vibius Crispus resided there, illustrating the close link between centre and periphery: on the one hand, there is a strong presence at Vercellae (e.g., *CIL* V 6660. 6711. 8927), as well as at nearby Ghemme – perhaps the rural estate of the Vibii – where a certain Vibia Earine is recorded as the freedwoman of Crispus on an inscription set up by Lucius Iunius Onesophorus. The combination of the names Vibia, Iunius and Crispus make it likely that they were manumitted by L. Iunius Q. Vibius Crispus (CIL V 6790). On the other hand, Lucius' life was clearly devoted to Rome. He achieved the highly prestigious consulship three times, under Nero, under Vespasian in AD 74 (*AE* 1968, no. 6: *cos. suff II*), and again around 83. From AD 68 to 71, he was *curator aquarum* at Rome (Frontin, *Aq.* 102; cf. Alföldy 1982: 358), *proconsul Africae* (Plin. *Nat.* 19, 4), and *legatus pro praetore in censibus accipiendis Hispaniae citerioris* under Vespasian (*AE* 1939, no. 60). Tacitus describes him as being of 'humble origin' who takes the 'leading place in the Emperor's circle of friends' (Tac. *Dial.* 8; cf. Peterson 1997; also cf. *Schol. Inv.* 4, 81; Quintilian 10, 1, 119; Juvenal 4, 89). His case illustrates the political opportunities and the integrative force provided to local élites by the early Principate. At the same time, the new status meant dominating the politics 'at home'. Wealth and influence, acquired in the imperial service, made Vibius Crispus an influential patron at Vercellae. This made the renewal of local élites possible, since it allowed people, who in Tacitus' view were 'of humble origin' (*Dial.* 8), to by-pass existing hierarchies. Meeting Roman census requirements (given that there was no Italy-wide census before Augustus (Crawford 1996)), combined with rhetorical abilities (i.e. Roman education), a new élite was shaped in this period, whose authority was inserted into the Roman hierarchy. It was this close link between 'centre' and 'local' municipality which brought Vercellae onto the imperial map. Building programmes reflected the ambition to recreate Rome, and patronage allowed many Vercellese to join the ranks of the prestigious praetorian guard in Rome.

The families who dominate the urban record also control activities in the rural villages of the *territorium* – they spread Roman epigraphy and material culture into the countryside. Like in many other *municipia*, there appears to be a pattern which must reflect the rural base of Vercellae's families, for example, the Valerii at Albano, the Erennii at Trino, the Clodii at Bianzè and at Santià, and the Vibii at Ghemme, where a settlement and necropolis of the Roman period are known (Spagnolo Garzoli 1994: 316-8; Rogate Uglietti 1980: 273-80). There, they actively promoted Roman religion. Publius Clodius Myro and Titus Clodius Severus dedicated altars to *Iupiter Optimo Maximo* in Santhià and Bianzé (CIL V 6767. 6765), and at Fontanetto, an elaborate dedication was set up to Mercury (CIL V 6596).

These 'bonds' between local *municipia* and the 'centre' have to be reflected in our interpretation of inscriptions, as these follow fashions dictated by the centre. Indeed,

the state takes an active interest in commemorating achievements: *...incisa notis marmora publicis, per quae spiritis et vita redit bonis post mortem ducibus* (Hor. *Carm.* 4, 8, 13-15). The epigraphic record of a city like Vercellae represents a rather small 'club' dominated by prominent, senatorial *patroni*. One may suggest that for many of the ruling/land-owning élites, there may have been the need to show 'status' by various means when settling at a new place. By the 1st century AD, modern day Monteu da Po had changed its name from 'Gallic' Bodincomagus to the 'Latin' Industria. There, the focus of the ruling aristocracy was the creation of the temple complex dedicated to Serapis and Isis. For the later Serapeion of Industria, Hadrian's imperial residence at Tivoli presented the architectural model (Zanda 1993; Zorat 1993). In general, we seem to witness the creation of an imperial aristocracy which worked on a very different scale from what is encountered in the Republic. For instance, *euérgetism* was important to consolidate the rôle of these new élites in the local context, and at the same time, *euérgetism* served to consolidate a municipium's position in the empire. Indeed, North Italy had the highest percentage of *euérgetism* attested in the empire (Frézouls 1990) which strongly reflects the 'spirit' of the Julio-Flavian dynasties of which many *euérges* had direct experience. As large land owners, through *euérgetism* and their rôle as the *patroni* of *collegia*, a few élite families could manipulate the local *populus* or rather, what emerges in the 1st/2nd centuries AD as the *plebs urbana*. Imperial hierarchy is also reflected in their spending. As Frézouls has shown, senators spent most, *equites* less, and *seviri* least (Frézouls 1990).

In some Piedmontese towns, members of the élite are sometimes represented as a group, rather than as individuals, for example the *Aquenses decur(iones) et municip(ium)* of Aquae Statiellae (CIL V 7516), or the *ordo splendidissim.* of Segusium (CIL V 7249) or *ordo (...) cum plebe* at Forum Germa--- (*AE* 1988, 573; Camilla 1974, 29-31). While this may be an attempt to avoid the individual domination of local politics, these inscriptions also reflect a notion of 'unity' in their relation to the *princeps* (cf. *e.g.*, *SI* 13: pp. 240-2). But for reasons of political survival, there seems to have been a strong need to represent one's community within a Roman landscape – even a small village, such as Corneliano, honoured their *patro[nus --- civ]itatis* (IIt X 1, 153).

It comes as no surprise that throughout the empire, powerful local magistracies are less attested than, for example, freedmen who became *seviri Augustales*, i.e. priests of the imperial cult. This need not mean that local politics were defunct or that communities focused on social, collegial institutions like the sevirate. It reflects instead the improvement of communication. In the Republic, Rome founded self-governing Latin colonies as 'bastions of the empire' (Cic. *leg. agr.* 2, 73) each having its own citizenship. But the communication system became more efficient and Roman citizenship provided new opportunities. The senate in Rome, the emperor's court and provincial councils, provided assemblies at which to exchange ideas and news on an unprecedented scale, and imperial edicts could be posted and advertized in any community under Roman rule. As a consequence, the *polis* was no longer independent (politically and economically). For members of the local aristocracy it was possible to move around and hold office in different municipalities (e.g., CIL V 6955, or 7016: *curial. Taur. et [decu]r. Epored.*).

Imperial structures intruded upon many aspects of urban life - and the urban *plebs* is no exception. *Collegia* are particularly common in north Italy, for example, the *collegium dendrophorum Pollentinorum* (cf. *Ilt.* IX 1, 130f) or the *collegium centonarium* at Industria (CIL V 7485). Inscriptions are, in the main, set up by *collegia* to honour their patron (e.g., *collegium pastophorum Industriensium, patronus ob merita* (CIL V 7468)). This again reveals the context of the inscription, as well as underlining the importance of patronage and the pivotal rôle of *equites* and senators as *patronus collegiorum* (e.g., CIL V 7375 from Dertona).

A certain 'class identity' was not restricted to the land-owning élite. Urbanism also gave rise to craft specialization and a new urban identity, which included both craftsmen and *negotiatores* (e.g., from Vercellae: *ILV* no.2, or M. Lucretius Chrestus, a freedmen and *merkator vinarius* from Pollentia (*AE* 1960, 284)). This emerging class identity is most obvious in what is called the *plebs urbana* (e.g., *AE* 1973, 239; *SI* 12, 1994, 51f, no. 6). Besides honouring a local patron, dedications to the emperor are frequent, for example the *ordo Germa. cum plebe* at Forum Germa. (*AE* 1988, 573). In order to honour their patron, the *plebs* and *collegia* adopted imperial forms of communication. Patronage connected many different strata of society and created an empire-wide hierarchy resulting in the emergence of a common consciousness, or even identity. For the urban plebs, new aspirations were generated, such as membership in *collegia*. Not dissimilar to 19th century India (Furedy 1979), this 'class identity' is reflected in material culture, namely the adoption and imitation of 'Roman' artefacts and dress which served to define status and to distinguish 'members' from 'rural' labourers. In this respect, social mobility was made possible through spatial mobility, i.e. the migration into urban centres, a common phenomenon in many developing societies. For instance, Olwig has demonstrated how social structures can hamper upward social mobility because concepts of reciprocity discourage the accumulation of wealth and status within one community, forcing people to migrate (Olwig 1993). Likewise, the urban centres of the Roman empire provided opportunities for upward mobility for those who dared to leave behind more restrictive forms of social organization, such as kinship society.

The epigraphic habit of the Principate must be inserted into its sociocultural context, i.e. the flourishing municipalization, the development from *ethnos* to *polis*, the cultural and political focus on Rome – institutionalized in public events, such as trials, provincial assemblies and the imperial cult. There follows the disintegration of pre-existing perceptions of status and of status display. Latin is not only more suitable for the urban context, but it has also become more meaningful than Etruscan, Oscan or Gallic for an increasing number of people for whom Rome has intruded into their world view.

So far it seems possible to suggest that the nature of Latin inscriptions can be understood by recognizing that many people were members of a tiny 'club' inserted into a dense 'patronage' network: the direct association with the *princeps* was important for Rome's urban 'classes' and epigraphy seems to reflect this image of social actors bound to each other by patronage links. There is the interaction between the *princeps*, various local patrons and the *plebs,* the various *collegia*, the local

councillors, senators and equestrians. But not all inscriptions are about careers and patronage. Indeed, the vast majority of inscriptions are simple tombstones, set up by family members. It is difficult to see how social advancement, or rather the threat of losing one's status in a repeatedly changing world (as suggested, for example, by Woolf 1996), can have stimulated such epitaphs. From *vivus fecit* inscriptions – which comprise up to 10% of all epitaphs – an alternative picture emerges as to the motivation for the use of epigraphy. *Vivus fecit* means the construction of a funerary monument and the acquisition of a burial ground during a person's lifetime – often for numerous family members. The *locus*, the space which had been acquired, was often quite substantial, as is known from some tombstones, such as the

> *locus L. M. Catiorum Sex. f. | et Terentiae M. f.*
> *Secund.| et Titiae L. f. Postumae| et M. Cati L. f. |*
> *in front(e) p(edes) XXXXV in agr(o) p(edes)*
> *XXXV* (CIL V 7444)

which was, at 1,575 Roman square feet, the size of a one-family home.

But why was it so important to possess a family tomb? Was this a sign of social upward mobility, or rather the threat of social degradation in the 'competitive' situation of the early Principate? Instead, one might want to put more focus on spatial mobility. Similar to the Canavese (*supra*), this was a way for an immigrating family to lay claim on the land for generations to come and to commemorate a family name. And it should not be surprising that 'Roman' forms of expression prevail. On the other hand, the services of stone cutters were probably acquired via the *patronus*, but it can be disputed whether the stone-cutter followed schematic handbooks (Cagnat 1889), or whether the content was decided by the client (cf. discussion in Häusle 1980: 13-28). More importantly, Latin epigraphy reflects a very Roman phenomenon, namely mobility, which was heavily stimulated as a consequence of the Civil War period of the late Republic and the large scale Roman citizenship grants throughout Italy. Citizenship allowed one the right to settle and to aim for office anywhere in the empire, i.e. it removed previous difficulties in migration, or the threat of expulsion, and included privileges, such as *commercium* which allowed the legal acquisition of property (cf. in general Sherwin-White 1973). Because of mobility, both forced and voluntary, the Latin language must have become widely recognized as a means of communication in Italy during the first century BC (cf. David 1994). In this respect, many migrants were both the profiteers and the victims of the successful Roman empire. Some were ambitious enough to leave home and take up new opportunities in new, emerging municipalities, where some would acquire leading political and economic positions. The 'epigraphic culture' is active in an environment of spatial mobility and inscriptions frequently address 'foreigners' or 'travellers', such as in *resta, viator, et lege* (found in Cyzic in Moesia, and set up by someone *natus in Dacia provincia* (CIL III 371)) or *hospes resiste et tumulum contempla meum, lege et moraris* (CE 76) or *rogat ut resistas, hospes, t[e] hic tacitus lapis* (CE 53).

Conclusion

This survey of itself, must remain insufficient but I hope that it has provided some useful thoughts on the nature of Latin epigraphy. Based on the names, careers and

origins of selected individuals, we have acquired an idea why Latin was an obvious and conscious choice. Long before it made a physical appearance outside Rome, Latin was used as the language of the army, of legal proceedings and diplomacy for those peoples under Roman rule. Latin rhetoric became an important discipline and many North Italian cities were centres for its study as 'oratorical power' (Tac. *Dial.* 8) allowed social advancement into Rome's élite. Besides its practical value, Latin was a language suitable to represent an 'urban identity' because of its increasing sophistication through the work of *grammatici*, i.e. the complexity of an urban society was mirrored in the complexity of language. Latin literature also rivalled its Greek counterpart, and it is ironic that it is mainly the writings of North Italians, such as Vergil, Livy or Horace, that are today taken to epitomize the language (cf. Mratschek 1984).

In this respect, the widespread use of Latin in inscriptions seems relatively late. This might be explained by the apparent cultural discrepancy between the potential 'native' 'audience' and a commissioning élite, whose sociopolitical interest and knowledge of Latin was considerably advanced, especially following the Social War. This suggests that epigraphy can only play a minor rôle in 'reinforcing status' (Keay 1992), so long as it is not understood by the *clientes* that it is aimed at. Rather than assuming a literate audience, the choice of Latin – like the adoption of Roman dress and material culture – reflected the individual's identity (or rather a group identity) whereas the symbolic language employed was intelligible only within this group. As a result, in order to express one's 'Roman' identity, seeing oneself within the sociopolitical hierarchy of the empire, the use of Etruscan, Oscan or Gallo-Lepontic epigraphy would have been meaningless.

Therefore, the initial spread of Latin epigraphy can be explained by the direct experience and knowledge of local rulers, of senators and *equites* whose status was consolidated through imperial patronage. The image of a 'wave' (Woolf 1996) provides too much of an *arbitrary* and *unpredictable* image, since the spread of epigraphy largely parallels 'activity' zones of *viri clarissimi* throughout the empire, initially in Italy and the Narbonensis, whose people were drawn into the conflict between individual Roman factions in the last phase of the Republic.

Latin epigraphy reflects a 'society' linked together by bonds of patronage. This 'clique' emerges more strongly in the aftermath of the Social and especially the Civil Wars of the Late Republic (cf. Häussler 1998a). Its members expressed their self-identity in a variety of media, whether via material culture or funerary monuments, both categories reflecting the spirit of the Roman élite of the 1st century BC and AD, of which the Cestius pyramid or Augustus' mausoleum are but prominent examples (cf. Zanker 1988: 72-7. 291-2). To commemorate one's achievements for posterity, epigraphy in *any* language might have been adaptable, but in order for it to be inserted within people's *Selbstverständnis*, Latin had to be used. Cottius, for example, whom Augustus made *praefectus* and successor of his father's kingdom, appropriated Augustan art, architecture and epigraphy for his triumphal arch, his hereon, etc. (cf. papers in Bartolomesi 1994). Similarly, the coinage of pre-conquest British kings (e.g., CM 1935, 11-17-109) shows a direct knowledge of Augustan iconography and ideology. This reveals an education in a Roman environment, perhaps as Caesar's

hostages, whilst simultaneously ignoring the fact that the 'natives' in the Alpes Cottiae or in Southern England could hardly 'read' these 'alien' metaphors. For Cogidubnus and Cottius, for senators, *equites* or decurions, Latin epigraphy represented their *Romanitas* in just the same way as a specific set of material culture (cf. Häussler 1998a). At the same time, urbanism provided, through craft-specialisation and guilds (*collegia*, etc.), upward social mobility; hence, the emergence of a new 'Roman' 'class' of craftsmen, merchants and freedmen for whom the Principate provided prosperity and security.

The epigraphic record of many urban centres seems to consist of 'stereotypes' since the repertoire of formulae of Rome's epigraphic culture is rather consistent. Underneath this surface, however, there are no two 'identical' sites, so that there is scope for variability. For example, the focus on imperial structures showed that the people of Vercellae saw themselves (and their future) as part of the Roman empire, while nearby at Novaria, another *municipium* of 'indigenous' origin, there was a stronger focus on local issues, be it political institutions (e.g., the *quattuorviri*), a record amount of money spent by *euérgetes*, or even religious dedications. This discrepancy is also reflected in the onomastic evidence, so that 'Gallic' or non-Roman names are more frequent at Novaria than at Vercellae. Hence, it is possible – despite the apparent 'homogeneity' of Latin inscriptions – to extract the different approaches adopted by communities and individuals in negotiating their place within Roman structures.

Spatial mobility was characteristic for the society of the early Principate. Unlike the Republican period, enhanced communication meant that far-away *coloniae* were no longer outposts of the empire, but almost resembled 'one continuous country and one people' (Aelius Aristides, *To Rome* 29-33). The landowning and governing élites, as well as the merchants and the soldiers throughout the empire, were united in their aspirations and ambitions, facilitated by Latin rights and Roman citizenship (cf. Aelius Aristides, *loc. cit.*). Spatial mobility opened new prospects, and it was not only equestrian and senatorial families who acquired estates in 'conquered' territories (like the Lollii in Industria). There was also spontaneous movement of families, for example from Central to Northern Italy (cf. Crawford 1985: 339-49). What better way to physically occupy space than by a funeral monument, both for the immigrants and for those whose existing property rights were threatened, as in the Canavese. A first century AD inscription from Narbo expresses the 'need' to immortalize the names of those who died in an alien country (CIL XII 5276; CE 2119):

ne terra aliena ignoti cum | nomine obissent,
hic titulus | paruo proloquitur lapide.

Many people became directly or indirectly inserted into a hierarchically organized patronage network which reflected the structure of the empire in the Principate. There is the *princeps* at the top, who is saluted by many inscriptions of local communities as *patronus*. *Senatores* and *equites* provide the link between the centre and the region, where they act as *flamines* of the emperor, and as patrons – being honoured by the local council, the *collegia*, the *plebs* for their generosity and benefaction. Freedmen and slaves are also an integral part of this patronage system. Manumission, like

euergetism, reflect a generosity, for which Rome was renowned in antiquity (cf. Levick 1986), and this also served to promote Rome's 'beneficial ideology'.

In the 'Latin West', local decurions saw their position as firmly situated within imperial structures. Communities proclaimed their political 'independence' via the *ordo splendissimus* or the community as a whole (*ordo et plebs*). This was especially important if the authority of local élites was threatened by important, neighbouring *municipia* as might be expected during the initial phase of urbanization in regions such as Cisalpine Gaul, or in times of economic stress (as the 4th century AD inscription of Orcistus (Phrygia) might illustrate (*CIL* III 352=7000)). From the epigraphic record, the evidence for internal competition between élite families for magistracies would seem to be negligible, and those associated with the imperial cult dominate the record. Again, this emphasized the need to negotiate one's position within an imperial hierarchy so as to gain the possibility of advancement.

But while integration was an important factor in the western empire, in the 'Greek East' the process of sociocultural integration was characterized more by social and political exclusion. Still in the second century AD, Roman citizenship seems to have been awarded more 'exclusively' compared with the West. Greek epigraphy therefore survived not only because Greek was considered as one of the two 'official' languages of the empire (cf. Horace *Odes* 3, 8, 5 who talks about the *utraque lingua* – Latin and Greek), but because Latin did not correspond with existing concepts of cultural identity to any similar extent (i.e. there was hardly any sociopolitical integration of local élites), while typical Greek institutions, like the *gymnasion*, continued to dominate social life.

The shift of perspective to 'higher' forms of political organization confirms the theory advanced by Elias (1974). 'External bonds' became increasingly important and the spread of Latin epigraphy paralleled the spread of Rome's *res publica*. Roman institutions, Roman law, Roman perceptions of property and Roman landowners intruded into 'allied' and 'provincial' territories. Local administration – increasingly 'urbanized' and often located in 're-founded' central places – was included in an 'administrative' hierarchy, with decurions being recognized as providing an important service for the empire. There is the almost ubiquitous presence of inscriptions which communicated to contemporaries the political unity of the Roman empire erasing any former division between 'conquerors' and 'conquered'. There were constant cultural contacts between the different regions of the empire, so that Greek terms, for example, appear on Latin inscriptions, such as the *logistae thymelae* on an inscription from Lyon (CIL XIII 1807). On an economic basis, many Greek terms were integrated into the Latin language (e.g., amphora) and many traders from eastern provinces settled in the west, such as the Syrian Thaïmos Ioulianos (*AE* 1975, 616; cf. Biville 1989). In the western empire, Latin was the obvious choice particularly as local elites became increasingly dependant upon the 'centre'. Cultural behavioural models were further communicated by authors and poets, such as Vergil and Ovid, and a knowledge of this literature intruded into everyday life, so that Roman rhetoric and poetry is apparent from some inscriptions, such as CIL XIII 1568 which amalgamates some lines of Vergil in the form of an epitaph (*Aen.* IV 336; V 80; *Buc.* V 74) (cf. Achard 1989 for further examples). For

two centuries, Rome and the *princeps* remained trendsetters in defining and refining the social code and the cultural schemata for an imperial society. It was a highly mobile society, and the search for socio-economic stability and the need to be inserted at an appropriate level within the hierarchical network of patronage, may all be evidenced from the surviving epigraphic record.

Appendix 1: Brief Outline – Army personnel attested in Piedmont and Liguria

CIL V (unless otherwise stated)	Albenga	Alba	Alessandria	Aquae Acqui	Asti	Chieri	Cuneo	Dertona	Genoa	Industria	Ivrea	Libarna
Miles sive veteranus		7601		7508	7553 7558 7561 7591 7594	7495	Roda l.c.	7366 7368			6785	
Circitor											6784	
Praef. Fabr.					7458			7370				7425
Centurio					7560; To2	VI 37202	Roda 1984: 152-8				6782f	7426
Primus Pilus		7600			7567; Epigr. 1984, 230							
Trib. Latisclavi					7559			7336?				
Trib. Coh. Praet.									7740			
Trib. Coh. Urbanis												
Trib. Coh.												
Trib. Milit. (legionis)	7784		7447				7370					7425
Praef. Alae										7481	7425	
Praefectus Cohortis											7425	
Legatus pro pr											6781	
TOTAL	1	2	1	1	11	2	2	5	1	1	5	5

	Novara	Susa	Turin	Valenzia	Ventimiglia	Vercelli	Total
	6511 6570 6632	7258	6997 7004 7006 7010 7011 7341	7443		6597 ILV 103	25
			6999				2
	6478		6969				5
	6512	7255 7257?	6996 7000				12
	6513		6969 7003 7007		7814		8
							2
			7003				2
			7003				1
	6513	7256	6995 7003	Epigr. 1984, 234-7			5
			6969 6975 7002				7
	6478		7002 7008				5
	6478		6969 6995				4
							1
Total	9	4	24	2	1	2	

Abbreviations
AE   L'Année épigraphique.
CE   Buecheler, F. 1895-1926. *Carmina Latina Epigraphica*. Leipzig.
CIL   *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*. Berlin. 1863ff.
IIt   Inscriptiones Italiae
ILLRP   Degrassi, A. 1957. *Inscriptiones Latinae Liberae Rei Publicae*.
                Firenze.
ILV   Roda, S. 1985. *Iscrizioni latine di Vercelli*. Vercelli: Cassa di
                risparmio.
SI   *Supplementa Italica, N.S.*
TROS   No. of inscription in the Canavese, in Cresci Marrone and Culasso
                Gastala (eds.) 1991. *Per pagos vicosque*. Padova.

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