Volume 2

NOTES

Introduction

1. See below for a discussion of the concept of Magna Graecia.
2. Other regional studies which have provided models for this type of work include Salmon, Samnium and the Samnites, Cambridge 1965, Harris, Rome in Etruria and Umbria, Oxford, 1971, and Frederiksen, Campania, London 1984.
3. For the criteria used for dating purposes, see Section 2.
4. The methodology used for this will be described in greater detail in Section 2.
5. Balsdon, 30-58 and 116-36.
6. The date at which this sense of Greek identity disappeared varies from city to city. The epigraphy indicates that Naples maintained a considerable degree of Hellenism until the 3rd century A.D., but that Greek customs died out eslewhere in the 1st century A.D. However, it is possible that this is a distorted picture, due to the lack of evidence for some cities. Contacts with the East are best documented for the 2nd and 1st centuries B.C., but the agonistic inscriptions from Naples indicate that there were substantial contacts in the 2nd and 3rd centuries A.D. cf. Ch.4.
7. For a complete list of victors, see Moretti, Mem. Linc. 8.8 (1957).
8. See Ch.3 for details. An example is the Tarentine dedications at Delphi to commemorate the victory over the Iapygians. Paus. 10.10.6, 10.13.10. cf also Paus. 5.26.4-5 (Herodot. 7.170).
9. Diod. 8.32.1, 12.54.4, 13.3.4-5, 13.4.3, Thuc. 6.34, 44, 50-1.
10. However, there is evidence that exiled Tarentines attended the

games of 207 B.C. Livy 27.35.3-4.

11. Cic. Rab. Post. 26-7, App. Mith. 22. cf Cato ad Fil. Fr.1. on Opici.

12. Homolle, BCH 1880, 147.

13. Livy 27.35.3-4, Pol. 8.4.1, 13.4.1-5.6, 16.15.6, Walbank 17-19, 72, 415-6, 497, 519-20, Moschus ap. Athenaeus 14.634e, Fabricius, RE sv Herakleides(63). Herakleides also appears in IG 9.78, Livy 32.5.7 and Diod. 28.9, as a Macedonian general and diplomat.

14. Crawford, C.A.H. (forthcoming).

15. For discussion of this see Calderone, ACMG 15, 34-50, Maddoli, ACMG 21, 9-30, Napoli, Civiltà, 30-43, Ciaceri, 11, 188, Greco, PP 25 (1970), 416-20, Cazzaniga, PP 26 (1971), 36-31.

16. Just. 20.1, Ov. Fast. 4.64, Athen. 12.523e.

17. App. Samn. 7.1, Pol. 2.39.1, Serv. Aen. 1.569, Sen. Helv. 7.2

18. Strabo 6.1.2, Greco, PP 25 (1970), 416-20, Cazzaniga, PP 26 (1971), 36-31.

19. Serv. Aen. 1.569, Sen. Helv. 7.2

20. Plin. N.H. 3.38 and 95, Sil. It. 11.20, Ps. Scymn. 303, Calderone 36-8.

21. Maddoli 10-11. Timaeus FGH 566 F 13 (Schol. T.Plat. Phaedr. 279C), Pol. 2.39.1, Napoli, Civiltà 30-43. Napoli suggests that the preservation of the Timaean evidence only in a late scholiast may indicate that the concept was of a much later, probably Roman origin. However, Polybios clearly relates the term to the 6th century.

22. Calderone 34-5, Maddoli, 10-11, Iamb. Vit. Pyth. 166, Nicom. Geras. ap Porph. Vit. Pyth. 20.

23. Cic. De Or. 2.154, 3.139, Tusc. 1.38, Val. Max. 8.7.2.

24. Other *topoi*, such as that of the depopulation and economic decline of Magna Graecia will be discussed in Section 2.

25. Plin. N.H. 3.442

26. Maddoli, 13, Timaeus, FGH 566 F 13.

27. This is also reflected in epigraphic evidence for the adoption of Greek language and alphabet by Italians. cf. Section 2.

28. Livy 23.20.4-10

29. Strabo 5.4.7, Dion. Hal.16.18.1, and Livy 8.25.9, attest the Graeco-Oscan nature of Naples during the 4th century.

30. Virg. Aen.3.401-2. Calderone ACMG 15, 38-45.

31. Spawforth/Walker, JRS 75 (1985),78-104, 76 (1986), 88-105.

Section 1

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

1. De Franciscis, Stato e Società in Locri Epizefiri. Naples 1972.

2. For discussion of the sources and probable bias, see Frederiksen 208-12, De Senti Sestito 1987, 85-113, Ciaceri, ARAN 12 (1931-2), 39-59 etc.

3. De Senti Sestito 86-9, Von Fritz 60-1, Maddoli 9-30.

4. Momigliano, 46-58.

5. De Senti Sestito 92-4.

6. Dio 4 (=Zon. 7.12), Dion. Hal. 12.1.9.

7. Ridgway, 277-312, Frederiksen, 158-79, Pugliese Caratelli, ACMG 8 (1968), 49-82.

8. Calderone 60-70.

9. Livy 8.26.6.

10. Livy 8.22.7-29.5, Dion.Hal. 15.5.1-9.2.

11. Dion. Hal. 15.5.1-9.2. Frederiksen 210-11.

12. Livy 8.25.8, Dion. Hal.15.5.2, Frederiksen 208-212.

13. The so-called Campano-Tarentine coinage provides evidence of economic connections between Naples and Tarentum, being minted at Tarentum using a Campanian weight standard. The date is, however, uncertain, and varies between c.327 and c.260-50. cf Evans, Num. Chron. 3 (1889), 131-23, Breglia, RAAN 23 (1947-8), Lepore, Storia di Napoli 1. 225ff.

14. Livy 8.27.2.

15. Livy 8.25.5-9, Dion. Hal. 15.4.1-5, Frederiksen 208-212.

16. Livy 24.2.8.

17. Ridgway, 277-312, Frederiksen 158-79, Pugliese Caratelli 1968, 49-82.

18. Livy 8.25.9. cf Dion. Hal. 15.6.2.

19. Von Fritz 56-61. Frederiksen 148.

20. Livy 8.26.6-7, Cic. Balb.8.21.

21. Athen. 16.632a, Strabo 6.1.3.

22. Pugliese Caratelli, ACMG 11 37-54.

23. Livy Per. 12, Vell. Pat. 1.14.7.

24. Livy, 10.44.8-45.11.

25. Ghinatti 1962, 117-33. Strabo 6.3.4 C280. The organisation was based on that of the Achaean League, with a regular League council, a smaller body for taking immediate decisions, and League magistrates or generals.

26. De Senti Sestito 1984, 41-50.

27. Brauer 44-60, Wuilleumier 70-75, De Senti Sestito 1987, 85-113.

28. Brauer 61-86.

29. Livy 8.27.1-29.1, Plut. Pyrr. 14.3, App. Samn.8, Dio 10. 48.

30. Brauer 61-86.

31. Frederiksen, 180-1, 207-224.

32. App. Samn. 7.2, Zon. 8.2, Dio 9.39.3-10, Dion. Hal. 19.5

33. Frederiksen 207-24.

34. Dion. Hal. 15.5.

35. Cic. Sen. 39.

36. Guzzo 1983, 191-246.

37. Livy 8.24.4, Just. 8.2.1

38. Strabo 6.3.4, Just. 8.2.1

39. Frederiksen 207-24.

40. Livy 8.17.10. Recent work on the activities of Alexander of Epirus suggest that his principal campaigns were those against the Samnites, and that his contacts with Rome were very slight. cf Braccesi Rend. Ist. Lomb. 108 (1974), 196-202; Manni, Studi Sallentini, 14 (1962), 344-52.

41. Livy 8.27.1-28.11

42. Livy 8.27.1-28.11

43. Livy 9.14.1-9.

44. Livy 9.26.3, Dion. Hal. 17.5.2, Salmon 1965, 231-2. In particular, the Roman colonisation in Apulia seemed to indicate an increasing interest in the South, and a closer approach to the Tarentine sphere of influence.

45. Livy 9.14.1-9.

46. Cic. Sen. 39.

47. Cary, J.Phil. 35 (1920), 164-73.

48. App. Samn.7.1, Dio 39.4, Zon 8.2.

49. Frank, C.A.H., 622-30, Wuilleumier, 98-110, Garoufalias, 300-12. In particular, cf Cary for detailed discussion of the possible dates for the treaty.

50. App. Samn.7.1, Wuilleumier 99-104, Brauer 121-35.

51. Livy 7.25.3-4, 26.10-11, 13-15.

52. Diod. 20.104, Just. 12 2.1, Livy 10.2.1-3, 3.11-14. In addition, the appointment of the *duoviri navales* in 311 suggests that Rome was gaining a greater interest in naval power, and thus was encraoching further on the Tarentine sphere of interest.

53. App. Samn. 7.1

54. App. Samn. 7.1.

55. App. Samn. 7.1-2, Livy Per. 11, Pliny, NH 34.32, Dion. Hal. 19.13, 20.4, Val. Max. 1.8.6.

56. App. Samn. 7.1-2.

57. Pol. 1.7.1, App. Samn. 9.1, Livy 31.31.6-8, Dion. Hal. 20.4, Livy Per. 12. Walbank, 49-53.

58. Calderone, ACMG 15, 71-80.

59. De Franciscis, 75-84.

60. Pol. 1.7.1, App. Samn. 9.1, Livy 31.31.6-8, Dion. Hal. 20.4, Livy Per. 12.

61. App. Samn. 9.1, Pol. 1.7.1, Dio 9.40.7. Walbank, 49-53. Most of the sources produce a very pro-Roman account, but Livy 31.31.6-8 hints that the rebel takeover may not have been without Roman backing. There seems to have been no effort to recapture the city until the Campanians began attacking the neighbouring cities of Croton and Caulonia. Zon. 8.6, Paus. 6.3.12.

62. Sartori 89-90, Livy 27.35.3-4, App. Hann. 4.33.

63. For Herakleides of Tarentum see Pol. 8.4.1, 13.4.1-5.6, 16.15.6, Walbank 17-19, 72, 415-6, 497, 519-20, Moschus ap. Athenaeus 14.634e, Fabricius, RE sv Herakleides (63). Herakleides also appears in IG 9.78, Livy 32.5.7 and Diod. 28.9, as a Macedonian general and diplomat. A further example is Nikokles of Tarentum

IG 2/3.3779, Paus. 1.37.2.

64. Moretti ACMG 10, 21-65.

65. Brauer 183-200, Moretti ACMG 10, 21-65.

66. Brauer 183-200.

67. Ciaceri, ARAN 12 (1931-2), 39-59 suggests that the extent of Italiote naval assistance may have been suppressed by later, hostile, sources, but there is no evidence to support this assertion.

68. Pol 1.20.14.

69. Pol 2.24.13.

70. Salmon 1965, 280-4, Frank, C.A.H., 641, Cassolà, 159-71.

71. Pugliese Caratelli ASCL 24 (1955), 1-7.

<u>The Second Punic war and After: Magna Graecia and Rome 218-90 B.C.</u>

1. For a discussion of Livy's probable sources, cf Walsh 20-45, 110-37.

2. De Senti Sestito, 86-9.

3. Von Fritz 60-1, De Senti Sestito, 92-4.

4. Walsh 37.

5. Ciaceri, 111, 1-6, Pugliese Caratelli, ACMG 11 37-54.

6. Gruen, The Hellenistic World and the Coming of Rome, Berkeley 1984.

7. See Chapter 4 for a discussion of the evidence for connections between Magna Graecia and the Aegean.

8. Pol. 1.20.14 and Walbank, Commentary 74-5. For discussion of the naval contributions during the 1st Punic war see Thiel 64-76, Ciaceri ARAN 12 (1931-2), 39-59, and chapter 3, below.

9. Pol 3.75.4

10. Livy 25.10.1-3. Livy does not give any indication as to when

Tarentum and Thurii were required to give hostages, but the garrisoning of Tarentum in 218 seems to be the most likely point, at least for Tarentum. The hostages can hardly have been taken as early as 270, and there is no known intervening period of hostility to provide an obvious context.

11. Sil.It. 12.63-81, Livy 24.13.6-7.

12. Dion. Hal. 12.9.1, Dio 4 (Zon.7.12)

13. Livy 8.14.10-11, Vell.Pat. 1.14.3, Fest.126L.

14. Sherwin-White 38-47, Calderone ACMG 15, 60-70.

15. Dion.Hal. 15.6.4, Vell. Pat.1.4.2, Sil.It.8.534, Diod.12.76.4, Frederiksen 139, 143-4.

16. Livy 23.35.10-19.

17. For earlier contacts between Rome and Campania see Calderone 60-70, Frederiksen, 158-79, Ridgway, 377-312, Pugliese Caratelli, ACMG 8 (1968), 49-82. Livy, however, attributes the same pattern of political instability to the seceding Oscan cities as he does to the Greeks. Livy 23.14.5-15.1

18. Livy 23.15.6, 23.35.1-36.10.

19. Livy 23.15.1

20. Livy 23.35.1-36.10

21. Strabo 5.4.7. cf Section 2 sv Naples for a complete list of sources.

22. Livy 8.25.7-27.3, Dion.Hal. 15.5.2-8.

23. Livy 8.27.6, Ciaceri 111.19-21.

24. Plut.Marc.10.1, Zon 9.2, Livy 23.14.5, 15.2.

25. Livy 22.32.4-9.

26. Sherwin-White 38-47.

27. Livy 22.36.9.

28. Livy 23.15.1

29. Livy 23.46.9

30. Livy Per 14, Vell.Pat. 1.14.7., Magaldi, 199-202.

31. cf Copia, which was founded in the territory of Thurii, and Neptunia, which remained separate from Tarentum until 90 B.C. Livy 34.53.2, Brauer 200ff.

32. Livy 26.39.5

33. Livy 27.10.7-8

34 Brauer, 201 ff.

35. Livy 27.10.7-8, Sil. It. 8.578.

36. see Ch.4 for further discussion.

37. Athen.16.632a.

38. Both Naples and Velia appear to have absorbed some Oscans on a basis of peaceful migration. Strabo 5.4.1, and below, Sect.2.2 and 4.

39. Pugliese Caratelli, ACMG 11, 43-5.

40. Livy 22.36.9.

41. Val.Max.1.1.1, Cic. Pro Balb. 24.55, CIL 10.467, AE 1978.261.

42. Livy 26.39.5

43. Wuilleumier, 70-5, and Ghinatti 1962, 117-33. Wuilleumier assumes that Rhegium remained part of the League from 415 B.C., but Ghinatti suggests that the city did not rejoin following the expedition of Dionysios and the assumption of hegemony by Tarentum.

44. Livy 28.28.1-2, 31.31.6-8, Dion. Hal. 20.4.3-5.5, Dio 9.40.11-12, App. Samn. 9.3, Front. Strat. 4.1.38.

45. Livy 23.30.9, 24.1.2, 24.1.12

46. Livy 26.39.5

47. Livy 27.12.4-6, 26.40.18.

48. Livy 23.38.9

49. Livy 24.3.14-15

50. Livy 24.2.1-7

51. Walsh 37, 69-70.

52. Sartori 128-42.

53. The sources for Tarentum indicate more explicitly that the source of the disaffection was an aristocratic faction. Pol.8.24.7, Livy 25.8.3-13. Livy 25.10.1-3 also implies a more general bad feeling between the inhabitants of Tarentum and the Roman garrison.

54. Livy 24.1.4-13

55. Livy 29.6.1-7.17

56. Livy 29.8.6-10.12

57. Livy 29.19.7-9, 21.7-8

58. Livy 23.30.6-8

59. Livy 24.1.1-2

60. Livy 24.2.1-7

61. Livy 24.2.8-11

62. Livy 24.3.15

63. Livy 24.3.9-15

64. The importance of this sanctuary is indicated by Pol 3.33.18, 36.4 and Livy 28.46.16. The continuing wealth of the sanctuary is mentioned by Livy 24.3.3-8. It had symbolic importance as it was traditionally a political and religious centre for both the Italiotes and their Italian neighbours, and has been the original headquarters of the Italiote League. cf De Senti Sestito 1984, 41-50.

65. App. Hann. 9.57.

66. Livy 24.3.1-2.

67. Livy 29.6.1-7.17, 29.19.7-9, 27.35.3-4

68. Livy 25.25.11, Walsh 126.

69. App. Hann.6.34.

70. Pol 8.24.7, Livy 25.8.3-13.

71. Plin. N.H. 34.32, Dion. Hal.20.4.2, App. Samn. 7.1-2, Livy Per.11.

72. App.Hann 6.34.

73. Livy 26.39.14-20, App.Hann.9.7.

74. App. Hann.6.35.

75. Livy 25.11.10, 15.5-6, App. Hann.4.33, 38.

76. Livy 26.39.14-20, 27.42.16, 43.1-3, 51.13.

77. Walsh 126.

78. Pol. 8.24.7. It is possible that the good relations between Carthage and Tarentum which are known from the 270's had been revived. Livy Per. 14, Dio 19.39.3-10.

79. Brauer, 183-200, Moretti, ACMG 10, 21-65, Ciaceri III.101-30.

80. Pol.8.24.7

81. Pol. 8.24.7, Livy 25.8.3-13.

82. Von Fritz 56-61.

83. Pol. 8.24.7

84. Von Fritz 56-61. Frederiksen 148. Frederiksen's suggestion that the *nobiles iuvenes* were traditionally the group which formed the cavalry in both Greek and Oscan Campania is consistent with the interpretation of the group as aristocrats who were beneath the normal age for holding office.

85. Cic.Sen 39, 41., Brauer 195.

86. Pol 8.24.7

87. Livy 25.15.11

88. Livy 27.35.3-4

89. Livy 27.15.9-12

90. Livy 26.20.7

91. Livy 27.15.9-12

92. Livy 27.15.9-16.9

93. Livy 27.21.8

94. Livy 27.25.1-5

95. Kahrstedt 108-21, Ghinatti, QS 1977, 5, 147-60 and 6, 99-115.

96. Ghinatti, passim.

97. Moretti, ACMG 10, 21-65, Leveque ACMG 9, 29-70.

98. Moretti, ACMG 10, 21-65, Leveque ACMG 9, 29-70.

99. see Ch.4

100. Livy 27.16.7-9, Plut. Fab. 21-23.

101. Strabo, 6.1.2, Crawford, C.A.H. (forthcoming). For the concept of a unified Italy as Augustan propaganda, cf. Florus 2.5.1, Res Gest. 25.

102. Kahrstedt 121-5, Toynbee 11, 10-36, Ghinatti, 1977, 147-51.

103. Livy 34.45.4-5, 35.53.2, Vell. Pat. 1.15.4, Plut. G. Gracch. 8.3-9.1.

104. Juv.Sat.3.3, 321., Strabo 6.1.2 C254, Livy 24.3.2-3, Magaldi, 196-8.

105. ILLRP 454. See Wiseman PBSR 19 (1964), 21-37, and Verbrugghe CP 68 (1973), 25-35 for detailed discussion of the elogium and its implications, and Skydsgaard, ARID 7 (1974), 7-36, for transhumance and pasturage in the South.

106. Livy 39.2.8-10 attests the presence of large numbers of herdsmen. For the importance wool production at Tarentum in both Greek and Roman periods, cf Morel, Ktema 3-4 (1978-9), 94-110.

107. Magaldi, 202, Crawford, 1985, 69-72.

108. Crawford, AIIN, 1973.

109. Crawford, AIIN, 1973 suggests, plausibly, that the function of the coinage was euergetic, not economic. However, see Crawford 1985, 69-72, for the possibility that the Greek administrative structure of cities like Paestum and Velia was responsible for the longer continuation of coinage.

110. Livy 39.2.8-10, 41.6-7, App. Syr. 15.

111. Livy 39.2.8-10, 41.6-7, App. Syr. 15.

112. ILLRP 511, Livy 39.2.8-10, 41.6-7.

113. Macrob. Sat.1.18.9, Ciaceri 11.373, Peterson 194, Plut. Brutus 21-2, Napoli 153, IG 716, 717, 737

114. Brauer 89, 201ff.

115. Ghinatti 1977, 151-2.The epigraphic and archaeological evidence available suggests that the cities which declined most noticeably in the period following the Punic wars were those situated along the South coast, away from the new arterial land routes connecting Rome to the South.

116. The usual size for citizen colonies seems to have been 300 families. Of those in the South, the majority were of this type, although Copia may have been larger, being a Latin colony.

117. There are a number of references to the refounding of colonies in the South in the 180's, notably Buxentum and Sipontum. Livy 39.23.3-4.

118. Ghinatti 1977, 150-1, Livy 44.16.4-8.

119. cf. D'Arms, App. 1 and 2 for lists of owners of villas.

120. Plut. Aem. Paul. 39.1

121. There is some evidence for villas at Velia, although it does not seem to have enjoyed as much popularity as the area further North. There was a brief period of prominence in the 1st century A.D., when it became popular as a health resort

following Augustus' much-publicised cold water cure. Hor. Epist. 1.15.1-2, 14-15.

122. It is impossible to make an adequate assessment of the extent of "Romanisation" which took place in this period, since there is very little historical or epigraphic evidence for the 2nd century B.C. However, centres for which there is evidence, such as Naples, Rhegium, Velia and Cumae suggest that a considerable degree of Greek or Oscan culture was maintained, even in those centres such as Cumae which made an obvious effort to become more compatible with Rome in their conduct of civic life. Livy 40.42.13.

123. Juv.Sat.3.3, 321., Strabo 6.1.2 C254, Livy 24.3.2-3, Dio. Chrysos. 33.35.

124. While it may be true that many cities were seriously depopulated by Late Antiquity, the epigraphic evidence for centres such as Cumae and Croton during the earlier empire indicates that assertions such as those of Juvenal and Strabo could not have been true at the date of composition. Recent epigraphic discoveries such as those from Medma provide an indication that even hitherto undocumented sites may have flourished under the Empire to a greater degree than has been supposed.

125. Cic. Balb. 21

126. Pugliese Caratelli ACMG 11, 37-55.

127. Magaldi, Lucania Romana, 169-78.

128. Sherwin White, RC 47, Cic. Balb. 28, Caec.100.

129. Sherwin White 138, Calderone, ACMG 15, 60-70.

<u>The *Socii Navales*: A Reassessment of Roman Alliances and Diplomacy in Southern Italy</u>

1. Notably Paestum, which received the status of a Latin colony, and

Cumae which was granted *civitas sine suffragio.*

2. Mommsen, Römisches Staatsrecht 111.1, 659-60; Badian, Foreign Clientelae Ciaceri, Storia, 111.101-30, ARAN n.s.12 (1931-2), 39-59

3. Milan, Critica Storica 10 (1973), 193-221.

4. Livy 32.23.9-10.

5. Livy 23.41.9, 31.17.3, 32.34.10

6. Livy 9.38.2

7. Livy 8.14.8-12, Flor. 1.11.10, Pliny N.H. 34.20, Varro, LL 5.15.5, Thiel 1954 7-8.

8. Thiel 1954, 73-8.

9. Livy 24.11.7-9, 26.35.1-36.12.

10. Thiel 1954, 73-8.

11. Oros. 4.7-12, Zon. 8.11.

12. Pol. 1.20.9-14, Ined. Vat. 4, Piso ap Plin. N.H. 16.192, Thiel 1954, 31-4.

13. Thiel, A History of Roman Sea Power Before the Second Punic war. Amsterdam 1954.

14. Thiel 1954, 31-4.

15. Thiel 1954, 18-73, Ciaceri, 39-59.

16. Livy 26.39.5 indicates that Quinctius' ships took crews on board at Lacinium in 210, but these are not identified as being composed of Greeks. For the use of non-Greek crews, see Zon.8.11 and Oros.4.7-12. Other references to Greek crews are all in the context of Greeks serving on Greek ships, not on Roman quinqueremes.

17. Thiel 1954, 31-47.

18. Ciaceri, ARAN n.s.12 (1931-2), 39-59; Storia 111.101-30.

19. Walbank 1.74-6.

20. Pol.1.20.14

21. Plut.Pyrr.15.1. The capacity to transport an army of 20,000 infantry, 3,000 cavalry, 2,500 light troops and 20 elephants seems to indicate substantial naval power.

22. Brauer, 121-183.

23. Thiel 1954, 31-47.

24. Ciaceri 39-59, Pol.1.20.14.

25. Walbank 1.74-6.

26. Ciaceri 39-59, Thiel 1954 63-73.

27. Livy 26.39.5

28. Livy Per.14, Vell. Pat. 1.14.7.

29. Livy 10.44.9-45.9.

30. The largest fleet mentioned contained only 25 ships, divided among a number of allies.

31. cf. Pol. 1.20.14.

32. See Appendix 1.

33. Livy 34.8.4

34. Livy 36.42.1

35. Livy 35.16.3

36. Briscoe sv Livy 35.16.3

37. Livy 30.43.1-45.15

38. Livy 36.42.1

39. Livy 34.8.4

40. Livy 26.39.5

41. Livy 42.48.7

42. Badian, FC, 292, Note E.

43. Strabo 6.3.9, Pliny N.H. 3.103, Ptol. 3.1.17, Mela 2.66

44. Strabo 6.3.5

45. Herod. 7.170

46. Livy 36.42.1

47. Livy 26.39.6

48. Livy 42.48.7.

49. The theme of the decline of Magna Graecia in ancient literature, and the possible development of this as a literary *topos* rather than historical reality, will be discussed in Section 2.

50. Thiel 1954, 22-6.

51. App. Samn. 9, Livy Per.12.

52. Plut. Pyrr.15.1

53. Just.17.2.13

54. Pol. 1.20.14

55. Livy 25.11.15

56. App. Hann.6.34

57. Livy 26.39.5.

58. App. Hann.6.34

59. Livy 25.15.4

60. cf the use of Etruscan grain for the provisioning of other campaigns. Livy 28.45.13-21.

61. Livy 26.39.5.

62. App.B.C.1.89

63. Livy 36.42.1, 42.48.7, Pol. 1.20.14.

64. Thiel 1954, 21-59.

65. Pol 1.20.14, Livy 36.42.1

66. Cic.Verr.5.51 suggests that Messana was required to produce only a single bireme, a requirement so minimal that it suggests that this was a mere formality, and bore no correspndence to the forces which might actually be required. Frederiksen 225-6.

67. Livy 27.10.8

68. Livy 26.39.5

69. Livy 27.15.9

70. Sil. It. 8.534.

71. Livy 26.40.17.

72. Livy 23.1.5-10.

73. Frederiksen, DdA 2 (1968), 3-31.

74. Thiel 46-7.

75. Thiel 46-7, Ciaceri 39-59.

76. Zon.8.11, Oros.4.7-12

77. Livy 26.35.10

78. Pol.1.21.1-2

79. Thiel 46-7.

80. Livy 28.45.13-21

81. Livy 22.32.7-9, 36.9

82. RE sv λειτουργια

83. Livy 22.32.7-9, 36.9

84. Badian, FC, 28-30 and 292, Toynbee, HL 519-20

85. Badian 28-30

86. Cic.Verr.5.51

87. Livy 36.9.4

88. Livy 34.8.4

89. Livy 36.42.1

90. Toynbee, HL, 263-5 and 424-7.

91. Brunt 1971, 545-8.

92. Beloch 1880, 201-10, 1886, 353-5.

93. Livy 22.16.7, 36.4.6.

94. Beloch 1886, 353-5.

95. CIL 1^2.585, 21 and 50.

96. Pol. 2.23.1-24.13. It should be noted that Polybios gives this as a normal or average figure for his own day, but there is no indication that it was in any way regarded as binding, or

something to be strictly adhered to.

97. Pol. 2.23.1-24.13. Livy 29.15.9 can be regarded as a further indication that Rome only became involved with the allied census in exceptional cases.

98. Salmon 1982, 169-71, Ilari 57-78.

99. Boronowski, Historia 33 (1984), 248-52.

100. Mattingley, JRS 69 (1969), 129-43. The attempted reconstruction is based on the text of the Lex de Repetundis, which is inscribed on the reverse of the tablet, and does not add anything to the sense of the Lex Agraria.

101. CIL 1^2.196 (=Bruns 36), 7-8. *velet civis Romanis neve nominus Latini neve socium.*

102. Livy 43.6.10, 44.16.4-8. These references indicate the the *Formula Sociorum* was a list which could include allied states such as Lampsacus (Livy 43.6.19), or individuals honoured by the Senate, such as Onesimos (Livy 44.16.4-8). This last case seems to be similar in type to some of the proxeny decrees of the Hellenistic period. cf IG 7.747, 752. The function of the list appears confused. According to Livy, it included both routine registration of allied states, and special honours to individuals. The custom of honouring both states and individuals by means of special Senatorial decree is attested by both literary and epigraphic evidence. cf Livy 29.19.7, CIL 1^2.588. CIL 1^2.588 also indicates the registration of grants of *amicitia* in a document known as the *Formula Amicorum.* For the possible identification of the *Formula Amicorum* with the *Formula Sociorum*, see Marshall, AJP 89 (1968), 39-55.

103. Livy 1.38.2, 4.8.4, 26.24.7, 32.33.7, 33.38.1, 34.57.8, 38.9.10, 39.25.2-6, 39.26.14, 40.12.20, 45.26.15, 45.31.1.

104. See Wenger, RE sv *Formula* for discussion of the legal meanings of the term, and TLL for other possible definitions.

105. Livy 22.57.10.

106. Livy 27.9.1-10.10.

107. Livy 29.15.2-15

108. Livy 29.15.6-10.

109. Livy 29.15.9 and 13.

110. Livy 34.56.4.

111. Livy 41.8.6-12.

112. Brunt, 545-8.

113. Literary sources for treaties, primarily Polybios, seem to indicate that the terms of treaties concluded after a war tended to become more complex, and also more punitive, with the introduction of such features as war indemnities. However, there are axamples in the literary record of treaties on the same lines as those discussed below, e.g. the treaty with Aetolia in 190/89 (Pol. 21.32.15).

114. BCH 102 (1978), 724-6 and fig. 176.

115. ILLRP 516.

116. IGRR 4.2.

117. IGRR 4.1028.

118. All documents leave the nature and extent of military assitence very vague, simply stating that each side must "βοεθειτω ὡς ἄν εὔκαιρον ἐκ τῶν συνθηκῶν και ὁρκίων". It seems inconceivable that allies in Italy could be controlled by more specific regulations without the infringement of local autonomy. It also seems that Rome deliberately cultivated vagueness of this type to some extent. The only specific clause in any of these treaties is that which forbids assistence to Rome's enemies.

119. cf Livy 26.39.5-6, 35.42.1-2, 42.48.6-7 for examples of exactions *ex foedere*, and Meiggs/Lewis 56 for the use of oaths in Greek diplomatic formulae.

120. Dion. Hal. 6.95.

121. The traditional date of 496 B.C. may be too early, but there seems to be no good reason to dismiss the treaty entirely as historical evidence for the form and content of the earlier Italian treaties. The fact that assistence by the entire military strength of the signatories was required seems to indicate a farily early date, when a total levy would have been both practicable and potentially necessary.

122. Pol. 6.19.5-21.5.

123. Pol. 6.21.4-5. The implication seems to be that the numbers and distribution of allied troops were decided by the consuls but that the allies were left to organise their own levy.

124. Livy 31.2.5-7, 32.1.1-9, 8.6-8, 28, 9-12, 33.26.1-6, 43.1-9, 35.20.1-14, 36.1.7-9.

125. Livy 32.1.3. This is a rare example, since other figures given for the levies indicate that the Senate was usually reluctant to allow consular initiative in levying troops. cf Livy 44.21.2-11.

126. Livy 36.1.8.

127. Livy 35.2.2-9.

128. Livy 27.9.7.

129. Pol. 2.23.7-13. Livy 29.15.9 suggest that where compatibility with the Roman system was required, it had to be imposed artificailly, even when dealing with Latins.

130. Merguet, Lexikon zu den Reden Ciceros, 4.747-8, sv Togatus. For examples of *togati* as citizens, cf Cic. Verr. 2.152, 1554, 165-6, Rab. Post. 26-7, Strabo 3.2.15.

131. Caes. BG 8.24 and 52, Cic. Phil. 8.27.

132. This would surely be the logical consequence of a levy by the same procedure as that used for citizens.

133. Salmon 1982, App.3.

134. The exact connetion is not recoverable as the text is too fragmentary, but the appearence of this particular sub-class in a law concerned with the rights of those occupying *ager publicus* would argue that there must be a connection of some sort.

135. Ilari, 57-78, makes the suggestion that the *formula* was a list of all those allowed to wear the toga, which began to be used at some stage before the 1st Punic war for assessing military contributions. However, this would still not account for the inclusion of many Oscan areas where the toga was not in common use

136. Livy 8.14.10-11, Vell.Pat. 1.14.3, Fest.126L.

137. Sherwin-White 38-47, Calderone ACMG 15, 60-70.

138. Livy 8.25.12

139. Livy 8.27.

140. Cic.Balb. 21

141. Livy 35.16.3, 31.29.10.

142. Pol 1.20.14, 6.14.8

143. Livy 22.32.4-9

144. Gruen 54-95.

145. cf Herakleia

146. Livy Per.15, Vell.Pat. 1.14.7

147. Livy 22.36.9

148. Livy 22.36.9.

149. Livy 27.10.17, 29.15.1-5.

150. Livy 26.39.5

151. Livy 34.53.2.

152. Vell. Pat. 1.15.4, Plut. G. Gracch. 8.3-9.1.

153. Livy 10.14.9, 45.9

154. Pol.1.20.14

155. Harris, Rome in Etruria and Umbria, 103-4

156. Cic. Balb 55.

157. Wuilleumier 70-5, Ghinatti 1962, 117-33. See Chapter 2, n.43.

158. Dio 9.7, Diod.22.1.3

159. Livy Per.15

160. Pol.1.7.12

161. Livy 29.19.7

162. Dion. Hal. 20.4.2, Pol. 1.7.1, Livy Per. 12, 31.31.6-8, App. Samn. 9.1.

163. Livy 26.39.5, 36.16.1, 42.48.7

164. Livy 35.16.3, 31.29.10.

165. Zon 8.6

166. Calderone ACMG 15, 71-80.

167. Livy 29.19.7

168. CIL 1.588, discussed by Marshall, AJP 89, (1968), 39-55

169. IGRR 4.1028

170. CIL 1.588

171. For further discussion of diplomatic contacts between Magna Graecia and the Aegean, cf Chapter 4.

172. Pliny NH 34.32

173. Livy Per.11, Dion. Hal.19.13, Pliny, NH 34.32

174. Livy 25.11.10.

175. Livy 34.53.2.

176. Front. Strat.3.6.4, Zon. 8.6.

177. Livy 26.39.5

178. Livy 24.3.1

179. Livy 34.45.4-5.

180. Cic.Balb. 8.21

181. Cic.Arch.4

182. Cic.Balb.51

183. App. Hann.6.35

184. App. Hann. 4.35.

185. Livy 27.51.13

186. Livy Per.15

187. Zon. 8.6

188. Zon 8.6

189. Livy 26.39.5-15, 36.16.5

190. Livy 27.5.1-5, Plut. Fab. Max. 21-23.

191. Livy 35.16.5

192. Matthaei, CQ 1(1907), 182-204.

193. Harris, 85-98.

194. Milan, CS 10 (1973), 193-221.

195. Horn, Foederatae. Frankfurt 1930

196. Badian, FC 25-30 and note E.

197. Frederiksen, DdA 2 (1968), 3-31.

198. Taübler 44-66, Ilari, 25-56.

199. Horn, *passim*.

200. Mommsen Röm. Staatsr.111.590-606.

201. Taübler, 14-66, Ilari, 25-56.

202. Mommsen, Staatsr. 111.590-606.

203. Horn 11, Harris 85-98.

204. Gruen, The Hellenistic World and the Coming of Rome. Berkeley 1984, 14-47.

205. Gruen 14-47.

206. Livy 26.39.5, 34.8.4, 35.16.5, 42.48.1

207. Livy 7.12.7, 8.39.13, 9.1.3-4, 9.5.4, 21.10.8-13, 24.49.3, 31.11.8, 33.34.7, 35.26.1, 38.31.2.

208. Packard, sv "Ex Foedere"

209. Livy 36.5.7

210. Cic. Verr 5.51

211. For the early development of Etruria, see Pallottino, the Etruscans and Ridgway and Ridgway, Italy Before the Romans.

212. Harris, 41-84.

213. Harris, 94-5. Livy 9.37-41, 10.37.4.

214. Harris, 94-5. Livy 9.37-41, 10.37.4.

215. Livy 7.38.1

216. Harris 85-98 and 101-113.

217. Livy 8.14.10-11, Vell.Pat. 1.14.3, Fest.126L, Sherwin-White 38-47, Calderone ACMG 15, 60-70.

218. Livy 8.26.6-7, Salmon, 218-9, Frederiksen 208-12.

219. Staveley, E.S., Historia 4 (1959), 410-35.

220. Harris, 92-8.

221. Livy 26.39.5

222. Pol. 1.20.14

223. Pol. 2.24.13.

224. For instances of miltiary assitance on the basis of *amicitia* only, see Gruen, 86-95.

225. Livy 35.16.5

226. Livy 27.21.8, 27.25.1-6, 29.16-21

227. Salmon 187-97

228. Livy 7.31.2

229. Livy 7.30.4-31.2

230. Salmon 197, Frederiksen 182-4.

231. Livy 8.25.3

232. Salmon 215

233. Livy 8.27.6-11

234. Livy 9.20.4 and 7-9

235. Livy 9.20.1-4

236. Livy 10.12.1-2

237. For the possible political divisions on expansion in the South, see Staveley, Historia 4 (1959), 410-35.

238. Thiel, 20-47, Frederiksen DdA 2 (1968), 3-31.

239. Livy 9.30.3-4, 37.12, 41.6-7, 45.1-4.

240. Harris 94-8.

241. RE sv indutiae, sponsio, amicitia

242. Harris 94-5. Livy 9.37-41, 10.37.4

243. Livy 9.5.4

244. Crawford, PBSR 1973, 1-7.

245. Livy 25.11.15

246. Matthaei, 182-3.

247. CIL 1.588, Livy 44.16.5-7, Cic. Sen. 41

248. Matthaei 182-204.

249. Mommsen, Staatsr.111.590-606.

250. Gruen 54-95.

251. Gruen 14-53.

252. Livy 34.57.2-11

253. Livy 30.37.1-6

254. Pol.21.30.1-7, 32.1-15

255. Pol. 21.18.1-10

256. Pol.18.14.1-7

257. BCH 102 (1978), 724-6 and Fig. 176.

258. Dion. Hal. 6.94.

Contacts between Southern Italy and the Hellenistic World

1. Problems of this type arise particularly in connection with individuals from Locri, Cumae, Herakleia and Naples. None of the inscriptions mentioning these states have been included unless there is good reason to believe that it is the Italian city of that name which is meant.

2. The assertion that the inhabitants of Herakleia in Italy habitually used the ethnic Ἡρακλειος in preference to the more widespread Ἡρακλεοτης cannot be regarded as a certain means of identification. cf Robert, REG 1968, 545-5, Bousquet BCH 62 (1938), 339-42.

3. The archives of the Olympeion indicate that the temple treasury possessed a considerable amount of money during the 3rd century, arguing considerable prosperity for the city as a whole. See De Franciscis, Stato e Società in Locri Epizefiri, Naples 1972.

4. Livy Per. 15, Vell. Pat. 1.14.7.

5. Cumae received civitas sine suffragio in 338 (Livy 8.14.12) together with other areas of Campania and adopted Latin as its official language in 180 (Livy 40.42.13). Before this date, it was substantially Oscanised and there is evidence that some of the Greek population had left and taken up residence at Naples (D.H. 15.6.4). Croton was also severely depopulated (Livy 24.3.1-2) and received a Roman colony in 194 (Livy 34.45.4-5).

6. Strabo 6.1.2 indicates that only Tarentum, Rhegium and Naples preserved a completely Greek culture in his own day. Rhegium appears to have had only negligible contact with the rest of the Greek world, but Tarentum and Naples both had considerable

connections outside Italy.

7. Hatzfeld, Trafiquants, 238-45.

8. Lists of Italians in the East are given in Hatzfeld, Les Trafiquants Italiens Dans L'Orient Hellenique, Paris 1919, and Hatzfeld, Les Italiens Residants à Delos, BCH 36 (1912), 5-218. For the ratio of Italiotes to other Ῥωμαιοι, see Wilson, 105-11, who gives a figure of 1:5. This, however, excludes Campanian Greeks. If Cumaeans, Neapolitans etc. are included, the ration of Greeks to Italians is 1:4.

9. IG 4.1504. The dating of this is disputed but must fall between 390 and 367 or 353 and 339.

10. IG 7.388, SEG 27.85. Moretti (see SEG) suggests that this should read Κυμαιωι ἀπ Ἰταλιας, rather than Θουριωι.

11. IG 4.1215.

12. Flacelière, App.11.26a.

13. FD 111.4, SEG 27.725

14. Moretti ACMG 10, 57-62, Mem. Linc. 8.8.2 (1959).

15. IG 7.342, 505. No.505, from Tanagra can be dated to 222-205. Both texts record proxeny decrees for the same man, Πελοπς Δεξιαι, so it is likely that No.342 from Orchomenos, also a proxeny decree, is of similar date.

16. Launey 600, 1260

17. Flacelière App.11.23a

18. SEG 27.115.

19. IG 12.313.

20. IG 12.313, 9.1187, SEG 29.1216, SEG 27.1114, BCH 36, 98.

21. BCH 36, p.12.

22. Launey 601, 1261

23. Flacelière App.11.8b, 26a, 64b, 89a. BCH 1935, 31.

24. Livy 23.20.4.

25. Virgil, Aen. 3.401/2. The phenomenon of συγγενεια and the creation of fake Greek ancestries is a trend which is found in other cities on the fringes of the Greek world during the Hellenistic period. Calderone, ACMG 15, 60-70, suggests that some degree of Hellenic identity was emerging among Oscan cities in the 4th century, or even earlier. For further discussion, cf Leveque ACMG 9, 48-59, Pugliese Caratelli, ACMG 11, 45-6

26. D.H. 15.6.4., Strabo 5.4.7, Livy 40.42.13, Vell. Pat.1.4.2.

27. Hatzfeld, 238-245.

28. Hatzfeld, BCH 36 and 45, Delo e l'Italia, Op. Inst. Rom. Fin. 11, 1982.

29. BCH 36, 94, IG 11.3387.

30. IG 7.417.

31. IG 7.1767.

32. See Hatzfeld, Trafiquants, 257-265, Wilson 12-18.

33. For instance, 'Ερμων of Velia (BCH 36, 11), 'Ηρακλειδης Αριστιωνος of Tarentum (BCH 36, 42-3), Φιλοστρατος Φιλοστρτου of Naples (BCH 36, 67) or Τιτος Σατυριωνος of Herakleia (BCH 36, 85-6).

34. BCH 36, 52.

35. BCH 36, 67.

36. For instance Herakleides Aristionos, to name only one example. Wilson, 111-5, suggests that there was some degree of stable, resident population on Delos, but there is no firm evidence to support this.

37. For references to Φιλοστρατος Φιλοστρατου, see Hatzfeld, BCH 36, 67, Deniaux, Ktema 5-6 (1980-81), 133-141, Delo et l'Italia.

38. Hatzfeld BCH 36, 78-9.

39. IG 7.416.

40. IG 7.540.

41. IG 11.108.

42. IG 7.3197, Vollgraff, Mnemosyne N.S. 47 (1919), 252-8. The date of the Argos inscription is uncertain, but it is assigned to the 2nd or 1st century B.C. by Vollgraff on the basis of letter-forms. Gossage, ABSA 1984, 115-134, gives some discussion of the two inscriptions. It does not appear unreasonable to conclude that the Dorotheos of the Orchomenos inscription is the same person as the victor from Argos, particularly as there is no real chronological discrepancy. As Gossage points out, it is not unknown in the corpus of Boeotian inscriptions to find the same competitor crowned twice, even at fairly long intervals. For further references on Dorotheos see O'Connor, Chapters in the History of Actors and Acting in Ancient Greece, (Chicago 1908), 162-3, Ghiron-Bistagne, 107, 176, Wuilleumier, 713.

43. In particular, they appear to have participated in the Boeotian festivals which rose to international prominence in the 1st century, rather than in the traditional panhellenic festivals, despite a long-standing connection with some of these. cf Moretti, ACMG 10, 57-62, and Rend. Linc. 8.8.2 (1959) for lists of Italiote victors in major festivals.

44. Gossage, ABSA 1984, 115-134.

45. SEG 27.1114.

46. IG 2.467, 470.

47. Insc. Del.1.2598, BCH 36, 78.

48. IG 2.3042.

49. IG 2.3387.

50. IG 2/3.9116, 9117, 8483, 3779. 10413, 10412a, 10414

51. A number of examples of proxeny/amicitia decrees have been found in Southern Italy, suggesting the Greek diplomatic practices continued at least until the 1st century B.C., if not later. cf IG 14.612, from Rhegium, and Forni, Kokalos 3-4 (1957-8), 61-70, from Velia. Deniaux suggests that this phenomenon may represent the use of traditional Greek terminology to camouflage Roman amicita and clientela, but it does not seem impossible that proxenia was genuinely perceived as an independent but equivalent relationship.

52. Moretti, ACMG 10, 57-26.

53. see the catalogue of Italiote in the East for details of the presence of Neapolitans, Velians, Cumaeans etc. in the East.

54. Livy 27.35.3-4

55. Livy 29.6.1-7.17, 19.7-9, 21.7-8.

56. Launey 600-1, 1260-1.

57. Moretti, RFIC 93 (1963), 73-9

58. Pol. 8.4.1, Walbank 72, 415-6.

59. Pol. 8.4.1, 16.15.6, Walbank 72, 415-6, 497, 519-20.

60. Moschus ap. Athenaeus 14.634.

61. Pol. 13.4.1-5.6, Walbank 17-19, Fabricius, RE sv Herakleides(63). Herakleides also appears in IG 9.78, Livy 32.5.7 and Diod. 28.9, as a Macedonian general and diplomat.

62. Doublet, BCH 16 (1882), 153.

63. Livy 27.35.3-4

64. IG 2/3.3779, Paus.1.37.2, Athen.13.603e, Diog. Laert.7.13

65. There are numerous examples of this, 27.340 and 341 are typical instances.

66. Cic. Arch 5.

67. Cic. Arch 6.

68. Cic. Arch.6, Deniaux 133-41.

69. Hatzfeld, BCH 36, 67, Deniaux, Ktema 5-6 (1980-81), 133-141, Delo et l'Italia.

70. Cic. Fam. 13.30.

71. Deniaux 133-41. The assertion is based on the fact that Philostratos is cited only once as a citizen of Ancona, in the earliest of the inscriptions, suggesting that he had a preference for emphasising his Neapolitan citizenship.

72. Geer, The Greek Games at Naples TAPA 66 (1935), 208-222, Arnold, AJA 64 (1960), 241-51, Hardie, Statius and the Silvae. Poets, Patrons and Epideixis in the Graeco-Roman World. Liverpool, 1983, 1-73. The Games appear to have been modelled on the Olympic Games, with some variations such as prize money for artistic events and the limitation of some boys' events to Neapolitan citizens.

73. Moretti, Isc. Agon. Greche, and below, sv Naples.

74. see below sv Naples.

75. Hardie, 1-73, Rostagni, PP 7 (1952), 344-57.

76. Spawforth and Walker, The World of the Panhellenion 1, JRS 75 (1985), 78-104, 11, JRS 76 (1986), 88-106.

77. IG 5.1.37b, 12-17 (SEG 11.481). See also Spawforth/Walker 11, 91, Gasperini, Studi in Onore di A. Adriani, 476.

78. For evidence of independent diplomatic contacts with the East after the Roman conquest cf Pugliese Caratelli, ASCL 24 (1955), 1-7, Bengtson, Historia 3-4 (1957-8), 456-63.

79. It seems likely, for the literary evidence, that the Aegean Greeks did not distinguish between Roman and Italians, referring to both groups indiscriminately as Ῥωμαιοι or as Ιταλικοι and

thus it is entirely possible that there was no distinction made between Greeks from Italy and other Italians. cf BCH 1880, 147, Minatus M.F. Steius (Μινατος Μινατου Στειος), who is described as Ῥωμαιος εκ Κυμης.

Section 2

Introduction

1. The Latin sections of the Table of Herakleia and the Lex Tarentina have some implication for the development of municipal administration. These will be discussed in as far as they are relevant to local developments and conditions, but it is not intended to make a detailed study of all their clauses and provisions.
2. Post-4th century evidence will be acknowleged but not treated in depth.
3. Other examples include Caulonia, Buxentum, Nicotera etc.
4. Gasperini, L.in Seconda Miscellenea Greca e Romana, Terza Miscellenea Greca e Romana and Settima Miscellenea Greca e Romana.
5. Gasperini, L.in Seconda Miscellenea Greca e Romana, Terza Miscellenea Greca e Romana and Settima Miscellenea Greca e Romana, Costabile, F, Municipium, Locrensium, Naples, 1978.
6. Mello, M, Paestum Romana, Rome 1974. Mello, M and Voza, G., Le Iscrizioni Latine di Paestum, Naples, 1968.
7. In particular, Conway's calculations of regional distributions, which appear to be based on frequency of occurrence in CIL, cannot provide an accurate guide to the original provenance of a name, although they can provide some approximate guidelines.
8. Gasperini, 1971, Costabile, 1978.
9. Gasperini, 1971.
10. Conway, R.S., The Italic Dialects, Vol.2, Cambridge 1897, Schulze, W, Zur Geschichte Lateinischer Eigennamen, Berlin 1933.
11. These are discussed in greater depth sv Cumae.
12. Kajanto, Latomus 67 (1968), 517-34.

13. Kajanto, I, The Latin Cognomina, Helsinki-Helsingfors 1965. Lists of the most common Latin cognomina are given at 29-30. See also 16-19 for those cognomina which seem to have connections with particular provinces.

14. See sv Rhegium

15. See sv Velia, Tarentum and Naples.

16. See sv Naples

17. See sv Naples

18. Woodhead 61-2 and 64-5, Tod, BSA 1951, Guarducci, EG 1.377 + Note 3.

19. Guarducci EG 3.151-3.

20. Kajanto, Onomastique Latine,421-30.

21. Kajanto, LC, 19, Thylander, 101-3.

22. Kajanto, OL,421-30.

23. e.g. IG 14.714 and 734.

24. e.g. CIL 10.1479

25. Shackleton-Bailey Studies in Roman Nomenclature, 81-131.

26. Forni, OL 73-101, Sartori 42.

27. Duncan-Jones, 1974 362-3.

28. Degrassi 1957, 10-12, Thylander 50-1.

29. CIL 10.1493

30. Susini 66, and below, sv Tarentum.

31. Duncan-Jones, 1974 362-3.

Cumae

1. For references and bibliography see Pallotino, The Etruscans, and Ridgeway and Ridgeway, Italy before the Romans, Frederiksen, Campania 161-77.

2. Strabo 5.47, C264, Thuc. 6.4.5, Beloch, Campanien 442, OCD sv Cumae.

3. Diod. 11.51, Pind. Pyth. 1.72ff., Syll. 35 B.

4. Livy 4.44.2, Vell. Pat. 1.4.2, Dio ap. Zon. 7.12.4, Diod. 12.76, Dion. Hal. 15.6.4. There are indications that most of the Greek population fled to Naples, where they formed a distinct section of the community even in 326. Frederiksen 139, 143-4.

5. The earliest date of contact with Rome cannot be pinpointed with any accuracy, but it is likely that the communities came into contact during the period of Etruscan expansion in Campania and Latium in the 7th and 6th centuries. Frederiksen 158-61.

6. Dio 7.12. Frederiksen's suggestion of earlier contacts seems plausible.

7. Dion. Hal. 12.1.9. This incident is merely the best documented of a number of similar cases where Campanian cities, in particular Cumae, assisted with emergency supplies of grain. Frederiksen 163-7.

8. In the absence of any evidence, it is only possible to make conjectures on the nature of this relationship. However, the involvement of Cumae in the Latin War suggests that the city may have had some form of *societas*. For *civitas sine suffragio* see Livy 8.14.11.

9. This seems to be the only attempt by Rome to form a relationship with of this type with a city of Greek origin, although the concept of *civitas sine suffragio* may in itself have been a development from the Greek idea of ισοπολιτεια. Calderone, ACMG 15, 60-70.

10. Livy 23.31.10.

11. Livy 40.42.13, Varro ap. Gell. 11.1.5.

12. Dion. Hal. 12.1.9, Strabo, 5.4.3, Juv. Sat. 9.57, Pol. 3.91.3-5.

13. Livy 23.36.6.

14. Juv. Sat. 3.2 and 321. The frequency with which a number of Roman authors assert that the cities of Magna Graecia were depopulated to the point of desertion suggests that this theme had become a literary and historical *topos*, with little bearing on reality.

15. For a complete list of villas owned by prominent Romans and local aristocrats see D'Arms, Romans on the Bay of Naples 171-232.

16. Cic. Leg. Ag. 2.66, 78, 86, 96, Ad Fam. 9.1 (Varro), Ad Fam. 9.5 (Varro), Ad Fam. 9.23 (Cicero), Ad Fam. 9.74 (Cicero), Ad Fam. 12.20 (Cicero), Ad Fam. 9.8 (Cicero), Ad Fam. 16.10 (Cicero, Ad Q. F. 3.5 (Cicero), Ad Fam. 2.6 (Cicero), Ad Fam. 2.13 (Cicero), Ad Att. 5.2 (Cicero), 4.10 (Cicero and Pompey), 10.1 (Curio), Appian B.C. 1.104 (Sulla), Sen Ep. Mor. 51.11 (Marius, Pompey Caesar), Ep. Mor. 55.2.11 (Servilius Vatia).

17. Cic. Leg. Ag. 2.66, 78, 86, 96.

18. Petr. Sat. 26-78.

19. Pliny N.H. 19.10, 35.116-7. Recent study of pottery stamps has suggested that Arretine ware bearing the stamp of Rasinius may have been made at Cumae rather than at Puteoli. cf. Comfort, in Archeologie en Historie. Opgedragen aar H. Brunstig, 271-4, Pucci, PP 30 (1975), 368-71.

20. Vergil 6.42-156. For full discussion and bibliography, see Austen, Commentary on Aeneid VI, Frederiksen 161. Paus. 10.13.8 and 8.24.5 give further information.

21. Gabrici, Mon. Ant. 1913, Schoder, Scientific American 209 (6.12.63), 109-118.

22. Schoder, 109-118.

23. IG 14.861 (= Garrucci, Bull. Inst. 1861, 11; Mancini, ARAN 16, 1893, 119-129).

24. The name of the dedicator is Oscan but it is expressed in Greek form. This type of linguistic mixing is found in a number of other examples from Cumae and elsewhere.

25. Peterson 50-61. Stat. Silv. 4.8.47-9, Serv. Aen. 6.9, 6.14, Sil. It. 12.85-103. The epithet Cumanus is atested by most sources, and is more likely than the alternative, Ζωτηριος, suggested by Schol.Vet. ad Licoph. 1278.

26. CIL 10.3683 (= ILS 4038).

27. CIL 10.3684.

28. Hatzfeld, BCH 36 (1912), 5-218, Boak, C.P. 11 (1916), Meiggs, Roman Ostia 311-403.

29. This is a conjectural date based on the equation of Lucceius Fillus (dated by Mommsen to 7 A.D.) with the other Luccei found at Cumae. The fact that this is a rebuilding rather than completely new work suggests that the cult was already in existence. The cult was also known at Velia and Naples, from where it was apparently transmitted to Rome. Cf. Cic. Pro. Balb. 55, AE 1978 No.261 and CIL 10.467.

30. CIL 10.3697.

31. CIL 10.3705.

32. Peterson 70-1. Sogliano, NSc 1905. Jeffrey, 239-40. An inscription from the Greek period of the city's history indicates that this may have been a mystery cult, with its own cemetery.

33. Peterson 5-8, 48-50.

34. Vetter 108 (= Buck 25), Ribezzo, RIGI 6 (1922), 312 and 8 (1924), 88. Although the dedication was to Jupiter, it was

found near the Temple of Apollo.

35. A much larger number of these Iovilae dedications were found at Capua. These appear to pre-date the fall of the city to Rome in 211, and are probably 3rd century. Buck suggests that they were dedications made at festivals celebrated by collegia or by kinship groups. Cf. Buck No.30 for a similar dedication *pro iuventute*. The epithet, Flagiui, is equated by Buck with the Latin epithet Fulgurator.

36. Peterson 71-4.

37. Livy 27.23.2.

38. Cf. Austen, 54, for a map of the area and Schoder and Gabrici for discussion.

39. Virg. Aen. 6.19 and 41.

40. Austen 55-7.

41. CIL 10.3704.

42. CIL 10.3698.

43. Dennison AJA 2 (1898) No.64.

44. Schoder, 109-118.

45. ILS 6659.

46. CIL 10.3701. The provenance of this inscription is not certain. It may be from Neapolitan or Cumaean territory.

47. ILS 6339 a and b.

48. CIL 10.3699. Ferguson, Religions of the Roman Empire, 13-31; Fishwick, TAPA 9 (1966) 139-202.

49. Cf. the commemorative inscriptions of Julius Anthus (CIL 10.109) and Futia Longina (CIL 10.110) of Croton for the position of the *Augustales* as a middle order between the Decurions and the rest of the populace. Ostrow, Historia 1984, and Duthoy, Epigraphica 36 (1974), 134-154 give further discussion of the social

function of the *Augustales*.

50. CIL 10.3700. The fact that all praenomina are omitted on this document suggests that it may be later than 251. For the development of the single-name system, see Kajanto, Onomastique Latine 421-430.

51. Peterson, 61, Waltzing, 35.

52. CIL 10.3682 (= CIL 1.2557, ILS 108.

53. CIL 10.3694.

54. CIL 10.3691 and 3691a (= CIL 1.256-3). For the Augustan work on the acropolis, see Johannowsky, Enciclopedia dell'Arte Antica, sv Cuma.

55. CIL 10.3695 and 3695a.

56. Dennison, AJA 2 (1898) No.59.

57. Suet. Nero 34, Aug. 64, Tac. Ann. 16.19, 14.4 etc.

58. AJA 2 (1898) No.65.

59. The name G. Julius appears very frequently on the list of Dendrophori.

60. CIL 10.3698 (= ILS 175) and CIL 10.3697.

61. CIL 10.3698 11.3-4.

62. Dion. Hal. 7.3.1-11.4. Plut. Aet. Graec. 2.291ff.

63. Sartori, 32-6.

64. E.E. 2 (1875), 164ff. Conway No.88-91, Buck No.40.

65. Sartori 37-8 cf. Festus p.262, sv Praefecturae.

66. Cic. ad Att. 10.13.1.

67. CIL 10.3697, Degrassi, Mem. Linc. 8.2 (1949).

68. CIL 10.3711.

69. ILLRP 576 (= NSc 1930, AE 1931 No.99). The dating to the Sullan period by Sartori is conjectural but the form of the name would suggest a dating to the Late Republic.

70. Gabrici, Mon. Ant. 22 (1913) col. 764-

71. CIL 10.3698.

72. Mingazzini, NSc 1939, Sartori 39-41.

73. In particular, CIL 10.3698, 3704 and 3708 are relevant.

74. ILS 910.

75. Hor. Sat. 1.5.34.

76. Lib. Col. 232, Lachmann.

77. CIL 10.3698.

78. Sartori, 39, Keppie, 48-51.

79. CIL 10.3703 and 3704. The fact that Pliny (N.H. 3.5.61) omits Cumae from his list of colonies cannot be regarded as proof that a colony did not exist.

80. Cic. Ad Att. 10.13.1.

81. Maiuri, NSc 1913, 186-7.

82. E.E. 8.445, CIL 10.3704.

83. CIL 10.3704.

84. E.E. 8.445, Sartori 41-2.

85. Forni, OL, 73-101.

86. E.E. 8.452 (= NSc 1885).

87. Thylander, Etudes sur L'Epigraphie Latine, 50-1.

88. Cic. De Leg. Ag. 2.92.

89. Attempts to assign material to these categories has been based largely on historic reference points, the form of the inscription and the form of the names. No attempt has been made to date on palaeographic grounds.

90. The cult of the Nymphs is also attested at Naples.

91. Schoder, Scientific American, 209, 110, Jefferey, Archaic Scripts of Ancient Greece, 239-40.

92. Conway 586.

93. This would coincide with the main period of Oscan occupation.

94. Conway 584.

95. Buck, No.21-34.

96. The usual praenomen in Latin was Decimus.

97. CIL 10.5388 and 5093.

98. Conway 582.

99. These include Karis Britties (Maiuri, NSc 1013, 53-4) who is probably 2nd century, Αττινος 'Ηρακλειδου, and Αβις Καικου (IG 7.417) who appear on a victory list from Oropos, c.80 B.C.

100. This text mentions two Heii, probably brothers, together with two slaves and one freedman.

101. IG 7.417 (Αβρις Καικου, Αττινος 'Ηρακλειδου), IG 14.660 (= Mingazzini, ASMG 1, 1954, 21-55), Τερτιας Πακιας του Διονυσιου, from Velia. Cf. Lejeune, Onomastique Latin, 35-41, for details of the Italic onomastic systems.

102. Conway 578.

103. Given the probable date of this dedication, it seems likely that either the object or the artist was imported as a result of the growing Campanian trading connections with the East. The participation of Cumaeans is indicated by the men who appear in the Oropos victory list (IG 14.417).

104. Maiuri, NSc 1913, Poccetti, PdP 39 (1984).

105. Pugliese Caratelli, ASCL 24 (1948).

106. Lejeune, Onomastique Latine, 35-41; Kajanto, ibid, 63-70. Some of the 2nd and 1st century names at Cumae do include cognomina, but these are a minority of cases. In at least one instance, the apparent cognomen seems more likely to be an Oscan type of patronymic, drawn from the nomen of the father, rather than the

praenomen, and with the filiation (or libertination) omitted.

107. A name which is not attested elsewhere is entirely possible, and this is not a decisive argument in favour of Poccetti's interpretation.

108. For the Velian examples, see SEG 32.921 and 922 and SEG 16.583. However, comparison with other Greek inscriptions from Cumae itself, from Naples and from the Aegean as a whole indicates that the form name + ethnic is very much less common than name + patronymic.

109. The only certain example is Dekis Hereiis Dekieis Saipinaz (Buck No.40).

110. Cf. Hatzfeld's index of Italian traders in Trafiquants Italiens dans L'Orient Hellenique.

111. Livy 24.1.1-3.15. App. Hann. 9.57.

112. e.g. Αβρις Καικου, Αττινος 'Ηρακλειδου

113. It seems most likely that this is an Oscan form of Herennius, which is a very common name in Campania. The -es ending seems to be the Oscan equivalent of the Latin -ius. This may also explain the irregular form Eburis, found in the same text.

114. Cf. the names listed in Buck No.40.

115. Hatzfeld, Trafiquants, 86.3 for Aulus Caedicius Agathon, who is recorded on Naxos in the 1st century B.C.

116. Conway 570.

117. Mancini, ARAN 16 91893), 119-129.

118. Cic: Leg. Ag. 2.93.

119. Cic. De Am. 37, Plut: Ti. Gracch. 9, Dudley, JRS 31 (1941).

120. AE 1980, 242.

121. Hatzfeld, BCH 36 (1912), 32-3.

122. Hatzfeld, BCH 36 (1912), 13.

123. Kajanto, 18.

124. Kajanto, Onomastique Latine.

125. Frederiksen, PBSR 14 (1959), 84 cites an earlier instance dated to 112. For the magister of 105, see ILLRP 712.

126. ILS 5578, ILLRP 609, D'Arms, AJA 77 (1973), 163-4.

127. Ad Att. 16.1.5.

128. Kajanto does not discuss names formed with this particular suffix. However, cf. Schulze 457ff. on -ullius and -uleius.

129. Buck, No.40. Marii also appear in the 3rd century list of Dendrophori.

130. Mello, Paestum Romana, No.180.

131. CIL 10.3700.

132. D'Arms, Romans on the Bay of Naples, 202-4.

133. CIL 10.4103 and 6162.

134. Keppie 48-51.

135. Sartori, 41-2.

136. E.E. 8.452.

137. CIL 10.3699, Hor. Sat. 1.2.36, Cagnat 53 and 75. Diz. Ep. 1.96.

138. Conway 562.

139. The use of the cognomen was well established among the Roman aristocracy but was not widespread at this date.

140. D'Arms 203-4, CIl 10.3699 and 3713. A further inscription from Naples, ILS 1375, makes reference to a Bennius Rufus who was a procurator during the reign of Augustus. This dedication indicates that Rufus must have been of equestrian rank. It also seems likely that he was of African origin, since the dedication was made by the inhabitants of Oea. Cf. Mello, Paestum Romana, for references to Bennii at Paestum.

141. Thylander, 139, Vulpe, Eph. Dacorom. 3 (1925) 207.

142. The only certain funerary text of this group, that of Lucceius Gemellus, omits the formula D.M., a feature which usually indicates a 1st century date.

143. Peterson, 64-6.

144. D,Arms, CSS 64, 78, RBN 187-8. The Lucceii are known from Cicero's letters to have been powerful at Puteoli and Rome in the 1st century B.C., and it is likely that the Cumaean Lucceii are related to the same family. Lucceii are also known to have had connections with Delos, and there is a prominent banker of the same name at Rhegium (Cic. 11.Verr.5.165).

145. cf. E.E. 8.443 and 8.444.

146. Kajanto, Onomastique Latine, 147-159.

147. Conway 572.

148. Sartori 40.

149. Conway 580.

150. Starr, The Roman Imperial Navy.

151. D'Arms, CSS, 28, HSCP 76(1972), 207-16.

152. The name is expressed as a direct translation of the Latin formula Quadrati Fili, rather than the Greek form, Quadratou.

153. Kajanto, 293.

154. Conway 577.

155. Cf. Terentius Maximus, E.E. 8.444.

156. D'Arms, 218.

157. D'Arms, 202-3.

158. Kajanto 18.

159. Livy 9.10.2, 9.10.6, 9.12.9, Vell. Pat. 2.16.1, Florus 2.6.6.

160. PIR. sv Tineius

161. Conway 558.

162. Valerii account for approximately 1/4 of all male nomina found at Misenum.

163. Conway 573.

164. Kajanto 18.

165. Kajanto 18.

166. Conway 563, Schulze 140, Onomasticon 323.

167. Onomasticon 70.

168. Conway 573, Schulze 181.

169. Cf. Upis Mutillis, Buck No.40.

170. Warmington 4.1614.

171. Schulze 423.

172. Kajanto 18.

173. E.E. 8.448.

174. e.g. IG 14.746, 747.

175. Kajanto 18.

176. The exact origin cannot be pinpointed, but it may be Syrian.

177. Conway 559.

178. Kajanto 53-60 and 208. It is possible that the cognomen in this case may have been taken from the shrine of Diana Tifatina at Capua, since Kajanto identifies his cognomen as being largely Campanian.

179. Conway 564.

180. Conway 580.

181. Schulze 244 and 444.

182. Kajanto 82, 315.

183. Kajanto 176, Schulze 360, Reichmuth 69.

184. Schulze 247, 552.

185. The name may be Syrian.

186. Thylander, 139.

187. Cf. Valerius Syntropus.

188. IG 14.861.

189. Buck No.40.

190. Hatzfeld BCH 36 (1912), 73.

191. Hatzfeld BCH 36 (1912), 73.

192. Schulze 147, Onomasticon 337.

193. Vetter 110, Degrassi, RFIC 4 (1926), 371-9.

194. Buck 40, ILLRP 576.

195. Conway 565. The Cocceii are known to have been an important Campanian family. Agrippa's chief engineer for the building projects in the area of Cumae was a Cocceius, as was the future emperor Nerva.

Naples

1. There are a total of 245 epitaphs, of which 145 are Greek and 71 are Latin.
2. Suet.Aug.92, 98.89; Dio 52.43, 55.10, 56.29, 60.6.1; Strabo 5.248C; Pliny NH 18.114; Vell. Pat. 2.123; Suet.Claud. 11.2; Suet. Nero.20.2, 25.1.
3. See sv Cumae, Sect.4
4. Wuilleumier, Tarente, 89-90, Dion. Hal. 15.5-8.
5. Strabo 14.654, Steph. Byz. sv Παρθενοπη (Rhodian settlement); Livy 8.22.5, Vell. Pat. 1.4.2, Pliny NH 3.62, Stat. Silv. V.3.104-6 & 109-111, Lutat. fr.7 (=Peter, FRH 1.192), Ps.Scymnus 251 (Euboean/Cumaean foundation).
6. Strabo 14.654, Steph. Byz. sv Παρθενοπη, Napoli PP 7, 1952, 281ff.
7. Frederiksen, Campania, 86-7, Napoli, Napoli Greco-Romana, 11-16.
8. Lutat. fr.7.

9. Livy 8.22.5. Livy clearly envisages that the two communities were physically and administratively separate and did not form a unified city until after the treaty of 326. Lepore, La Vita Politica e Sociale in Storia di Napoli, Vol.1, 228-39, suggests that Palaepolis may by this date have been largely a Samnite area of the city, as opposed to Neapolis which was controlled by the Greek aristocracy. This seems to be a rather simplistic division, and it is likely that there were both Greek and Samnite elements in both pro- and anti-Roman parties. However, if Palaepolis can be identified with the settlement on Pizzofalcone, it would form a good defensive site, and thus provide a natural focus for those who wished to maintain an anti-Roman policy and fight rather than negotiate a treaty.

10. Frederiksen 86-7.

11. Vell. Pat. 1.4.2, Strabo 5.4.7.

12. Frederiksen 83-4, 209-10.

13. Strabo 5.248.

14. Vell. Pat. 1.4.2, Lutat. fr.7.

15. Lepore 170-86, Steph. Byz. sv Φαληρον, Schol. Lycophr.717, Lycophr. Alex. 732-7, Timaeus fr. 99M.

16. Diod. 12.54.4, 13.3.5., 13.4.3.

17. IG 14.721, Napoli 176-8.

18. Dion. Hal. 15.3-5.

19. Dion. Hal. 15.3-5 & 8.

20. Dion. Hal. 15.3-5.

21. Wuilleumier 89-90, Livy 8.25.7-8, 27.2, Dion. Hal.15.5.2., Frederiksen 208-13.

22. Livy 8.25.9, Obseq. 54, Fast. Cap. 326.

23. Pol. 1.20.14, Plut. Marc. 10.1, Zon. 9.2, Sil. It.8.534, Livy

24.1.5-10, 24.17.1-5, 35.16.3, 36.42.1-2. For the importance of Naples as a port, Livy 23.15.1-2, 42.48.5.

25. Livy 23.1.5-10, 24.17.1-5.

26. Livy 22.32.4-9, 23.46.9.

27. Cic.Balb. 8.21

28. App. B.C. 1.89

29. Plut. Pomp. 57.1, Cic. Tusc. 1.86, Ad Att. 10.13

30. D'Arms, Romans on the Bay of Naples App. 1 and 2; I Campi Flegrei nella Storia e Archeologia: Conv. Linc. 1977.

31. Strabo 5.4.7 & 9. Suet.Aug.92, 98.89; Dio 52.43, 55.10, 56.29, 60.6.1; Strabo 5.248C; Pliny NH 18.114; Vell. Pat. 2.123; Suet.Claud. 11.2; Suet. Nero.20.2, 25.1.

32. CIL 10.1481 (=IG 14.729), 1496. It seems likely that the grant of colonial status occured during the Antonine period cf NSc 1892, 220-1. The grant cannot certainly be attributed to any particular emperor.

33. CIL 10.1483, 1484, 1485 (=ILS 108), NSc 1937, 75-81.

34. It is also possible that Italic cults may underlie some of the Greek ones, eg. the cults of Parthenope and Sebethus.

35. Stat. Silv. lV.8.45-56.

36. Ghinatti, Atene e Roma 1967, 98-100; Critica Storica 1974, 6-7; Peterson, The Cults of Campania 185-6; Napoli 139-40; Lepore 168-70. A possible Cumaean origin for the cult is indicated by Plut. De Mul. Virt. 262D.

37. IG 14.756, Correra, RM 1904, 185.

38. Cic. Balb. 24.55, Ciaceri, 11.372.

39. IG 14.760, Correra RM 1904, 185. There are also two Neapolitan priestesses of the cult who are known from elsewhere in Southern Italy, Terentia Paranome (IG 14.702) and Sabina (CIL 10.1812).

40. NSc 1892, 201-2, Ghinatti 1967, 103, Peterson, 199-202.

41. Miranda, MEFR 94 (1982), 163-74, Guarducci PP 25 (1970). For cults at Naples, Ghinatti 1967, 100-1, Mon. Ant. 41 (1951), 592, IG 14.745, AAAN 1895.1.3.11, Stat. Silv. 11.2.76-82, 111.1.147.

42. Napoli 135-57, Peterson 187-91.

43. IG 14.714, 748. Ghinatti 1967, 101.

44. Stat. Silv. 111.5.80, IV.8.45-56. Ghinatti 1967,100-101, Vell. Pat. 1.4.2, Diz. Ep. sv Cumae, Napoli 137, Peterson, 182-4.

45. Ghinatti 1974, 1-6, Peterson 177, Pugliese Caratelli 1952, Suet. fr. 203 Reifferscheid, Dion. Perieg. 357-59, Priscian. Perieg. 351-53, Suda sv. Νεαπολις, Lycophr. Alex. 171-21, Strabo 1.213, Nicephoros Geog. 331. It is known that this cult had a gymnastic festival attached to it, and it seems likely that it was this which was the forerunner of the Sebastà.

46. Napoli, 135-57, CIL 10.1480, Ghinatti 1967 103. cf. Peterson, 103-4 for details of the 4th century coin issues with portraits of Sebethus.

47. Macrob. Sat. 1.18.9, Ciaceri 11.373.

48. Peterson 194.

49. IG 14.716 and 717. Napoli 153. IG 14.717 may indicate the existence of a priestly college.

50. IG 14.737, CIL 12.3232 (=ILS 5082), Plut. Brutus 21-2.

51. CIL 10.1408, 1478, 1546, 1571, IG 14.718, 720, 747.

52. Peterson 61-3, IG 14.744, AE 1914.306.

53. CIL 1^2p. 1013 (=Warmington 4.1624).

54. CIL 10.1571, SEG 29.967 (=Miranda, AAP 4-6, 1979, No.3).

55. Peterson 5-7, 182, 396. CIL 10.1571.

56. SEG 29.967, NSc 1895.

57. CIL 10.1479, IG 14.719.

58. Strabo 5.4.7.

59. Pugliese Caratelli, ASCL 24 (1955), 1-7; Bengtson, Historia 3 (1954-5), 457ff.

60. IG 14.727, Moretti, RFIC 93 (1965), 73-9.

61. For the ongoing contacts between Magna Graecia and the Eastern Mediterranean, see Chapter 4.

62. The only collegium-type organisation associated with Naples is that of the Augustales, but it is possible that the phratries had a similar function.

63. Levi, Mon. Ant. 31 (1926), 378-402.

64. Sogliano, NSc 1892.

65. CIL 10.2523, 1493 (=IG 14.794).

66. Suet.Aug.92, 98.89; Dio 52.43, 55.10, 56.29, 60.6.1; Strabo 5.248C; Pliny NH 18.114; Vell. Pat. 2.123; Suet.Claud. 11.2; Suet. Nero.20.2, 25.1.

67. IG 14.714, 721, 734, EE 8.335-7, NSc 1892, 220-1, AE 1956.19.

68. IG 14.729 (=CIL 10.1481), NSc 1892, 220-1, CIL 10.1483, 1484, 1485 (=ILS 108), NSc 1937, 75-81.

69. CIL 10.1483, 1484.

70. IG 14.728.

71. IG 14.730

72. CIL 10.1482, 1496, NSc 1892, 220-1, AE 1956.19, AE 1905.

73. cf. in particular Cumae, Rhegium, Tarentum.

74. IG 14.754-5, Colonna NSc 1890 275-8 and 341-3, Miranda RAAN 1981.

75. Strabo 5.4.7, Geer TAPA 66 (1935),208-221, Arnold AJA 64 (1960), 241-51.

76. The ethnics which are legible indicate 4 Alexandrians, 2 Antiochenes, a Mallotian, a Pergamene, and a native of Berenike.

Other victors of the games at Naples are listed by Moretti, Isc. Agon. Greche No. 65, 67-70, 72-3, 75-6, 78-9, 81, 84, 86-90. cf. Pais, Anc. It. 394-5 for the Actian games at Naples and their transition to Augustalia.

77. Cic.Arch.3.5, Ad Fam.13.30, Deniaux, Ktema 6 (1981), 133-41.

78. AE 1954.186.

79. Strabo 5.4.7

80. See sv Rhegium, section 5 and Velia, section 5 for discussion of the nature of this survival.

81. Strabo 5.4.7, 6.1.2. The latest evidence for the demarchy is CIL 10.1492 (4th century) and for the archonship NSc 1896, 103-4, (3rd century). These indicate that the Greek magistracies outlasted the Greek language, which seems to have disappeared in official use in the 3rd century.

82. De Martino, PP 1952, 335-43, Sartori 47-52.

83. It seems likely that a number of the offices listed on Neapolitan inscriptions were not civic magistracies but had religious or agonistic functions in connection with the Sebastà, eg the offices of gymnasiarch, agonothetes, and possibly the archon pentaeterikon.

84. cf in particular, Sartori, 46-55, De Martino, 335-43.

85. CIL 10.1489, 1490 (=IG 14.758), Mon. Ant. 1890, 555-72 (=ILS 6460).

86. NSc 1892, 1893, CIL 10.1483, 1484, ILS 5692

87. AE 1954.186

88. De Martino, 335-43, Sartori, 46-55.

89. IG 14.745

90. Cic, Ad Att.10.13.

91. EE 8.340, CIL 10.1491, NSc 1893.

92. Sartori, 46-55, De Martino, 335-43, IG 14.716, 717, 729, 737, 741, 749, Correra, RM 1904, 185, Colonna, NSc 1890, 90-1, ILS 6455, 6460, CIL 10.1491, 1492, 1478.

93. IG 14.716, 717, 737, 749, ILS 6455.

94. Sartori, 46-55.

95. Strabo 5.4.6-7

96. Sartori 48, Lepore 202-16.

97. Lepore 202-16.

98. Spart. Vit. Had. 1.9.1 is the latest literary reference to the demarchy, but the epigraphic evidence attests its continued existence as late as the 4th century (CIL 10.1492).

99. Spart. Vit. Had. 1.9.1.

100. IG 14.729, Spart. Vit. Had. 1.9.1.

101. cf also patronage of the phratries by Claudius. IG 14.728.

102. IG 14.745

103. IG 14.737, 758, 760, Correra, RM 1904,185, ILS 6460.

104. For the demarchy, see IG 14.741, CIL 10.1478, 1491, NSc 1890 (=ILS 6460). For archons, see IG 14.758, 760, CIL 10.1489.

105. Livy asserts that anti-Roman feeling in Southern Italy was largely the product of popular or democratic government. This is almost certainly an simplification of the true state of affairs, but it provides an illustration of the Roman preference for oligarchic regimes. The sources for the end of the war between Naples and Rome, and the negotiation of the treaty seem to indicate that the Roman commander was dealing with a small political group and may imply an oligarchic coup.

106. NSc 1896, 103-4.

107. NSc 1992, CIL 10.1491, EE 8.340.

108. ILS 6453 (=NSc 1896)

109. De Martino, 335-43, Sartori 46-55.

110. Mason, sv ανταρχων

111. For other examples of the co-existence of Roman and Greek magistracies, see Rhegium and Velia.

112. Sartori 45-6.

113. NSc 1890, 220

114. CIL 10.1492

115. Lib. Col.235, Ciaceri 111.243.

116. Stat. Silv. 111.7.78

117. Sartori 46.

118. This is indicated by the fact that the city became *Colonia Antoniana*

119. CIL 10.1491

120. Guarducci Rend. Linc. 1938.

121. Strabo 5.4.6-7, Varro L.L.5.85.

122. Napoli, 166-72, Peterson 168-74.

123. Napoli 166-82, Lepore 202-16, CIL 6.1851, IG 14.729, Spart. Vit. Had. 1.9.1.

124. IG 14.721

125. Dion. Hal. 15..5.2

126. CIL 6.1851, Napoli 179-82.

127. Napoli 179-82.

128. CIL 10.1491, 12.3232, IG 14.722, 741.

129. CIL 6.1.1851, IG 14.71, 743, 744.

130. Claudius restored a statue on behalf of a phratry (IG 14.728).

131. AE 1914.

132. Napoli 166-9, Peterson 168-74, Ghinatti 98-108. Some are clearly reflected in the names of phratries, eg Artemisioi.

133. AE 1914.

134. IG 14.724, 759, CIL 6.1851, AE 1914.

135. Waltzing, Les Corporations Romaines.

136. Waltzing 35.

137. IG 14.741.

138. IG 14. 724, 759, CIL 6.1851.

139. AE 1914, IG 14.759.

140. IG 14. 721, 722, 748

141. Duthoy, ANRW 11.16.2, 1254-1309.

142. Duthoy, Epigraphica 36 (1974), 134-54; Ostrow, Historia 34-5 (1985), 65-101.

143. IG 17.721

144. This is not made explicit, but is strongly implied by the texts honouring Roman officials.

145. IG 14.728, 730

146. IG 14.743, 744

147. CIL 6.1851

148. IG 14.741, CIL 10.1491, ILS 6455.

149. See Cumae, Tarentum etc. sv Sect. 6(b).

150. Strabo 5.4.6-7.

151. AE 12.218, IG 14.741

152. Strabo 5.4.6-7

153. See Appendix 3.

154. IG 14.737, 760, CIL 10.1489

155. Galante, AAAN 17 (1893-6), 5-24, Levi, Mon. Ant. 31 (1926), 378-402.

156. IG 14.737, 760, CIL 10.1489

157. eg the epitaph of Cominia Plutogenia, Correra RM 1904.

158. This is best illustrated by material from the Palazzo di Donato cemetery, Galante, AAAN 17 (1893-6), 5-24.

159. AE 12.218, IG 14.741.

160. Correra RM 1904.

161. Galante, AAAN 17 (1893-6), 5-24, Levi, Mon. Ant. 31 (1926), 378-402.

162. Kaimio, The Romans and the Greek Language, 68-73

163. Kaimio, 70-3.

164. IG 14.737, AE 1914.

165. Kaimio 71

166. Moretti, Isc. Agon. Greche No. 65, 67-70, 72-3, 75-6, 78-9, 81, 84, 86-90, IG 14.737-9, 746, 747.

167. Pap. Herc.312,1.4,1.5, Rostagni, PP 7 (1952)

168. cf. Cumae for discussion of a city which produced epigraphic types similar to Naples.

169. IG 14.761-2, 769-70, 774, 796-7, Colonna 1890, 193-5.

170. Levi, Mon. Ant. 1926

171. Dated by the reference to Trebius Epilytou as Ἱερευς Σεβαστος

172. eg Trebios Epilytou, Bibios Epilytou, Epilytos Trebiou.

173. IG 14.826

174. There are 42 Latin instances of Dis Manibus inscriptions, and 6 Greek examples.

175. IG 14. 773, 789, 791, 802, 806, 807.

176. IG 14.763, 787, 788, 793, 803 (=CIL 10.1494)

177. There is a total of 36 examples of this type of inscription.

Velia

1. For a full summary of the literary evidence for the history of Velia, see Musti, PdP 21 (1966), 318-335.

2. Strabo 6.1.1.C.252. Timagenes ap. Amm. Marc. 15.9.7, Herodot. 1.167.

3. For the evidence on Zeno and Parmenides, see Musti, 323-4, 328-9.
4. Strabo 6.1.1.C.252.
5. Livy, 10.44.8-45.11.
6. Pol. 2.39.6, Diod. 14.91, Polyaenus 6.11, Walbank, Comm. on Polybios 1, 225, Wuilleumier, Tarente, 70-5.
7. The Roman conquest of the city took place prior to the outbreak of the Pyrrhic War, and there is no indication of a change of sides. Livy 10.44.8-45.11.
8. Pol. 1.20.13-14, Livy 26.39.1-5, Cic. Pro Balb. 24, 55.
9. Verg. Aen. 6.385ff., App. Bell. Civ. 5.98.410, Vell. Pat. 2.79.2-3, Cic. Ad Fam. 9.7, Ad Att. 16.7.5, Ad Brut. 1.7 and 1.15, Plut. Brutus, 23.1, Cic. Verr. 2.2.99, Ser. Aen. 6.359, Hyginus Ap. Gell. N.A. 10.16.1.
10. Plut. Aem. Paul. 39.1, Cic. Top. 1.5, Ad Fam. 7.20, Ad Att. 16.6, Statius, Silv. 5.3, Hor. Epist. 1.15.1-2; 14-15.
11. Miranda, MEFR 94 (1982), 163-174, Guarducci, PdP 25 (1970), 252-261.
12. Ps. Scymnus 247-253.
13. Délos 1965, 2595, 2004, 2368, 1713. Hatzfeld, BCH 36 (1912), 11-15. Roussel, BCH 31 (1907) and 32 (1908). Hatzfeld, Trafiquants, , SGDI 2.2581.
14. Cf. section 6.b.iii.
15. D'Arms, App.1 and 2.
16. Hor. Epist. 1.15.1-2 and 14-15. See also Ebner, Rass. Stor. Salern. (1961), 196-8, Apollo 2 (1962), 125-136, Pugliese Caratelli, PdP 18 (1963), 385-6, and PdP 25 (1970), 243-8, Nutton PdP 25 (1970), 211-225, Musitelli, PdP 35 (1980), 240-55.
17. AE 1978. 261.

18. Miranda, MEFR 94 (1982), 163-174, No.2, cf. Sestieri, Archaeology 10 (1957) and Ebner PdP 19 (1964), 72-6.

19. Guarducci, PdP 21 (1966), 279-94, No.4.

20. SEG 32.1072. The cult is known from literary references, Livy 3.10.6, Dion. Hal. 5.54.3, 10.2.6, Hesychius, sv Exasterion, Pollux, 8.142.

21. Guarducci, 1966, No.1. Cults of Poseidon are known from Sybaris, Paestum and Tarentum.

22. SEG 32.1076.

23. For other examples of cults of the winds cf. Paus. 8.36.6, 9.34.3, Aelian 12.61.

24. SEG 32.1073.

25. Pugliese Caratelli, ASCL 24 (1955), 1-7, Bengtson, Historia 3 (1954/5), 456-63.

26. However, Nutton makes reference to finds which include statues of Asklepios and Hygeia.

27. See Chapter 4.

28. SEG 32.1074.

29. Ebner, AC 17 (1965), 306-9. On the Athenaion in general, Ebner, PdP 19 (1964), 72-6.

30. Cf. CIL 9.3306.

31. Ebner, AC 17 (1965), 306-9.

32. Mingazzini, ASMG 1 (1954).

33. Forni, Kokalos 3-4 (1957-8), 61-70, Sestieri, FA (1956), Burzachechi, Act. Int. Cong. Epig. 1967.

34. Sv Praetores Urbanae.

35. Ebner's suggestion for the Greek title is ιέρευς, on the basis of Arist. Pol. 1322b and 1330a.

36. Cic. Pro Balb. 24, 66 and Val. Max 1.1.1.

37. Spawforth and Walker, JRS 75 (1985), 78-105 and JRS 76 (1986), 88-106.

38. Cf. Spawforth and Walker for details of the activities taking place in sanctuaries in Greece.

39. Spawforth and Walker, JRS 75 (1985), 78-105 and JRS 76 (1986), 88-106. Gasperini, in Studi in Onore di A. Adriani, 1986.

40. In particular, Velians had trading contacts with Delos and also contacts with Delphi. The city was also visited by a delegation from the Asklepion on Kos in 242 B.C.

41. AE 1978, 261, CIL 10.467.

42. Dion. Hal. 6.17.2.

43. CIL 10.8342a (NSc 1882).

44. Nisbet and Hubbard, Commentary on Horace, Odes 1.43, pp.34-6.

45. Athen. 537e, OGIS 90.19 and 26f., Dio. 44.6.4, Suet. Aug. 70.1.

46. Ebner, Rass. Stor. Salern., 196-8.

47. Nutton, PdP 25 (1970).

48. Ebner, Apollo 2 (1962), Pugliese Caratelli, PdP 25 (1970).

49. Ebner, PdP 25 (1970), 262-7, with Pugliese Caratelli's reconstructions, also published in PdP 25 (1970).

50. PdP 25 (1970).

51. It occurs as part of a list of offices which includes the offices of aedile and IVvir as well as pholarchus.

52. Musitelli, 240-55.

53. Ebner AC 17 (1965), 306-9.

54. See section 6b iii for a detailed discussion of the language problem.

55. The inclusion in a cursus inscription seems to suggest that it was usually merely honorific by the 2nd century.

56. PdP 25 (1970).

57. Suet. Aug. 59.

58. Ebner and Pugliese Caratelli, PdP 25 (1970). Cf. also the form of the decree in honour of G. Julius Naso, Forni, Kokalos 304 (1957-8).

59. IG 14.658.

60. SEG 32.1077.

61. Ebner PdP 21 (1966), 336-41, No.23.

62. Ebner, Apollo 2 (1962), 125-36.

63. Ebner PdP 21 (1966), 336-41, No.26.

64. Sartori, Problemi di Storia Costituzionale Italiota, 105-7.

65. Mingazzini, ASMG 1 (1954).

66. Ebner, PdP 21 (1966), 36-41, No.18, CIL 10.426.

67. AE 1978, 260. For other examples cf. CIL 9.2353, 10.4210 and 11.3260.

68. OCD sv gymnasiarch.

69. IG 14.745, 616, SEG 1.418.

70. There is no evidence of a colony which would have the effect of creating a duovirate in the 1st century B.C. Paradoxically, the later Flavian colony is known only from one inscription, and does not seem to have resulted in any changes to the municipal government.

71. CIL 10.7342b (=NSc 1882).

72. Forni, Kokalos 3-4 (1957-8); Ebner, PdP 25 (1970).

73. Ebner, PdP 25 (1970).

74. Forni, Kokalos, 3-4 (1957-8).

75. This formula is found in both Hellenistic proxeny decrees, and in Roman decrees of amicitia. IG 7.342 and 505, Livy 29.19.7.

76. Pliny Ep. 4.6, 6.6. and 6.9, Burzachechi, Act. Int. Cong. Epig. 1967.

77. RE sv Nonius Asprenas. The quantities of dedications to the elder Asprenas would seem to indicate that the inscription should be assumed to refer to him, since he was clearly patron of a large number of municipia.

78. Kajanto, 47, 209.

79. Conway 563.

80. Pliny Ep. 4.9 makes reference to estates in the Po Valley. PIR.

81. CIL 9.2353, 10.4210, 11.3260.

82. Conway 569.

83. CIL 10.104, 138, 369-70, 408, 215.

84. Kajanto 233-4.

85. Other veteran epitaphs are EE 282, 285 and 847; AE 1978, 257.

86. Kajanto 42, 142.

87. Conway 584.

88. Ebner AC 17 (1965), 306-9.

89. CIL 9.85, 6083, 4919, 10.1953, 4191.

90. Conway 591.

91. CIL 10.6687.

92. CIL 10.4811, 2966. Conway 584. For the cognomen, see Kajanto 12, 51, 201.

93. CIL 6.21845, 35764.

94. CIL 10.466.

95. Kajanto 320.

96. CIL 9.2408, 3254, 10.2274.

97. CIL 9.1292, Kajanto 283.

98. CIL 10.4936, 7748, 9.569, 2722.

99. Conway 573.

100. See sv [.....] Sabinus.

101. AE 1978, 262, cf. CIL 10.468, 6.2153, Chastangnol, Historia 12

(1963), 368, Jones-Martindale PLRE 1.721.

102. The two individuals mentioned in SEG 28.819 may be of the 3rd century B.C. or later. The epitaph includes χαιρε which is one of the few Greek funerary formulae to have been dated. According to Kahrstedt, it usually indicates a Hellenistic date.

103. Juv. Sat. 4.153, Pet. Sat. 60.8.

104. Cf. Hedylus the 2nd century poet.

105. CIL 9.4502, 4508, 3231-3945.

106. Conway 581 and 582.

Rhegium

1. App. BC 4.12.362, Strabo 6.1.2, Kahrstedt 45-6.
2. Diod. 8.23.2 and 14.40.1, Dion. Hal. 19.2, Vallet, 19-80.
3. Cordano, PP 29 (1974), 86-90; Varro, Hum. 9 and Cato Orig. 3 ap. Prob. proem. in Verg. Buc.
4. The closeness of the connection is indicated by the incident in the 270's, when both cities were captured by Campanian mercenaries. Messana was also under direct rule by Rhegium in the 5th century, Diod. 11.48.2 and 52.3.
5. The request by Rhegium to Rome or a garrison in 280 appears to be an indication that the city was breaking away from Tarentum.
6. Diod. 11.52.1-5.
7. Diod. 14.40.2, 16.16.1, Plut. Tim. 9.2-11.1, 19.1-3, Dion 26.4, 63.2.
8. Plut. Dion. 26.4, Frontinus Strat.3.4.3, Dion. Hal. 20.7.3, Pliny NH 12.7, Diod. 14.8.2, 40.1-7, 44.3-5, 87.1-5, 106.1-3, 107.3-108.6, 111.1-112.5, 16.45.9.
9. Pol. 1.7.1, App. Samn. 9.1, Livy 31.31.6-8, Dion. Hal. 20.4.2, Livy Per. 12.

10. Livy 24.1.1-4, Frontinus Strat. 1.4.11, Pol. 5.110, Livy 26.39.1-7.

11. Livy 42.48.7, 36.42.1-2, 35.16.3.

12. Strabo 6.1.2, Livy 35.16.3, Bowersock 81-4.

13. App. Samn. 9.1, Pol. 1.7.1, Dio 9.40.7. The tradition of Dio, that only the leading citizens were killed seems more reliable than the other sources, which suggest a complete massacre of all the Greek inhabitants, something which is clearly not tenable in the light of the epigraphic evidence for the continuity of Greek language and culture.

14. App. BC 4.25 and 85.

15. App. BC 4.3 and 86.

16. App. BC 4.12.362, Kahrstedt 45-6.

17. Pliny NH 35.166-7, Athen. 1.26a.

18. Pliny NH 34.164. App. BC 4.39, 2.95.

19. Olympiod. 15, Ciaceri 111.242.

20. IG 14.617-21, SEG 29.987-9, Orsi, NSc 1902.

21. CIL 10.1 (=ILS 4376).

22. IG 14.628-9, CIL 10.15.

23. Costabile MEFR 91 (1979) 525-45. cf. Ghinatti, CS 1974, 11-13.

24. Cordano, PP 1974, 86-90. The fact that the sanctuary was outside the city walls (Thuc. 6.44.2-3) may be an indication of Mycenaean or pre-Greek origin. Pugliese Caratelli, PP 1962.

25. Costabile 527-30.

26. Cooke, Ant. Journ. 1971, Pl.43.

27. Costabile 537-42, Cooke 260-3, Ferri, RFIC (1929), 338-9.

28. CIL 10.6 indicates that a Roman municipal cursus was in operation by the 2nd century AD, although this is not a decisive argument against preservation of Greek for religious purposes.

Cooke 263, Kahrstedt 49.

29. Costabile 537-42.

30. SEG 29.987, Ferri, RFIC (1929), 388-9.

31. Paus. 5.25.2, Vallet 133, 305-8, Ghinatti, CS 1974, 11-13.

32. See Section 5, below, for further discussion of the nature of the Greek magistracies.

33. IG 14.612, Ghinatti, 1974, 13-14.

34. CIL 10.1 (=ILS 4376)

35. CIL 10.7

36. CIL 10.2

37. Turano, Klearchos 2 (1960), No.5.

38. Turano, Klearchos 5 (1963), No.1.

39. CIL 10.7

40. Putorti, NSc 1913 (=AE 1914, 140)

41. Olympiod. 15.

42. CIL 10.3

43. Orsi, NSc 1922, 151-86.

44. Putorti, Rend. Linc. 1912, 791-802.

45. CIL 10.4, Putorti, NSc 1915, 32, Orsi, Sc 1922, Putorti, Rend. Linc. 1912.

46. IG 14.612

47. cf. the proxenia decrees of Pelops Dexiai of Naples, IG 7.505 and 342, and Onomastos of Macedon, Livy 44.17.6.

48. For a list of references and main identifications, cf. Ghinatti, CS 1974, 13-14.

49. IG 14.615, SEG 29.985.

50. SEG 1.418, IG 14.616.

51. Mingazzini, ASMG 1 (1954), Ebner PP 21 (1966) and 25 (1970), AE 1978.260, CIL 10.426

52. Bowersock 81-4.

53. Sartori 141-2.

54. It is possible that the decree by the gymnasiarch in honour if G. Norbanus may indicate that Norbanus was a guest ephebe, a practice which is known from elsewhere in the Aegean, notably Athens.

55. IG 14.617-21, SEG 29.987-9, Orsi, NSc 1902

56. CIL 10.4

57. Sartori, 136-42, Costabile 537-42.

58. SEG 29.987.

59. Sartori 136-7.

60. Costabile, Municipium Locrensium, Naples 1978, Section (d), (i).

61. Mason, sv αγορανομος or Aedile.

62. Costabile 1979, 539-42.

63. Costabile, 1978, (d)(i).

64. Forni, Kokalos 3-4 (1957-8), 61-70, Ebner, Rass. Stor. Sal. 23 (1962), PP 25 (1970), Pugliese Caratelli, PP 25 (1970).

65. CIL 10.462, AE 1978.260, Mingazzini, ASMG 1 (1954), Pugliese Caratelli PP 25 (1970).

66. Mingazzini, ASMG 1 (1954), Ebner, PP 21 (1966), Pugliese Caratelli, PP 25 (1970).

67. Symm. Ep. 6.25, 9.3, 9.9.

68. Kaimio, 1979, 73-4.

69. Kaimio, 1979, 73.

70. It is also notable that some of the inscriptions of the 1st century BC preserve some of the Doric features found in the earlier Rhegine inscriptions.

71. Costabile MEFR 1979, 538-42

72. Daux, OL 405-17.

73. Kahrstedt 45-6

74. Sartori, 36-42, Bowersock, 81-4.

75. Turano, Klearchos 2 (1960), No.1.

Croton

1. CIL 10.107. CIL 10.108 appears to be the actual epitaph.

2. Orsi, NSc 1912, 60-2.

3. CIL 10.106 (= ILS 4039).

4. AE 1912, 246, Orsi, NSc 1912, 60-2, ILLRP 575 (= CIL 1.2542, AE 1912, 245).

5. Mele, Crotone e la sua storia, ACMG 23 (1984), 25-47; De Senti Sestito, in I Santuari e la Guerra nel Mondo Classico (ed. Sordi) Milan 1984, 41-50; Sartori, La Magna Grecia dopo la Conquista Romana, ACMG 15 (1975), 82-134.

6. Mele 25-47.

7. Pol. 10.1.1-7, Cic. Ad Att. 9.19.3, Livy 23.33.4, 36.42.2.

8. Ps. Arist. Mir. Ausc. 96, Livy 24.3.3-7.

9. Cic. De Inv. 2.1.1-3

10. Seiler, Un Complesso di Edifici Pubblici nel lacinio a Capo Colonna, ACMG 23 (1984), 231-42.

11. De Senti Sestito, 41-50

12. Wuilleumier, Tarente, 70-100, Zon. 8.377B, Front. Strat. 3.6.4.

13. Livy 23.30.6, 24.3.1.-2.

14. App. Hann 9.57

15. Livy 29.36.4-9, App. Hann. 9.57. For the earlier attempts to re-colonise the city, see Livy 24.3.11-12.

16. App. Hann. 9.57.

17. Livy 29.19.6-9 and 21.7. There appears to have been a strong connection between Locri and Croton and it seems likely that the settlements would have been similar. However, the fact that the

Locrian exiles from Rhegium participated in the capture of the city and, having taken power, negotiated a settlement with Rome, may have enabled Locri to obtain easier terms. Croton appears to have fought to the very end of the war, hence the need for a colony there, and the land confiscations which almost certainly preceded it.

18. Livy 34.45.4-5. For discussion of the relationship between city and colony, see n.26.

19. Evidence for a harbour on Cape Lacinium is extensive, cf. Livy 23.33.4, 26.39.7 and 36.42.2, Cic. Ad Att. 9.19.3, Procop. Bell. Goth. 3.30.12, 14 and 23, 4.25.4 and 4.26.1. However, Pol. 10.1.1-7 indicates that the city was not on the main shipping routes, and was primarily an agrarian community. Petr. Sat. 116 gives an alternative view of the economy but must be purely tongue-in-cheek, but seems to indicate a flourishing community.

20. Pol. 10.1.1-7.

21. Gianelli, Culti e Miti della Magna Grecia, 135-40, Maddoli, I Culti di Crotone, ACMG 23 (1984), 312-45, De Senti Sestito 1984, 41-50.

22. De Senti Sestito 1984, 41-50, Ps.Arist. De Mir. Ausc. 96.

23. De Senti Sestito 1984, 41-50

24. Seiler, ACMG 23 (1984), 231-42, Mertens, ACMG 22 (1983), . Seiler identifies Building A as a Katagoreion and Building B as a Hestiairion.

25. Cic. De Inv. 2.1.1.-3.

26. Pol. 3.33.18 and 3.56.4, Cic. De Div. 1.24.48

27. Livy 42.3.1-11, Val. Max. 1.1.20. Livy provides further testimony to the wealth of the sanctuary at 23.3.7.

28. The argument that this incident indicates the poverty and

decline of the Greek element in the colony seems to be spurious. A lack of knowlege of 6th century construction techniques in the 2nd century B.C. does not seem to be a surprising phenomenon.

29. Plut. Pomp. 24. For the wealth of the sanctuary, see also Strabo 6.1.1.

30. ILLRP 575 (= CIL 1.2542, AE 1912, 245).

31. A number of comparative cases exist, where the source of the funding is more explicit, e.g. CIL 10.411.

32. Kahrstedt 1960, 74-81.

33. CIL 10.106.

34. Gianelli, 135-57.

35. In particular, cf Naples, where many local and Olympian cults continued to flourish.

36. Both consist of the names of the deceased, a record of the provision of a statue in honour of the deceased, and provision for public dinners or distributions of food or money.

37. Kahrstedt assumes that the figures given for these distributions are indicative of the poverty of the colony by this date, but in fact, they are comparable with figures quoted elsewhere. Cf. Petr. Sat. 45.10 with Smith, Cena Trimalchionis 118-9, and CIL 9.2553.

38. E.g. the building programmes undertaken at Cumae by Augustus and Domitian, amongst others.

39. This is not directly stated in the text, but it seems likely, given the fact that Oecius describes himself as a procurator, an office which usually implies an imperial freedman.

40. Orsi, NSc 1912, 60-2.

41. Orsi's reconstruction of line 2 as CAESNSER[.....] gives little scope for identification of the emperor. However, it is almost

certainly one of the Antonines. Cf. Weaver, C.Q. 14 (1964) 134-9.

42. The epitaph does not state that Amethusius had been freed, and it does clearly refer to him as a servus, and by a single name, but his status as a colonus seems to suggest that he was a libertus and also that he was permanently resident in the colony. This is in contrast to the situation at Cumae, where very few of the slaves or freedmen attached to the imperial or aristocratic villas appear in the epigraphic record. It is possible that in areas nearer to Rome, households simply migrated when the villas were in use but that most slaves and freedmen were not resident in the area. At Croton, which was much more isolated, this would have been impossible. It is also possible that establishments in this area were not large enough to warrant building special columbaria for the burial of imperial slaves and freedmen.

43. Briscoe, Commentary on Livy 34-38, 119-20 and Sartori, Problemi, 118-9.

44. ILLRP 575, CIL 10.107. Cf. Degrassi, Mem. Linc. 8.2 (1950), 281-344.

45. CIL 10.107, 109 and 110. This is in contrast to some cities, e.g. Cumae, where decrees of the local council were issued "Ex Ordine Decurionum".

46. CIL 10.110 and Taylor, Voting Districts of the Roman Republic.

47. CIL 10.240, 603, 2053-5, 5601-2 and 8216. For Thraso see CIL 9.369 and 5327 and 10.5388.

48. CIL 10.49, 50, 1403, 5933, 8049 and 8051. Cf. Kahrstedt 35, on the basis of which, the series of stamps is dated to the early empire.

49. What office he held as procurator is not known, and his ommission from the list compiled by Pflaum of the equestrian posts do not include him.

50. CIL 9.2657, 3623 and 4028, CIL 10.414, 4820, 825, 1403, 45451 and 4267.

51. Conway 569.

52. Kahrstedt's assertion that the cognomen Onirus had servile connotations on account of its Greek etymology is not borne out by the high position held in the colony and by his connections with the equestrian Lollii Marciani, which seem to be further proof of the unreliability of Greek cognomina as indicators of social origin or status.

53. CIL 10.10, 107 and 108.

54. Kajanto, The Latin Cognomina 32-3 and 139-71; Shackleton-Bailey, Two Studies in Roman Nomenclature, 81-131.

55. CIL 9.6078, CIL 10.1695-7, 4752, 744, 1951 and 1597.

56. CIL 10.110.

57. CIL 9.1153-4, 3426. CIL 10.2066, 4088, 4771 and 6338.

58. CIL 10.110.

59. CIL 10.366, 1062, 2617, 2626, 2826 and 2890.

60. CIL 10.556, 2917.

61. CIL 9.2869-71.

62. Cf. Pliny, Letters 10.21 and 27.

63. E.g. Epitynchanus (CIL 10.3126, 4172, 6977, 8043).

64. Camodeca, Epigrafia e Ordine Senatorio, Vol.2- 101-163.

65. Research on collegia and the structure of the building trade seems to indicate that building contractors and master builders may have been men of reasonable wealth, since the capital required, and also the fees for guild membership, would have

been considerable.

66. See Frank, CJ 29 (1934), 481-493.

67. AE 1933.156.

68. Kajanto, Latomus 67 (1968), 517-534. Kajanto compares statistics for the occurrence of Latin and non-Latin cognomina among the three social groups indicated, using material drawn from Italian municipia and from the urban cohorts stationed in Rome. Since this study used an all-male group as a control group, all female names were omitted, as were slaves and possessors of a single name only. In this table, these categories have been included.

Herakleia, Metapontum and Thurii

1. Strabo 6.1.14 C264, Diod. 12.36.4.

2. Wuilleumier, 70-5, Strabo 5.1.14 C264.

3. Cf. the behaviour of Herakleia during the Pyrrhic and Punic Wars, and its position as the meeting place of the council of the Italiote League. Strabo 6.3.4 C280.

4. Uguzzoni/ Ghinatti, Le Tavole Greche Di Eraclea, Rome 1968, 115-124. Strabo 6.1.14, Athens, 12, 25, 523d. The text of IG 14.645 indicates that there was production of cereals, wine and olives. Livy 24.20.15 and Varro, RR, 2.9.6 indicate cereal production and sheep raising.

5. Strabo 6.3.4 C280.

6. Degrassi, Archaeologisches Forschungen in Lukanien, 11, Herakleiastudien (MDAI, Röm. Abt. Supp. 11), 1967, 181-92.

7. Cic. De Inv. 11.1.1-3.

8. Livy 1.18.2.

9. Cic. Pro Balb. 8.21, 22.50.

10. Cf. Sartori, 1953 98-9 for discussion of the hypothesis that a

treaty may not have been granted immediately.

11. Strabo 6.1.15, C264-5.

12. Strabo 6.1.15.

13. Livy 1.18.2. SEG 30.1175 also seems to show some possible Pythagorean connections.

14. Sartori, 1953, 99-100. Strabo 6.1.15.

15. Diod. 20.104.3.

16. Livy 8.24.16, Justin 8.2.12.

17. Livy 22.61.12, 25.15.6, App., Hann. 4.33 and 35, Livy 26.39.19, 27.16.11-16. Zon 9.8.

18. Livy 27.51 13.

19. Florus 2.8

20. For literary evidence of depopulation, see Dio Chrysos 33.25.

21. Strabo 6.1.13, Diod. 12.11.3.

22. Thuc. 6.61, 88; 7.33, 35, 57,; 8.61.

23. Plut. Tim. 16.1-2 and 19.1.

24. Strabo 6.3.4.

25. App. Sam. 7.1-2, Livy Ep. 11, Pliny, NH 34.32, Dion. Hal. 19.13, 20.4.

26. Livy 25.7.10-14 and 15.7-17, 26.39.19, 27.26.5-6, App. Hann. 4.34, 8.49, 9.57.

27. Livy 34.53.2, Strabo 6.1.13.

28. Pliny NH 14.39 and 69, Varro, RR 1.44.

29. Cic. Ad. Att. 3.5, 9.19.

30. Uguzzoni/Ghinatti, 158-61, Lo Porto, Herakleiastudien, 181-192, Sartori, Forschungen und Funden, Festschrift Neutsch, 401-415, Gianelli, Culti e Miti Della Magna Grecia, 93-100.

31. Cf. Herakleiastudien.

32. IG 14.645.

33. Strabo 6.1.14. Gianelli, 93-6, Uguzzoni/Ghinatti 159-161.

34. Uguzzoni/Ghinatti, 161-2.

35. Higgins, Greek Terracottas, 91.

36. Cf. Herakleiastudien, and also Festschrift Neutsch, 401-15 and 137-43.

37. SEG 30.1162-6 and 1170. Ghinatti, Fest. Neutsch 137-43.

38. SEG 30.1150-61.

39. IG 14.646.

40. Herakleiastudien 136-7 and pl.14.

41. RE sv Apollo.

42. Manni Piraino Nos.7-13 and IG 14.647.

43. RE sv Apollo.

44. Manni Piraino, No.22.

45. Manni Piraino, Nos.23-4.

46. Gianelli, 61-92, Ghinatti, Riti et Feste Della Magna Grecia, Critica Storica 11 (1974) 533-76.

47. Ghinatti, CS 11 (1974) 19-22. For the *Heraion*, see Nenci, PdP 21 (1966), 128-31.

48. CIL 10.8988.

49. NSc 24 (1970), Supp. 3, 444-5.

50. NSc 24 (1970), Supp. 3, 417.

51. Cf. Sartori, 1953, for bibliography and Uguzzoni/Ghinatti 147-58 for discussion of the Greek text.

52. IG 14.645, SEG 30.1162-6 and 1170. These all appear to be eponymous ephors. There is no direct evidence for a college, but the derivation of the office from Sparta, via Tarentum, makes it probable that it was collegiate.

53. IG 14.645. Sartori, 96-7.

54. IG 14.645. Sartori, 97-8.

55. Cf. Sartori 110-3 for a summary of the literary evidence.

56. CIL 10.125.

57. CIL 10.123, Sartori 114-5.

58. Iamb. Vit. Pyth. 36-267. Lo Porto, PP 35 (1980), 282-8; Gigante, PP 35 (1980), 381-2.

59. Conway 6577.

60. CIL 10.819, 2790.

61. Kajanto 28, 62, 121.

62. CIL 10.31, 117.

63. CIL 9.1251, 6089. It is possible that the name may ultimately have derived from Dossenus, the name of a stock character in the Atellan Farces.

64. Kajanto 160.

65. CIL 10.39. Conway 565.

66. Conway 587.

67. CIL 10.33, 61, 77, 104.

68. CIL 10.1050, 6185, Kajanto 336. The names of Annius Lotus and Cossutia Amarantha are in a different hand and seem to have been added to the main text at a later date.

Tarentum

1. L. Gasperini, Seconda Miscellenea Greca e Romana, Rome 1968, 379-97; Terza Miscellenea Greca e Romana, Rome 1971, 143-211; Settima Miscellenea Greca e Romana, Rome 1980. A short summary of work on Tarentine epigraphy is given in L. Gasperini, Note di Epigrafia Tarentina, in Act. 5th Int. Cong. Epig., Cambridge 1967.

2. This point will be discussed in greater detail below. For the nature of Sallentine epigraphy, see Susini, Fonti per la storia Greca e Romana del Salento, Bologna 1962.

3. The earliest instance has been dated to 58 A.D., but this inscription is from Rome, and distance and the localised nature of epigraphy in this area make it likely that the first appearance in Tarentum was considerably later. Thylander, Étude sur l'epigraphie Latine, Lund 1952, 50-1; Degrassi, RFIC 37 (1959), 213; Taylor, AJP 82, 120; Gordon, Illustrated Introduction to Latin Epigraphy.

4. This is reflected in the appearance of some Doric trace elements in the epigraphy of the Hellenistic and Roman periods, and also in the revival of contacts with Sparta in the 3rd century A.D. Cic. Pro Arch. 10, Strabo 6.1.2 and Gell., NA 13.2.2 attest to the continuation of Greek culture. Cf. Kahrstedt, Wirtschaftlage 108, Wuilleumier 167, Ciaceri, 209, 212, 266ff., 238ff., 248.

5. 8.21.1-3, Strabo 6.3.4 (= FGH 1, 84, fr.14, 247, fr.53), Ps. Scym. 336, Porphyrion ap. Hor. Od. 2.6, Arist. Pol. 5.6, Eustathius, ap. Dion. Per. 396, Just. 3.4, Dion. Hal. 19.1.2, Paus. 10.10.6, 13.10, Probus ad Verg. Georg. 2.197, 4.125, Servius ad. Verg. Aen. 3.551, 4.557; Gerg. 4.126; Ec. 10.57, ps. Serv. Aen. 3.551, Hesych. sv. Parthenioi. Wuilleumier 32-9.

6. Indications of this are the adoption of the dolphin as the emblem of the city and the frequent appearance of Taras and the dolphin in the art of Tarentum and on the coinage of the city. Cf. Head, Hist. Num. 53-69, Evans, Num. Chron. 1889, 1-228, Wuilleumier, 371-91.

7. Wuilleumier 51-66, Justin 3.4, Strabo 6.3.

8. Paus. 10.13.10, 10.10.6. A number of fragments of bronze equestrian figures, approx. 1.5 x life size, are currently held in the British Museum. A recent reconstruction by D. Williams

has suggested that these are from a copy of one of the victory monuments, probably set up at Tarentum.

9. Diod. 11.52.1-5, Wuilleumier 55-9.

10. Diod. 12.36.4, Strabo 6.1.14.

11. Strabo 6.3.4, De Senti Sestito 1984, 41-50.

12. Strabo 6.3.4.

13. Pliny N.H. 34.32, Livy Per. 11, Wuilleumier, 99-101.

14. Livy 8.25.7-8, Dion. Hal. 15.5.2.

15. Livy 9.14.1-9.

16. App. Sam. 7.1.

17. Livy 29.19.6-9 and 21.7.

18. Dio 51.22.2, Dion. Prus. 33.25, Claud. 17.157, Kahrstedt 108-120.

19. App. BC. 5.339, 342, 354, 403, 406, 408, 413, 428. For pirate raids by Sextus Pompeius, Verg. Georg. 4.125 ff., Probus Georg. 125, Serv. Georg. 127, Sid. App. 24.39. References to traders and bankers in the Aegean all argue for a considerable amount of trade, and there are references to production of a large number of items. Cf. Karhrstedt 108-9. Roman nervousness of unrest in the area of Tarentum in 218 and in the early 2nd century suggests that the port was still of some importance. Livy 35.23.5, 36.2.7, 38.42.5-6, 39.29.8-10, 39.41.6-7, 40.18.4, Pol. 3.75, App. Syr. 15.

20. Vell. Pat. 1.15.4, Strabo 6.3.4, Plut. G. Gracch. 8.3-9.1.

21. Cic. Pro Arch. 10, Strabo 6.1.2, Gell. N.A. 13.2.2, and a number of inscriptions from Delos and elsewhere in the Aegean. cf Ch.4.

22. Livy 39.2.8-10, 41.6-7. Since the Social war was primarily an Oscan uprising and a revival of the Samnite League, it is not surprising that the Greek cities were reluctant to participate,

particularly those, such as Tarentum, who had a history of bad relations with their Italic neighbours. The indifference, or in some cases positive hostility, to the idea of Roman citizenship suggests that Italiote neutrality was not a sign of weakness or inability to fight but an aloofness from the whole question of citizenship due to the very different perceptions of citizenship and nationality held in the Greek world.

23. App. BC. 5.339, 342, 354, 403, 406, 408, 413, 428.

24. Gasperini 1968, 381-8.

25. Plin. N.H. 14.69, Hor. Odes 2.6.18, Stat. Silv. 2.2.3, Mart. 13.125, Athen. 1.270.

26. Morel, Ktema 3-4 (1978-9), 94-110. Stat. Silv. 3.3.93, Hor. Odes 31.5-6, 2.6.10-12, Mart. 2.43.3-4, 4.28.1-3, 5.37.1-2, 8.28.1-6, 12.63.3-5, 13.125, 14.155, Tert. De Pallio, 3.6, Plaut. Truc. 649, Varro RR. 2.2.18, LL 9.39, Strabo 6.3.9, Colum. 7.2.3-4 and 7.4.1, Petr. 38.2, Pliny NH 8.190-1 and 29.33, Quint. 7.8.4, Pliny 9.137 provides evidence of the production of purple dye, and the price edict of Diocletian testifies to the continued production of Tarentine wool. The survival of the epitaphs of two shepherds attest the existence of pastoral farming, and the epitaph of a *sarcinator*, who appears to have been a tailor or to have been involved in the making of garments, also suggests the prominence of textiles.

27. See Ch.4.

28. Gasperini 1968, 71 and 78.

29. Gasperini 1980, 381-4 and NSc 1894 and 1896.

30. SEG 30, 1980 , 1218, NSc and 1960, Gasperini 1980, 381-4.

31. However, a number of important cults are not documented by the epigraphic record, although they are known to exist from votives

and from literary references.

32. AE 1930, 52. The presence of another member of the imperial staff strengthens the argument for the existence of an imperial estate at Tarentum, as speculated by Gasperini.

33. Gasperini assigns this to the area around Palude and the Forestà di Lùpoli.

34. Gasperini 1971, 167-8 cites several other dedications to Postumus, but does not give the texts in full.

35. The Trajan inscription can be dated to 110/9, and appears to commemorate the departure of Trajan for the Parthian campaign, from Brundisium.

36. EE 8.54 and 56.

37. Marangio, AC 31 (1979), 132-40.

38. Sartori 84-96.

39. De Iuliis, MG 20, 1-2 (1985), 17.

40. Sartori 84-8, IG 14.645.

41. Sartori 85-7, Strabo 6.3.4, Diog. Laert. 8.4.79, Ael. Var. Hist. 7.14, Suda, sv Αρχυτας.

42. Zon. 8.2, Sartori 87-8.

43. Ghinatti 1962, 117-33

44. cf Chapter 1.

45. For the restoration of exiles at Locri, and possible parallels at Tarentum, see note 17. Livy makes it clear that as a general rule, Rome found aristocratic regimes more sympathetic, cf. Livy 29.19.7-9, 21.7-8

46. EE 8.57, AE 1939, 52.

47. Tac. Ann. 14.27. For the later Flavian settlement, cf. Lib. Col. 211.

48. Gasperini 1968, 1971.

49. CIL 1^2.590, Sartori 93-6.

50. Higgins, 91, suggests East Greek influence and dates their first appearance to 525 B.C.

51. The names seem to indicate high status.

52. Cf. Pol. 8.6, Plat. Ep. 7.350, Fouille de Delphes 3.1.109, Evans, Num. Chron. 1889, Buononato, NSc 1956, 90-3. Examples of names ending in -ισκος are also found elsewhere in Magna Graecia, cf. Ευθυμισκος Ελεατης.

53. Pugliese Caratelli, PP 35 (1982), 380-1. The fact that this is a female name indicates that this must have been a document of a purely private nature, and Pugliese Caratelli's hypothesis that it is a curse tablet seems likely.

54. Gasperini 1980, 381. Adamesteanu, ACMG 15 1975, 252 and Ph. 301.

55. For other Memmii, cf. Memmius Dionysius.

56. CIL 9.743, 338, 408.

57. Susini 66.

58. CIL 9.17, 4628, 4693, 3583, 5800.

59. Conway 574, Buck 40.

60. Kajanto, 154, PIR 152. CIL 15.644.

61. Gasperini 1971, 155-63. Many of the Titinii seem to be fairly high status.

62. Gasperini 1971, 179 discusses the epitaph of Plotius Ianuarius.

63. CIL 9.59.

64. Tac. Hist. 1.27, Pliny NH 10.19.

65. Juv. Sat. 3.43.

66. e.g. CIL 9.1810, 1838, 1839.

67. CIL 9.1968 and 1638, Kajanto 192.

68. CIL 9.1902, 1014.

69. Guarducci III, 151-4, Capano, Klearchos 22 (1980), 15-69. The form *Have* is found in Campania, Lucania, Sicily and occasionally in Bruttium.

70. Pape/Benseller gives no parallel for the name, but the -ονικος suffix is well-documented.

71. CIL 10.3943, 4920.

72. CIL 9.714.

73. Conway 571.

74. CIL 9.363, 2866, 4094, 4155, 3736.

75. CIL 9.57, 188, 231.

76. CIL 9.117.

77. CIL 9.298, 1057, 1152, 2423.

78. CIL 9.1906, 1797, 307, 541, 445, 143.

79. CIL 9.91, 129, 494 (Kaninius). CIL 9.385 (Euhethes).

80. CIL 9.1127 (Aeclanum).

81. CIL 9.1561 (Beneventum).

82. CIL 9.1601, 1701, 2333-4, 2362, 3152, 390, 422, 5587.

83. CIL 9.509.

84. The use of a Greek name as a gentilicial, a function which it cannot fulfill, suggests a deliberate archaism.

85. Cic. Sen. 39 and 41. Plut. Cat. Maior 2. Nearchus appears to have been one of the pro-Roman party at Tarentum, possibly restored from exile by Fabius in 209. Thus the likelihood is that he, and the other prominent supporters of the Roman cause, had a connection of clientship or proxenia with the Fabii. This could account for the adoption of Fabianus as an agnomen. Nearchus appears in Cicero's dialogue by virtue of the fact that he was the host of Cato, who was a member of Fabius' staff, and was instrumental in instructing Cato in Pythagorean philosophy.

The question of deliberate archaism cannot ultimately be proved, but the irregular form of the name makes some reference to the past history of the city seem likely. The adoption of historically significant names with reference to prominent historical personages of an area becomes a feature of life among the aristocracy of certain Greek cities in the 2nd and 3rd centuries. For instance, it seems to have been a trend amongst aristocratic Spartans to adopt the names of kings, such as Leonidas, Archidamus etc., as cognomina. It is not possible to assign a date to this inscription without access to the original, but the form of the name, with the addition of an agnomen, suggests that it may be of 2nd or 3rd century date.

86. Kahrstedt, 114-5.

87. NSc 1894, SEG 30, 1980, Gasperini 1989, 381-4.

88. Cf. Gasperini 1971 for further examples of Greek or bilingual dedications by Romans.

89. Lippolis, Taras 4 (1984), 1-2, 119-153.

90. IG 5.1.37b (SEG 11, 481). Spawforth/Walker, JRS 76 (1986), 91. It seems likely that the embassy took place in 145-50.

91. Gasperini, in Alessandria e il mondo ellenico-romano. Studi in onore di A. Adriani, 1984, 476-9; Spawforth/Walker, JRS 76 (1986), 91. For the existence of an agonistic festival, cf. Moretti, Iscrizione agonistiche greche, no.84c.

92. Arnold, AJA 64 (1960), 241-51. Geer, TAPA 66 91935), 208-11.

93. Cic. Pro Arch. 10 seems to suggest that Archias was peforming readings in the Greek cities of the South, but it is not certain that this was in the context of a competition. However, it seems plausible that there were artistic festivals, attendance at which would supply a reason for his migration to Italy.

94. Susini 66. Susini dates the formula to a period spanning the late 1st-3rd centuries A.D. cf CIL 9.250 and 252.

95. 70% of Tarentine funerary monuments include an indication of age. Figures for other areas of Magna Graecia have not yet been fully studied, but the proportions of texts which include age appear to be much lower than this.

96. Macmullen, AJP 103 (1982), 233-46.

97. Macmullen 237-41.

98. Macmullen 240.

99. The question of whether ages expressed in epitaphs can be taken as representative of the pattern of mortality in a particular area, and the degree of accuracy with which they are recorded, is much debated. Hopkins, Population Studies 20 (1966), and Macmullen suggest that the ages recorded on tombstones bore little relation to the actual age of the deceased or to the average mortality. The work of Mocsy, Acta Antiqua 14 (1966), and Ery, Alba Regia 10 (1969) suggests that some ages occur in the epigraphic record significantly more frequently than others, thus indicating that they are not likely to be accurate representations of the age of the deceased. However, it seems that while it is unreasonable to expect a great deal of accuracy, particularly among the elderly, there is no good reason to assume that the ages given are not an indication of approximate age. Thus the discrepancy between actual and recorded age is not likely to distort graphs and tables which use fairly wide age divisions, e.g. 10 years. The relation of these ages to reality has been assessed by a number of scholars, who have attempted to produce analyses of the population distribution and pattern of mortality. Hopkins' early

conclusions, which suggested that the figures given by epigraphy for the death rate and average age of death would not indicate a viable population are now widely rejected. Brunt 1971, and Hopkins 1980, suggest that the pattern of high infant mortality and an average life expectancy of 20-40 years is both viable and explicable in terms of the evidence. Scobie, Klio 68 (1986), 399-433, indicate that the condition of housing and sanitation in Rome may have been a contributory factor to the high rate of infant mortality and low life expectation in Rome.

100. Wrigley and Schofield, The Population History of England 1541-1871, London 1981; Wrigley, Population and History, London 1969.

101. Gasperini 1971, 175-6, Susini, 20, suggest a figure of 30-40% for the Sallentine peninsular.

102. The status indicator tends to fall into disuse during the 2nd century.

103. Susini, 66.

104. It seems likely that the slaves employed as agricultural labourers enjoyed a lower standard of living than those employed in more skilled capacities, and may have been paid less peculium. It is also possible that they may have had a shorter life expectancy and thus less chance to save enough money to buy freedom.

105. Gasperini 1971, 153-4. The occupations include those of Velarius, Sarcinator and Gregarius.

106. Kajanto, Onomastique Latine, 421-30. However, there is also evidence for a tendency towards proliferation of names, particularly among the upper classes, e.g. Furius Claudius Togius Quintillianus.

107. Attempts have been made to differentiate on the basis of the cognomen, either by analysisng the linguistic and ethnic origin of the cognomen or by identifying cognomina which seem to occur more frequently among freedmen than among the free population. In particular, the use of Greek or oriental cognomina has been used as a status indication. However, although this seems to be borne out in a large proportion of cases, there are enough exceptions to make it a very unreliable means of differentiation.

108. Gasperini 1968, 389-93.

109. Gasperini 1971, 155-63.

Epigraphy and Society

1. See Introduction and Ch.1 above for further discussion.
2. Von Fritz 1940, *passim*, De Senti Sestito 1987, 86-94.
3. In particular, these *topoi* are applied to Sybaris, Croton and Tarentum.
4. Pol. 12.4-27.
5. For a discussion of Timaean bias, see Momigliano, 46-58.
6. Momigliano, 37-66.
7. Ciaceri 111.101-130, ARAN 12 (1931-2), 39-59.
8. App. Samn. 7.2, Zon. 8.2, Dio 9.39.3-10, Dion. Hal. 19.5, Hor. Carm. 1.7.4, 2.4.34, Juv. Sat. 6.297.
9. Juv.Sat. 6.297, Strabo 6.1.13, De Senti Sestito 1987.
10 Balsdon, Romans and Aliens, 17-38.
11. Balsdon, 17-38.
12. De Senti Sestito 1987, 85-113, Brauer 183-200.
13. Toynbee,11. 10-36, Heurgon, ACMG 15, 9-29.
14. Livy 39.2.8-10, 41.6-7, App. Syr. 15.

15. Sen. Tr. Anim. 2.13, Ep. 68.5, Hor. Carm. 1.18.29, 7.45, 2.4.34, 6.9.

16. Juv.Sat.3.3, 321, Livy 24.3.2-3, Magaldi, 196-8, Dio. Chrysos. 33.35.

17. Vergil 6.42-156. Austen, Commentary on Aeneid VI, Frederiksen 161, Paus. 10.13.8 and 8.24.5.

18. D'Arms 1981, 64, 78, 1970, 187-8. The Lucceii are known from Cicero's letters to have been powerful at Puteoli and Rome in the 1st century B.C., and it is likely that the Cumaean Lucceii are related to the same family.

19. Livy 42.3.1-11.

20. AE 1912, 246, Orsi, NSc 1912, 60-2, ILLRP 575 (= CIL 1.2542, AE 1912, 245). Mele, Crotone e la sua storia, ACMG 23 (1984), 25-47; De Senti Sestito, in I Santuari e la Guerra nel Mondo Classico (ed. Sordi) Milan 1984, 41-50; Sartori, La Magna Grecia dopo la Conquista Romana, ACMG 15 (1975), 88-134.

21. AE 1912, 246, Orsi, NSc 1912, 60-2, ILLRP 575 (= CIL 1.2542, AE 1912, 245).

22. Cic.Lael. 13.

23. Strabo 6.1.2

24. De Senti Sestito, 85-94.

25. Balsdon, 17-38,116-36. The prevailing attitude of the Greeks was still that βαρβαρος indicated someone who did not speak Greek, and this definition is implied by Strabo. The phrasing of the passage indicates that the Oscans were certainly regarded as βαρβαροι, although the distiction drawn between βαρβαροι and Romans may indicate that the Romans are being excluded from this category. For discussion of a different definition of βαρβαροι see Tsopanakis, PdP 39 (1984), 139-43.

26. For the evidence for Greek language and culture, see Buchner/Morelli/Nenci, PdP 7 (1952), 370-419, and above sv Naples.

27. e.g. Turano, Klearchos 2 (1960), 65-75, No.3.

28. I.G. 14.617, 618, 620, 621, S.E.G. 29.987, 989

29. Balsdon, 116-36.

30. Ebner PdP 21 (1966), 25 (1970).

31. e.g. I.G. 14.668, Viola, NSc 1881, Gasperini 1978.

32. Cic. Arch.3.5

33. Gasperini 1984, 76-9, Spawforth/Walker, JRS 1985, 78-104.

34. Gasperini, 1971.

35. Vell. Pat. 15.2.4, Plut. G. Gracch. 8.3-9.1, Plin. N.H. 3.99, Tac. Ann. 14.27.

36. Gasperini, 1971.

37. CIL 10.16, Costabile, 13-16.

38. The cult was apparently transmitted to Rome from Velia and Naples Cf. Cic. Pro. Balb. 24.55, AE 1978 No.261 and CIL 10.467.

39. Peterson 50-61. Stat. Silv. 4.8.47-9, Serv. Aen. 6.9, 6.14, Sil. It. 12.85-103.

40. CIL 10.3698.

41. Peterson 5-7, 182, 396. CIL 10.1571, SEG 29.967, NSc 1895.

42. Peterson 5-6.

43. CIL 10.3683

44. AE 1978 No.261 and CIL 10.467.

45. Hor. Epist. 1.15.1-2 and 14-15. See also Ebner, Rass. Stor. Salern. 1961, 196-8, Apollo 2 (1962), 125-136, Pugliese Caratelli, PP 18 (1963), 385-6, and PP 25 (1970), 243-8, Nutton PP 25 (1970), 211-225, Musitelli, PdP 35 (1980).

46. Ebner, AC 17 (1965), 306-9.

47. IG 14.617, 618, 620, 621, SEG 29.987, 989

48. Mele, Crotone e la sua storia, ACMG 23 (1984), 25-47; De Senti Sestito, in I Santuari e la Guerra nel Mondo Classico (ed. Sordi) Milan 1984, 41-50; Sartori, La Magna Grecia dopo la Conquista Romana, ACMG 15 (1975), 81-138.

49. Macmullen, 235-7.

50. D'Arms 1970, 38-72.

51. Gasperini, 1971.

52. Uguzzoni/Ghinatti, Le Tavole Greche di Eraclea. Bartoccini, Epigraphia 9 (1947), 3-29, Gasperini, 1968.

53. Vell. Pat. 1.14.7, 15.4, Livy 34.45.4-5, 35.53.2, Plut. G. Gracch. 8.3-9.1, Sartori, 102-5, 114-5, 118-9, 126-8.

54. Sartori, 36-8, Costabile, 89-104.

55. Sartori 89-95, 98-9, 114-5.

56. Sartori, 102-5, Mello 1974, Mello/Voza 1968.

57. Vit. Had. 1.9.1

58. Napoli, 166-82.

59. I.G. 14.748, A.E. 1913, 134,

60. IG 14.612.

61. Sartori 36-8.

62. Costabile 89-104, Sartori 114-5, 118-9.

63. Mello 1974.

64. For discussion of the methodologies used by linguists to study language change and bilingualism, see Kaimio 1979, 9-19, and 1975, 88-235. Linguistic studies of the evidence from the Greek South have been attempted by Prosdocimi, ACMG 15 (1975), 135-217, and Parlàngeli, ZPh 76 (1960), 118-129. These concentrate on the survival of linguistic trace elements and do

not give detailed consideration to the patterns of language use. However, it is significant that both Prosdocimi and Parlàngeli find considerable traces of both Oscan and Greek in the Latin of the Southern Italian inscriptions.

65. Balsdon 116-36.

66. Virgil, Aen. 3.401/2. Calderone, ACMG 15, 30-81, suggests that some degree of Hellenic identity was emerging among cities such as Petelia in the 4th century. For further discussion, cf Magaldi, 71-197, Pugliese Caratelli, ACMG 11, 38-56.

67. D.H. 15.6.4., Strabo 5.4.7, Livy 40.42.13, Vell. Pat.1.4.2.

68. Peterson 56-61.

69. The names of people cursed include members of the Blossii and the Heii, two of the most prominent Campanian families.

70. Buck 40

71. Prosdocimi 138-217.

72. See Appendix 3, A and B.

73. Strabo 5.4.7, 6.1.2

74. Ebner and Pugliese Caratelli, PP 25 (1970). Forni, Kokalos 304 (1957-8).

75. See Appendix 3, B.

76. Ethnics at Naples include 4 Alexandrians, 2 Antiochenes, a Mallotian, a Pergamene, and a native of Berenike. Other victors of the games at Naples are listed by Moretti 1953, No. 65, 67-70, 72-3, 75-6, 78-9, 81, 84, 86-90.

77. The certain identification of Roman immigrants is difficult, but a number of Greek inscriptions of Republican date, both from Naples and elsewhere, include the ethnic 'Ρωμαιος. cf Viola, NSc 1889, IG 14.780.

78. IG 14.612, from Rhegium, and Forni, Kokalos 3-4 (1957-8),

61-70, from Velia. cf. IG 7.342, 505.

79. IG 14. 616, 617, 618, 620, 621, SEG. 1.418, 29.987, 989

80. Costabile 89-104.

81. IG 14.716, 717, 729, 737, 741, 749 Correra, RM 1904, 185, Colonna, NSc 1890, 90-1, ILS 6455, 6460, CIL 10.1491, 1492, 1478, SEG 29.967, NSc 1895.

82. Vit. Had. 1.9.1.

83. Ebner and Pugliese Caratelli, PP 25 (1970). Forni, Kokalos 304 (1957-8).

84. e.g. IG 14.758, 760.

85. I.G. 14.748, A.E. 1913, 134

86. Costabile 72-83.

87. Camodeca 101-63.

88. Strabo 6.1.2

89. Mello 1974, *passim*.

90. Gasperini 1971. e.g. Mutii, Messii, Pettii, whose Southern distribution is concentrated in Southern Apulia.

91. Costabile 72-85.

92. Hatzfeld 238-45.

93. The high number of Valerii found among veterans of the Misenum fleet strongly suggests that names were adopted on entry into the army.

94. For instance, the differences between the military cursus inscriptions of the Roman colonists at Tarentum, and the distinctive cippi bearing only the name and age of the deceased which are the most common local funerary type.

95. Strabo 5.4.7, 6.1.2, Athen. 16.632a.

96. e.g. Χαρης Βριττιου (Cumae), Τερτια Πακια του Διονυσιου (Velia), Τρεβιος Ζωιλος Αριστοβουλος (Naples).

97. e.g. Αβρις Καικου Κυμαιος, Αττινος Ἡρακλειδου Κυμαιος.

98. Cumae was granted the right to use latin for official purposes in 180 B.C. Livy 40.42.13, Varro ap. Gell. 11.1.5.

99. Kajanto, Latomus 27 (1968), 517-24.

100. See Appendix 3, C.

101. Kajanto 1968, 517-24.

102. Single names are likely to be an indicator of servile status during the 1st-3rd centuries A.D., but they cannot always be taken as an reliable guide. Many epitaphs of small children have only a single name, and the single name became more frequently used by adults of all classes in the 4th century. cf Kajanto, OL 421-30.

103. e.g. Anthus, Hyginus.

104. The only place where a substantial number of "genuine" Greek names are found as cognomina, is Naples. It is significant that these are found mostly among the immigrants from the East. e.g. M. Aurelius Artemidoros (I.G. 14.738), M. Aurelius Hermagoras (I.G. 14.739).

105. e.g. Alexander, Socrates, Plato etc. are popular cognomina among people of low social origin.

106. Appendix 3, C.

107. Gasperini 1971, 175-6.

108. See Appendix 3, E. Susini, 20, suggests a figure of 30-40% for the Sallentine peninsular.

109. Camodeca 101-63.

110. For exceptions to this, cf the Lucceian building program at Cumae etc.

111. CIL 10.1485, ILS 5692, Putorti, Rend. Linc. 1912,791-802.

112. CIL 10.107, 109, 110

113. IG 14.617, 618, 620, 621, SEG 29.987, 989

114. Duncan-Jones, PBSR 19 (1964), 189-306, 1974 120-238,350-64.

115. CIL 10.3685-7, 3697.

116. AE 1913, 134

117. IG 14.748

118. Macmullen, 1983, 233-46, Duncan-Jones 1964, 189-306.

119. Macmullen 1983, 233-46.

120. See Appendix 3, B.

121. Duncan-Jones 1964, 189-306.

122. Kahrstedt, 121-4.

123. See Appendix 3, A and B.

124. The statistics for the early epigraphy of Southern Italy suggest that the Greek epigraphic tradition of Southern Italy was weak, and tended to be confined to dedications, curses and brief inscriptions on grave goods, amphorae, personal items etc, in contrast to Latin epigraphy and Greek epigraphy from the Aegean, which place a much greater emphasis on epitaphs and public inscriptions. cf Appendix 3, B.

125. However, these are not numerous by the standards either of the Aegean or the rest of Italy.

126. Gasperini 1971

127. Among the Latin epitaphs studied, the ratio of D.M. to non- D.M. inscriptions at Tarentum is 38:64, which is much lower than elsewhere.

128. e.g. IG 14.773, 802, 868.

129. IG 14.774, Sogliano, NSc 1892, 201-2.

130. EE 8.452, D'Ambrosio, Puteoli 4-5 (1980-1), 277-8.

131. Gasperini 1968, 1971.

132. Gasperini, 1971, Susini, *passim*, CIL 9.238, 243, 253, EE 8.64.

133. cf Ebner, PdP 21 (1966) and 25 (1970).

134. Hopkins 1980, 69-74, Scobie Klio 68 (1986), 399-433, Ery Alba Regia 10 (1969), 51-67, Mocsy A.Ant.Hung. 14 (1966), 387-41.

135. Duncan-Jones, Chiron 7 (1977), 333-53.

136. Macmullen, 1983, 238-46.

137. See Appendix 3, F.

138. Appendix 3, F.

139. Scobie 399-433, Hopkins 1980, 69-74.

140. Wrigley 1969, Wrigley and Schofield 1981.

141. Duncan-Jones, 1977, 333-53.

142. see Appendix 3, F.

Greek Ships in Roman Service 280-167 B.C.

Reference	Date	No. and type of ship	Origin
Polybios 1.20.14	264	?triremes, pentekontors	Locri, Velia Tarentum, Naples
Livy 26.9.10	210	20 ships, of which 15 were Greek	Rhegium, Paestum, Velia and others
Livy 34.8.4	195	5 ships as part of a squadron of 25	Unspecified
Livy 35.16.3	193	General statement of naval obligations	Naples, Rhegium and Tarentum
Livy 36.42.1	191	Unspecified number of undecked ships as part fleet of 50	Naples, Rhegium, Locri and others of same status
Livy 42.48.7	171	7 triremes	Rhegium, Locri, Velia

Italiote Greeks in the East

NAME	DATE	PROVENANCE	TYPE	REFERENCE	OTHER INFORMATION
Αβρις Καικου Κυμαιος	c. 80 B.C.	Oropos	Agonistic	IG 7.417	Victor κελ[ητ]ι τελ[ω].
Αττινος Ἡρακλειδος	c. 80 B.C.	Oropos	Agonistic	IG 7.417	Victor παιδας παγρατιων and ὁπλιτην.
Μινατος Μινατου Στηιου	180 B.C.	Delphi	List of Hieropoioi	BCH 1880	Described as Ῥωμαιος εκ Κυμης
Ζωιλος Ζωιλου Κυμαιος	C4	Athens	Funerary	IG 2/3.9116	
Ἡδεια Κυμαια	Early C3	Athens	Funerary	IG 2/3.9117	
Μεγακλης Σωσιπατρου Νεαπολιτης	275/4	Delphi		Flacelière II 23a	
Κυρος Νεαπ[ολιτης]	C3(?)	Thebaid (Egypt)	Funerary	Launey 2014	Possibly a mercenary.
Νεαπολιτης				IG 2/3.9990	
Νεαπολιτης				IG 2/3.9991	
Νεαπολιτης				IG 2/3.9992	
Αγαθοκλη[ς] Θεοδοσιου Νεαπολιτης	c. 80 B.C.	Oropos	Agonistic	IG 7.416	
Διονυσιος Διφιλου Νεαπολιτης	101/100	Athens			
Απολλωνιος Διοσκοριδου Νεαπολιτης	110/109, 96/95	Delos	Dedication	BCH 34, 15	Dedication to Anubis (110/109). Dedication to Aphrodite by Apollonius and his daughters.
Απολλονιας	96/95	Delos	Dedication	BCH 34, 15	Daughter of Apollonius Dioskoridou.
Αρτεμω	96/95	Delos	Dedication	BCH 34, 15	Daughter of Apollonius Dioskoridou.
Αρτεμιδωρος Σαραπιωνος	c.94	Delos	Dedication	BCH 34, 17	Competeliastes. Slave or freedman of Sarapion Alexandrou.
Χαιρεας Φιλοστρατου	c.100	Delos	Dedication	BCH 34,	Competeliastes. Slave/freedman of Philostratos Philostratou.
Φιλοστρατος Φιλοστρατου Νεαπολιτης	c.100	Delos	5 Dedications + Subscription List	BCH 34,	Dedication in honour of Philostratos by his nephew Diodotos Antipatrou; dedication to Apollo by Ph. with P, G and Gn. Egnatius; Dedication in Sanctuary of Foreign Gods Exedra dedic. in Agora of Italian[s].
Θεοφιλος Φιλοστρατου Νεαπολιτης	c.100	Delos	Dedication	BCH 34,	Son of Philostratos Philostratou. Ephebe

					Dedic. to Apollo, Hermes and Herakles.
Σαραπιων Αλεχανδρου Νεαπολιτης	c.100	Delos	Collegiate	BCH 34,	Father of Serapion Sarapionos.
Σεραπιων Σαραπιονος Νεαπολιτης	Late C2	Delos	Rhenaia Tablet	BCH 34,	
6 Σωιγενης Θεοδωρου	c.97/96	Delos		BCH 34,	Competeliast. Slave/freedman of Theodorus.
---λης Νεαπολιτης	Mid. C2	Delos	Dedication	BCH 34,	Competeliast.
---ου Νεαπολιτης	-	Delos	Frag.	BCH 34,	
---ου Νεαπολιτης	c.94	Delos		BCH 34,	Competeliast.
---ιαο Νεαπολιτης	C2	Tanagra	Proxeny Decree	IG 7.516	
Πελοπς Δεχιαι Νεαπολιτης	222-205	Tanagra	Proxeny Decree	IG 7.505	
" " "	-	Oropos	Proxeny Decree	IG 7.342	
Ισιδορος Ισιδορου	Late C2	Athens	Ephebe List	IG 2.470	
Γαιος Γαιου	Late C2	Delos	Agonistic	Insc. Delos 1.2601	λαμπαδα των εφεβων.
Τυριλλας ὁ Νεαπολιτας	276/275	Delphi	Proxenos	Fouille de Delphes 111.4.414	
Χαροπινας Ανταλλου Ελεατης	188/187	Delphi	Proxeny Decree	SGDI 2.2581	
Διονυσιος Δεγητου Ελεατης	188/187	Delphi	Proxeny Decree	SGDI 2.2581	
Ευδοχος Αισχρωνος Ελεατης	188/187	Delphi	Proxeny Decree	SGDI 2.2581	
			Dedication (2)	BCH 34, 11-12	Dedic. by A. in honour of brother and by brother in honour of A.
Αγαθοκλης Ἑρμονος Ελεατης	c.140	Delos			
Αφοβος Ελεατης	c.158/157	Delos		BCH 34, 14	
Απολλοδορος Διονυσιου Ελεατης	Late C2	Delos	Frag. of Catalogue	BCH 34, 13	Possibly Agonistic.
Δειφιλος Αρτεμωνος Ελεατης	Roman period	Athens	Funerary	IG 2/3.8483	
[.....]του Ελεατης	Early C2	Egypt	Funerary	Launey 600, 6012	Possibly a mercenary.
Ἑρμων Αγαθοκλεος Ελεατης	c.150-140	Delos	Dedication	BCH 34, 84	Ephebe.
Μενεκλης Παγκρατου	c.100	Delos		BCH 34, 51	
Νικομενης Ελεατης	c.157/156	Delos	Dedications (2)	BCH 34, 54	2 dedications to Isis.
Σωσις Ελεατης	c.158/157	Delos		BCH 34, 79	Left Delos the same year.
Θεοδοτη Διοσκοριδου	-	Delos	Dedication	BCH 34, 84	Dedic. to Apollo, Artemis and Leto by self and husband

υ?. ʼΕρμων Θρασυδειος Ελεατης	-	Delos	Dedication	BCH 34, 84	Husband of Theodote.
Θρασυδειος ʼΕρμονος Ελεατης	Mid. C2	Delos	Dedication	BCH 34, 84-85	cf. Agathokles Hermonos.
Θεων ʼΕρμονος	c.100	Delos	Dedication	BCH 34, 94	Son of Hermon Thrasydeiou. Elaiopolos.
Ζενων ʼΕρμονος	c.100	Delos	Dedication	BCH 34, 84	Son of Hermon Thrasydeiou. Elaiopolos.
---ανα Θρασυδειου	Late C2	Delos	Dedication	BCH 34, 11 and 97	cf. Agathokles Hermonos.
---ους	c.88	Delos	Subscription List	BCH 34, 100	
---ς	Late C2	Delos	Dedication	BCH 34, 101	Dedication to Zeus Ourios.
Αγαθοκλης	119/118	Delos	Ephebe List	Insc. Delos 1.2598	
Αγαθων Νυμψιου Πετελινος	Late C3/C2	Delos	Dedications (3)	BCH 34, 12	Dedications to the Egyptian Gods.
τας ʼΡηγινων πολιος	C3	Delphi	Soteria Insc.	SEG 27.115	
------- ʼΡηγινοι	Mid. C3	Tenos	Proxeny Decree	IG 12.313	Listed with Tarantinoi and Krotoniatai, also unnamed.
ʼΡηγιων¨ Αλκιδαμος Ζενωνος	390-367 or 353-339	Epidauros	List of Theodokoi	IG 11.1504	
Λοκροις¨ Βυτιος	390-353 or 353-339	Epidauros	List of Theodokoi	IG 11.1504	
Ζοιλος Λοκρος	Mid. C2	Delos	Dedication	BCH 34, 94	
Λοκρος		Athens		IG 2/3.9217	
Λοκρος		Athens		IG 2/3.9218	
Λοκρος		Athens		IG 2/3.9219	
Θουριοι απ Ιταλιας	C4	Delphi	Accounts of Naopoioi	SEG 27.85	
Θουριοις¨ Πασιλλας Φαυλλου	390-367 or 353-339	Epidauros	List of Theodokoi	IG 11.1504	
Δαμων					
Αγεμος Λυσωνος					
Διοκλης Κροτωνιατας	344	Delphi	Acc. of Naopoioi	FD 111.4	
τ?. ------- Κροτωνιαρης	Early Imp.	Thespies	Agonistic	IG 7.1767	
-----λης Κροτωνιατοι	Mid. C3	Tenos	Proxeny Decree	IG 12.313	
του δεινος Κροτωνιατοι	Early C4	Athens	Dedication	IG 4.199	
Κροτωνι¨ Σωνικος Πειθυος	390-367 or 353-339	Epidauros	List of Theodokoi	IG 4.1504	
Γορλεας Αισχυλου ʼΗρακλεος		Delphi		Bousquet, BCH 1938	
Τιτος Σατυριωνος ʼΗρακλεωτης	Late C2	Delos	Dedication	BCH 34, 84	Dedication. Statue of son, Satyros to

					Apollo, Leto and Artemis.
Θεοδωρα Κρατεου	Late C2	Delos	Dedication	BCH 34, 83-4	Wife of Titos Satyrionos. Tean, not Herakleote.
Τιτος Τιτου	Late C2	Delos	Dedication	BCH 34, 85-86	Son of Titos Satyrionos.
Σατυρος Τιτου	Late C2	Delos	Dedication	BCH 34, 85-86	Child of Titos Titou.
Τιτος Τιτου (11)	"	"	"	"	"
Θεοδωρα Τιτου	"	"	"	"	"
Ποσιδιππος Τιτου	"	"	"	"	"
Αριστων	119/118	Delos	Ephebe List	Insc. Del. 1.2598	
Φρασιλλωι[.....ιο]υ	-	Delphi	Proxeny Decree	FD 111.4.390	
'Ηρακλειοι απ 'Ιταλίας	359/357	Delphi	List of Contributions	FD 111.4.613	
Μετρων 'Ηρακλειος απ Ιταλιας		Delos	Collegiate		
Διογενης Προτογενου 'Ηρακλεωτης	c.74	Delos	Dedication	BCH 34, 39	
Γοργιας Δαμοχενου 'Ηρακλεωτης	Sullan (c.75/74)	Delos	Dedication	BCH 34, 39	Statue dedic. to A. & P. Gabinius by Gorgias and Ariston Gorgiou of Athens.
Μιδας Ζενωνος 'Ηρακλεωτης	105/104, 104/103	Delos	Dedications (4)	BCH 34, 52	Exedra and mosaic dedic. to Aphrodite. Dedic. in Italian Agora. Dedic. of statue of G. Billienus.
υ'. Λυσιππος Λυσιππος 'Ηρακλεωτης	c.100	Delos	Sculptural Insc.	BCH 34, 48	Sculptor of statues of Philostratos Philostratou and goddess Roma.
Ποσιδιππος Τιτου 'Ηρακλεωτης	c.100	Delos		BCH 34, 70	Elaiopoles. Son of Titos Satyrionos.
Θεοφιλος Αριστιωνος	-	Delos	Funerary	BCH 34, 84	
Λεοφρων Μεταποντινος	Late C4/C3	Epidauros	Dedication	IG 4.1215	
Μεταποντιον" Φιλεμενος	390-367 or 353-339	Epidauros	List of Theodokoi	IG 4.1504	
Μολων Μεταποντινος	-	Delphi		Flacelière II 26a	
Σωκρατης Μολωνος Μεταποντινος	-	Delphi		Flacelière II 26a	
Διοκλης Διοφανεος Ταραντινος	C1	Thespies	Proxeny Decree	IG 7.1726	
Δοροθεος Δοροθεου Ταραντινος	C1	Orchomenos	Agonistic	IG 7.3197	

Δοροθεος Δοροθεου Ταραντινος	C2/C1	Argos	Agonistic	Vollgraff, Mnemosyne NS 47, 252-8	
Νουμεριος Λεοντος	C1	Melos	Funerary	IG 12.3.1233	
Ασκλεπιοδορος Πυθεου	C1	Orchomenos	Agonistic	IG 7.3195	
'Ηφαιστιων Δεμεου	267 B.C.	Egypt	Agonistic	SEG 29.1114	
Επιγονος Δαμοκρατεος	c.200	Kyme	Decree	SEG 29.1216	Decree in honour of Epigonos.
Αντικρατης	C4 or C3	Eretria	Funerary	SEG 27.725	
Αισχριων 'Ηρακλειδου	c.160	Delos	Dedication	BCH 34, 42	Son of Herakleides Aristionos.
Νικοκλης Αριστοκλεος Ταραντινος	Mid. C3	Athens	Funerary	IG 2/3.3779	cf. Paus. 1.37.2, *Kitharistes* who lived in Athens and may have been an exile.
Μεμνον Αριστιωνος Ταραντινος	C2/C1	Athens	Funerary	IG 2/3.10413	
Καπριον Ταραντινος	C2/C1	Athens	Funerary	IG 2/3.10412a	
Αριστομανος Φιλαιδου	C2/C1	Athens	Funerary	IG 2/3.10412a	Husband of Kaprion. Probably Tarentine, but no ethnic given.
Πιερια Πυθωνος Ταραντινη	C2	Athens	Funerary	IG 2/3.10414	
Θεαντας Ταραντινος	-	Thebaid	Funerary	Launey 601	Possibly a mercenary.
Λυσανιας Ταραντινος	-	Arsinoite		Launey 601	Possibly a mercenary.
Σωσιβιος Ταραντινος	-	-	Egypt	Launey 601	
Αριστακος 'Ηρακλειδου	c.160	Delos	Dedication	BCH 34, 42	Child of Herakleides Aristonos.
Αριστιων 'Ηρακλειδου	"	"	"	"	"
Κλεανω	"	"	"	"	"
Νικασω	"	"	"	"	"
'Ηρακλειδης 'Ηρακλειδου	"	"	"	"	"
Μενεκρατης 'Ηρακλειδου	"	"	"	"	"
Δεμετριος Δαζου	-	Delos	Funerary	BCH 34, 33	
Ειρηνη Σιμαλου	Late C2	Delos	Subscription List	BCH 34, 35	Subscription to Sanctuary of Foreign Gods. Daughter or slave of Simalos Timarchou.
Ευκλης 'Ηρακλειδου	c.157/156	Delos		BCH 34, 35	Grandson of Herakleides.
'Ηρακλειδης Αριστιωνος	179-169	Delos	Dedication	BCH 34, 42	Banker of Sacred funds. Business partner of

					Timon Nymphodorou of Syracuse.
Μυραλλις Μενεκρατου	-	Delos	Dedication	BCH 34, 42 and 53	Wife of Herakleides.
Παρμενιων Δαζυμου	158/157	Delos		BCH 34, 65	
Σιμαλος Σιμαλου	102/101, 101/100	Delos, Athens	Ephebe Lists	BCH 34, 78	
Σιμαλος Τιμαρχου	c.100	Delos	Collegiate	BCH 34, 79	Also citizen of Salamis, and had connections with Egypt.
Σωκρατης	Before 151/150	Delos	Dedication	BCH 34, 79	Archon.
[....]δης [...]β[....]ου	c.200	Delos	Proxeny Decree	BCH 34, 78	
[.....]	Late C2	Delos	Dedication	BCH 34, 101	
Φιλων Φιλωνος	C1	Tanagra	Agonistic	IG 7.540	
Λεων Πανταλεοντος	264 or 232	Oreus	Proxeny Decree	IG 9.1187	
Δρακων Λυκονος	-	Delos	Agonistic	IG 11.108	
Ταραντινοι	C2	Clitor	Proxeny Decree	IG 5.368	
Ταραντινοι	Mid. C3	Tenos	Proxeny Decree	IG 12.313	
Ταραντινοις	205/204 or 204/203	Delphi	Proxeny Decree	FD 111.4.613	
Φιλιππος Φιλινου Ταραντινος	-	Egypt	Funerary	Launey 601	Probably a mercenary.
[.....] Ταραντινος	-	Thebaid	Funerary	Launey 601	Probably a mercenary.
Ανδρονικος Φιλιππου Ταραντινος	205/204	Delphi		Flacelière II 89	Amphictyony Decree.
Ευανδρος Ταραντινος	272/271	Delphi		Flacelière II 26a	
Ευθυμειδης Ταραντινος	272/271	Delphi		Flacelière II 26a	
Ζωπυρος Λαμισκου Ταραντινος	253/252	Delphi		Flacelière II 86	
Ἱππος Ταραντινος	205/204	Delphi		Flacelière II 89a	
Ξεναιθος Ταραντινος	234/233	Delphi		Flacelière II 64b	
Ξενεας Ξεναιθου Ταραντινος	234/233	Delphi		Flacelière II 64b	
Φιλιππιδης Ταραντινος	205/204	Delphi		Flacelière II 89a	
[.....]λος Ταραντινος	-	Delphi		Flacelière II 26a	
Λυκως Φιλεα Ταραντινος	189/188	Delphi	Proxeny Decree	Ditt. 585	
Ταραντι¨ Πισων Δαμοξενις	390-367 or 353-339	Epidauros	List of Theodokoi	IG 4.1504	
Τεριναˆ Μεγων Αγεσιδαμου	390-367 or 353-339	Epidauros	List of Theodokoi	IG 4.1504	

[Δ]ημω Ευφρονος Τεριναια απο Ιταλιας	–	Athens	Funerary	IG 2.3387

A. LINGUISTIC

Cumae

DATE	GREEK	LATIN	OSCAN	BILINGUAL	TOTAL
Pre 4th cent.	11	0	0	0	11
4th-3rd cent. B.C.	0	0	6	0	6
2nd-1st cent. B.C.	4	6	2	1	13
1st cent. A.D.	0	31	0	0	31
2nd cent. A.D. or later	5	36	0	0	41
Undated	0	28	0	0	28
TOTAL	20	101	7	1	130

Naples

DATE	GREEK	LATIN	BILINGUAL	TOTAL
Pre Roman	-	-	-	-
Republican	5	-	1	6
1st cent. A.D.	11	12	4	27
2nd cent. and later	19	65	1	85
Roman period	59	42	2	103
Undatable	55	-	-	55
TOTAL	149	119	8	276

A. LINGUISTIC

Velia

DATE	GREEK	LATIN	BILINGUAL	TOTAL
Pre-Roman	11	0	0	11
Republican	7	1	0	8
1st century	7	12	1	20
2nd/3rd cent.	0	15	0	15
Late Empire	1	1	0	2
Undated	30	11	0	41
TOTAL	56	40	1	97

Rhegium

DATE	GREEK	LATIN	BILINGUAL	TOTAL
Republican	4	1	0	5
1st cent. A.D.	6	5	0	11
2nd/3rd cent.	2	25	1	28
Imperial	10	0	0	10
Undated	7	12	0	19
TOTAL	27	43	1	71

A. LINGUISTIC

Locri

DATE	GREEK	LATIN	TOTAL
Pre-Roman	2	0	2
3rd-1st cent. B.C.	2	0	2
1st century A.D.	0	1	1
2nd cent. & later	0	21	21
Undatable	6	15	21
TOTAL	10	37	47

Croton

DATE	GREEK	LATIN	TOTAL
Pre-Roman	2	0	2
Republican	0	3	3
1st century A.D.	0	0	0
2nd cent. & later	0	12	12
Undated	0	5	5
TOTAL	2	20	22

A. LINGUISTIC

Tarentum

DATE	GREEK	LATIN	BILINGUAL	TOTAL
Pre-Roman	12	-	-	12
Republican	4	17	2	23
1st century A.D.	1	25	-	26
2nd cent. and later	-	43	-	43
Undated	12	103	-	115
TOTAL	29	188	2	219

Overall Totals

DATE	GREEK	LATIN	OSCAN	BILINGUAL	TOTAL
Pre-Roman	38	-	-	-	38
Republican	26	28	8	4	66
1st century A.D.	25	86	-	5	116
2nd cent. and later	27	218	-	2	247
Roman Period	69	42	-	2	113
Undatable	110	174	-	-	284
TOTAL	295	548	8	13	864

Cumae

DATE	FUNERARY			RELIGIOUS			CIVIC			CURSES			TOTAL		
	GK.	LAT.	OSC.	GK.	LAT.	OSC.	GK.	LAT.	OSC.	GK.	LAT.	OSC.	GK.	LAT.	OSC.
Pre 4th century	8	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0
4th/3rd cent. B.C.	0	0	4	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
2nd/1st cent. B.C.	3	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	2	0	1	0
1st century A.D.	0	16	0	0	7	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	4	0
2nd cent. and later	4	24	0	0	4	0	0	5	0	1	0	0	0	3	0
Undated	0	18	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	9	0
TOTAL	15	59	5	2	12	1	0	8	0	3	4	3	1	17	0

Naples

DATE	FUNERARY		RELIGIOUS		OFFICIAL		OTHER	
	GREEK	LATIN	GREEK	LATIN	GREEK	LATIN	GREEK	LATIN
Pre-Roman	–	–	–	–	–	–		–
Republican	2	–	1	–	3	–	–	–
1st century A.D.	6	10	1	–	7	3	–	3
2nd cent. and later	9	43	3	5	8	19	–	–
Roman period	36	26	3	3	12	2	9	12
Undatable	38	–	3	–	–	–	13	–
TOTAL	91	79	10	8	30	24	22	15
	170		19		54		37	

Velia

	FUNERARY		RELIGIOUS		OFFICIAL		OTHER	
	GREEK	LATIN	GREEK	LATIN	GREEK	LATIN	GREEK	LATIN
Pre-Roman	0	0	11	0	0	0	0	0
Republican	5	1	1	0	1	0	0	0
1st century A.D.	0	8	6	2	2	2	0	0
2nd/3rd century A.D.	0	14	0	0	0	1	0	0
Late Empire	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
Undated	23	9	6	0	0	0	1	2
TOTALS	29	32	24	2	3	4	1	2
	61		26		7		3	

Rhegium

DATE	FUNERARY		RELIGIOUS		OFFICIAL		OTHER	
	GREEK	LATIN	GREEK	LATIN	GREEK	LATIN	GREEK	LATIN
Republican	0	0	0	0	3	1	1	0
1st century A.D.	1	3	5	0	0	2	0	0
2nd/3rd century A.D.	2	11	0	2	0	10	0	1
Undated	4	8	3	0	10	2	3	1
TOTALS	7	22	8	2	13	15	4	2
	29 + 1 bilingual		10		28		6	

Locri

DATE	FUNERARY		RELIGIOUS		OFFICIAL		OTHER	
	GREEK	LATIN	GREEK	LATIN	GREEK	LATIN	GREEK	LATIN
Pre-Roman	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0
3rd-1st century B.C.	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0
1st century A.D.	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
3rd century +	0	20	0	0	0	2	0	0
Undated	0	8	2	1	0	0	4	4
TOTALS	0	29	4	1	1	2	5	4
	29		5		3		9	

Croton

DATE	FUNERARY		RELIGIOUS		OFFICIAL		OTHER	
	GREEK	LATIN	GREEK	LATIN	GREEK	LATIN	GREEK	LATIN
Pre-Roman	–	–	–	–	–	–	2	–
Republican	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	2
1st century A.D.	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2nd century A.D.	–	2	–	1	–	10	–	13
Undated	–	3	–	–	–	–	–	2
TOTAL	5		1		11		18	

Tarentum

DATE	FUNERARY		RELIGIOUS		OFFICIAL		OTHER	
	GREEK	LATIN	GREEK	LATIN	GREEK	LATIN	GREEK	LATIN
Pre-Roman	–	–	3	–	–	–	8	–
Republican	–	–	3	3	–	1	–	16
1st century A.D.	–	13	1	3	–	6	–	2
2nd cent. and later	–	38	–	1	–	6	–	–
Undated	2	84	–	1	–	7	9	–
TOTAL	137		15		20		44	

OVERALL TOTALS

B. EPIGRAPHIC TYPES

(not including bilingual texts)

DATE	FUNERARY		RELIGIOUS		OFFICIAL		OTHER	
	GREEK	LATIN	GREEK	LATIN	GREEK	LATIN	GREEK	LATIN
Pre-Roman	8	0	16	0	0	0	13	0
Republican	10	2	7	3	8	3	1	23
1st century A.D.	7	51	13	12	9	16	0	9
2nd cent. and later	16	152	3	13	8	54	1	17
Roman period	36	26	3	3	12	2	9	12
Undatable	67	130	14	3	10	9	30	27
TOTAL	505		90		131		130	

C. COGNOMINA

Cumae

	FREE	SLAVE/FREED	INCERTI	TOTAL
Greek	3	16	39	58
Latin	27	10	125	162
TOTAL	30	26	164	220

Naples

	FREE	SLAVE/FREED	INCERTI	TOTAL
Greek	8	15	64	87
Latin	66	4	53	123
TOTAL	74	19	117	210

Velia

	FREE	SLAVE/FREED	INCERTI	TOTAL
Greek	1	0	15	13
Latin	12	3	15	30
TOTAL	13	3	30	43

C. COGNOMINA

Rhegium

	FREE	SLAVE/FREED	INCERTI	TOTAL
Greek	3	2	19	14
Latin	19	1	18	30
TOTAL	28	3	27	44

Locri

	FREE	SLAVE/FREED	INCERTI	TOTAL
Greek	4	1	6	11
Latin	7	1	8	16
TOTAL	11	2	14	27

Croton

	FREE	SLAVE/FREED	INCERTI	TOTAL
Greek	4	1	7	12
Latin	6	-	4	9
TOTAL	10	1	11	21

C. COGNOMINA

Tarentum

	FREE	SLAVE/FREED	INCERTI	TOTAL
Greek	1	2	23	26
Latin	13	6	38	57
TOTAL	14	8	62	83

Overall Totals

	FREE	SLAVE/FREED	INCERTI	TOTAL
Greek	24	37	163	224
Latin	65	25	262	352
TOTAL	89	62	425	576

D. NAME TYPES

Cumae

	SINGLE NAME	TRIA NOMINA	NAME + PATRONYMIC	NAME + ETHNIC	TOTAL
Greek	10	6	2	-	18
Latin	19	222	19	-	260
Oscan	-	-	16	-	16
Composite	-	-	2	-	2
TOTAL	29	228	39	-	296

Naples

	SINGLE NAME	TRIA NOMINA	NAME + PATRONYMIC	NAME + ETHNIC	TOTAL
Greek	83	97	62	1	243
Latin	10	153	-	-	163
TOTAL	93	250	62	1	406

D. NAME TYPES

Velia

	SINGLE NAME	TRIA NOMINA	NAME + PATRONYMIC	NAME + ETHNIC	TOTAL
Greek	7	0	23	3	33
Latin	11	40	0	0	51
TOTAL	18	40	23	3	84

Rhegium

	SINGLE NAME	TRIA NOMINA	NAME + PATRONYMIC	NAME + ETHNIC	TOTAL
Greek	13	22	20	1	56
Latin	15	35	-	-	50
TOTAL	28	57	20	1	106

Locri

	SINGLE NAME	TRIA NOMINA	NAME + PATRONYMIC	NAME + ETHNIC	TOTAL
Greek	8	0	3	-	11
Latin	10	30	0	-	41
TOTAL	18	30	3	0	52

D. NAME TYPES

Croton

	SINGLE NAME	TRIA NOMINA	NAME + PATRONYMIC	TOTAL
Greek	-	-	-	-
Latin	5	18	2	25
TOTAL	5	18	2	25

Tarentum

	SINGLE NAME	TRIA NOMINA	NAME + PATRONYMIC	NAME + + ETHNIC	TOTAL
Greek	54	-	8	2	64
Latin	52	93	8	1	154
TOTAL	106	93	16	3	218

Overall Totals

	SINGLE NAME	TRIA NOMINA	NAME + PATRONYMIC	NAME + + ETHNIC	TOTAL
Greek	175	125	118	7	425
Latin	123	591	29	2	745
Oscan	0	0	16	0	16
Compos.	0	0	2	0	2
TOTAL	298	716	167	9	1188

	SENATORS	EQUITES	PRIESTS	OTHER NOTABLES	AUGUSTALES	VETERANS	SLAVES	FREEDMEN
Cumae	3	1	1	13	4	7	5	14
Naples	9	5	4	56	1	2	0	27
Velia	3	0	8	4	0	6	1	2
Rhegium	6	0	9	18	8	2	11	4
Locri	0	1	0	4	0	1	3	1
Croton	0	1	0	3	0	1	3	3
Tarentum	1	0	1	4	0	7	20	9
TOTALS	22	8	23	102	14	26	43	60

F. AGE REPRESENTATION

	TOTAL NUMBER OF EPITAPHS	AGE GIVEN	AGE OMITTED	FRAGMENTARY
Cumae	53	18	31	4
Naples	165	33	118	14
Velia	61	16	39	6
Rhegium	33	18	10	5
Locri	33	19	5	7
Croton	6	0	6	0
Tarentum	131	89	26	16
TOTAL	482	193	235	52

	0-9	10-19	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60+
Cumae	8	4	2	0	1	0	3
Naples	4	5	14	3	1	2	4
Velia	2	4	1	2	2	3	2
Rhegium	6	1	2	3	3	1	2
Locri	5	3	2	6	2	3	1
Croton	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Tarentum	16	7	8	11	11	14	33
TOTAL	41	24	29	25	20	23	45

F. AGE REPRESENTATION

	AGES ROUNDED x 5	AGES ROUNDED x 10	AGES NOT ROUNDED	TOTAL
Cumae	2	2	11	15
Naples	5	5	28	38
Velia	4	4	8	16
Rhegium	0	5	11	16
Locri	4	8	13	1
Croton	0	0	1	1
Tarentum	25	31	23	79
TOTAL	40	55	83	166

Bibliography

Afzelius, A. Die Römische Eroberung Italiens, 340 -264 v.Chr. Copenhagen, 1942.

Arnold, I.R. "Agonistic festivals in Italy and Sicily." *AJA* 64 (1960), 241-51.

Austin, R.G. P. Vergili Maronis Aeneidos Lib. VI. Oxford 1976.

Badian, E. Foreign Clientelae. Oxford, 1958.

Beloch, K.J. Der Italische Bund unter Röms Hegemonie. Leipzig, 1880.

Beloch, K.J. Campanien. 2nd ed. Breslau, 1890.

Beloch, K.J. Die Bevölkerung der Greichisch-Römischen Welt. Leipzig 1886.

Bengtson, H. "Randbemerkungen zu den Koinischen Asylierkunden." *Historia* 3 (1954-5), 456-63.

Boak, A.E.R. "The *Magistri* of Campania and Delos." *CP* 11 (1916), 25-43.

Boronowski, D. "The *Formula Togatorum.*" Historia 33 (1984), 248-52.

Bousquet, J. "Inscriptions d'Abdere." *BCH* 62 (1938), 339-42.

Bowersock, G.W. Augustus and the Greek World. Oxford 1965.

Braccesi, L. "Roma e Alessandro Il Molosso nella tradizione Liviana." *Rend. Ist. Lomb.* 108 (1974), 196-202.

Brauer, G. Taras: Its History and Coinage. New York 1986.

Breglia, L. "Le 'Campano-Tarentine' e la presunta lega monetale fra Taranto e Napoli." *RAAN* 23 (1947-8), 227-47.

Briscoe, J. A Commentary on Livy Books XXXlV-XXXVlll. Oxford 1981.

Broughton, T.R.S. The Magistrates of the Roman Republic. New York 1951/2.

Brunt, P.A. "Italian Aims at the time of the Social War.", *JRS* 55 (1965), 90-110.

Brunt, P.A. Italian Manpower 225 B.C.-A.D.14. Oxford, 1971.

Bruun, P. et al. Studies in the Romanisation of Etruria. Rome, 1975.

Buck, C.D. Grammar of Oscan and Umbrian. Boston, 1904.

Buchner, G., Morelli, D., Nenci, G. "Fonti per la storia di Napoli antica." *PdP* 7 (1952), 370-419.

Burzachechi, M. "Gli studi di epigrafia greca relativi alla Magna Grecia dal 1952 al 1967." *Act. Int. Cong. Epig.* 1967, 125-34.

Calderone, S. "La Conquista Romana di Magna Grecia." *ACMG* 15, 1975, 30-81.

Camodeca, G. "Ascesa al senato e rapporti con i territori d'origine Italia Regio 1 (Campania, esclusa di zona di Capua e Cales), Regio 11 (Apulia e Calabria), Regio 111 (Lucania e Bruttium)." in *Epigrafia e Ordine Senatorio*, Vol.2. Rome. 1982, 103-63.

Capano, A. "Tombe romani da Strongoli." *Klearchos* 22 (1980), 15-69.

Capano, A. "Nuove scoperte nella necropoli romana di Petelia." Klearchos 23 (1981), 29-62.

Cary, M. "The Early Roman Treaties with Tarentum and Rhodes." *J.Phil.* 35 (1920), 164-73.

Cassolà, F. I gruppi politici Romane nel sec. 111 a.c. Trieste 1962.

Cazzaniga, I. "L'estensione alla Sicilia della espressione Magna Grecia in Strabone." *PdP* 26 (1971), 26-31.

Ciaceri, E. Storia di Magna Grecia. vols 1-3. Rome 1926-30.

Ciaceri, E. "La cooperazione navale della città Italiote alla vittoria Romana nella Prima Guerra Punica." *ARAN* 12, (1931-2), 39-59 .

Comfort, H. "Rasinius at Puteoli - or Cumae?" in Archeologie en Historie. Opgedragen aar H. Brunstig. Bussum 1973., 271-4.

Conway, R.S. The Italic Dialects. 2 vols. Cambridge, 1897.

Cook, B.F. "Two 'Lost' Greek Inscriptions." *Ant. Journ.* 51 (1971), 260-6 and Pl.43.

Cordano, F. "Il culto di Artemis a Rhegium." *PdP* 29 (1974), 86-90.

Costabile, F. "Il culto di Apollo quale testimonianza dalle tradizione corale e religiosi di Reggio e Messana." *MEFR* 91 (1979) 525-45.

Costabile, F. Municipium Locrensium. Naples 1978.

Crawford, M.H. Cambridge Ancient History. (forthcoming).

Crawford, M.H. "Paestum and Rome: The Form and Function of a Subsidiary Coinage." in "La Monetazione di bronzo di Poseidonia-Paestum." AIIN Supp. 18-19. Rome 1973.

Crawford, M.H. "Foedus and Sponsio." *PBSR* 28 (1973), 1-7.

Crawford, M.H. Coinage and Money under the Roman Republic. London 1985.

D'Arms, J.H. Romans on the Bay of Naples. Harvard 1970.

D'Arms, J.H. "I Campi Flegrei nella Storia e Archeologia." *Atti. Convegno Lincei*. Rome 1977, 248-63.

D'Arms, J.H. Commerce and Social Standing in Ancient Rome. Harvard 1981.

Daux, G. "L'Onomastique Romaine d'Expression Greque." *Onomastique Latine*, 405-17.

De Franciscis, A. Stato e Società in Locri Epizefiri. Naples 1972.

De Martino,F. "Le istituzioni di Napoli greco-romana." *PdP* 7 (1952), 335-43.

De Sensi Sestito, G. "Taranto post-Architea.", *11º Misc. Greca e Romana*. Rome 1984.

De Senti Sestito, G. "La funzione politica dell'Heraion del Lacinio al tempo delle lotte contro i Lucani e Dionisio I." in I Santuari e la Guerra nel Mondo Classico (ed. M. Sordi). Milan 1984, 41-50.

Degrassi, A. "Quattuorviri in colonie Romane e in municipi retti da

duoviri." *Mem. Linc.* 8.2 (1950), 281-344.

Degrassi, A. "Iscrizione municipale di Cuma." *RFIC* 4 (1926), 371-9.

Degrassi, A. L'epigrafia Latina in Italia nell'ultimo ventennio e i criteri del nuovo insegnamento. Padua 1957.

Delo e l'Italia, Op. Inst. Rom. Fin. 11, 1982.

Deniaux, E. "Civitate donati: Naples, Heraclée, Côme." *Ktema* 6 (1981), 133-41.

Dudley, D.R. "Blossius of Cumae.", *JRS* 31 (1941), 94-9.

Duncan-Jones, R. The Economy of the Roman Empire. Cambridge, 1974.

Duncan-Jones, R. "An Epigraphic Survey of Costs in Roman Italy." *PBSR* 20 (1965), 189-306.

Duncan-Jones, R. "Age-rounding, illiteracy and social differentiation in the Roman empire." *Chiron* 7 (1977), 333-54.

Duthoy, R. "La Fonction Sociale de l'Augustalité." *Epigraphica* 36 (1974), 134-54.

Duthoy, R. "Les **Augustales*." *ANRW* 11 16.2, 1254-1309.

Ebner, P. "L'Athenaion, santuario estramurano di Velia." *PdP* 19

(1964) 72-6.

Ebner, P. "Nuove epigrafi di Velia." *PdP* 21 (1966), 337-41.

Ebner, P. "Nuove iscrizioni di Velia." *PdP* 25 (1970), 262-6.

Ebner, P. "Scuole di Medicina a Velia e a Salerno." *Apollo* 2 (1962), 125-136.

Ebner, P. "Atene in un iscrizione di Velia." *AC* 17 (1965), 306-9.

Ery, K.K. "Investigations on the demographic source value of tombstones originating from the Roman Period." *Alba Regia* 10 (1969), 51-67.

Evans, A.J. "The Horsemen of Tarentum." *Num. Chron.* 1889, 1-228.

Ferguson, J. The Religions of the Roman Empire. London 1970.

Ferri, S. "Frammento inscritto di Rhegium." *RFIC* 1929, 338-9.

Fishwick, D. "The *Cannophori* and the March Festival of the Magna Mater." *TAPA* 9 (1966) 139-202.

Flacelière, R. Les Aitoliens à Delphes. Paris 1937.

Forni, G. "Intorno alle costituzioni di città greche in Italia e in Sicila." *Kokalos* 3-4 (1957-8), 61-100.

Forni, G. "Il ruolo della menzione della tribù nell'onomastica romana." *Onomastique Latine*, 73-101.

Frank, T. Cambridge Ancient History, Vol 7.2. Cambridge 1928.

Frank, T. An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome. Vol V. New York 1939.

Frederiksen, M.W. "Republican Capua: a Social and Economic Study.", *PBSR* 14 (1959), 80-130.

Frederiksen, M.W. (Ed. Purcell, N.) Campania. London 1984.

Frederiksen, M.W. "Campanian Cavalry: A Question of Origins." *DdA* 2 (1968), 3-31.

Gabrici, E. "Cuma." *Mon. Ant.* 22 (1913).

Gasperini, L. "Un buleuta Alessandrino a Taranto.", *Studi in onore di A. Adriani*. Rome, 1984, 476-9.

Gasperini, L. "Il Municipio Tarantino: Ricerche epigrafica.", *Terza Misc. Greca e Romana*. Rome, 1971, 143-209.

Gasperini, L. "Tarentina Epigraphica." *Settima Misc. Greca e Romana*, Rome 1980, 376-84.

Gasperini, L. "Su alcune epigrafia di Taranto Romana." *Seconda Misc. Greca e Romana*, Rome 1968.

Gasperini, L. "Note di Epigrafia Tarentina." *Act. 5th Int. Cong. Epig.*, Cambridge 1967, 135-40.

Geer, R.M. "The Greek Games at Naples." *TAPA* 66 (1935),208-221.

Ghinatti,F "Ricerche sui culti greci di Napoli in età Romana imperiale." *Atene e Roma* (1967), 98-110.

Ghinatti, F. "Magna Grecia Post-Annibalica." *QS* (1977), 5 ,147-60 and 6, 99-115.

Ghinatti, F. "Riti et Feste Della Magna Grecia." *Critica Storica* II (1974) 533-76.

Ghinatti, F. "Ricerche sulla Lega Italiota." *Atti Accad. Patav.* 74 (1961-2), 117-33.

Ghinatti, F. "Nuovi efori in epigrafi di Eraclea di Lucania." In Forschungen und Funden, Festschrift Neutsch, 137-43. Innsbruck. 1980.

Ghiron-Bistagne, P. Recherches sur les Acteurs dans le Grèce Antique. Paris 1976.

Gianelli, G. Culti e Miti della Magna Grecia. Florence. 1963.

Gigante, M. "Velina Gens." *PdP* 19 (1964), 135-7.

Gigante, M. "Parmenide Uliade." *PdP* 19 (1964), 450-2.

Gigante, M. "Sulla *defixio* Metapontina." *PdP* 35 (1980), 381-2.

Gordon, A.E. An Illustrated Introduction to Latin Epigraphy. Berkeley, 1983.

Gossage, A.G. "The Comparative Chronology of Inscriptions Relating to the Boeotian Festivals in the First Half of the First Century B.C." *ABSA* (1975), 115-134.

Greco, E. "In margine a Strabone." *PdP* 25 (1970), 416-20.

Gruen, E.S. The Hellenistic World and the Coming of Rome. Berkeley. 1984.

Guarducci, M. Epigrafia Greca. vols 1-4. Rome 1967-78.

Guarducci, M. "Nuovi cippi di Velia." *PdP* 25 (1970), 252-61.

Guarducci, M. "L'istituzione della fratria nella Grecia antica e nelle colonie Greche d'Italia." *Mem. Linc.* 6.6.1 (1937), 6.8.2 (1938).

Guarducci, M. "Divinità fauste nell'antica Velia." *PdP* 21 (1966), 279-94.

Guzzo, P.G. "Lucanians, Brettians and Italiote Greeks in the 4th and 3rd Centuries B.C." in Hackens, T., Holloway, N.D. and Holloway, R.R. (Ed.), The Crossroads of the

Mediterranean. Louvain/Providence 1983.

Hardie, A. Statius and the Silvae. Poets, Patrons and Epideixis in the Graeco-Roman World. Liverpool, 1983.

Hatzfeld, J. Les Trafiquants Italiens dans l'Orient Hellénique. Paris, 1919.

Hatzfeld, J. "Les Italiens Residants à Delos." *BCH* 36 (1912), 5-218.

Head, B.V. Historia Nummorum. 2nd Ed. Oxford 1911.

Heurgon, J. "Viaggi dei Romani nella Magna Grecia." *ACMG* 15, 9-29.

Heurgon, J. "Onomastique Étrusque. La dénomination gentilice." *Onomastique Latine*, 25-34.

Higgins, R.A. Greek Terracottas. Oxford 1967.

Hopkins, K. "On the Probable Age Structure of the Roman Population." *Population Studies* 20 (1966), 245-64.

Hopkins, K, Conquerors and Slaves. Cambridge 1977.

Hopkins, K. Death and Renewal. Cambridge 1980.

Horn, H. Foederatae. Frankfurt 1930.

Huttunen, P. The Social Strata in the Imperial City of Rome: A Quantitative Study of the Social Representation in the Epitaphs Published in the Corpus Inscriptionum Latinorum, Volume lV. Oulu 1976.

Ilari, V. Gli Italici nelle strutture militari Romane." Milan 1974.

Jeffery, L.H. The Local Scripts of Archaic Greece. Oxford 1961.

Johannowsky, W. "Cuma" in Enciclopedia dell'Arte Antica, ll. Rome 1959, 970-3.

Jones, A.H.M., Martindale, J.R., Morris, J. Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire. Cambridge, 1971.

Karhrstedt, U. Der Wirtschaftsliche Lage Grossgriechenlands unter der Kaiserzeit. *Historia einzelschriften* 4, 1960.

Kaimio, J. The Romans and the Greek Language. Helsinki, 1979.

Kajanto, I. The Latin Cognomen. Helsinki, 1965.

Kajanto, I. " The Significance of Non-Latin Cognomina." *Latomus* 27 (1968), 517-34.

Kajanto, I. "The Emergence of the Late Single Name System." *Onomastique Latine*, 421-30.

Keppie, L.J.F. Colonisation and Veteran Settlement in Italy, 14-47

B.C. London 1983.

Launey, M. Recherches sur les Armées Héllenistiques. Paris 1950.

Lejeune, M. "La Romanisation des anthroponymies indigènes d'Italie." *Onomastique Latine*, 35-41.

Lepore, E. "Classe e Ordine in Magna Grecia." in Recherches sur les Structures Sociales dans l'Antiquité Classique. Caen 1969.

Lepore, E. "La Vita Politica e Sociale." in Storia di Napoli, Vol.1. Naples 1967.

Lepore, E. "Per la storia economico-sociale di Neapolis." *PdP* 7 (1952), 300-332.

Lévèque, P. Pyrrhos. Paris, 1957.

Lévèque, P. "Problèmes Historiques de l'époque Héllenistique en Grand Grèce." *ACMG* 9, 29-70.

Lo Porto, F. "Medici Pitagorici in una *defixio* greca da Metaponto." *PdP* 35 (1980), 282-8.

Lo Porto, F. "Stipe del culto di Demetra Heraclea di Lucania." Herakleiastudien, 181-192.

Napoli Antica. Naples 1986.

Macmullen, R. "The Epigraphic Habit." *AJP* 103 (1982), 233-46.

Macmullen, R. Paganism in the Roman Empire. Yale 1981.

Maddoli, G. "Il concetto di Magna Grecia: Gennesi di un realtà storico-politiche." *ACMG* 21 (1981), 9-30.

Maddoli, G. "I Culti di Crotone." *ACMG* 23 (1984), 312-45.

Magaldi, E. Lucania Romana. vol.1. Rome, 1947.

Maiuri, A. "Cuma - Altra stele sepolcrale con iscrizione Osca." *NSc* 1913, 53-4.

Manni, E. "Alessandro Il Molosso e la sua spedizione in Italia." *Studi Sallentini*, 14 (1962), 344-52.

Manni Piraino, M.T. "Iscrizioni greche in Lucania." *PdP* 23 (1968), 419-57.

Marshall, B.M. "Friends of the Roman People." *AJP* 89 (1968), 39-55.

Mason, H.J. Greek Terms for Roman Institutions: A Lexicon and Analysis. Toronto 1974.

Matthaei, L. "On the Classification of Roman Allies." *CQ* 1 (1907), 182-204.

Meiggs, R. Roman Ostia. Oxford 1960.

Mele, A. "Crotone e la sua storia." *ACMG* 23 (1983), 25-47.

Mello, M. Paestum Romana. Rome 1974.

Mello, M and Voza,G. Le Iscrizioni Latine di Paestum. Naples. 1968.

Milan, A. "I 'Socii Navales'." *Critica Storica* 10 (1973), 193-221.

Mingazzini, P. "Velia. Scavi 1927. Fornace di mattoni ed antichità varie. Elenco di bolli laterizi statali." *ASMG* 1 (1954), 1-55.

Miranda,E. "Nuove iscrizioni sacre a Velia." *MEFR* 94 (1982), 163-74.

Mocsy, A. "Die Unkenntnis des Lebensalters im Römischen Reich." *A.Ant. Hung.* 14 (1966), 387-41.

Momigliano, A. "Athens in the 3rd century B.C. and the Discovery of Rome in the Histories of Timaeus of Tauromenion." in Studies in Ancient and Modern Historiography. Oxford 1977.

Mommsen, T. Römisches Staatsrecht. Vol. III.1. Leipzig 1888.

Morel, J.P. "La Laine de Tarente." *Ktema* 3-4 (1978-9), 94-110.

Moretti, L. "Epigraphica." *RFIC* 93 (1965), 73-9.

Moretti, L. "Problemi di storia tarantina." *ACMG* 10 (1970).

Moretti, L. "Olympionikai: I vincitori negli antiche agone Olympici." *Mem. Linc.* 8.8. (1957).

Moretti, L. Iscrizioni agonistiche greche. Rome, 1953.

Mrosek, S. "A propos de la répartition chronologique des inscriptions Latines dans Haut-Empire." *Epigraphica* 35 (1973), 113-8.

Musitelli, S. "Ancora su Φωλαρχοι di Velia." *PdP* 35 (1980), 240-55.

Musti, D. "Fonti per la storia di Velia." *PdP* 21 (1966), 318-335.

Napoli, M. Napoli Greco-Romana. Naples 1959.

Napoli, M. "Realtà storica di Partenope." *PdP* 7 (1952), 269-85.

Napoli, M. Civiltà di Magna Grecia. Naples 1978.

Nenci, G. "L'Heraion di Metaponto (Plinio N.H. 14.2.9)." *PdP* 21 (1966), 128-31.

Nisbet, R.G.M. and Hubbard, M. A Commentary on Horace: Odes 1. Oxford 1970.

Nutton, V. "The Medical School of Velia." *PdP* 25 (1970), 211-225.

O'Connor, J.B. Chapters in the History of Actors and Acting in Ancient Greece. Chicago 1908.

Ostrow, S. "*Augustales* along the Bay of Naples: A Case for their Growth." *Historia* 34-5 (1985), 65-101.

Packard, D.W. A Concordance to Livy. Harvard 1968.

Pape, W. and Benseller, G.E. Wörterbuch der Greichischen Eigennamen. Braunschweig 1911.

Parlangèli, O. "Ancora sulla grecità dell'Italia meridionale." *ZRPh* 76 (1960), 118-129.

Peterson, R.M. The Cults of Campania. Rome, 1919.

Poccetti, P. "Un Brettio a Cuma." *PdP* 39 (1984), 43-7.

Prosdocimi, A. "Il conflitto delle lingue." *ACMG* 15, 139-221.

Pucci, G. "Cumanae Testae." *PdP* 30 (1975), 368-71.

Pugliese Caratelli, G. "Un decreto di Velia del sec. lll a.c." *ASCL* 24 (1955), 1-7.

Pugliese Caratelli, G. "Brettii a Rodi." *ASCL* 17 (1948), 1-9.

Pugliese Caratelli, G. "Lazio, Roma, e Magna Grecia prima del sec. lV a.c." *ACMG* 8 (1968), 49-82.

Pugliese Caratelli, G. "Sanniti, Lucani, Brettii e italioti dal secolo lV a.c." *ACMG* 11 (1971), 37-54.

Pugliese Caratelli, G. "Difesa di una dama Tarentina." *PdP* 35 (1980), 380-1.

Pugliese Caratelli, G. "Sul culto delle Sirene nel golfo di Napoli." *PdP* 7 (1952), 420-6.

Pugliese Caratelli, G. "Napoli Antica." *PdP* 7 (1952), 243-68.

Pugliese Caratelli, G. "Santuari estramurani in Magna Grecia." *PdP* 17 (1962), 241-6.

Pugliese Caratelli, G. "Φωλαρχος." *PdP* 18 (1963) 385-6.

Pugliese Caratelli, G. "Ancora su φωλαρχος." *PdP* 25 (1970), 243-8.

Pugliese Caratelli, G. "'Ολύμπιος Καιρός." *PdP* 25 (1970), 248-9.

Ribezzo, F. "La nuova 'defixio' Osca a Cuma." *Neapolis* 2 (1914), 293-304.

Ribezzo, F. "Studi e scoperte di epigrafia osco-lucano nell'ultima decennio." *RIGI* 8 (1924), 83-100.

Ridgeway, D. and Ridgeway, F.R. Italy before the Romans. London 1979.

Robert, L. "Bulletin Epigraphique." *REG* 81 (1968), 545-5.

Rostagni, A. "La cultura letteraria di Napoli antica." *PdP* 7 (1952) 344-57.

Salmon, E.T. Samnium and the Samnites. Cambridge 1965.

Salmon, E.T. The Making of Roman Italy. London 1980.

Sartori, F. Problemi di Storia Costituzionale Italiota. Rome, 1953.

Sartori, F. "Libertà italiota e civitas romana." *Riv. Stor. It.* 72 (1960), 5-19.

Sartori, F. "Magna Grecia dopo la Conquista Romana." *ACMG* 15 (1975), 81-138.

Sartori, F. "La Magna Grecia e Roma." *ASCL* 28-9 (1959-60), 137-91.

Sartori, F. "Dediche a Demetra in Eraclea Lucana." in Forschungen und Funden, Festschrift Neutsch, 401-415. Innsbruck. 1980.

Sartori, F. "Eraclea di Lucania: Profilo storico." in Archaeologisches Forschungen in Lukanien, 11,

Herakleiastudien (MDAI, Röm. Abt. Supp. 11), 1967, 40-95.

Schoder, R.V. "Ancient Cumae. History, Topography and Monuments." *Scientific American* 209 (6.12.63), 109-118.

Schulze, W. Zur Geschichte Lateinischen Eigennamen. Berlin, 1904.

Scobie, A. "Slums, Sanitation and Mortality in the Roman World." *Klio* 68 (1986), 399-433.

Seiler, F. "Un Complesso di Edifici Pubblici nel Lacinio a Capo Colonna." *ACMG* 23 (1983), 231-42.

Shackleton-Bailey, D.R. Two Studies in Roman Nomenclature. New York 1976.

Skydsgaard, J.E. "Transhumance in Ancient Italy." *Analecta Romana Instituti Danici*. 7 Supp. (1974), 7-36.

Sherwin-White, A.N. The Roman Citizenship. Oxford, 1939.

Smith, M.S. Cena Trimalchionis. Oxford 1975.

Spawforth, A.J.S. and Walker, S. "The World of the Panhellenion 1." *JRS* 75 (1985), 78-104.

Spawforth, A.J.S. and Walker, S. "The World of the Panhellenion 11." *JRS* 76 (1986), 88-106.

Starr, C.G. The Roman Imperial Navy, 31 B.C.-A.D. 324. 2nd Ed. London 1960.

Staveley, E.S. "The Political Aims of Appius Claudius Caecus." *Historia* 4 (1959), 418-33.

Susini G. Fonti per la storia Greca e Romana del Salento. Bologna 1962.

Täubler, E. Imperium Romanum. Leipzig, 1913.

Taylor, L.R. The Voting Districts of the Roman Republic. Rome. 1960.

Taylor, L.R. "Freedmen and Freeborn in the Epitaphs of Imperial Rome." *AJP* 82 (1961), 113-32.

Thiel, J.H. A History of Roman Sea-Power Before the Second Punic War. Amsterdam 1954.

Thiel, J.H. Studies on the History of Roman Sea-Power in Republican Times. Amsterdam 1946.

Thylander, H. Étude sur L'Epigraphie Latine. Lund 1952.

Toynbee, A.J. Hannibal's Legacy. 2 vols. Oxford, 1965.

Tsopanakis, A.G. "Positilla su l'εκβεβαρβαρωσθαι di Strabone." *PdP* 39 (1984), 139-43.

Turano, C. "Note di Epigrafia Classica." *Klearchos* 2 (1960), 65-75, 5 (1963), 76-82, 14 (1972), 123-30.

Uguzzoni, A and Ghinatti, F. Le Tavole Greche Di Eraclea. Rome 1968.

Vallet, G. Rhegion et Zancle. Paris 1958.

Vattuone,R. "Scambi di beni tra ricchi e poveri nel lV sec. a.c. Note sul Archita di Taranto." *Riv. Stor. Ant.* 6-7 (1976-7), 285-300.

Verbrugghe, G.T. "The *elogium* from Polla and the First Slave War." *CP* 68 (1973), 25-35.

Vetter, E. Handbuch der Italischen Dialekte. Heidelberg, 1953.

Vollgraff, W. "Novae Inscriptiones Argivae." *Mnemosyne* N.S. 47 (1919), 252-8.

Von Fritz, K. Pythagorean Politics in Southern Italy. New York 1940.

Walbank, F.W. A Historical Commentary on Polybios. Vol 1-3. Oxford 1957.

Walsh, P.G. Livy: His Historical Aims and Methods. Oxford 1974.

Waltzing, J.P. Étude sur les Corporations Professionelles Romaines.

Louvain. 1895-1900.

Weaver, P.R.C. "The Status Nomenclature of Imperial Freedmen." *CQ* 13 (1963) 272-8.

Weaver, P.R.C. "The Status Nomenclature of Imperial Slaves." *CQ* 14 (1964) 134-9.

Weaver, P.R.C. "Cognomina Ingenua: A Note." *CQ* 14 (1964), 311-5.

Weaver, P.R.C. Familia Caesaris. Cambridge 1972.

Weaver, P.R.C. "Dated Inscriptions of Imperial Freedmen and Slaves." *Epigraphische Studien* 11 (1976), 215-27.

Wilson, A.J.N. Emigration from Italy in the Republican Age of Rome. Manchester 1966.

Wiseman, T.P. "Viae Anniae." *PBSR* 19 (1964), 21-37.

Woodhead, A.G. The Study of Greek Inscriptions. Cambridge 1959.

Wrigley, E.A. and Schofield, R.S. The Population History of England 1541-1871. London 1981.

Wrigley, E.A. Population and History. London 1969.

Wuilleumier, P. Tarente. Paris, 1939.