

# *The* JOURNAL of ROMAN STUDIES

Volume LXXXI 1991

---

## ARTICLES

J. S. RICHARDSON <i>Imperium Romanum: Empire and the Language of Power</i>	1
JAMES DAVIDSON The Gaze in Polybius' Histories	10
D. P. FOWLER Narrate and Describe: The Problem of Ekphrasis	25
A. R. SHARROCK Womanufacture	36
JOHN ELSNER Cult and Sculpture: Sacrifice in the Ara Pacis Augustae	50
ALAN K. BOWMAN AND J. DAVID THOMAS A Military Strength Report from Vindolanda	62
ALAN RODGER The Lex Irnitana and Procedure in the Civil Courts	74
GUY M. ROGERS Demosthenes of Oenoanda and Models of Euergetism	91
WILLIAM TURPIN Imperial Subscriptions and the Administration of Justice	101
GARTH FOWDEN Constantine's Porphyry Column: The Earliest Literary Allusion	119
P. R. GHOSH Gibbon Observed	132

---

## REVIEW ARTICLES

RICHARD SALLER Progress in Early Roman Historiography?	157
PETER GARNSEY The Generosity of Veyne	164
MARTIN GOODMAN Babatha's Story	169

---

## REVIEWS

I. GENERAL	176
II. THE REPUBLIC	185
III. THE EMPIRE	199
IV. THE LATE EMPIRE	230
V. CLASSICAL TRADITION	248

---

PUBLISHED BY THE SOCIETY FOR  
THE PROMOTION OF ROMAN STUDIES

## NOTES FOR CONTRIBUTORS

*Scope:* The Journal aims to publish papers in the full range of the field which the Roman Society was established to promote, that is 'the study of the history, archaeology, literature and art of Italy and the Roman Empire, from the earliest times down to about A.D. 700'. Although the emphasis of the Journal has been on historical themes, we would welcome more submissions on literary, archaeological and art historical topics, including those on issues of cultural and intellectual history that cut across these categories. Papers primarily concerned with the archaeology of Roman Britain should be sent in the first place to *Britannia*; those concerned with the archaeology of the Roman Empire at large are equally welcomed by this Journal.

*Style:* The Journal seeks to publish papers that make a fresh and significant contribution to the understanding of the Roman world, and have the potential to stimulate further discussion. They should be carefully thought through and clearly argued; this does not necessarily involve a heavy use of footnotes, but does involve clear statement of the argument and of its broader significance, and adequate signposting to the reader of the steps in the argument. They should so far as possible be fully accessible to the non-specialist reader, and extended citations in ancient languages should always be translated.

*Editorial procedure:* The Journal is run by an Editorial Committee, the members of which are listed with the officers of the Society. Submissions are circulated at the Editor's discretion to members of the Committee and, where appropriate, to other specialist readers. This process takes several months. Detailed comments are normally sent only to authors of submissions which have been accepted, or which are thought suitable for resubmission. Authors are frequently invited to revise submissions in the light of such comments.

*Deadlines:* The Journal is scheduled to appear in November each year. Submissions arriving later than the end of January of any year may well be too late for acceptance for the current year's Journal; those intending to make late submissions are welcome to write to the Editor in advance. The optimum time for submission is between April and December of any given year for appearance in the following year's issue. Final versions after revision must be in the Editor's hands by the end of March.

*Style guidelines:* Detailed guidelines on matters of presentation are available from the Editor, but recent issues of the Journal should be treated as a general guide.

Article submissions and all general enquiries should be addressed to the Editor, Professor Andrew Wallace-Hadrill, Department of Classics, The University, Whiteknights, PO Box 218, Reading RG6 2AA, UK.

Correspondence relating to reviews should be addressed to the Review Editor, Dr S. R. F. Price, at the Society's address.

Books for review should be sent to the Librarian, Hellenic and Roman Societies, 31-34 Gordon Square, London WC1H 0PP.

*The* JOURNAL *of*  
ROMAN STUDIES

WITH ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS TO THE BRITISH ACADEMY  
AND THE CAMBRIDGE H. A. THOMAS FUND

*All rights reserved*

*The* JOURNAL *of*  
ROMAN STUDIES

Volume LXXXI 1991

PUBLISHED BY THE SOCIETY FOR  
THE PROMOTION OF ROMAN STUDIES  
31-34 GORDON SQUARE, LONDON WC1H 0PP

*Printed in Great Britain by  
W. S. Maney and Son Limited  
Hudson Road, Leeds LS9 7DL*



*The Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies*

# CONTENTS

	PAGE
J. S. RICHARDSON, <i>Imperium Romanum: Empire and the Language of Power</i> . . . . .	I
JAMES DAVIDSON, <i>The Gaze in Polybius' Histories</i> . . . . .	10
D. P. FOWLER, <i>Narrate and Describe: The Problem of Ekphrasis</i> . . . . .	25
A. R. SHARROCK, <i>Womanufacture</i> . . . . .	36
JOHN ELSNER, <i>Cult and Sculpture: Sacrifice in the Ara Pacis Augustae</i> . . . . .	50
ALAN K. BOWMAN and J. DAVID THOMAS, <i>A Military Strength Report from Vindolanda</i> . . . . .	62
ALAN RODGER, <i>The Lex Irnitana and Procedure in the Civil Courts</i> . . . . .	74
GUY M. ROGERS, <i>Demosthenes of Oenoanda and Models of Euergetism</i> . . . . .	91
WILLIAM TURPIN, <i>Imperial Subscriptions and the Administration of Justice</i> . . . . .	101
GARTH FOWDEN, <i>Constantine's Porphyry Column: The Earliest Literary Allusion</i> . . . . .	119
P. R. GHOSH, <i>Gibbon Observed</i> . . . . .	132

## REVIEW ARTICLES

RICHARD SALLER, <i>Progress in Early Roman Historiography?</i> (F. W. Walbank <i>et al.</i> , <i>The Cambridge Ancient History</i> , 2nd edn, Vol. VII. 2. <i>The Rise of Rome to 220 B.C.</i> ; A. E. Astin <i>et al.</i> , <i>The Cambridge Ancient History</i> , 2nd edn, Vol. VIII. <i>Rome and the Mediterranean to 133 B.C.</i> ) . . . . .	157
PETER GARNSEY, <i>The Generosity of Veyne</i> (Paul Veyne, <i>Bread and Circuses: Historical Sociology and Political Pluralism</i> ) . . . . .	164
MARTIN GOODMAN, <i>Babatha's Story</i> (Y. Yadin, <i>The Documents from the Bar Kokhba Period in the Cave of Letters: Greek Papyri</i> . Ed. N. Lewis. <i>Aramaic and Nabatean Signatures and Subscriptions</i> . Eds Y. Yadin and J. C. Greenfield) . . . . .	169

## REVIEWS

(in alphabetical order)

Albentis, E. de, <i>La casa dei Romani</i> (by R. Ling) . . . . .	185
Barton, I. M., (Ed.), <i>Roman Public Buildings</i> (by R. H. Darwall-Smith) . . . . .	211
Bischoff, B., <i>Latin Palaeography: Antiquity and the Middle Ages</i> (by M. Gibson) . . . . .	251
Bohec, Y. Le, <i>La Troisième légion Auguste and Les Unités auxiliaires de l'armée romaine en Afrique Proconsulaire et Numidie sous le haut empire</i> (by D. J. Mattingly) . . . . .	218
Bonnefond-Coudry, M., <i>Le Sénat de la république romaine de la guerre d'Hannibal à Auguste</i> (by R. J. A. Talbert) . . . . .	192
Bonniec, H. Le, <i>Études ovidiennes: Introduction aux 'Fastes' d'Ovide</i> (by C. R. Phillips III) . . . . .	206
Bradley, K. R., <i>Slavery and Rebellion in the Roman World, 140 B.C.–70 B.C.</i> (by J. F. Gardner) . . . . .	192
Brown, P., <i>The Body and Society: Men, Women and Sexual Renunciation in Early Christianity</i> (by M. Beard) . . . . .	180
Brunt, P. A., <i>Roman Imperial Themes</i> (by G. P. Burton) . . . . .	199
<i>Caesar's War in Alexandria: Bellum Civile III.102–112 and Bellum Alexandrinum 1–33</i> . Ed. G. Townend (by C. Pelling) . . . . .	198
Cameron, Averil, (Ed.), <i>History as Text: The Writing of Ancient History</i> (by D. F. Kennedy) . . . . .	176

Cartledge, P. A., and A. J. S. Spawforth, <i>Hellenistic and Roman Sparta: A Tale of Two Cities</i> (by G. M. Rogers)	221
<i>Chaldean Oracles, The</i> (by D. Potter) Text, trans. and commentary R. Majercik	225
Chelius, K. H., <i>Die Codices Minores des Plautus. Forschungen zur Geschichte und Kritik</i> (by M. M. Willcock)	189
Chouquer, G., et al., <i>Structures agraires en Italie centro-meridionale: Cadastres et paysages ruraux</i> (by J. R. Patterson)	215
Clarke, G., et al., <i>Reading the Past in Late Antiquity</i> (by J. H. W. G. Liebeschuetz)	232
Classen, C. J., (Ed.), <i>Die klassische Altertumswissenschaft der Georg-August-Universität, Göttingen</i> (by T. Wiedemann)	250
Clover, F. M., and R. S. Humphreys (Eds), <i>Tradition and Innovation in Late Antiquity</i> (by J. H. W. G. Liebeschuetz)	232
Cox, C. W. M., A. Cameron and J. Cullen, <i>Monuments from the Aezanitis</i> . Ed. B. Levick and S. Mitchell (by G. W. Bowersock)	223
Delmaire, R., <i>Largesses sacrées et res privata</i> and <i>Les Responsables des finances impériales au bas empire romain</i> (by R. J. A. Talbert)	235
Dihle, A., <i>Die griechische und lateinische Literatur der Kaiserzeit: von Augustus bis Justinian</i> (by D. A. Russell)	203
Dixon, S., <i>The Roman Mother</i> (by R. van Bremen)	178
Engels, D., <i>Roman Corinth: An Alternative Model for the Classical City</i> (by M. E. Hoskins Walbank)	220
Frier, B. W., <i>A Casebook on the Roman Law of Delict</i> (by D. C. L. Johnston)	230
Geertman, H., and J. J. de Jong (Eds), <i>Munus non ingratum. Proceedings of the International Symposium on Vitruvius' de Architectura and the Hellenistic and Republican Architecture, Leiden, 20–23 January, 1987</i> (by E. V. Thomas)	210
Griffin, M., and J. Barnes (Eds), <i>Philosophia Togata: Essays on Philosophy and Roman Society</i> (by C. Osborne)	177
Griggs, C. Wilfred, <i>Early Egyptian Christianity: From its Origins to 451 C.E.</i> (by D. Kyrtatas)	228
Gruen, E. S., <i>Studies in Greek Culture and Roman Policy</i> (by E. Dench)	190
Habicht, C., <i>Cicero the Politician</i> (by J. Briscoe)	195
Hardwick, M. E., <i>Josephus as an Historical Source in Patristic Literature through Eusebius</i> (by N. Kokkinos)	227
Harris, W. V., <i>Ancient Literacy</i> (by R. Thomas)	182
Harrison, R. M., <i>Excavations at Saraçhane in Istanbul and A Temple for Byzantium. The Discovery and Excavation of Anicia Juliana's Palace-Church in Istanbul</i> (by C. Mango)	237
Harvey, S. A., <i>Asceticism and Society in Crisis: John of Ephesus and the Lives of the Eastern Saints</i> (by I. G. Tompkins)	239
Herzog, R., (Ed.), <i>Restauration und Erneuerung: Die lateinische Literatur von 284 bis 374 n. Chr.</i> (by D. Shanzer)	244
Hill, P. V., <i>The Monuments of Ancient Rome as Coin Types</i> (by R. H. Darwall-Smith)	211
Huber, G., <i>Das Motiv der 'Witwe von Ephesus' in lateinische Texten der Antike und des Mittelalters</i> (by S. J. Harrison)	248
Jodin, A., <i>Volubilis Regia Iubae. Contribution à l'étude des civilisations du Maroc antique préclaudien</i> (by J. A. Lloyd)	216
Kaster, R. A., <i>Guardians of Language: The Grammarian and Society in Late Antiquity</i> (by V. Law)	246
Kirby, J. T., <i>The Rhetoric of Cicero's Pro Cluentio</i> (by D. H. Berry)	197
Kutzner, E., <i>Untersuchungen zur Stellung der Frau im römischen Oxyrhynchos</i> (by J. Rowlandson)	229
Lepelley, C., et al., <i>Hommes et richesses dans l'empire byzantin</i> (by J. F. Haldon)	230
Levi, M. A., <i>La città antica</i> (by W. Jongman)	213
Levine, L. I., <i>The Rabbinic Class of Roman Palestine in Late Antiquity</i> (by S. Stern)	241
Liebeschuetz, J. H. W. G., <i>Barbarians and Bishops: Army, Church and State in the Age of Arcadius and Chrysostom</i> (by H. Elton)	233



MacKendrick, P., <i>The Philosophical Books of Cicero</i> (by M. Griffin)	196
Malamud, M. A., <i>A Poetics of Transformation: Prudentius and Classical Mythology</i> (by A.-M. Palmer)	245
Martin, S., <i>The Roman Jurists and the Organization of Private Building in the Late Republic and Early Empire</i> (by M. T. Boatwright)	184
Milano — <i>Capitale dell'impero romano, 286–402 d.c.</i> (by N. Christie)	236
Nippel, W., <i>Aufbruch und 'Polizei' in der römischen Republik</i> (by J. W. Rich)	193
Ovid, <i>Amores</i> , 2. <i>A Commentary on Book One</i> . Ed. J. C. McKeown (by P. Watson)	205
Palmer, A., <i>Monk and Mason on the Tigris Frontier: The Early History of Tur 'Abdin</i> (by I. G. Tompkins)	239
Paratore, E., <i>Scritti offerti a Ettore Paratore Ottuagenario</i> (by D. W. Rathbone)	252
Perkell, C. G., <i>The Poet's Truth: A Study of the Poet in Virgil's Georgics</i> (by P. Hardie)	204
Prontera, F., <i>Strabone: Contributi allo studio della personalità e dell'opere</i> . 1. (by K. Hopwood)	205
Raaflaub, K. A., and M. Toher (Eds), <i>Between Republic and Empire: Interpretations of Augustus and his Principate</i> (by J. Carter)	201
Rawson, B., (Ed.), <i>The Family in Ancient Rome</i> (by R. van Bremen)	178
Reddé, M., <i>Prospection des vallées du nord de la Libye (1979–1980). La Région de Syrte à l'époque romaine</i> (by J. A. Lloyd)	216
Richardson, L., <i>Pompeii. An Architectural History</i> (by W. Jongman)	213
Ridley, R. T., <i>Gibbon's Complement: Louis de Beaufort</i> (by P. R. Ghosh)	249
Rousselle, A., <i>Porneia: On Desire and the Body in Antiquity</i> (by M. Beard)	180
Rubinsohn, W. Z., <i>Spartacus' Uprising and Soviet Historical Writing</i> (by J. F. Gardner)	192
Schmidt, M. G., <i>Caesar und Cleopatra: Philologischer und historischer Kommentar zu Lucan 10,1–171</i> (by C. Pelling)	198
Seneca, <i>Phaedra</i> . Ed. M. Coffey and R. Mayer (by A. Schiesaro)	207
Settis, S., <i>et al.</i> , <i>La colonna traiana</i> (by B. Dobson)	212
Shahîd, I., <i>Byzantium and the Arabs in the Fifth Century</i> (by R. Browning)	243
Slater, N. W., <i>Reading Petronius</i> (by A. Barchiesi)	208
Soubiran, J., <i>Essai sur la versification dramatique des Romains</i> (by M. M. Willock)	187
Spurr, M. S., <i>Arable Cultivation in Roman Italy c.200 B.C.–A.D. 100</i> (by D. J. Mattingly)	185
Stambaugh, J. E., <i>The Ancient Roman City</i> (by J. R. Patterson)	213
Tacitus, <i>Annals. Book IV</i> . Ed. R. H. Martin and A. J. Woodman (by M. Comber)	209
Terence, <i>The Mother in Law</i> . Ed. and trans. S. Ireland (by P. G. McC. Brown)	190
Thollard, P., <i>Barbarie et civilisation chez Strabon: Étude critique des livres III et IV de la Géographie</i> (by K. Hopwood)	205
Thompson, L. A., <i>Romans and Blacks</i> (by T. Wiedemann)	183
Thornton, M. K. and R. L., <i>Julio-Claudian Building Programs: A Quantitative Study in Political Management</i> (by R. H. Darwall-Smith)	211
Virgil, <i>The Sixth Book of Virgil's Aeneid</i> . Trans. and commentary Sir John Harrington (by C. Burrow)	248
Vitruve, <i>De l'architecture, Livre I</i> . Ed. and trans. P. Fleury (by E. V. Thomas)	210
Walker, P. W. L., <i>Holy City, Holy Places? Christian Attitudes to Jerusalem and the Holy Land in the Fourth Century</i> (by E. D. Hunt)	242
Wesch-Klein, G., <i>Liberalitas in rem publicam: Private Aufwendungen zugunsten von Gemeinden im römischen Afrika bis 284 n. Chr.</i> (by C. Eilers)	216
Wiedemann, T., <i>Adults and Children in the Roman Empire</i> (by R. van Bremen)	178
Wolfram, H., and A. Schwarcz (Eds), <i>Anerkennung und Integration: Zu den wirtschaftlichen Grundlagen der Volkwanderungszeit. 400–600</i> (by J. H. W. G. Liebeschuetz)	234
Zanker, P., <i>Pompeii. Stadtbilder als Spiegel von Gesellschaft und Herrschaftsform</i> (by W. Jongman)	213

Zimmer, G., <i>Locus datus Decreto Decurionum: Zur Statuenaufstellung zweier Forumsanlagen im römischen Africa, mit epigraphischen Beiträge von G. Wesch-Klein</i> (by C. Eilers) . . . . .	216
List of Works Received . . . . .	253
Proceedings of the Society . . . . .	264
Index . . . . .	265

## LIST OF PLATES

John Elsner, *Cult and Sculpture: Sacrifice in the Ara Pacis Augustae*

- Plate I Ara Pacis: 'The large procession' — Detail of the frieze from the outer face of the precinct walls, south side.
- Plate II Ara Pacis: 'Aeneas making sacrifice' — Relief from the west front, outer face, south side of the entrance.
- Plate III Ara Pacis: 'The small procession' — Detail of the frieze from the walls of the inner altar, outer face, north side.
- Plate IV Ara Pacis, the precinct from the north west.
- Plate V Ara Pacis: 'Italia' — Relief from the east front, outer face, south side of the entrance.
- Plate VI Ara Pacis: Bucrania, paterae and garlands — Frieze from the inner face of the precinct walls, south side.
- Plate VII Ara Pacis: Acanthus scrolls — Detail of the lower reliefs from the outer face of the precinct walls.

Alan K. Bowman and J. David Thomas, *A Military Strength Report from Vindolanda*

- Plate VIII A military strength report from Vindolanda

Garth Fowden, *Constantine's Porphyry Column: The Earliest Literary Allusion*

- Plate IX Constantine's Porphyry Column, Constantinople.

## LIST OF FIGURES IN TEXT

John Elsner, *Cult and Sculpture: Sacrifice in the Ara Pacis Augustae*

- Fig. 1 Plan of Ara Pacis.

# SOCIETY FOR THE PROMOTION OF ROMAN STUDIES OFFICERS AND COUNCIL, 1991-92

## President

PROFESSOR F. G. B. MILLAR, FBA, FSA

## Vice-Presidents

MRS M. BENNETT  
PROFESSOR ERIC BIRLEY, MBE, FBA, FSA  
MR G. C. BOON, FSA  
PROFESSOR P. A. BRUNT, FBA  
PROFESSOR AVERIL CAMERON, FBA, FSA  
PROFESSOR M. H. CRAWFORD, FBA  
PROFESSOR J. A. CROOK  
PROFESSOR S. S. FRERE, CBE, FBA, FSA  
PROFESSOR MICHAEL GRANT, CBE, LITTD,  
FSA  
PROFESSOR K. HOPKINS, FBA  
PROFESSOR E. J. KENNEY, FBA  
MR J. H. C. LEACH  
MR F. A. LEPPER, FSA  
DR BARBARA LEVICK, FSA

PROFESSOR J. C. MANN, FSA  
PROFESSOR R. G. M. NISBET, FBA  
MR P. R. ODGERS, CB  
SIR HILTON POYNTON, GCMG  
DR JOYCE REYNOLDS, FBA, FSA  
PROFESSOR A. L. F. RIVET, FBA, FSA  
PROFESSOR ANNE S. ROBERTSON, FSA  
PROFESSOR J. K. S. ST JOSEPH, CBE, SCD, LLD,  
PHD, FBA, FSA  
MR A. N. SHERWIN-WHITE, FBA  
PROFESSOR E. A. THOMPSON, FBA  
PROFESSOR M. TODD, FSA  
PROFESSOR F. W. WALBANK, FBA  
PROFESSOR K. D. WHITE  
PROFESSOR J. J. WILKES, FBA, FSA

## Elected Members of Council

### *Elected June 1989*

PROFESSOR A. R. BIRLEY, FSA  
DR A. M. BURNETT  
DR MIRIAM GRIFFIN  
DR M. HENIG, FSA  
MR A. D. E. LEWIS  
PROFESSOR J. S. RICHARDSON  
MISS C. SPILLANE  
MR R. C. SMAIL

### *Elected June 1990*

MR S. CHAMBERS  
DR A. DRUMMOND  
MR D. J. FERRARO  
MISS J. GARDNER  
PROFESSOR H. M. HINE  
DR A. C. KING, FSA  
MISS L. MORRIS  
PROFESSOR P. SALWAY, FSA

### *Elected June 1991*

DR A. K. BOWMAN  
DR S. J. HARRISON  
DR J. R. PATTERSON  
DR MARGARET M. ROXAN, FSA  
MR D. H. SMITH  
MR J. M. WALKER  
PROFESSOR T. P. WISEMAN, FBA, FSA  
DR T. E. J. WIEDEMANN

## Honorary Members of the Society

PROFESSOR E. BADIAN  
PROFESSOR T. R. S. BROUGHTON  
PROFESSOR A. CHASTAGNOL  
PROFESSOR E. GABBA  
PROFESSOR J. HEURGON  
PROFESSOR M. KASER

PROFESSOR F. DE MARTINO  
PROFESSOR C. NICOLET  
PROFESSOR H. VON PETRIKOVITS  
PROFESSOR D. PIPPIDI  
DR S. TIMPANARO  
PROFESSOR E. WISTRAND

### Hon. Treasurer

MR G. E. A. KENTFIELD

### Hon. Secretary

MRS E. MATTHEWS

### Hon. American Secretary

PROFESSOR G. W. BOWERSOCK

### Secretary

DR HELEN M. COCKLE

### Auditors

SHIPLEY BLACKBURN

### Joint Library

### Hon. Librarian

MR J. C. B. LOWE

### Librarian

MRS N. B. ALVAREZ, BA, ALA

### Publications Secretary

DR LYNN F. PITTS

### Chairman of Schools Committee

MR J. MURRELL

## Editorial Committee

Chairman: PROFESSOR M. TODD

Editor, *JRS*: PROFESSOR A. F. WALLACE-HADRILL

Review Editor: DR S. R. F. PRICE  
PROFESSOR AVERIL CAMERON  
DR P. D. A. GARNSEY  
PROFESSOR D. C. FEENEY  
DR D. P. FOWLER  
DR J. A. NORTH

Editor, *Britannia*: DR J. P. WILD, FSA

Review Editor: PROFESSOR M. G. FULFORD, FSA  
MR C. M. DANIELS  
PROFESSOR S. S. FRERE  
DR L. J. F. KEPPIE  
PROFESSOR J. J. WILKES

and with the co-operation of

MR F. A. LEPPER and PROFESSOR F. W. WALBANK

Editors, *Roman Britain Survey*: PROFESSOR S. S. FRERE, MR M. W. C. HASSALL, FSA, DR R. S. O. TOMLIN, FSA

Contributions to the *JRS* should be sent to PROFESSOR A. F. WALLACE-HADRILL, The Editor, *Journal of Roman Studies*, Department of Classics, The University, Whiteknights, Reading, Berks. RG6 2AA. Contributions to *Britannia* should be sent to DR J. P. WILD, The Editor, *Britannia*, Department of Archaeology, The University, Manchester M13 9PL.

Books for review for both the *JRS* and *Britannia* must be sent to The Librarian, Joint Library, Hellenic and Roman Societies, 31-34 Gordon Square, London, WC1H 0PP.

© Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies 1991. All rights reserved.

Company reg. no. 114442 Charity reg. no. 210644