

## NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS

### NONIUS FLACCUS: A NEW EQUESTRIAN CAREER FROM FIRMUM PICENUM

In 1972, Pompilio Bonvicini published in the *Rendiconti* of the Academy of the Lincei a group of inscriptions from the fifth region of Italy,<sup>1</sup> providing a text, a note on dimensions and provenience, and in most instances a photograph of each inscription. Bonvicini did not in general comment on the content of the inscriptions, and it is the purpose of the present paper to call attention to several interesting features of one of them, a sepulchral text from Fermo (ancient Firmum Picenum).

The text of this inscription, with all abbreviations expanded, is as follows:<sup>2</sup>

G(aio) Nonio G(ai) f(ilio) Vel(ina tribu)	
Flacco,	
flamini Divi Aug(usti) et Divi	
Iuli et Divi Claudii, trib(un)o mil(itum) bis	
leg(ionis) V Macedonicae et leg(ionis) VII	5
Claudiae piaae fidelis, praef(ecto) equit(um) alae	
I Pannonior(um), IIvir(o) quinq(uennali) (ter), praef(ecto)	
Imp(eratoris) Aug(usti) Vespasiani, patrono coloniae.	
Testamento fieri iussit	
arbitratu Noni A(uli) f(ili) he[redis?]	10
I(oco) d(ato) [d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)].	

To begin with some general observations, we may note that the sepulchral character of the inscription is assured by the mention of the *testamentum* in line 9; that the inscription was certainly erected A.D. 69 or after, since Vespasian is mentioned as emperor (line 8); and that it was very probably erected before June 24, 79, since Vespasian is not called *divus*.<sup>3</sup> Finally, it seems clear that Nonius Flaccus, the subject of the inscription, was a native of Firmum Picenum, as indicated both by the provenience of the inscription and by Nonius' tribe, the Velina, which was

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1. "Iscrizioni latine inedite della quinta regio Italiae," *RAL* 27 (1972): 195-205.

2. The text given here follows at all points the unexpanded text given by Bonvicini, which is clearly supported by the photograph provided by Bonvicini except for the first letter of line 1 and the last two letters of line 10. If the first *praenomen* in line 1 was in fact Gaius, as Bonvicini records, then the Nonius in line ten was not his son, but might well be, for example, a nephew. Line ten is rather peculiar; the *HE*[. . .] given by Bonvicini can scarcely be a *cognomen*, since *cognomina* of free-born Romans virtually never begin with *He*-. It is conceivable that the correct reading is in fact *VE*[*L(INA TRIBV)*], since only the very tops of the letters are preserved, but the expansion to *he[redis]*, suggested to me by Professor Ernst Badian, seems most likely. I have not, however, been able to find an exact parallel for the manner of expression employed here. For an approximation, see *CIL* 6. 1374, from the pyramid of Cestius: "opus apsolutum ex testamento diebus CCCXXX / arbitratu / Ponti P.f. Cla. Melae heredis et Pothi l."

3. This is a strong indication of date, but not an infallible one, since inscriptions erected after Vespasian's death do not always call him *divus*. See, e.g., *ILS* 990 and 991.

also the tribe of Firmum.<sup>4</sup> His municipal magistracies will have been in Firmum, and the *colonia* of which he was patron was, of course, also Firmum.<sup>5</sup>

C. Nonius Flaccus was, we learn from the inscription, "flamen divi Aug(usti) et divi Iuli et divi Claudii." This is an exceedingly unusual collocation of flamines, both because the number of known *flamines divi Iuli* and *flamines divi Claudii* is relatively small<sup>6</sup> and because it is extremely rare for any one man in an Italian municipality to be *flamen* (or *sacerdos*) of more than one deified emperor. The following is a list of all such instances known to me.<sup>7</sup>

- (1) *CIL* 5. 5126 (Bergomum): "pontifici, flaminii divi Claudii Bergomi, patrono, flaminii divi Traiani Mediolani."
- (2) *CIL* 5. 6797 = *Inscr. Ital.* 11.2. 23 (Eporedia): "[flaminii di]vi August[i, divi] Vespasian[i, di]vi Traiani."
- (3) *CIL* 5. 7458 (Vardagate): "flam. perpet. [divi Vesp]asiani, divi Nervae [. . . ? : lacuna of some eighteen spaces] Traiani."
- (4) *AE* 1947. 46 (near Como): "flam. divi Titi item flam. divi Nervae pontif. aug(us-talis)."
- (5) *NSA* 7 (1953): 291, no. 60 (Ostia): "flam. di. Seve. et di. Pertin."

There are, of course, numerous instances of men who held more than one priesthood. We know of one man, for example, who was *flamen* of the living emperor in three different towns;<sup>8</sup> several inscriptions of Ostia record men who were *flamines* of both the living and one deified emperor;<sup>9</sup> and it is not difficult to find provincials who held several priesthoods, as for example the *ignotus* of *CIL* 8. 14447 who was "[flamen divi] Antonini [Pii], flam[e]n divi Traiani, sac. Cereris et Aesculapi, s[ac](erdos) . . . ? . . . flamen] divi Magni Antonini, sacerdos unicus . . .]": this is the most extensive series of such priesthoods I know.<sup>10</sup>

4. Mommsen, *CIL* 9:508.

5. For evidence on the status of Firmum as a colony, see Mommsen, *ibid.* In passing, we note here that the new inscription may provide help in the restoration of a fragmentary name of *CIL* 9. 5375, also from Firmum: one could perhaps restore lines 3 and 4, which read "[. . .]us C.f. Vel. F[il]. . . flamen di]vi Aug.," as "[A. or C. Noni]us C.f. Vel. F[il]accus, flamen di]vi Aug." The names in lines 1 and 2, however, remain enigmatic.

6. I have found seven *flamines divi Iuli*, two *flamines divi Caesaris* and six *flamines divi Claudii*: see Appendix. Only two Italian towns were previously known to have had *flamines divi Iuli*, Brixia (*CIL* 5. 4384 and 4495) and Industria (*CIL* 5. 7478), so that Firmum Picenum is only the third Italian municipality in which such a *flamen* is attested. It should be noted that we are not concerned with *flamines Caesaris* (on, e.g., *CIL* 10. 947) or with *flamines Augusti* (on, e.g., *CIL* 11. 2116), for these terms designate priests of the living emperor, whoever he may be. See L. R. Taylor, "The Worship of Augustus in Italy during His Lifetime," *TAPA* 51 (1920): 121, citing Fr. Geiger, *De sacerdotibus Augustorum municipalibus* (Halle, 1913), which I have not seen. For further discussion of the cult of Julius Caesar, with citation of other priests, see S. Weinstock, *Divus Julius* (Oxford, 1971), p. 407 with n. 3.

7. I give only the portion of the inscription that mentions the priesthoods. Excluded from this list are five men who were *flamines divorum* (*omnium*), since such a flamine was presumably annual, like the flamines of individual emperors, and thus such a title indicates only one priesthood. The five *flamines divorum* (*omnium*) attested in Italy are known from *CIL* 9. 5357, 5362, and 5363, all of Firmum Picenum; *CIL* 14. 444, of Ostia; and *CIL* 11. 5635, of Camerinum.

8. *CIL* 5. 7373 (Dertona). The towns were Vercellae, Dertona, and Genua.

9. E.g., *CIL* 14. 400, 4142, 4622. *AE* 1916. 117.

10. Seven additional examples—all men who held first a municipal and subsequently a provincial priesthood—are listed in the charts in R. Etienne, *Le culte impérial dans la péninsule ibérique d'Auguste à Dioclétien* (Paris, 1958), pp. 225–29. It should be noted, however, that iteration of the provincial priesthood itself is quite rare, especially in the western provinces, where only two examples are attested: see J. Deininger, *Die Provinziallandtage der römischen Kaiserzeit von Augustus bis zum Ende des dritten Jahrhunderts n. Chr.* (Munich, 1965), pp. 153–54.

Despite these instances of multiple priesthoods, however, it is clear that it was very unusual for a citizen of an Italian municipality to be priest of more than one deified emperor: only six examples—the five in the list above plus Nonius Flaccus—are known to us, while at least seventy-six inscriptions record men who held one such priesthood, and no more.<sup>11</sup> The new inscription from Firmum Picenum provides the first certain instance of an individual in an Italian municipality who was *flamen* of three *divi*, the only other possible examples being (2) and (3) on the list above, where the lacunae render certainty impossible.<sup>12</sup>

In addition, the new inscription provides the first evidence of separate cults of Iulius and Claudius at Firmum Picenum. It is interesting to note that no fewer than four inscriptions of Firmum mention *flamines divorum omnium* (two are sepulchral inscriptions of the same man),<sup>13</sup> while only two such *flamines* are known from all the rest of Italy (*CIL* 14. 444, Ostia; and *CIL* 11. 5635, Camerinum); and it might be suggested that Flaccus' three priesthoods were in fact only one, the title "flamen divi Aug. et divi Iuli et divi Claudii" being simply the equivalent of *flamen divorum omnium*. This does not seem to have been the case, however: we know from *CIL* 9. 5375 that Firmum had at least a separate cult of Augustus; Ostia, too, had cults both of the individual emperors and of the *divi omnes*,<sup>14</sup> and the peculiar nonchronological sequence of the deified emperors mentioned on the inscription—Augustus, Iulius, Claudius—is probably best explained by assuming that Flaccus held three separate priesthoods, in three different years, in the order in which they are listed on the inscription.

Although the priesthoods may thus be presented in the order in which Flaccus held them, it is apparently not correct to assume that all of the positions listed on the stone are presented in chronological sequence: it would be unusual, and perhaps completely unparalleled, for an individual to hold three municipal priesthoods, then three equestrian military positions, and finally four municipal magistracies.<sup>15</sup> Moreover, the analogy provided by inscriptions of senators, on which consulate, proconsulate, and/or priesthoods are frequently grouped together out of sequence, would suggest that here, too, the positions Flaccus held have been

11. See Appendix. Some priests are mentioned on more than one inscription, so that there are slightly fewer known priests.

12. *CIL* 5. 6797 is probably correctly restored as indicating flaminates of three *divi*, especially now that the inscription from Fermo provides a parallel. In *CIL* 5. 7458, however, the length of the lacuna before *Traiani* and the fact that Trajan is mentioned earlier in the inscription without *divus* (and without *Parthicus*) argue against Mommsen's restoration of [*divi*] *Traiani* [*Parthici*]. It is not impossible that Hirpidius, the subject of the inscription, was *flamen* of Trajan before Trajan's death, since we occasionally find the titulare of the emperor written out in part when the *flamen* of a living emperor is named: *CIL* 9. 652 (Lavello) gives *flamen Ti. Caesaris Aug.*; *AE* 1915. 61 (Pompeii), *flaminis Neronis Caesaris Aug. f. perpetui*, for which cf. also *CIL* 4. 1180, 1185, 3884; *AE* 1914. 131, *sacerdo[ti] imp. Caesar[is] Vespasiani Aug.*; but I know of no certain parallel for Trajan, since *CIL* 3. 376 might have contained *divus* in the lacuna.

13. *CIL* 9. 5357, 5362, 5363, 5365.

14. See Russell Meiggs, *Roman Ostia*<sup>2</sup> (Oxford, 1973), p. 378, for a convenient summary of the evidence.

15. Étienne, *Le culte impérial*, pp. 224–30, found that the municipal flamine was regularly, at least in Spain, the culmination of the municipal career; and E. Birley, *Roman Britain and the Roman Army* (Kendal, 1961), p. 139, argued that many of the equestrian officers in the Roman army were men who had previously reached the duovirate in their native towns. (The positions on our inscription must be listed in ascending order, for the prefecture of the *ala* follows the military tribunates.)

organized on the inscription in three groups—priesthoods, equestrian military posts, and municipal posts—within each of which the positions are recorded in chronological sequence.<sup>16</sup> We might, for example, assume that Flaccus was born about A.D. 20, that he was elected *duovir* for the first time in 45 at the minimum age of twenty-five,<sup>17</sup> and held his priesthoods and two further quinquennial duovirates between 45 and 55 or 60;<sup>18</sup> that he then entered the equestrian service, in which he served for some ten years, retiring in about 70 at the age of fifty;<sup>19</sup> and that he died between 70 and 79. These dates are purely conjectural,<sup>20</sup> but they will at least show that it is possible to regard the inscription as not preserving the strict sequence of Flaccus' positions.

On entering the *militia equestris*—whether under Claudius, Nero, or Vespasian—Nonius Flaccus held three positions: military tribune of the Legio V *Macedonica*, and then of the Legio VII *Claudia pia fidelis*, and finally prefect of the *ala I Pan-noniorum*. The only certain indication of date for any of these posts is provided by the title *pia fidelis* here given the seventh legion: the legion acquired this title in A.D. 42,<sup>21</sup> which is therefore the absolute *terminus post quem* for Flaccus' second tribunate.<sup>22</sup> Throughout the principates of Claudius and Nero, the Legio V *Macedonica* was stationed, when not on campaign, in Moesia, probably at Oescus. We have no way of knowing if Nonius was tribune when the legion was sent to Armenia in 62, or when it joined Vespasian's army in Judaea in 66; the legion remained in Judaea until the end of the Jewish war, then accompanied Titus to Alexandria, finally returning to Moesia in 71.<sup>23</sup> The Legio VII *Claudia*, stationed during much of the Julio-Claudian period in Dalmatia, was transferred to Moesia probably in 56 or 57. It sent a detachment of two thousand men to help Otho in 69, and some months later formed part of the Flavian army that invaded northern Italy, sacked

16. Such grouping of municipal and equestrian posts appears also on other Italian inscriptions, although in most instances the order of positions may also represent the chronological sequence of positions; for some probable nonchronological examples, see *CIL* 5. 5126; 9. 1132, 1614, 5357, 5363; 10. 4873, 5393 (which includes four different groups). This list could be expanded by reference to non-Italian inscriptions (see, e.g., *IG* 2<sup>2</sup>. 4193), but it should be noted also that many inscriptions recording the careers of municipal officials apparently preserve the chronological sequence, or the careers are so brief that they may either be chronological or be arranged in groups.

17. The minimum age for election to the duovirate in this period was either 25 or 30: see E. G. Hardy, *Three Spanish Charters* (Oxford, 1912), p. 101, with n. 13, discussing the *lex municipalis Malacitana*. The exact figure does not significantly affect the conjectural dates suggested here.

18. He might have held one or more of the priesthoods even before he entered upon his municipal career, for priests were sometimes quite young. *NSA* 7 (1953): 295, no. 60, for example, mentions a boy who was "flam(en) di(vi) Seve(ri) et di(vi) Pertin(acis)," as well as *decurion*, before he died at the age of twelve. We have no way of establishing the relative chronology of Flaccus' priesthoods and equestrian positions.

19. Birley, *Roman Britain*, pp. 136 and 139, showed that it was not unusual for a municipal official to enter the *militia equestris* even after the age of forty.

20. One might also suggest, for example, that, having held one or more of the flaminates and the duovirate, Flaccus then went on to his equestrian posts, and finally returned to hold additional positions in Firmum (one or more flaminates and/or duovirates): cf. *ILS* 9406, and the comments of Birley, *Roman Britain*, p. 139.

21. E. Ritterling, s.v. "Legio," *RE* 12 (1924–25): 1617.

22. The approximate period of Nonius' career—i.e., the reigns of Claudius or Nero—is also suggested by the use of the title *praefectus equitum alae*, which seems to be most frequent precisely in this period: see D. B. Saddington, "Toward the Dating of Early Inscriptions Recording Roman Auxiliary Regiments," *Akten des VI. Internationalen Kongresses für Griechische und Lateinische Epigraphik, München 1972* (Munich, 1973), p. 540.

23. For the evidence on the movements of the legion, see Ritterling, s.v. "Legio," cols. 1573–75.

Cremona, and advanced to Rome. After the accession of Vespasian, the legion returned to Moesia.<sup>24</sup> In both his positions as tribune, then, Nonius was assigned to legions forming part of the garrison of Moesia, and in both instances there is at least the possibility that Nonius served with the legion when it was fighting under the command of, or on behalf of, Vespasian.

Having served twice as military tribune, perhaps for a total of some six to eight years,<sup>25</sup> Nonius next became prefect of a cavalry unit. There are two known *alae I Pannoniorum*:<sup>26</sup> one stationed, like the legions in which Nonius had been tribune, in Moesia, and probably at Troesmis until this became the headquarters of the Legio V *Macedonica* under Trajan,<sup>27</sup> and the other stationed in Africa throughout this period.<sup>28</sup> It is not possible to decide with any assurance to which of these units Nonius belonged. In favor of the Moesian unit is the fact that equestrian officers fairly often remained in a single province during their careers;<sup>29</sup> but a strong case can be made for the African province as well, since equestrian officers almost as frequently changed provinces when they moved from one position to another.<sup>30</sup> In fact another man from Firmum Picenum, L. Volcacius Primus, was also military tribune of the Legio V *Macedonica* and then, his inscription records, "praef(ectus) *alae I Pannoniorum* in Africa."<sup>31</sup>

Aside from his patronage of the colony, which needs no comment, Nonius' last position was that of *praef(ectus) Imp(eratoris) Aug(usti) Vespasiani*. This means that the people of Firmum had chosen Vespasian as honorary *duovir*, probably in a year in which they were electing *duoviri quinquennales*,<sup>32</sup> and that Flaccus had been selected, presumably by Vespasian or his staff, to serve as *duovir* in place of Vespasian, with the title of *praefectus*.<sup>33</sup> Such prefects, replacing emperors or members of the imperial family who had been elected *duoviri*, are frequently attested in both Italy and the provinces, especially in the Julio-Claudian period; but, as it happens, Nonius Flaccus is only the second known such prefect of Vespasian, and

24. Ibid., cols. 1619 f.

25. The average tenure of such equestrian positions is discussed by Birley, *Roman Britain*, pp. 137 f. There can, of course, be no certainty in any individual case.

26. Cichorius, s.v. "Ala," *RE* 1 (1894): 1253, mentions a third *ala I Pannoniorum*, stationed in Britain, but that *ala* was probably formed later: its full name is *ala I Pannoniorum Sabiniana*, and it seems not to be attested before A.D. 122 (*dipl. mil.*, *CIL* 16. 69).

27. Cichorius, *ibid.*, and Ritterling, s.v. "Legio," col. 1576, for the date at which the fifth legion moved to Troesmis.

28. Cichorius, s.v. "Ala," col. 1253.

29. Birley, *Roman Britain*, p. 147.

30. For a discussion of precisely this problem, with further bibliography, see W. Eck, "Die Laufbahn eines Ritters aus Apri in Thrakien," *Chiron* 5 (1975): 370-71.

31. *CIL* 9. 5363. The fact that his inscription includes the *in Africa* cannot be taken as showing that, by contrast, omission of the *in Africa* on Nonius' inscription would imply the *ala* in Moesia, for Volcacius' inscription gives the location of all his posts, even the province in which his legion was stationed. Volcacius was dated in the time of Claudius and Nero by Ritterling, s.v. "Legio," col. 1583, but I do not know upon what basis.

32. For the tendency of municipalities to select emperors as honorary *duoviri* primarily during quinquennial years, see Meiggs, *Roman Ostia*<sup>2</sup>, p. 174.

33. For a discussion of the nature of such prefectures, and a list of known prefects, see W. Ensslin, s.v. "Praefectus iure dicundo," *RE* 22 (1954): 1320. To his list may be added prefects of Claudius (*CIL* 11. 6224: "Claudi Caesaris Augusti Germanici quinquenn. praefecto"), of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus (*AE* 1971. 367: "praef. q.q. pro Imp. Antonino et Vero Augg."), and, if the restoration is correct, of Pertinax (*NSA* 7 [1953]: 291, no. 54: [*praef. divi*] *Pert.*).

the first in an Italian town.<sup>34</sup> Moreover, the titulature of Vespasian is absolutely striking: called Imp. Caesar Vespasianus Augustus on the majority of inscriptions, Vespasian also appears with the Caesar and Vespasianus, or the Augustus and Vespasianus, reversed, and with the omission of Augustus, or of Caesar, or of both;<sup>35</sup> but he seems to be called Imperator Augustus Vespasianus only once elsewhere, and that is on a lead pipe of Antium (*CIL* 10. 6684), where one might expect an abbreviated and irregular form. Given the rarity of this form of Vespasian's name, it seems highly probable that the inscription of Nonius was erected early in Vespasian's principate, before the more standard forms became so well established as virtually to eliminate the possibility of such an anomalous form.

If this seems reasonable, then we may perhaps be justified in entering briefly the realm of speculation. Let us assume, for example, that Nonius was prefect of Vespasian in 71, a year in which we know that several other towns of Italy elected quinquennial *duoviri*.<sup>36</sup> Why was it that Vespasian (or his staff) allowed Nonius to serve as prefect for the emperor? If Nonius was in fact prefect of the *ala I Pannoniorum* in Moesia rather than in Africa, a simple answer can be given: this *ala* was in all probability one of the cavalry units that accompanied the legions of Moesia (the III *Gallica*, VII *Claudia p. f.*, and VIII *Augusta*) on the invasion of Italy under Antonius Primus, and it may well have taken part in the cavalry maneuvers preceding the second battle of Bedriacum.<sup>37</sup> Thus, if Nonius had in fact commanded the *ala* in 69, then he might well have attracted the attention of Vespasian or Vespasian's staff. If, however, Flaccus served with the *ala I Pannoniorum* at some other time, it is still not impossible that he was known to the Flavians, either through service with the seventh legion during its stay in Judaea, or even as tribune of the fifth legion, since that legion had formed part of the army of Caesennius Paetus in 62, and Paetus was very probably related to Vespasian by marriage, either at that time or later.<sup>38</sup> We cannot, of course, be sure of the dates of Flaccus' military positions, but at least it seems well within the bounds of possibility that Flaccus served at some point under Vespasian, or in a pro-Flavian unit, so that he would be a reasonable choice as prefect in 70 or 71.

This being the case, it is of some interest to note, finally, that two men who were certainly supporters of the Flavian cause include Flaccus' *gentilicium*, Nonius, in their nomenclature; share his tribe, the Veline; and were natives of Urbs Salvia, a town only some thirty kilometers inland from Firmum. These men were C. Salvius C.f. Vel. Liberalis Nonius Bassus, who was probably of equestrian rank by birth, was adlected into the senate by Vespasian, and became consul in some year before

34. The other known prefect of Vespasian is attested on an acephalous inscription of Berytus, *CIL* 3. 170.

35. Examples of all these may be found in the index of *ILS*, vol. 3.1, p. 269. See also the discussion of M. Hammond, "Imperial Elements in the Formula of the Roman Emperors during the First Two and a Half Centuries of the Empire," *MAAR* 25 (1957): 25-27.

36. The towns are Ostia (*Inscr. Ital.*, 13.1:187, 189, 193), Nola (*Inscr. Ital.*, 13.1:261), Puteoli (*CIL* 10. 1647), and Capena (Orelli 896, cited by Mommsen *ad CIL* 10. 5405). Not all towns, of course, elected *quinquennales* in the same year: at Interamna *quinquennales* were elected A.D. 68 (*Inscr. Ital.*, 13.1:267); at Cupra Maritima in 32 B.C., and hence A.D. 4, etc. (*Inscr. Ital.*, 13.1:245); at Venusium in 29 B.C., and hence A.D. 2, etc. (*Inscr. Ital.*, 13.1:255); and at Pompeii in A.D. 40 (*CIL* 10:92).

37. For the cavalry engagement, see Tac. *Hist.* 3. 15-18, and note especially the part played by the cavalry and the *Moesici auxiliares* in 3. 18.

38. G. B. Townend, "Some Flavian Connections," *JRS* 51 (1961): 56.

87;<sup>39</sup> and L. Flavius Silva Nonius Bassus, who was *tribunus plebis* in about 70, was adlected into the senate and among the patricians by Vespasian, and became consul in 81.<sup>40</sup> Given the common *nomen*, tribe, and geographical origins of these three men, it is not inconceivable that Flaccus was related to the others either by blood or, perhaps more likely, by marriage; and it does not seem impossible that Flaccus, like Salvius Liberalis and Flavius Silva, should be numbered among the equestrian supporters of Vespasian.

#### Appendix

##### "Flamines" of Single Deified Emperors Attested in Italian Municipalities, Including "Flamines Romae et Divi Alicuius"

*Flamines divi Iuli.* CIL 3. 386; 5. 4384 and 4459; 8. 7986; 12. 370. AE 1927. 2. IG 3. 612. I know also of two *flamines divi Caesaris*: CIL 5. 7478. AE 1954. 104.

*Flamines divi Augusti.* CIL 5. 3936, 4386, 5266, 5267, 7007, 7605; 6. 29717, 32929; 9. 3384, 3385, 5375?; 10. 131, 945, 946, 1262, 1806, 4641, 5393; 14. 2922, 2972, 2989, 2995, 3014. AE 1961. 109.

*Flamines divi Claudii.* CIL 5. 534; cf. 5. 535, 875, 6431; 11. 417, 1349a, 6010.

*Flamines divi Vespasiani.* CIL 5. 7021; 9. 2600, 2855; 10. 413; 11. 1447a; 14. 292, 298, 4641, 4664. AE 1910. 197; 1913. 190; 1934. 232.

*Flamines divi Titi.* CIL 5. 5239, 5667; 14. 400, 4142, 4622. AE 1916. 117.

*Flamen divi Nervae.* CIL 11. 385.

*Flamines divi Traiani.* CIL 5. 4368, 5312, 5908, 6513, 6520, 7375; 9. 2600, 2649; 10. 4873, 5067.

*Flamines divi Hadriani.* CIL 14. 353, 390, 391, 4642. AE 1910. 181.

*Flamen divi Marci.* CIL 14. 4671.

*Flamen divi Pertinacis.* CIL 14. 4648.

*Flamen divi Severi.* CIL 14. 373 (senatorial).

*Flamen divi Magni Antonini.* CIL 11. 1230.

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39. For Salvius' career, see Groag, s.v. "Salvius (15)," RE 1A (1920): 2026–29.

40. On Silva, see most recently W. Eck, *Senatoren von Vespasian bis Hadrian* (Munich, 1970), pp. 93–111; and C. P. Jones, rev. Eck, *AJP* 95 (1974): 89–90.

## TWO NOTES ON ARISTOPHON OF AZENIA

### 1. THE SEVENTY-FIVE "GRAPHAI PARANOMON"

Even most undergraduate students of fourth-century Athenian history have learned that Aristophon was attacked in the courts by *graphe paranomon* some seventy-five times—unsuccessfully. The point is regularly brought up to show the extreme litigiousness of fourth-century Athenians, as well as the perils to which Athenian politicians were subject in their *Advokatenrepublik*. The more one contemplates the implications of this datum, however, the more difficulty one finds in accepting it as it stands. Many scholars who touch upon the subject show some