

The *Tabula Lugdunensis*

Unearthed at Lyon in 1528, the *Tabula Lugdunensis* preserves the longest speech of a Roman emperor to survive in epigraphic form. In AD 48 Claudius addressed the senate to press a petition by elites of northern and western Gaul to hold senatorial rank and office. In support he demonstrated Rome's history of constitutional innovation, particularly in integrating outsiders, and asserted a commitment to recruiting worthy provincial senators such as he claims the Gauls to be. The speech offers important evidence for the history and rhetoric of Roman political integration, unparalleled Etruscan testimony about Regal Rome, and insight into the Latin language and oratory of the early principate. Uniquely, the *Tabula* can be set beside Tacitus' version of Claudius' speech in *Annals* 11 to provide a case-study of ancient historiographical practice. This edition contains a newly edited text of the *Tabula*, an English translation, and a comprehensive introduction and commentary.

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THE *TABVLA LVGDVNENSIS*

A Critical Edition with Translation and
Commentary

S. J. V. MALLOCH

University of Nottingham



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PREFACE

In AD 48, amid considerable controversy, Claudius delivered a speech supporting the petition of the *primores* of Gallia Comata to hold magistracies at Rome. A copy of the speech was inscribed on bronze and displayed probably at the altar of Rome and Augustus across the Saône from the Roman colony of Lugdunum, just inside the territory of Gallia Comata. Unearthed on La Croix-Rousse in 1528, the *Tabula Lugdunensis*, though a fragment, transmits the longest speech by a *princeps* currently to survive in material form. It ranks arguably as one of the most significant Roman epigraphic discoveries after the *Res gestae diui Augusti*, and certainly as one of the most beautiful of them all.

The *Tabula* transmits important evidence for the history of Roman political integration. Claudius opened the senate to Roman citizens from the tribal communities of Gallia Comata. He pushed recruitment beyond the *coloniae* and *municipia*, hitherto the normal source of senators from the west, and further into a region which lay beyond the provinces traditionally sending senators to Rome. This was a novel measure, prompted by the Gauls, and enthusiastically embraced by Claudius, who could act on his principle that eligible provincials of any background should be permitted to sit in the senate. He supported his measure with a reading of Roman history as the story of regular constitutional innovation, which sometimes introduced new blood into the polity, and with the striking assertion that it was through a new policy that Augustus and Tiberius admitted to the senate eligible men from the *coloniae* and *municipia* of Italy and the empire. Claudius tendentiously converted a long-term and uncoordinated process into a policy to underpin his own innovation and broader conception of recruitment. It was doubtless Claudius' demonstration of innovation and integration as the regular engine of history and empire – an argument deployed for the specific case of the Comatan Gauls but approached from the broadest perspective – that contributed to Tacitus' decision to narrate generously, in space and in tone, this one moment in the admission of provincials to the senate, a process that had even produced a Spanish *princeps* during his lifetime.

The *Tabula* preserves important evidence for the history of the Latin language and ancient historiography. Claudius' speech, a rare example of an imperial oration, survives from a period notoriously bereft of extant works of Latin oratory and history. Its eighty lines of continuous prose are sprinkled

with familiar rhetorical tropes, rare vocabulary, and complex sentences – the form of a rich and colourful argument brimming with political, historical, and antiquarian knowledge. The *Tabula* preserves a speech unfiltered by the more familiar medium of ancient historical writing. For precisely that reason it offers important historiographical evidence. Uniquely among extant Roman sources, Claudius spoke of Etruscan writers who wrote about Servius Tullius under the name Mastarna. Astonishingly, Claudius' basic claim that the Etruscans knew a figure called Mastarna was authenticated in the nineteenth century by the discovery of a fresco depicting 'Macstrna', the Etruscan form of Mastarna, in the François Tomb at Vulci. The evidence of the *Tabula* is all the more precious because, notoriously, Tacitus condenses this part of Claudius' speech. Here, also uniquely, the *Tabula* offers the opportunity to examine Tacitus' methodology in handling his sources and composing his speeches.

This edition, which is aimed at historians and philologists, acts on these opportunities afforded by the survival of the *Tabula* and the speech it partially preserves. The text has been newly edited and translated from photographs, the diplomatic copy of the *CIL*, and from my own inspection of the original in Lyon, where I dined on wild boar for the first time. The commentary ranges across philological, historical, and historiographical topics. Although well preserved where the lettering survives, the text throws up problems arising from its fragmentary state and from what I judge to be errors of the engraver. Where possible I trace solutions back to their earliest occurrence in the scholarship. Claudius' language and style are discussed in the context of earlier evidence, and later parallels noted particularly where Claudius falls early in the chronology of usage. My notes address the entire range of historical and historiographical questions raised by Claudius' speech, with particular attention to those topics for which he provides evidence that is unique, interesting, and important.

The Introduction locates the *Tabula* in a number of different contexts necessary for understanding its form and content. Starting from its discovery in the sixteenth century, the opening section sketches, firstly, its scholarly reception, and, secondly, the consensus which has emerged about the ancient topographical context of its find-site. I set out the epigraphic features of the inscription, including the extent of the *lacunae*. Analogous epigraphic evidence informs our understanding of what might have been lost, and offers leads about how Claudius' speech came to be displayed at Lugdunum, which concludes the treatment of the *Tabula* as a document.

The second section sketches the specific political context of Claudius' speech before broadening out to address two subjects important for appreciating

that context, the history of integrating provincials into the senate of Rome and developments in Gallia Comata, especially the situation and significance of Lugdunum, in the period between Caesar and Claudius. Here I set out to answer the questions why the leading men of the region approached Claudius and why a copy of his speech ended up at Lugdunum. Claudius' contribution to the history of senatorial recruitment was more modest than his articulation of a principled approach was new and significant. There remain no known Aeduan senators before the second century AD (outside what can reasonably be inferred from Tacitus' remarks at *Ann.* 11.25.1). But there are many other challenges to compiling a prosopography of provincial senators under the early principate. Ultimately I was obliged to hazard my own list for the period from Augustus to Nero in order to provide, as far as possible, an up-to-date context for Claudius' measure.

The third section sets out Claudius' rhetorical style and the reception of his formal and everyday speech in the Roman literature. My aim has been to describe some features of Claudius' performance without following the scholarly tendency to damn his performance as merely expressive of his eccentric character, as falling short of a Ciceronian ideal, or as inferior to the performances of Livy and Tacitus in the same genre. These biases are unhelpful for illuminating the nature of Claudius' oratory, and the comparison with the historians requires a different approach. Hence, the fourth section of the Introduction examines the relationship of Claudius' speech to the speech Livy gives to the tribune Canuleius in book 4 of his history and to the speech Tacitus composes for Claudius in *Annals* 11. There is no doubt that Claudius was inspired by Livy here as in his youth, but equally he shows more independence than the received characterisation of 'slavish imitation' would suggest. My discussion of Tacitus sets out how he respected *and* transformed Claudius' speech to suit his narrative and audience, and how he might have had access to its text and to information about the *consilium* which preceded Claudius' address to the senate. For ease of consultation, I have included in Appendix II a text and translation of *Annals* 11.23–25.1.

It is almost one hundred years since Fabia published his fine *La table claudienne de Lyon*, which placed the study of the *Tabula* on a new footing. My edition, I hope, will in turn refresh this elegant and important inscription for scholars and students alike as we approach another landmark, the 500th anniversary of the discovery of the *Tabula* in Roland Gribaud's vineyard in Lyon.

DEBTS

The welcome challenge posed by writing an edition is to pronounce on a range of subjects, many new and unfamiliar. In these circumstances it is helpful to be able to learn from those who know those subjects better. It is therefore with deep gratitude that I thank the scholars who have taken the time to advise me. J. Drinkwater, P. D. A. Garnsey, †M. T. Griffin, W. G. Leverett, T. P. Wiseman, A. J. Woodman, and the readers of Cambridge University Press provided feedback on drafts of various proportions at different stages. One of those readers of the Press was W. Eck, who also gave guidance on provincial senators. J. Penney and L. Tranoy kindly answered my queries. J. N. Adams and M. D. Reeve commented on a draft and gave generously of their time in discussing philological problems along the way. I am especially indebted to J. W. Rich for providing feedback on historical topics, challenging me to expand my treatment of the *Tabula* in some areas, and for being a warm and helpful correspondent over the last year of this project.

German institutions have again been supportive of my research. It is a pleasure to thank the Alexander von Humboldt Stiftung for funding, and Professor M. Zimmermann for hosting, my return to the Abteilung für Alte Geschichte in the Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität for a two-month Fellowship in early 2017. In that period – too short, alas! – I again benefited from using the library of the Kommission für Alte Geschichte und Epigraphik and, above all, the archive and library of the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*. There, amidst old friends and colleagues, I learnt much about the Latin of the *Tabula* from enjoyable conversations with N. Holmes.

At the Cambridge University Press, M. Sharp, ever helpful and supportive, procured the photographs I needed. In my Department at the University of Nottingham F. Saccoccio promptly and professionally produced the maps I required. I thank the School of Humanities for providing the funds for these illustrations.

ABBREVIATIONS

The Tabula Lugdunensis

The *Tabula Lugdunensis* is referred to throughout this edition as *Tabula* and its text according to column (I and II) and line number. ‘Tablet’ is used to refer to the bronze material form of the *Tabula*, and ‘fragment’ to the two pieces of the surviving tablet. The following texts and translations of the *Tabula* have been consulted:

- Allmer–Dissard A. Allmer and P. Dissard, *Musée de Lyon: inscriptions antiques*. Volume I (Lyon, 1888) pp. 58–108
- Artaud F. Artaud, *Cabinet des antiques du musée de Lyon* (Lyon, 1816) pp. 41–9
- Barrow R. H. Barrow, *A selection of Latin inscriptions* (Oxford, 1934) no. 24
- de Bellièvre C. de Bellièvre, *Lugdunum priscum, par le Président Claude Bellièvre*. Ed. J.-B. Montfalcon (Lyon, 1846) pp. 96–9
- Bernard A. Bernard, *Le temple d’Auguste et la nationalité gauloise* (Lyon, 1863) pp. 43–7
- de Boissieu A. de Boissieu, *Inscriptions antiques de Lyon reproduites d’après les monuments ou recueillies dans les auteurs* (Lyon, 1846–54) pp. 133–44
- Braund D. C. Braund, *Augustus to Nero: a sourcebook on Roman history 31 BC – AD 68* (London and Sydney, 1985) no. 570 (translation of Smallwood’s text)
- Brissonius *Barnabae Brissonii regii consistorii consiliarii, amplissimique senatus parisiensis praesidis, de formulis et sollemnibus populi Romani verbis, libri VIII* (Paris, 1583) pp. ‘290’(sc. 300)–301
- Brotier G. Brotier, *C. Cornelii Taciti opera* (Paris, ¹1771, ²1776) Brotier¹ volume II, pp. 348–51; Brotier² volume III, pp. 390–6
- Charlesworth M. P. Charlesworth, *Documents illustrating the reigns of Claudius and Nero* (Cambridge, 1939) no. 5
- Comarmond A. Comarmond, *Description du Musée lapidaire de la ville de Lyon* (Lyon, 1846–54) no. 27 (with Plate 2)

xiv List of Abbreviations

- Cooley M. G. L. Cooley, *Tiberius to Nero*. Lactor 19 (London, 2011) pp. 249–52 (translation of Smallwood’s text)
- Dessau *ILS* no. 212
- Ernesti J. A. Ernesti, *C. Cornelii Taciti opera* (Leipzig, ¹1752, ²1772). Ernesti¹ volume I, pp. 658(sc. 958)–961; Ernesti² volume II, pp. 638–41
- Fabia P. Fabia, *La table claudienne de Lyon* (Lyon, 1929)
- Furneaux H. Furneaux, *The Annals of Tacitus*. Volume II: *Books XI–XVI* (Oxford, ¹1891, ²1907) [Furneaux² was revised by H. F. Pelham and C. D. Fisher] Furneaux¹ pp. 208–14; Furneaux² pp. 54–60
- Gruterus J. Gruterus, *Inscriptiones antiquae totius orbis Romani, in corpus absolutissimum redacta* (Heidelberg, 1602) p. DII
- Haase F. Haase, *Cornelii Taciti opera* (Leipzig, 1855). Volume I, pp. 331–2
- Hardy E. G. Hardy, *Three Spanish charters and other documents* (Oxford, 1912) pp. 133–54
- Hirschfeld O. Hirschfeld’s diplomatic text (see Figures 3 and 4) and edited text *apud CIL XIII 1668*
- Levick B. Levick, *The government of the Roman empire: a source-book*. 2nd edn (London and New York, 2000) no. 164
- Lipsius Lipsius *Comm.* = *Iusti Lipsi ad Annales Corn. Taciti liber commentarius, sive notae* (Leiden, 1581) pp. 302–6; Lipsius *Comm.* 1585 = *Iusti Lipsi ad annales Cor. Taciti liber commentarius* (Antwerp, 1585) pp. 117–18 (usually printed, with separate title-page and pagination, under *C. Cornelii Taciti opera quae exstant, ex Iusti Lipsi editione ultima: et cum eiusdem ad ea omnia commentariis aut notis* (Antwerp, 1585)); Lipsius *Auctarium* = [Martini Smetii] *Inscriptionum antiquarum quae passim per Europam liber. Accessit auctarium Iusto Lipsio* (Leiden, 1588) *Auctarium* pp. 23–4; Lipsius 1607 = *C. Cornelii Taciti opera omnia quae exstant. Iustus Lipsius postremum recensuit* (Antwerp, 1607) pp. 528–30
- Maludan J. Maludan. Transcription at Paris B. N. Lat. 5825I, fos. 53r.–54r. See Introduction, ‘Copying and Editing the *Tabula*’
- Menestrier C. F. Menestrier, *Histoire civile ou consulaire de la ville de Lyon, justifiée par chartres, titres, chroniques, manuscrits, auteurs anciens & modernes, et autres preuves, avec la Carte de la Ville, comme elle étoit il y a environ deux siècles* (Lyon, 1696) p. 165

- Meyer H. Meyer, *Oratorum Romanorum fragmenta ab Appio inde Caeco et M. Porcio Catone usque ad Q. Aurelium Symmachum. Editio auctior et emendatior* (Turin, 1842) pp. 575–8
- Monfalcon J.–B. Monfalcon, *Monographie de la table de Claude* (Lyon, 1851¹, 1853²). See also under Zell
- Nipperdey K. Nipperdey, *Cornelius Tacitus. Volume II: Ab excessu divi Augusti XI–XVI* (Berlin, ¹1852, ²1857, ³1873; ⁶1908 ed. G. Andresen). A text (with commentary) follows the end of *Annals* 16 in each edition; textual notes also occur at Nipperdey¹ pp. 243–4 and Nipperdey² pp. 298–9
- Orelli J. G. Orelli, *C. Cornelii Taciti opera quae supersunt* (Zurich, ¹1846–8, ²1859–77) Orelli¹ volume I, pp. 363–4; Orelli² volume I, pp. 341–3
- Paradin G. Paradin, *Mémoires de l'histoire de Lyon* (Lyon, 1573). Transcription pp. 23–4; diplomatic text pp. 414–15
- Questa C. Questa, *L'Aquila a due teste: immagini di Roma e dei Romani* (Urbino, 1998) pp. 86–99
- Rupert G. A. Rupert, *C. Cornelii Taciti opera* (Hanover, 1834). Volume II, pp. 552–4
- Sherk R. K. Sherk, *The Roman empire: Augustus to Hadrian*. Translated documents of Greece and Rome 6 (Cambridge, 1988) no. 55 (column II only)
- Smallwood E. M. Smallwood, *Documents illustrating the principates of Gaius Claudius and Nero*. Reprinted with minor corrections (Bristol, 1984) no. 369
- Sponius J. Sponius, *Recherche des antiquités et curiosités de la ville de Lyon, ancienne colonie des Romains & capitale de la Gaule celtique* (Lyon, 1673) pp. 169–81
- Vertranius *Ad P. Cornelii Taciti Annalium et Historiarum libros M. Vertranii Mari iurisc. notae* (Lyon, 1569). Text on fold-out supplement to p. 123
- Zell C. Zell, *Claudii imperatoris oratio super ciuitate Gallis danda* (Freiburg, 1833); Zell 1850 = *Delectus inscriptionum Romanarum cum monumentis legalibus fere omnibus* (Heidelberg, 1850) reprint of Zell 24–6 at pp. 294–7; Zell 1857 = *Opuscula academica Latina* (Freiburg, 1857) revised reprint of Zell's monograph at pp. 96–139. Monfalcon² contains a reprint of Zell's introduction and Zell's letter of 1852 to Monfalcon (= Zell 1857, pp. 140–56)

Ancient works

For texts in Latin I have used the abbreviations and, where possible, the editions specified in the index of the *Thesaurus linguae Latinae*. Note: all references to Tacitus are to the *Annals* unless otherwise stated. The fragments of the Roman historians are quoted from *FRHist.*: T. J. Cornell (gen. ed.), *The fragments of the Roman historians* (Oxford, 2013); Varro's *De lingua Latina* from de Melo (2019); the fragments of Sallust's *Histories* and *Letters to Caesar* from Ramsey (2015): e.g. *Hist.* 1.12 R; the *Res gestae diui Augusti* from Scheid (2007).

Modern works

AE	<i>L'Année épigraphique</i>
CAH ²	Second edition of <i>The Cambridge ancient history</i> . See Walbank <i>et al.</i> (1984), (1989); Bowman <i>et al.</i> (1996)
CIE	<i>Corpus inscriptionum Etruscarum</i> (Leipzig, 1893–)
CIL	<i>Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum</i> (Berlin, 1873–)
E–J	V. Ehrenberg and A. H. M. Jones, <i>Documents illustrating the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius</i> . 2nd edn (repr. with addenda) (Oxford, 1979)
H–S	J. B. Hofmann and A. Szantyr, <i>Lateinische Syntax und Stilistik</i> . Verbessertes Nachdruck der 1965 erschienenen ersten Auflage (Munich, 1972)
ILS	H. Dessau, <i>Inscriptiones Latinae selectae</i> (Berlin, 1892–1916)
K–S	R. Kühner and C. Stegmann, <i>Ausführliche Grammatik der lateinischen Sprache</i> . Part II: <i>Satzlehre</i> . 5th edn (Hanover, 1976)
NLS	E. C. Woodcock, <i>A new Latin syntax</i> (London, 1959) (reference is by section §)
NP	H. Cancik and H. Schneider (eds.), <i>Brill's new Pauly: encyclopedia of the ancient world</i> . English trans. (Leiden–Boston, 2002–10) (references are by entry number for biographies, by volume and column for articles)
OCD ⁴	S. Hornblower and A. Spawforth (eds.), <i>The Oxford classical dictionary</i> . Assist. ed. E. Eidinow. 4th edn (Oxford, 2012)
OLD	P. G. W. Glare (ed.), <i>Oxford Latin dictionary</i> . 2nd edn (Oxford, 2012)

PIR ²	E. Groag, A. Stein, <i>et al.</i> , <i>Prosopographia imperii Romani saec. I. II. III.</i> 2nd edn (Berlin and Leipzig, 1933–2015)
RE	<i>Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft</i> (Stuttgart, 1894–1980) (references are by entry number for biographies, by volume and column for articles)
RPC	A. Burnett, M. Amandry, and P. P. Ripollès, <i>Roman provincial coinage</i> . Volume I: <i>From the death of Caesar to the death of Vitellius</i> (44 BC – AD 69) (London and Paris, 1992)
RRC	M. H. Crawford, <i>Roman republican coinage</i> (Cambridge, 1974)
SCPP	Quoted by line number from Eck <i>et al.</i> (1996)
Syme Provincial	R. Syme, <i>The provincial at Rome and Rome and the Balkans 80 BC – AD 14</i> . Ed. A. R. Birley (Exeter, 1999)
TLL	<i>Thesaurus linguae Latinae</i> (Leipzig and Stuttgart, 1901–)

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