

Roman Social History: Recent Interpretations

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One of the main growth-points in the study of the classical period is in social history. This is also a field of research in which the Greek or Roman historian benefits particularly from an acquaintance with the work of his colleagues in mediaeval and modern history. In the hope that two-way communication may be useful, I shall try in this article to indicate some of the main trends in recent work in Roman social history and to mention those books and articles which seem to offer the most useful comparative material. The focus will be on the period of the late Republic and early Principate, with 200 B.C. and A.D. 200 as approximate termini at either end, and priority will be given to work written in English, to recent publications (which can generally be relied upon to give bibliography) and to work which is not only useful, but comprehensible to the non-classicist.¹ I apologise for any inadvertent or ill-advised omissions: if I fail to mention a work, it does not necessarily fail to meet these criteria. The questions asked by Roman social historians are similar to those asked by mediaeval or modern historians. Because these tend to be the sort of questions the Romans did not ask, or the sort to which their historiographers did not give an answer, the sources are recalcitrant. They are also scanty or patchy. Data come not from archives, but from scattered notices in the historians, who were concerned primarily with politics, war and the upper class; from other Greek and Latin literature, biographies, plays, poetry, private letters, novels, forensic oratory, technical writings, philosophy; from the only "counter-cultural" literature which flourished in the Graeco-Roman world, Jewish and Christian writings—

* Department of Classical Studies, University of Ottawa. This article is an offshoot of more specialised research sponsored by the Canada Council in 1971-1973. I am also indebted to my colleague Dr. C.M. Wells for many improvements of matter and presentation, and for supplying my deficiencies in fields in which he is an authority. Any sins of omission and commission which remain are my own, and like any anthology this list reflects personal taste.

¹ Work on Roman history is mostly published in German, Italian, French and English, the last preponderating in volume. There is a small amount in Dutch and Spanish; Scandinavian scholars generally publish in one or other of the four major languages. Russian and other Slavic classicists are notable for work in certain areas of social history, especially slavery, which is only occasionally available in translation. The sin most often imputed to the classical historian is a tendency to address himself to a specialist audience, which can be assumed to be familiar with the literary evidence and to read Latin and Greek with facility. This imputation cannot be generalised, for there have always been scholars who could write lucidly and attractively for both specialist and non-specialist, and, as in other branches of study, there is a place for more esoteric production. On the present state of studies cf. R. MARTIN, "L'histoire sociale du monde romain antique," in *L'Histoire sociale en France, sources et méthodes* (Paris: P.U.F., Coll. de St. Cloud, 1965): 49-73, or, for a more astringent and partial view, M.K. HOPKINS, "Classicists and sociologists," *Times Literary Supplement*, (March 31 1972): 355-356.

the Acts of the Apostles, for example, are our best source on life in the eastern Mediterranean in the first century; from the corpus of Roman law; from the collections of published inscriptions, papyri, coins; from archaeological reports, and from the artefacts and sites themselves.

Although it would not be true to say that nineteenth-century and earlier historians of the Roman world wrote no social history, it is only since studies in epigraphy, archaeology and other related disciplines reached maturity that detailed research on society has become possible. Twentieth-century research in this field derives above all from two great works. The first of them, the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*,² was begun in 1863 and directed in its early stages by Theodor Mommsen,³ a scholar so indefatigably active in all areas of Roman studies that he pointed the way to all the scholars who followed and that historians a thousand years hence will surely conjecture that his works were produced, like Homer's, by a syndicate. The sixteen 'volumes' of the *Corpus* (most of which run to more than one thick folio) collect the Latin inscriptions of the whole Roman world according to area and are updated from time to time by supplements. Because it is relatively complete (though badly in need of new computer indexes to supplement the analyses already compiled) it is an indispensable tool: for studies of the ruling class a supplement to literary sources and for the rest of society the most important single source of evidence. The second essential work, for which the *Corpus* helped pave the way, is the *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*,⁴ with its detailed and often definitive treatment of the careers not only of great men but also of many lesser figures who are attested only by inscriptions, and its articles on topics of social, economic and political history.

The study of society based on the careers and connections of individuals owes its name, *protopopography*, to Mommsen.⁵ The method is exemplified in the *Real-Encyclopädie* and in works, generally recognised as marking a fundamental new departure, by Gelzer on the characteristics of the upper levels of the ruling class and by Münzer on aristocratic

² *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum consilio et auctoritate Academiae litterarum Regiae Borussicae editum* (Berlin: Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1863-).

³ (1817-1903). He wrote a history of Rome (to the end of the Republic), major works on constitutional and criminal law and articles on everything, besides editing texts and inscriptions.

⁴ PAULY, WISSOWA and KROLL. *Real-Encyclopädie der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft* (Stuttgart: Metzlersche 1893-, now Druckenmüller). There are other encyclopaedias. In French, Ch. DAREMBERG and Edm. SAGLIO, *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines* (Paris: Hachette, 1873-1919) is old but sometimes useful. The new edition of the one-volume *Oxford Classical Dictionary* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970) with many new articles, gives concise information with up-to-date bibliography. There is also *Der Kleine Pauly* (Stuttgart: Druckenmüller, 1964).

⁵ Useful critical accounts by Claude NICOLET, "Protopopographie et histoire sociale: Rome et l'Italie à l'époque républicaine," *Annales: Economies, Sociétés, Civilisations*, 25 (1970): 1209-1228; Lawrence STONE, "Protopopography," in F. GILBERT and S.R. GRAUBARD, eds., *Historical Studies Today* (New York: Norton, 1972): 107-140; T.F. CARNEY, "Protopopography: payoffs and pitfalls," *Phoenix*, 27 (1973): 156-179.

families and their political groupings.⁶ It was not until Sir Ronald Syme published his first book in 1939 that the merits of the new approach were demonstrated to English readers of Roman history. *The Roman Revolution*,⁷ which describes the end of republicanism, the foundation of the Principate and the survival of oligarchy, seems a generation away from John Buchan's *Augustus*,⁸ published two years earlier and dedicated to Mackenzie King. Buchan, after a brilliant undergraduate career at Glasgow and Oxford, had become an administrator, serving in South Africa under Milner; a member of Parliament, and finally, as Lord Tweedsmuir, Governor-General of Canada. (He repays prosopographical study.) In the intervals of his public service, he specialised in biography—the novels for which he is best known being his recreation. His own experience of empire and politics allows him to see Augustus as a kind of George V (and Livia as Queen Mary) while Syme, who is a generation younger, with his eyes on Europe finds more affinity between the Roman *princeps* and the dictators.⁹ While Syme was working on the Roman ruling class, in Oxford in the 1930s, Sir Lewis Namier was studying eighteenth-century British oligarchy. Arnaldo Momigliano, in his fascinating introduction to the Italian translation of *The Roman Revolution*, remarks that Syme had “Namierised the Augustan constitution.”¹⁰ It has been pointed out by C.S. Lewis that the safest way to discover the living novelist's intention in a given work is to ask him: it is interesting to find that Lawrence Stone checked this question with Syme and found that he had not at that time read Namier.¹¹ Syme analyses the persistence of oligarchy despite constitutional changes, concentrating attention on Augustus' supporters and opponents in the ruling class. Although he is chiefly interested in the workings of politics, his book gives a most stimulating introduction to the upper levels of society in late republic and early Principate. Among other fundamental books on political history, those of L.R. Taylor and E. Badian are particularly useful on the upper class.¹² To remind us of the many kinds of friendship apart from political friendship (in the eighteenth-century* sense), there is an enjoyable essay by P.A. Brunt, the richness and utility of which are in inverse proportion to its length.¹³

⁶ M. GELZER, *The Roman nobility* tr. R. Seager (Oxford: Blackwell, 1969), originally published as two monographs (1912 and 1919); F. MÜNZER, *Römische Adelsparteien und Adelsfamilien* (Stuttgart: Poeschel, 1920).

⁷ (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1939).

⁸ (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1937).

⁹ The point about George V is made by C.M. WELLS, “Ancient History, new approaches,” *Classical News and Views/Echos du Monde Classique*, 11 (1967): 29-38, on 34-35; the dictators: Syme acknowledges that he was consciously influenced (information of conversation, from C.M. Wells).

¹⁰ “Introduzione a Ronald Syme, *The Roman Revolution*,” in A. MOMIGLIANO, *Terzo contributo alla storia degli studi classici e del mondo antico* (Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 1966): 729-737; p. 730: “Syme ha ‘namierizzato’ la costituzione di Augusto.” But Momigliano does not claim that the Namierisation was deliberate.

¹¹ *L.c.* (n.5), p. 113.

¹² L.R. TAYLOR, *Party politics in the age of Caesar* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1949); E. BADIEN, *Foreign Clientelae 264-70 B.C.* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1958).

¹³ “*Amicitia* in the late Roman Republic,” *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philolog-*

'Class' in the Roman context is a treacherous word, as the Roman concepts of various categories differ so much from ours.¹⁴ *Classis* is a perfectly good word for groups defined by the censors according to property qualification; *ordo* is used of the senatorial order and of certain other groups considered analogous, such as civil service clerks. Other people might be marked off by juridical disadvantages, for instance slaves and allies or provincials (non-citizens); freedmen (citizens, but circumscribed in practice), and women (citizens, but without the vote). Work on such categories in Roman society has followed the Roman dividing lines, with the resulting advantage that it can show how modifying factors such as wealth, education, blood-ties, friendship and political influence cut across the rigid structure.

On the senatorial order of the Republic, the books already mentioned have been followed by detailed monographs on individuals¹⁵ and families¹⁶ and innumerable articles picking up sometimes meagre gleanings on stemmata or political alignments.¹⁷ For recruitment to the ruling class there is T.P. Wiseman's *New men in the Roman Senate 139 B.C.-14 A.D.*,¹⁸ which discusses the background of the men who were the first of their families to achieve office, their position of eminence in the country towns of Italy, their connections of friendship, marriage and home-town loyalty with the Roman senators, their relative obscurity within the Senate to which they were admitted after election to a junior magistracy.¹⁹ The triumph of Augustus accelerated the admission to the Senate of men from parts of Italy enfranchised two generations earlier, and they were soon (and even simultaneously) followed by recruits from the Romanised West and then (by the early second century A.D.) from the Hellenised East. The Augustan phase of this process is dealt with in *The Roman Revolution* and in an article by L. Polverini.²⁰ Work on the later development will be found in *The Roman Empire and its neighbours*,²¹ a useful and original

ical Society, new series, 11 (1965): 1-20, repr. in R. SEAGER ed., *The crisis of the Roman Republic* (Cambridge: Heffer, Views and controversies, 1969): 199-218.

¹⁴ Cf. C. NICOLET, "Introduction", in *Recherches sur les structures sociales dans l'antiquité classique* (Colloques nationaux du Centre national de la Recherche scientifique, Paris: 1970): 1-18; J. BÉRANGER, "Ordres et classes d'après Cicéron" (*ibid.* 225-242). There is a general book, J. GAGÉ, *Les Classes sociales dans l'empire romain* (Paris: Payot, 1964, 2nd ed. 1971 with notes on works published since the first ed.).

¹⁵ E.g. M. GELZER, *Caesar, politician and statesman*, tr. P. Needham (Oxford: Blackwell, 1968).

¹⁶ E.g. J. VAN OOTEGHEM, *Les Caecilii Metelli de la République* (Brussels: Acad. royale de Belgique, Mémoires, 1967).

¹⁷ Among the useful ones is M. JACZYNOWSKA, "The economic differentiation of the Roman nobility at the end of the Republic," *Historia: Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte*, 11 (1962): 486-499.

¹⁸ (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971).

¹⁹ Erich S. GRUEN, *The Last generation of the Roman Republic* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: Univ. of California Press, 1974) includes useful material on the composition of the Senate. This is (in both senses) a prosopographer's book. The bibliography is extremely full.

²⁰ "L'aspetto sociale del passaggio dalla repubblica al principato," *Aevum*, 38 (1964): 241-285, 439-467, 39 (1965): 77-100; also published as a paperback (Milan: Largo, 1965). Discusses all sections of society.

²¹ (London: Weidenfeld, 1967).

synthesis by Fergus Millar and others, and in monographs such as Wirszubski's on the oligarchs' concept of "freedom" or Macmullen's on un-Roman activities, as well as, along with much else, in Syme's monumental *Tacitus*.²² Social mobility into the ruling class, via the army or the profession of letters, has been discussed by M.K. Hopkins.²³

The order from which senators were recruited, the *ordo equester* or *equites*, was closely connected with senators by blood; wealth (since many had far more than the minimum equestrian capital of 400,000 sesterces and some were as rich or richer than the ordinary senator, who in the principate had to have at least one million) and political pull (men like Cicero's adviser Atticus, or Maecenas, who declined 'promotion' to Augustus' Senate). They are now being investigated in rigorous detail. The new standard work for the Republic is C. Nicolet, *L'Ordre équestre à l'époque républicaine*,²⁴ which catalogues by occupation those who are definitely attested as *equites*. Most of those known are landed gentry or scholars (the latter thanks to partiality in the sources) not, as was often assumed, 'businessmen'. The same conclusion was reached independently by P.A. Brunt,²⁵ who demonstrates that the *equites* did not form a tight group eternally opposed to the Senate. The *equites* whose interests most often clashed with those of the governing class were the tax-farmers,²⁶ but they too were land-owners and in a crisis would side with the rest of the propertied class. Equestrian status in the late Republic qualified a man for jury service in criminal courts (most notably the courts for treason and extortion, in which the defendants were senators) and also for army service as an officer above the rank of centurion. The wars of conquest and the civil wars of the late Republic meant a great expansion in the number of officers and a great increase in professionalism. The careers of these men have received detailed study from J. Suolahti.²⁷ During the Principate, *equites* were increasingly used in civil administration, to take influential posts under the emperor. A man who made a success in business might be invited to take a term as governor of Egypt,

²² Ch. WIRSZUBSKI, *Libertas as a political idea at Rome during the late Republic and early Principate* (Cambridge: C.U.P., 1950); Ramsay MACMULLEN, *Enemies of the Roman order: treason, unrest and alienation in the empire* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard U.P., 1966), ch. 1, "Cato, Brutus and their succession;" R. SYME, *Tacitus* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1958). Individual senators and other notables are listed in E. GROAG and A. STEIN, *Prosopographia imperii romani saec. i, ii, iii* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2nd ed. 1933), which is incomplete.

²³ "Elite mobility in the Roman empire," *Past and Present*, 32 (1965): 12-26; on the later period, cf. his "Social mobility in the late Roman empire: the evidence of Ausonius," *Classical Quarterly*, 11 (1961): 239-249.

²⁴ (312-43 av. J.-C) (Paris: de Boccard, 1966).

²⁵ "The *equites* in the late Republic," Second international conference of economic history, Aix-en-Provence, 1962, vol. 1, 117-149, reprinted in R. SEAGER (o.c.n. 13): 83-115. Cf. too Brunt's review of Nicolet o.c. (n. 24), "Les *equites* romains à la fin de la république," *Annales: E.S.C.*, (1967): 1090-1098.

²⁶ See E. BADIEN, *Publicans and Sinners: private enterprise in the service of the Roman Republic* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell U.P., 1972).

²⁷ *The Junior officers of the Roman army in the republican period* (Helsinki: Annales Acad. Scient. Fennicae B xcvii, 1955).

a poet or scholar to become secretary to the *princeps*.²⁸ Army officers worked their way up more methodically. Erudite and exhilarating papers by E. Birley illustrate their backgrounds and careers.²⁹

Below the *equites* were various orders distinguished by function, such as civil service clerks (*scribae*), who might aspire to equestrian rank. The officials of local government outside Rome formed an order of decurions, overlapping with the *equites* and making a recruiting pool for the Senate³⁰. In the army of the Principate, the centurionate opened avenues of advancement: entering from the ranks of the legions or of the emperor's Praetorian Guard or as directly-commissioned *equites*, they served some twenty years, and, if they survived, might attain the rank of senior centurion, which gave them the entrée to equestrian posts and municipal honours. The army was a major factor in increasing social mobility and Romanisation in the imperial period: from Augustus on, men who had joined as legionaries or Praetorian guards became centurions and more than half the known senior centurions were men of this type. (In proportion to their lower numbers centurions recruited from the crack guard regiments had a better chance of reaching the post of senior centurion). As legionaries began to be recruited from non-Italians, non-Italians also held centurionates. The sons of senior centurions could aspire to rise from equestrian to senatorial status.³¹

Another group, readily distinguishable and occasionally, though controversially, termed an order, was that of the ex-slaves (freedmen), who from the time of Augustus played a defined role in local government, as officials of the cult of the emperors, and whose sons, if their fathers

²⁸ See H.G. PFLAUM, *Les Procurateurs équestres sous le haut-empire romain* (Paris: Maisonneuve, 1950) and *Les Carrières procuratoriennes équestres sous le haut-empire romain* (Paris: Geuthner, 1960-1961).

²⁹ "The equestrian officers of the Roman army," in E. BIRLEY, *Roman Britain and the Roman army* (Kendal, England: Wilson, 1961): 133-153; "The origins of equestrian officers: prosopographical method," *ibid.* pp. 154-171.

³⁰ A.H.M. JONES, *The Greek city from Alexander to Justinian* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1940), pp. 179-191, *The later Roman empire 284-602: a social, economic and administrative survey* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1964): ii, pp. 737-757; Peter GARNSEY, "Decurions in the second and early third centuries of the Roman empire," (D. Phil. thesis, Oxford, 1968). "Aspects of the decline of the urban aristocracy in the Empire," in H. TEMPORINI ed., *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* ii (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1974) 229-252.

³¹ There was only one senior centurion in a legion, the *primus pilus*. See in particular E. BIRLEY, "The origins of legionary centurions" (*o.c.*, n. 29): 104-124; B. DOBSON, "The centurionate and social mobility during the principate," *Recherches sur les structures sociales de l'antiquité classique* (cf. n. 14): 99-116, "The significance of the centurion and 'primipilaris' in the Roman army and administration," in TEMPORINI (*o.c.*, n. 30): 392-434. More generally, on the life of the soldier, G.R. WATSON, *The Roman soldier* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1969) and, with a less social slant, G. Webster, *The Roman imperial army of the first and second centuries A.D.* (London: Black, 1969). On recruitment, G. FORNI, *Il reclutamento delle legioni da Augusto a Diocleziano* (Milan: Bocca, 1953) and "Estrazione etnica e sociale dei soldati delle legioni nei primi tre secoli dell'impero," in TEMPORINI (*o.c.* n. 30): 339-391. I have not yet seen E. GABBA, *Esercito e società nella tarda Repubblica romana* (Florence: La nuova Italia, 1973).

were wealthy, early attained the superior honour of admission to the town council (decurionate).³²

We will come back later to the freedmen. The masses of ordinary Roman citizens, free-born but not wealthy, did not form an order. Of these, the inhabitants of the City of Rome are best attested and have been studied in more detail than any other lower-class group of free citizens apart from the soldiers. They are referred to by ancients and moderns as the *plebs* or *plebs urbana*, a population formed by the coming together of races, old citizens, new citizens and aliens, their common denominator the experience of living in one of the few large cities of the Mediterranean world. Until recently, the best introductions to the poorer classes were in three American doctoral theses, by M.E. Park, H.J. Loane and M. Maxey,³³ but the last few years have seen major advances, with the work of Brunt, Yavetz and others. Z. Yavetz's article, "The living conditions of the urban plebs in republican Rome",³⁴ investigated the precarious position of the poor, victims of over-crowding, jerry-building, high rents and a shortage of jobs. P.A. Brunt took up the subject in 'The Roman mob',³⁵ by discussing the discontents of the poor in the context of the Roman revolution of the first century B.C. Despite his title, he avoids the aristocratic prejudice so evident in Roman writers and in many more recent ancient historians, and finds, like G. Rudé on revolutionary Paris, that the protesters and rioters were often respectable shopkeepers, not the slaves and thugs that Cicero would have us believe. But, since we lack the police records that eighteenth-century historians enjoy, we shall never have the whole story of the part played by the lower classes in producing, or facilitating, the Roman revolution. We must supplement our picture of the manoeuvrings of oligarchs, even oligarchs with loyal armies behind them, for we can see that Augustus and his successors are compelled to cater for the population of their capital and to provide some measure of social security.³⁶ Yavetz discusses this relationship in *Plebs and princeps*,³⁷ dealing with Augustus and his immediate successors, with

³² M.L. Gordon, "The freedman's son in municipal life," *Journal of Roman Studies*, 21 (1931): 65-77.

³³ M.E. PARK, "The plebs in Cicero's day" (Ph.D. diss., Harvard, 1918); H.J. LOANE, *Industry and commerce of the City of Rome (50 B.C.—200 A.D.)* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1938); M. MAXEY, "Occupations of the lower classes in Roman society as seen in Justinian's Digest," (Ph. D. diss., Chicago, 1938). E.H. BREWSTER, "Roman craftsmen and tradesmen of the early empire," (Ph.D., diss., Pennsylvania 1915, pub. 1917, repub. New York, Franklin, 1972) is limited to discussion of the treatment of craftsmen and tradesmen in Latin satirists. See too, on the 2nd century B.C., H.C. BOREN, "The urban side of the Gracchan economic crisis," *American Historical Review*, 63 (1957-8): 890-902, or in SEAGER (*o.c.*, n. 13): 54-66.

³⁴ *Latomus*, 17 (1958): 500-517 or SEAGER (*o.c.* n. 13): 162-179.

³⁵ *Past and Present*, 35 (1966): 3-27 (registering some disagreement with Yavetz). Urban riots are discussed in A.W. LINTOTT, *Violence in republican Rome* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968).

³⁶ On this see D. VAN BERCHEM, *Les distributions de blé et d'argent à la plèbe romaine sous l'empire* (Geneva: Georg: 1939) and, more generally, A.R. HANDS, *Charities and social aid in Greece and Rome* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1968).

³⁷ (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969).

frequent glances back to the Republic. The whole span of the Republic, with emphasis on the later period, has been treated by Brunt in a slender and exciting book (in a useful series called *Ancient Culture and Society*). *Social conflicts in the Roman Republic*³⁸ gives an account of the economic background and narrates Roman history from the point of view of the poorer classes, analysing in particular the reforms attempted in the last century of senatorial rule, reforms invariably initiated by upper-class leaders.

In his massive *Italian Manpower 225 B.C.—A.D. 14*,³⁹ Brunt discusses the population of the whole of Italy and much else besides. His explicit purpose is demographic, to discover the manpower resources of the Roman military machine. But to say this is to give little idea of the riches of this book. Brunt explains his purpose as follows: "The society and economy of ancient Italy were moulded by war, with its concomitants of conscription, confiscations, devastations and endemic violence. It was with the aim of linking the history of Italian population with the consequences of war that I undertook to write this book". Apart from census figures and military matters, he discusses the condition of the free and slave population; the economy of rural Italy; the effects of war, urbanisation, colonisation in Italy and emigration from the peninsula, reproductivity and enfranchisement. It would be hard to suggest a better starting place for anyone looking for information on any of these topics.⁴⁰

It appears to be characteristic of Rome, even in the Republic, that a high proportion of the permanent residents were not citizens born. Many were slaves and freedmen, others aliens. On the latter there are studies by G. La Piana⁴¹ and H.J. Leon.⁴² Trade and crafts were largely in the hands of foreigners; the displaced peasantry or other native-born Romans presumably relied on employment in building and the docks. The proper occupations for a free Roman were in the army and on the land.⁴³ The long-lasting effects of the Second Punic War (late third century B.C.), when Hannibal's occupation of southern Italy dislocated agriculture, and the century of foreign wars which followed altered for ever the old peasant-soldier's way of life, are the subject of A.J. Toynbee's *Hannibal's legacy*.⁴⁴ Research on the regions of Italy, exploiting new archaeological

³⁸ (London: Chatto and Windus, 1971).

³⁹ (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971).

⁴⁰ The essential monograph on the Roman franchise for Republic and Principate is A.N. SHERWIN-WHITE, *The Roman Citizenship* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1939; 2nd ed. with major additions 1973). On emigration see too A.J.N. WILSON, *Emigration from Italy in the republican age of Rome* (Manchester: Manchester U.P., 1966). For demography see M.K. HOPKINS, "On the probable age structure of the Roman population," *Population Studies*, 20 (1966): 245-264.

⁴¹ "Foreign groups in Rome during the first century of the empire," *Harvard Theological Review*, 20 (1927): 183-401.

⁴² *The Jews of ancient Rome* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1960).

⁴³ See BRUNT, *Italian Manpower* (n. 39) and "The army and the land in the Roman revolution," *Journal of Roman Studies*, 52 (1962): 69-86.

⁴⁴ (London: Oxford U.P., 1965). BRUNT, *Italian Manpower* (n. 39): 269-277 argues that the effects of the actual occupation were transient.

data, is flourishing and enables a composite picture of the whole peninsula to be built.⁴⁵

Slavery is another topic which is undergoing renewed examination, often influenced by Marxist dialectic and by comparative studies of American slavery. David Brion Davis' account of Roman slavery makes a stimulating introduction.⁴⁶ The only recent general book in English on both Greek and Roman slavery has to be used with caution;⁴⁷ the gap is partially filled by a volume of essays edited by M.I. Finley, with a useful basic bibliography.⁴⁸ A full-scale bibliography on ancient slavery, containing 1707 items and covering the years to 1969, has been edited by J. Vogt,⁴⁹ to whom we are also indebted for a concerted attack on the problems of slavery in a series of monographs by German scholars.⁵⁰ Attention has been directed to the ideas of a slave-owning society,⁵¹ to the legal institution,⁵² to slave wars⁵³ and runaways,⁵⁴ to the provenance of slaves,⁵⁵ their work,⁵⁶ their religions,⁵⁷ family-life⁵⁸ and effects

⁴⁵ The field is too specialised to explore here, too important to omit. Examples in English: G.E.F. CHILVER, *Cisalpine Gaul* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1941); E.T. SALMON, *Samnium and the Samnites* (Cambridge: C.U.P., 1967); W.V. HARRIS, *Rome in Etruria and Umbria* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971). On the life of the upper classes beside the seaside, John H. D'ARMS, *Romans on the Bay of Naples: A social and cultural study of the villas and their owners from 150 B.C. to A.D. 400* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard U.P., 1970).

⁴⁶ *The problem of slavery in western culture* (Ithaca: Cornell U.P., 1966).

⁴⁷ W.L. WESTERMANN, *The slave systems of Greek and Roman antiquity* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1955), reviewed by P.A. BRUNT, *Journal of Roman Studies*, 48 (1958): 164-170.

⁴⁸ *Slavery in Classical Antiquity* (Cambridge: Heffer, Views and controversies, 1960). On Rome only, R.H. BARROW, *Slavery in the Roman empire* (London: 1928, repr. 1958, Methuen) is still worth consulting.

⁴⁹ *Bibliographie zur antiken Sklaverei* (Bochum: Brockmeyer, 1971).

⁵⁰ *Forschungen zur antiken Sklaverei* im auftrag der Kommission für Geschichte des Altertums der Akademie d. Wissenschaften u.d. Literatur, eds. J. VOGT and U. INSTINSKY, (Wiesbaden, Steiner, 1967-).

⁵¹ J. VOGT, *Sklaverei und Humanität: Studien zur antiken Sklaverei und ihrer Erforschung* (*Historia Einzelschriften* no. 8, Wiesbaden, Steiner, 1965).

⁵² W.W. BUCKLAND, *The Roman law of slavery: the condition of the slave in private law from Augustus to Justinian* (Cambridge: Cambridge U.P., 1908, repr. 1971). For a briefer account, Alan WATSON, *The law of the ancient Romans* (Dallas: Southern Methodist U.P., 1970), ch. 5.

⁵³ J. VOGT, *Struktur der antiken Sklavenkriege* (Wiesbaden: Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1957); Maria CAPOZZA, *Movimenti servili nel mondo romano in età repubblicana I: Dal 501 al 184 a. Cr.* (Rome: L'Erma, 1966).

⁵⁴ H. BELLEN, *Studien zur Sklavenflucht im römischen Kaiserreich* (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1971); D. DAUBE, "Slave-catching," *The Juridical Review*, 64 (1952): 12-28.

⁵⁵ M.L. GORDON, "The nationality of slaves under the early Roman empire," *Journal of Roman Studies*, 14 (1924): 93-111, repr. in FINLEY, *o.c.* (n. 48): 171-189; I. KAJANTO, "The significance of non-Latin *cognomina*," *Latomus*, 27 (1968): 517-534.

⁵⁶ C.A. YEO, "The economics of Roman and American slavery," *Finanzarchiv*, 13 (1952): 445-485; F. KIECHLE, *Sklavenarbeit und technischer Fortschritt im römischen Reich* (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1969); E.M. ŠTAERMAN, *Die Blütezeit der Sklavenwirtschaft in der römischen Republik* (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1969, tr. from Russian ed. of 1969).

⁵⁷ F. BÖMER, *Untersuchungen über die Religion der Sklaven in Griechenland und Rom*, I (Wiesbaden: Steiner: 1958).

⁵⁸ Beryl WILKINSON, "The names of children in Roman imperial epitaphs: a study of social conditions in the lower classes," (Ph.D. diss., Bryr Mawr, 1961), summarised in

on the rest of society.⁵⁹ In contrast with slavery in North America, Roman slaves were drawn from varied backgrounds and cultural levels, were employed in a wide range of agricultural, industrial, domestic and administrative jobs, and teaching and medicine, and most of them (agricultural slaves being, on the whole, an exception) could hope to be freed.

Once freed, the slave of a Roman citizen became (normally) a Roman citizen. The variables which affected his social position were not his racial origin but his ex-master's social status, his comparative wealth or poverty, his work: the learned secretary or research assistant of a Cicero and the wealthy merchant turned landowner would be towards one end of a continuum, in the lower reaches of which would be put the worn-out domestic drudge whose owner could no longer afford to keep her. Two books discuss the general picture.⁶⁰ On the well-documented period of the first two centuries of the Principate, monographs and articles are increasing our knowledge, in particular of the slaves and freedmen of the Caesars who staffed what to us would be the public service, but what the Romans regarded as an extension of the ruler's domestic staff. Detailed study of these administrators is based on some 4000 inscriptions (mostly funerary) and has been methodically and independently pursued by Heinrich Chantraine⁶¹ in Germany, Gérard Boulvert⁶² in France and P.R.C. Weaver⁶³ in Australia. Although specialised, the books of the last two in particular cast light on the social and administrative history of the early Roman empire and will provide comparison with other eras. The slaves and freedmen who held clerical, financial and managerial posts in the civil service were the backbone of civil administration and, even before they reached the age at which manumission was normal, enjoyed a social status which allowed them to marry free, citizen wives, who were not considered their superiors except in legal position.⁶⁴

Racial prejudice for the modern ties in with colour prejudice and colour prejudice with slavery. This is not true for the Mediterranean world in antiquity. The chances of war might enslave even a Roman citizen, and though certain races from which large numbers of slaves were

Beryl RAWSON "Family life among the lower classes in Rome in the first two centuries of the empire," *Classical Philology*, 61 (1966): 71-83; BRUNT, *Italian Manpower* (n. 39): 143-146.

⁵⁹ E.M. STAERMAN, *Die Krise der Sklavenhalterordnung im Westen des römischen Reiches* (Berlin: Akad. Verlag, 1964) (Russian ed., Moscow: Acad. des Sciences, 1964).

⁶⁰ A.M. DUFF, *Freedmen in the early Roman empire* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1928; repr. Cambridge: Heffer, 1958); S. TREGGIARI, *Roman freedmen during the late Republic* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969).

⁶¹ *Freigelassene und Sklaven im Dienst der römischen Kaiser: Studien zur ihrer Nomenklatur* (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1967).

⁶² *Esclaves et affranchis impériaux sous le haut empire romain: rôle politique et administratif* (Naples: Jovene, 1970).

⁶³ *Familia Caesaris: a social study of the emperor's freedmen and slaves* (Cambridge: C.U.P., 1972). See too WEAVER, "Social mobility in the early Roman empire: the evidence of the imperial freedmen and slaves," *Past and Present*, 37 (1967): 3-20.

⁶⁴ On the later period cf. T.F. CARNEY, *Bureaucracy in a traditional society: Romano-Byzantine bureaucracies viewed from within* (Lawrence, Kansas: Coronado Press, 1971).

obtained in a given period (e.g. the Syrians) might come to be regarded as particularly adapted to slavery, it was impossible to regard any one racial type as inevitably and uniquely intended to supply slaves. A.N. Sherwin-White in a stimulating series of lectures, *Racial Prejudice in imperial Rome*⁶⁵ finds that the strongest prejudice was based on size, not colour—against dangerous British and German warriors—and that the worst racial friction was between two disparate groups living side by side under different laws in Alexandria, the Greeks and the Jews. Blacks were present in the empire in small numbers: the history of the Greek and Roman attitude to them is discussed by Frank Snowden in *Blacks in antiquity*.⁶⁶

Other work on Romans and non-Romans in the context of the empire is scattered through general books⁶⁷ and monographs. Rostovtzeff gives a starting-point.⁶⁸ For the hellenised eastern Mediterranean, A.H.M. Jones provides a wealth of information in his book, *The Greek city from Alexander to Justinian*.⁶⁹ The centrality of Judaeo-Christian documents for this area has already been mentioned. The ancient historian in search of a commentator turns first to a slender book by A.N. Sherwin-White.⁷⁰ This is not the place to give more than brief notice to the large amount of work being done on, and in, individual provinces of the empire. A new series of solid volumes has so far covered Britain, Dalmatia and Noricum.⁷¹ Roman Britain has been more thoroughly researched than most of the other provinces, so, although it was not a typical province, the accessibility and erudition of the available literature make it an excellent point of entry to a study of provincial society.⁷²

So far we have discussed work which deals with mankind more or less including women. Studies on women (with, inevitably, some passing reference to men) have recently gained momentum, though there is as yet nothing on children to set beside P. Ariès' work on France of the *ancien régime*.⁷³ The principal general book in English, and the best, to my knowledge, in any language, is J.P.V.D. Balsdon's *Roman women: their*

⁶⁵ (Cambridge: C.U.P., 1967).

⁶⁶ (Cambridge, Mass.: The Belknap Press of Harvard U.P., 1970).

⁶⁷ E.g. MILLAR (n. 21). For a short and trenchant critique, P.A. BRUNT, "Reflections on British and Roman imperialism," *Comp. Studies in Society and History*, 7 (1964-65): 267-288.

⁶⁸ M. ROSTOVITZEFF, *Social and economic history of the hellenistic world* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1941) and *Social and economic history of the Roman empire* (rev. ed., Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957).

⁶⁹ See n. 30. For a special study of the relationship between Romans and Greeks, see G.W. BOWERSOCK, *Augustus and the Greek world* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965).

⁷⁰ *Roman society and Roman law in the New Testament* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963).

⁷¹ *History of the provinces of the Roman empire* (London: Routledge): S. FRERE, *Britannia: a history of Roman Britain* (1967); J.J. WILKES, *Dalmatia* (1969); G. ALFOLDY, *Noricum* (1973).

⁷² For example, E. BIRLEY, *o.c.*, n. 29; I.A. RICHMOND, *Roman Britain* (London: Penguin, 1955, 2nd ed. 1963) and, more specifically social, A.L. RIVET, *Town and Country in Roman Britain* (London: Hutchinson U.L., 1958, rev. ed. 1964).

⁷³ But see RAWSON (n. 58). Several scholars are undertaking research in this area.

history and habits, witty, reliable and well-documented.⁷⁴ A whole issue of the journal *Arethusa* is devoted to *Women in antiquity* and includes several articles on Rome and a useful critical bibliography compiled by Sarah B. Pomeroy.⁷⁵ Often the subject encourages pious moralising based on aristocratic epitaphs to virtuous wives who stayed at home and spun wool, or else more amusing but equally treacherous conjecture traceable to scabrous misogynists. It is refreshing to find critical and realistic appreciation of the sources, taking both epitaphs and Juvenal with a pinch of salt, in most recent scholarship. For instance, when Marcel Durry⁷⁶ in 1955 set out his evidence for holding that pre-pubertal consummation of marriage was considered normal by the Romans, his thesis was repugnant to some scholars who refused to believe that Roman aristocrats could have accepted a practice so shocking to modern Europeans. Both Durry⁷⁷ himself and M.K. Hopkins⁷⁸ have produced further data which shows conclusively that marriage of girls below the legal age of 12 was unsurprising to the upper class (though the girl did not attain the full status of wife until her twelfth birthday); that non-consummation of such marriages was unusual enough to excite comment (but not vice-versa), and that even outside the aristocracy (where dynastic considerations encouraged pre-emption of heiresses) early marriage was common. Hopkins in one sample of inscriptions (of middling social class) finds a modal age at marriage of 12-15 for girls and 17-20 for boys. One reason for early marriage of girls may be an unusual sex-ratio: according to a later source, in Augustus' time, after decades of civil war and proscription had killed off many men, there was a shortage of girls in the upper class. If we accept this statement, we have to ask why. Was rejection of girl babies a common practice? Direct evidence is very sparse—but that might be understandable. Some scholars hold that exposure was prevalent.⁷⁹ Besides this possible refusal to bring up girls even in rich families, the poor were often compelled to abandon children, who might be rescued and raised, often as slaves. Low fertility and high infant mortality also severely limited reproductivity. Artificial checks on fertility were probably not very significant: the only effective method of birth control practised by the Romans was abortion.⁸⁰

⁷⁴ (London: Bodley Head, 1962; rev. ed. 1974).

⁷⁵ "Selected bibliography on women in antiquity," *Arethusa*, 6 (1973): 127-157. POMEROY's forthcoming, *Goddesses, whores, wives and slaves: women in classical antiquity* (New York: Schocken, 1975) is expected to be useful and provocative.

⁷⁶ "Le mariage des filles impubères à Rome," repr. in *Revue des études latines*, 47 bis (1969): 17-25.

⁷⁷ "Autocritique et mise au point," *Revue des études latines*, 47 bis (1969): 26-41.

⁷⁸ "The age of Roman girls at marriage," *Population Studies*, 18.3 (1965): 309-327.

⁷⁹ Cf. BRUNT, *Italian Manpower* (n. 39): 148-154. We should distinguish between infants exposed to die (which amounts to infanticide and is occasionally attested for bastards) and infants exposed in places where there was a reasonable chance that they would be found and reared. If we attribute the second choice to aristocrats, it will not necessarily imply greater humanity.

⁸⁰ M.K. HOPKINS, "Contraception in the Roman empire," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 8 (1965): 124-151. Cf. a review article, Sheila K. DICKISON, "Abortion in antiquity," *Arethusa*, 6 (1973): 158-161.

Women could be Roman citizens, but never had the vote, and in private law were originally under the control of husband or father, or the guardianship of a *tutor* (as were minors and lunatics). But practice and Augustan legislation modified the strictness of *tutela*, particularly for rich upper class women, who appear to have controlled their own affairs. Similarly, by the late Republic, divorce was (legally, at least) as easy for a woman as for a man, a declaration by either party being all that was needed. Augustan legislation making adultery a criminal offence was a contribution neither to morality nor to liberalism, and in practice hit chiefly members of the imperial family or nobility, whose adulteries might have political significance or whose wealth might benefit the informer.⁸¹

The less important details of the lives of Roman women, their daily programme, dress, cosmetics, are happily gleaned by writers of *Sittengeschichte*. The good books in this field provide much other information beside. Though partially outdated, Marquardt⁸² and Friedländer⁸³ are full of valuable material on conditions of life in Roman times. On more limited periods, we have the books of Fowler, Dill and Carcopino.⁸⁴ The fullest and most judicious of the moderns is Balsdon, in his delightfully written and compellingly readable *Life and leisure in ancient Rome*.⁸⁵

From what has already been said, it will be evident how much the Roman social historian relies on separate disciplines and sub-disciplines, such as law or epigraphy. We have looked at the contribution of one new technique, prosopography; let us now turn to consider briefly what is being produced elsewhere. Some of the most useful work is coming from outside History or Classics departments. A prime example is Boulvert's book on imperial slaves and freedmen, based on inscriptions and written by a lawyer (n. 62). Another lawyer, J. Macqueron, working chiefly from literary sources, has written *Le travail des hommes libres dans l'antiquité romaine*.⁸⁶ John Crook, a Cambridge ancient historian, invaded the lawyer's territory in turn with *Law and life of Rome*,⁸⁷ an investigation of how Roman law worked in practice. There have also been two recent discussions of the actual inequities of the Roman legal system,⁸⁸ to add to the many books on the theory of law, among which

⁸¹ On all this, see the standard books on Roman law (n. 89) and also P.E. CORBETT, *The Roman law of marriage* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1930).

⁸² J. MARQUARDT and A. MAU, *Das Privatleben der Römer* (Leipzig: 2nd ed. 1886) or *La vie privée des romains* (Paris: Thorin, 1891, 1893).

⁸³ L. FRIEDLÄNDER, *Roman life and manners under the early empire*, tr. A.B. Gough (London: Routledge, 1908).

⁸⁴ W. WARDE FOWLER, *Social life at Rome in the age of Cicero* (London: Macmillan, 1908); SAMUEL DILL, *Roman society from Nero to Marcus Aurelius* (1904; 2nd ed. London: Macmillan, 1905) and *Roman society in the last century of the western empire* (1898; 2nd ed. London: Macmillan, 1919); J. CARCOPINO, *La vie quotidienne à Rome à l'apogée de l'empire* (Paris: Hachette, 1939).

⁸⁵ (London: Bodley Head, 1969).

⁸⁶ (Aix-en-Provence: cyclostyled Cours de Pandectes, 1954).

⁸⁷ (London: Thames and Hudson, 1967).

⁸⁸ J.M. KELLY, *Roman litigation* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1960); Peter GARNSEY, *Social status and legal privilege in the Roman empire* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), cf. "Legal privilege in the Roman empire," *Past and Present*, 41 (1968): 3-24.

the best introduction for the non-specialist is a pithy paperback by Alan Watson.⁸⁹ Another lawyer who often turns his attention to 'historical' problems is David Daube, whose new book *Civil disobedience in antiquity*⁹⁰ moves with enviable grace from the Hebrew to the Graeco-Roman world and back.

In economic history, although older work such as that of Rostovtzeff (n. 68) and of Tenney Frank⁹¹ remains useful, much re-thinking is needed, within the ancients' framework of reference, in the light of modern economic theory. The recent Sather lectures of Moses Finley, with full documentation and bibliography, provide a bracing *aggiornamento*.⁹² R. Duncan-Jones, whose series of articles on prices and the fortunes of the upper classes, published in *Papers of the British School at Rome* in the 1960s, gave the hardest and most detailed data on the imperial period, has now brought out a book which incorporates and revises this material.⁹³ The ancient world is sharply contrasted with our own, not only in its economic simplicity⁹⁴ and lack of economic concepts, but in the enormous disparity between rich and poor. The revenues of the rich derived from land (the safest as well as the most honourable investment), from discreet interests in finance and commerce, from gifts and legacies, from theoretically unremunerated pursuits such as advocacy. The upper class Roman had no job, except that of administrator or army officer, in the service of the state. Professions such as teaching or medicine were acceptable for those of apposite social class. The world of the lower class worker is described by F.M. de Robertis in *Lavoro e lavoratori nel mondo romano*,⁹⁵ Claude Mossé in *The ancient world at work*⁹⁶ and Alison Burford in *Craftsmen in Greek and Roman society*.⁹⁷ The crafts had their own associations, *collegia*, whose chief functions were religious, social and funerary: they were not concerned with trade secrets or working conditions. There are two major books on the *collegia*.⁹⁸

⁸⁹ See n. 52. Other standard books are F. SCHULZ, *Classical Roman law* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1951); Barry NICHOLAS, *An introduction to Roman law* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962); H.F. JOLOWICZ and B. NICHOLAS, *Historical introduction to the study of Roman law* (Cambridge: C.U.P., 2nd ed. 1973).

⁹⁰ (Edinburgh, Edinburgh U.P., 1973).

⁹¹ T. FRANK, ed., *An economic survey of ancient Rome* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1933-1940; repr. Paterson, N.J., Pageant, 1959).

⁹² *The ancient economy* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1973).

⁹³ *The economy of the Roman empire: quantitative studies* (Cambridge: C.U.P., 1974).

⁹⁴ See, e.g., G.E.M. DE STE.-CROIX, "Greek and Roman accounting," in A.C. LITTLETON and B.S. YAMEY, eds., *Studies in the history of accounting* (London: Sweet and Maxwell, 1956) pp. 14-74; M. CRAWFORD, "Money and exchange in the Roman world," *Journal of Roman Studies*, 60 (1970): 40-48.

⁹⁵ (Bari: Adriatica, 1963). See also, on ideas about manual work, FINLEY, *o.c.*, (n. 92): 51-61, P. A. BRUNT, "Aspects of the social thought of Dio Chrysostom and of the Stoics," *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society*, 19 (1973): 9-34.

⁹⁶ (London: Chatto, 1969), tr. and rev. ed. of *Le travail en Grèce et à Rome* (Paris: P.U.F., 1966).

⁹⁷ (London: Thames and Hudson, 1972).

⁹⁸ J.P. WALTZING, *Etude historique sur les corporations professionnelles chez les romains jusqu'à la chute de l'empire de l'Occident* (Louvain: 1895-1896; repr. Rome:

Ancient technology is another special subject. Its scientific bases have been discussed in two recent articles.⁹⁹ The standard general history of technology devotes rather less space of its second volume to the Graeco-Roman world than it does to the Middle Ages—with justification.¹⁰⁰ Lynn White gives some attention to the slow rate of technological development in the Roman world compared with the so-called dark ages in his *Mediaeval technology and social change*.¹⁰¹ For the ancient world we can consult also books by Hodges and Forbes and articles by Finley and Reece.¹⁰² Specialised monographs sharpen detail in certain areas. There is, for example, a useful study of milling,¹⁰³ and K.D. White has recently produced a number of books which together give a thorough survey of Roman agriculture.¹⁰⁴

Our knowledge of ancient technology derives from archaeology as well as from texts. The contribution that archaeology can make to social history is great, but it is hard as yet to find books which are hybrids of the two disciplines. Some of the studies of Italian regions or of provinces mentioned above come near. In Italy, Pompeii and Herculaneum are the classic exemplars of small-town society.¹⁰⁵ But Ostia, the port of Rome, is the city which has received the fullest scholarly attention, in Russell Meiggs' reconstruction of the history of its landowners and shippers, town-councillors and labourers, Mithraists and Christians, Roman notables and parvenus.¹⁰⁶

It may be useful to direct the reader quickly to standard bibliographical aids. *L'Année Philologique* is the usual first resort: it lists material on social history under the rubric *Histoire sociale: civilisation romaine*. A list of other bibliographies will be found conveniently at the back of the *Oxford Classical Dictionary*. Classical theses from Canada, the U.S.

L'Erma, 1968); F.M. DE ROBERTIS, *Il diritto associativo romano dai collegi della repubblica alle corporazioni del basso impero* (Bari: Laterza, 1938).

⁹⁹ D. LEE, "Science, philosophy and technology in the Greco-Roman world," *Greece and Rome*, 20 (1973): 65-78 and 180-193.

¹⁰⁰ C. SINGER, E.J. HOLMYARD, A.R. HALL and T.I. WILLIAMS, eds., *A history of technology* ii, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1956, corr. 1957).

¹⁰¹ (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962).

¹⁰² H. HODGES, *Technology in the ancient world* (London: Allen Lane, 1970); R.J. FORBES, *Studies in ancient technology* (Leiden: Brill, 1955-); M.I. FINLEY, "Technical innovation and economic progress in the ancient world," *Economic History Review*, new series, 18 (1965): 29-45; D.W. REECE, "The technological weakness of the ancient world," *Greece and Rome*, 16 (1969): 32-47. I have not yet seen K.D. WHITE and JOHN LANDELS, *Aspects of classical technology* (London: Chatto, 1974) but it may confidently be expected to be useful.

¹⁰³ L.A. MORITZ, *Grain mills and flour in classical antiquity* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1958).

¹⁰⁴ *Roman farming* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1970), with *Agricultural implements of the Roman world* (Cambridge: C.U.P., 1968); *A bibliography of Roman agriculture* (Reading: Institute of Agricultural History, 1970): useful introduction, bibliography with comments on each item, includes material on related topics; *Farm equipment of the Roman world* (Cambridge: C.U.P., 1974).

¹⁰⁵ Michael GRANT, *Cities of Vesuvius: Pompeii and Herculaneum* (London: Weidenfeld, 1971) is a useful introduction.

¹⁰⁶ *Ostia* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1960, 2nd ed. 1974).

and France are to be sought for in the general publications from those countries; for Britain, there is an annual Classics list in the *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies*. For a quick *mise au point* on the year's books, it is hard to beat the thumb-nail reviews which appear under the heading "Brief Reviews: Roman history" in the six-monthly periodical *Greece and Rome*. The monthly (September-May) *Classical World* also brings its reviews out fast. For longer reviews in English, the most comprehensive journal in this area is the *Journal of Roman Studies*, which is also useful for lists of books received. The Canadian periodical *Phoenix*, which covers the whole field of classical studies, is well worth checking for reviews of books on Roman history. A full list of periodicals will be found at the beginning of any issue of *L'Année philologique*. A glance at the footnotes to this paper will give some idea of the range of journals which publish material on Roman social history: many of the most important articles appear in non-classical journals. The classicist, after a forced march to the stacks dedicated to sociology, political science, agriculture, technology, military history, comparative law or even social history, is seduced into reading adjacent articles or books. If scholars from kindred disciplines hunt the periodical *Phoenix* or occasionally engage in *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society*, let us hope they find the change as refreshing.