PAPERS
OF THE
BRITISH SCHOOL AT ROME

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ANAGNI: AN EXAMPLE OF MEDIEVAL TYPOLOGICAL DECORATION

(Plates I—IX)

...where the walls
Of Magnus Martyr hold
Inexplicable splendour...

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THE BRITISH SCHOOL AT ROME

Note: The following article was begun while I held the Rivoira and Rome Scholarships, and work on it was continued at Glasgow and Bristol Universities in connexion with study of the typological frescoes in the Collegiata at San Gimignano. Toesca’s long study of the frescoes at Anagni was published as long ago as 1902, and is not readily available. For this reason the opportunity of giving a general description was not to be neglected. This description is not the primary object of the present article and reference should therefore be made to Toesca’s article for a full discussion of a number of points not considered here.

I. Introduction

The practice of depicting the life of a locally celebrated saint within a typological scheme of decoration is of great antiquity. The old basilicas of S. Peter and S. Paul at Rome and other influential churches like Desiderius’ Monte Cassino have been destroyed and their decoration with them, but derivative schemes may still be studied at S. Piero a Grado, at S. Angelo in Formis, or in the frescoes and tapestries of the Sistine Chapel.

A variation of the Petrine-Pauline schemes can be seen at Florence where the patron of the city and of the church is celebrated in the mosaics of the dome of the Baptistery. Here four cycles are arranged in parallel—a Creation series, the story of Joseph, the life of Christ, and the life of the Baptist himself. Similarly the windows and walls of the basilica at Assisi show how the story of S. Francis is related to the familiar scenes from the Old and New Testaments; these Biblical scenes are arranged in the traditional Roman manner. Assisi has problems of its own too complex and controversial to attempt in this article but indications for such a study may be outlined by reference to Anagni. As at the Collegiata at San Gimignano and in so many other examples, typological thought is basic to the interpretation of the scheme as a whole.

Anagni, where the relics of S. Magnus rest within the central altar of the main crypt, is a key monument: nearly all the frescoes of the crypt survive. They illustrate a scheme based on the traditional typological method, but having several peculiarities necessitated by local architectural and theological requirements. We may however be certain that the decoration of the crypt represents orthodox theological thought as approved in the very highest circles, for of the cities near Rome connected with the Papacy and the Papal Court none was more important at this period than Anagni.

1 Acknowledgments.—I am particularly indebted to Professor Wormald; also to Dr. C. R. Dodwell; to the late Fr. Guy Ferrari; to the Librarians of the Warburg Institute, of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, and at Amiens. At Anagni Dom Aurelio Prosperi was both tolerant and helpful. G. D. B. Jones took the photographs and Adrian Coiley drew the plan.


3 A full study of the Collegiata is being prepared for presentation elsewhere. An important study which includes manuscript relationships is J. Wettstein: S. Angelo in Formis (Geneva, 1960). See too B. Smalley: The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages (2nd ed., 1952) for the literary context.

4 At Anagni Alexander III canonised Edward the Confessor, received the submission of Henry II after the death of Becket (who appears in the paintings of the inner crypt—see Appendix 2), and excommunicated Frederick II. For secularised use of typological methods at this period, see G. Kantorowicz: Frederick II (1958), p. 5, 45, 60. The
II. S. Magnus, Patron of Anagni

The patron saint of Anagni, like so many another local saint in Italy, is neither well-known nor well-authenticated. In outline his legend is as follows: S. Magnus was a Roman martyr whose body was originally venerated at Fondi, a city in Campania, not far from Terracina and the sea. When the Saracens invaded the Italian mainland the body was transferred to Veroli, north of Frosinone and further from the coast. But these precautions proved insufficient as the Saracens after destroying Fondi soon managed to capture Veroli. Indecorously the Saracens stabled their horses around the ‘area’ containing the body of the saint: in the morning the horses were found dead. The Saracen commander sensing something wrong sent emissaries who managed to sell the ‘area’ to the citizens of Anagni, a hill-top town about twenty kilometres further west. The citizens of Anagni went out to receive the relics and returned rejoining, witnessing miracles on the way.\(^6\)

This legend provided a basis for part of the scheme of decoration for the crypt where the ‘area’ still remains. The story of the saint and his ‘area’ is shown within the context of a specially devised typological scheme which is both novel and highly complex, although in its component parts quite orthodox. The proper appreciation of the scheme, as will be explained below, depends upon the five inter-related ways in which medieval theologians used and interpreted the word ‘area’.

III. The Architectural Setting

The cathedral at Anagni was built during the episcopacy of S. Peter, Bishop of Anagni, who died on 3 August 1105. It is interesting to note that it is reported in the Life of the saint\(^6\) that he went on pilgrimage to Jerusalem and returned to Anagni by way of Constantinople, Palermo and Salerno, the last place particularly

notorious treatment of Boniface VIII at Anagni is commemorated in a ‘typological’ manner by Dante:

Perche men in paia il futuro e il fatto,  
veggio in Alagna entrar le fiordaliso,  
e nel vicario suo Cristo esser catto.  
Veggio un'altra volta esser deriso,  
veggio rinnovellar l'aceto e il fele,  
e tra vivi ladroni esser anciso.  

Purg. xx, 85.

When Boniface was captured he quoted the opening of Job: T. Boase: *Boniface VIII* (1933), p. 348.


For the Saracens who managed to raid even Rome, see Toynbee and Ward-Perkins: *The Shrine of S. Peter* (1956), pp. 227–9; SS. Michele e Magno was built to commemorate the victims of this attack. Another removal of relics at the approach of the Saracens was that of the Magdalen from S. Maximin to Vexelay: *Acta Sanctorum*, July, tom. V, pp. 207–9; this legend was invented in the XI c. See Duchesne: *Annales du Midi V*, and *Fastes episcopaux I*, pp. 310 ff., quoted by E. Mâle: *La Fin du Paganisme en Gaule* (1950), p. 21.

famous for its medical school.\footnote{Although Salerno was sacked and destroyed in 1193, the reputation of Salernitan medicine was not eclipsed until long after the completion of the frescoes at Anagni. Of the several Salernitan medical manuscripts, mention may be made of the 'De quattuor humoribus ex quibus constat humanum corpus' (ed. S. Rienzi: Collectio Salernitana, vol. II, 1853) and the immensely popular 'Regimen sanitas salernitanum,' a compendium of Salernitan medicine and hygiene in Leonine verse, of which over 250 versions are known, in increasing size from the twelfth to the early seventeenth centuries (see G. Sarton: Introduction to the History of Science, vol. II, part I (Washington, 1931), p. 424).} Alterations were made to the church by Bishop Pandulp in about 1250, and it is to this date that the frescoes belong.

The church stands on a plinth of heavy masonry on the sloping top of the hill. Beyond the left aisle are a chapel, a balcony and the baptistery supported by vaults, corbelling and arches high above a fine piazza. At the entrance to the church (ecclesiastically 'the west end' though geographically the east) is another fine piazza, the highest point of the hill. Here rises a bold free-standing stone campanile.

The church has a Romanesque nave with a wooden roof and groin-vaulted aisles; the choir or bema has three apses and has been rib-vaulted. The choir with the high altar under a baldacchino is slightly raised; beneath this part of the church is the crypt or lower church.

The crypt is reached by flights of steps down from either aisle. Due to the slope of the hill the crypt is entirely above ground level, and to the left is several feet above the level of the piazza. The three apses of the crypt and the upper choir provide continuous features on the exterior of the church. The main body of the crypt is vaulted with twelve columns supporting rather flat domes, slightly groined, over semi-circular arches. The spatial arrangement is of three aisles across the width of the church. On the back wall of the crypt are two strong pilasters; these and two more on the opposite wall at either side of the main altar support the weight of the major piers of the vault above the high altar of the upper church.\footnote{For plans, measured drawings and photographs, see Architettura VI 5, September 1960, pp. 342 ff; and G. Matthiae: 'Fasi construttive della Cattedrale di Anagni' (Palladio 1942, pp. 41–48). See also L. Mortari: Il tesoro della cattedrale di Anagni (Rome, 1963). The original iconographers could have chosen to illustrate the crossing of the Ark into the Promised Land, for the crypt has twelve stone pillars: 'And Joshua set up twelve stones in the midst of Jordan, in the place where the feet of the priests which bare the ark of the covenant stood: and they are there till this day' (Josh. iv. 19). For these stones as relics in churches in the Holy Land and in France, see E. Male: La Fin du Paganisme en Gaule (1950), pp. 84 and 204.}

The floor of the crypt, together with the Bishop's cathedra, the Paschal candlestick and other choir furniture of the upper church, is of Cosmati work with dated inscriptions.\footnote{E. Hutton: The Cosmati (1950), pp. 51–2, and plates. See below, Section IV.}

IV. The Date of the Paintings

The dating of the frescoes to about 1250–1255, as proposed by Toesca, seems to be generally acceptable. The whole cathedral was thoroughly restored under Bishop Pandulp, as recorded by the inscription carved in a panel on the third pillar of the right arcade of the nave:

\[
\text{+PÄDULF\textsuperscript{3} - EPS FIERI - FECIT HOC - OPVS} \\
\text{ANN DNI. M. CC.L. PONT. DNI. - INNOC. IIII. PP. ANN. VIII}
\]
ANAGNI: EXAMPLE OF MEDIEVAL TYPOLOGICAL DECORATION

On the pilaster to the right of the main conch in the crypt, Toesca could make out the remains of an inscription, PA . . ., which might have been Pandulphus. Work of an architectural character in the crypt certainly dates from well before 1250; the Cosmatesque pavement had been laid in the time of Bishop Albertus, c. 1224, and bears the inscription, on the top step to the left of the main altar:

\[ \text{MAGR} \cdot \text{COSMAS CIVIS ROMANVS CV FILIIS SVIS LVCA} \]

\[ \text{ET IACOBO HOC OPVS FECIT} \]

The old altar of S. Magnus (now in the Cathedral Museum) has the inscription:

\[ \text{ANNO DOMINI MCCXXXI PER MANVS MAGISTER COSME} \]

\[ \text{CIVIS ROMANVS FVIT AMOTVM ALTARE} \]

On the wall of bay IV is a tablet with a long inscription:

\[ +\text{ANNO DNI M-CCCC-XXX-I-XI-DIE EXEVLNTE APLIS} \]

\[ \text{PONT DNI GG VIII P-P-ANN EP-V-VEN ALBERTO} \]

\[ \text{EPO RESIDENTE I ECC ANAG P MAN' MAGRI COS} \]

\[ \text{ME CIVIS ROMANI FVIT AMOTV ALTARE} \]

\[ \text{GLORIOSISSIMI MART V\text{PRESVLIS MAGNI IN}} \]

\[ \text{FRA QVOD FVIT I VETVM IQDAM PILO} \]

\[ \text{MARMOREO RVDI PRETIO\text{SV CORP' IP}I MART} \]

\[ \text{Q KL MAII SEQNTI' TOTI P-P PVBLICE OS} \]

\[ \text{TENSO-EODE DIE CV YMPNI' ET LAVDIB' IEO} \]

\[ \text{DE PILO SVB ALTARI I HOC ORATORIO I} \]

\[ \text{IP}I' \text{HONORE CEDITO PFVNDIT E RECON} \]

\[ \text{DITVM CVM HONORE} \]

I am indebted to Miss Joyce Reynolds for the following expansion and translation:

\[ \text{Anno d(omi)n(i) m(illesim)o (ducentesim)o (tricesim)o (uno) (undecimo) die exaeunte Ap(ri)lis} \]

\[ \text{Pont(ificus) d(omi)n(i) G(reeko)g(ori) (noni) P(a)p(ae) ann(o) ei(us)} \]

\[ \text{(quinto) ven(erabil)i Alberto} \]

\[ \text{ep(iscop)o residente i(n) ecc(lesia) Anag(nensi) P(er) man(us)} \]

\[ \text{Mag(istri) Cos} \]

\[ m(a)e c\text{ivis Romani fuit amotu(m) altare} \]
5 gloriosissimi mart(yris) pr(a)esulis Magni in
fra quod fuit i(n)ue(n)tum i(n) g(u)odam pilo
marmoreo rudi pretiosu(m) corp(us) Ip(olit)i mart(yris)
g(u)o k(a)l(endis) Maii(s) sec(ue)nti(bus) toti pop(ulo) publice os
tenso eode(m) die cu(m) ypni(s) et laudib(us) i(n) eo
10 de(m) pilo sub altari i(n) hoc oratorio i(n)
Ip(olit)i honore c(on)dito p(fundito est) recon
ditum cum honore

In the year of our Lord 1231, on the 20th day of April, in the fifth year of
the papacy of the Lord Pontifex Gregory IX, when the venerable Albert,
bishop, was resident (officiating) in the church of Anagni, the altar of the
glorious martyr, bishop Magnus, was moved by the hands of Master Cosmas,
citizen of Rome, and below it was found, in a certain rough marble sarcophagus,
the precious body of the martyr Ipolitus. On May 1st following,
this was displayed publicly to the whole people and on the same day, with
hymns and praises, was completely (?) and honourably reburied in the
same sarcophagus below the altar in this oratory which was established in
honour of Ipolitus.

A fuller discussion of the artists responsible for the scheme is to be found in
Appendix I. Toesca attempted to identify one of them with the ‘Frater Romanus’
who worked at Subiaco in 1228; this exact identification has not always been
accepted although the stylistic links are not in dispute. The work of another artist,
the ‘Master of the Translations’, has been identified in manuscript illuminations
dateable to the same period. It is generally agreed that the frescoes had been
completed before the dedication of the crypt in 1255.

V. The Iconography of the Scheme

In the following sections an indication is given of the content of the scheme
as a whole. There are many inscriptions, indicated by the use of CAPITAL
LETTERS, so that there is little difficulty in identifying the subject matter of the
scenes.¹⁰

The interpretation of the individual parts of the scheme does not consist only
in the literal identification of the subject matter, although Toesca does little more
than this. While indications of typological and other interpretations will be given
with the descriptions of the scenes individually, the interpretation of the scheme as
a whole will be considered in the following section.

The scheme can be considered in six groups, (a) two bays of introductory
material, (b) various symbols of the Old and New Testaments, (c) Old Testament
scenes, constituting a series of types, (d) the Apocalypse, (e) hagiographical cycles,
devoted in particular to S. Magnus, and (f) various standing saints. In the present

¹⁰ Toesca’s numbering of the bays has been retained, as this should prevent confusion when
reference is made to the paper by Garrison quoted
below; it would be better if the middle aisle were
numbered like the outer ones, from left to right.
I must acknowledge the constant help of Pro-
fessor Wormald in suggesting several emendations
in the recording of the inscriptions.
section some references will be made to the stylistic characters of the work of the three main artists working in the crypt; further attention is given to this aspect of the paintings in an appendix. For the location of the individual paintings, see fig. 1.

(a) Introductory Scenes: Man’s Place in Nature

The paintings of the first two bays at the entrance to the crypt are most important visual statements of the traditional theories of man’s place in the created world. As shown in these paintings man’s constitution and health are affected by the influence of the Zodiac and by the proportions of the Four Elements in his body. Such ideas were gradually developed through the Middle Ages, and can be traced back to the works attributed to Hippocrates the Father of Medicine (V–IVth century B.C.) and to Galen (IInd century A.D.). The latter based much of his pathological reasoning on the humoral theories of Hippocrates, according to which certain diseases were caused by the excess of one or more of the Four Humours, blood, phlegm, black bile or yellow bile. The theory was known in the Latin West particularly through its treatment in Plato’s Timaeus in which the idea of the Microcosm and Macrocosm is propounded. The Timaeus had been made known through the commentary of Poseidonios, and especially through the translation and commentary by Chalcidius (IVth century A.D.). Of the several medieval transmitters of this material quite the most important were Isidore of Seville and Honorius of Autun.11

Bay I. The Zodiac. A great part of the plaster of the first vault has fallen away, and the walls also have suffered very badly; sufficient remains to enable us to distinguish only the outlines of the iconography.

The vault has a diagram of several concentric circles, divided radially into twelve sectors. In the outer zone are gold stars on a white ground: of the zodiacal signs there remains a nude figure with a pitcher: AQVARIVS, and it is still possible


For the intellectual climate, see C. H. Haskins: Studies in the History of Medieval Science (Harvard, 1924), esp. Chapter V.

See also, e.g. Isidore: Etymologyarium, MPL 82, esp. Lib. IV: De medicina, cols. 183 ff.; compare the same author’s Quaestiones in vet. test: In Regnum Primum, MPL 83, cols. 393–7; and Liber numerorum qui in sanctis scripturis occurunt, MPL 83, cols. 179 ff.

Fig. 1.—Schematic Diagram of the Crypt, Showing the Positions of the Main Paintings.
to distinguish parts of the figures representing the signs of Pisces, Leo, Cancer and Virgo.

In the lunette over the doorway in this first bay are traces of various figures: two old men seated; in the centre another figure, perhaps haloed, and to the left two sages or philosophers on bejewelled thrones, wearing tall headgear. One of these holds a scroll, and the other a book with the word ...MENS-VS... On the red border above was discernable ...omNIA PARANT..., and beneath the scene ...evenTA FVTVR1.

Professor Wormald has published12 a drawing which shows the mathematicians Euclid and Herman, wearing conical hats, enthroned and engaged in dialogue as they observe the stars in the heavens: the figures in this first bay at Anagni are likely to have been mathematician-astrologers, or philosophers, fulfilling a role similar to that played in the next bay by Galen and Hippocrates.

Lower on the wall, immediately by the sides of the entrance are two standing figures, which should probably be counted among the number of standing saints: these are described below.

It seems possible that the frescoes of this opening bay of the scheme were of subjects similar to those traditionally found at the opening of a cycle of church decoration: they represent material that could otherwise appear in terms of the Creation cycle as in the mosaics of Monreale or in the frescoes of Campo Santo at Pisa, where the Universe is shown as a great disk of concentric circles.13

The soffit of the arch to the right, leading into bay II, is painted with a frieze of the sea with fishes, a dolphin, fishermen and a figure with a trident. As at Galliano this marine frieze constitutes the boundary of the visible firmament and separates it from the heavens above.14

Bay II. Man's Situation. Man's place in nature is shown diagrammatically on the vault of the second bay; the complex doctrines of man's physical nature are further illustrated on the adjoining wall at the back of the crypt.

The vault is marked out into seven concentric circles which are subdivided into quadrants. In the centre of the vault and of the concentric circles is the naked figure of a man named H.O.M.O. Around this figure, along the rim of the innermost circle can be read

MIKROKOSMVS ID EST MINOR MVNDVS.


The Pisan frescoes are discussed in P. Bucci: Campo Santo Monumentale di Pisa (Pisa, 1960); at the bottom of the fresco are S. Augustine and S. Thomas Aquinas, the divine philosophers.


In the next zone the division into quadrants is clearly indicated. In each quadrant is shown one of the Four Ages of Man with the appropriate Humour indicated both by its name and by its colour:

i  PVERITIA  the head of a child  
SANGVIS  coloured red  

ii  ADOLESCENTIA  the head of a youth  
COLERA RVBRA  orange  

iii  IVVENTVS  the head of a man  
MELANCHOLIA  red  

iv  SENECTVS  a bearded head  
phlegMA  dark  

These sections are to be read in a clockwise direction beginning at the right shoulder of the central figure of the man; the heads representing the Ages are in circles and face outwards from the centre of the diagram but the inscriptions are all to be read from the centre of the vault. This is the practice followed in all the vaults. The inscription which encircles the fourth of the seven zones is now far from legible:

...VM... SIC... DEM FORTANT... ELEMENTA.

The fifth concentric zone is blank and coloured blue. The quadrants of the sixth circle have inscriptions which relate the Four Seasons of the Year to the Four Ages of Man. These are in succession:

childhood: VER HVMIDVM ET CALIDVM  
youth  : ESTAS CALIDA ET SICCA  
manhood  : AVTVMNVS FRIGIDVS ET SICCVS  
old age  : HIEMS FRIGIDA ET HVMIDA

In the seventh and outermost zone the Seasons of the Year and the Ages of Man are related to the appropriate elements:

Childhood and Spring:  
AER CALIDVS ET HVMIDVS

Youth and Summer:  
IGNIS CALIDVS ET SICCVS

Manhood and Autumn:  
TERRA FRIGIDA ET SICCA

Old Age and Winter:  
AQVA FRIGIDA ET HVMIDA
Around the arches which support the vault is a final inscription:

MATERIES RERVM SVNT QUATVOR ELEMENTA
DESE...EO...EN...
DE QVO PLVS ET INEST COMPLEXIO DICITVR HVIVS
ETAS VVLTVS HVMOR MVTANTVR TEMPORE CVIVS.

The thoughts expressed visually in this diagram reappear frequently in the art of the Middle Ages.\(^{15}\) They are further amplified in a complex diagram painted below the vault on the face of the bold pilaster on the back wall of the bay. In this diagram are shown the numerical values of the Four Humours, the way in which they can be interrelated by their sympathies and contrarieties, and the different types of person produced by the mixture of the Humours (pl. I).

IGNIS has the value XXVII
AER XVIII
AqVA XII
TERRA VIII

The Four Elements are arranged with their numerical values in four large circles one above the other; to the right are six smaller circles with the titles, reading from the top,

ACTVS, SVBTLIS, MOBILIS, OBTusa, CORPVLENTA, IMMOBILIS.
The four larger circles are linked by straight lines to the smaller ones when apposite; for instance Ignis is linked to Actus, Subtilis and Mobilis. Curved lines marked CONTRARIA indicate the contrasts.

A full explanation of this strange piece of church decoration is to be found in Chalcidius’ Commentary on the Timaeus:

‘Sunt igitur tam ignis quam terrae multae quidem et aliae proprietates, sed quae vel maxime vim earum proprietatemque declarent, nimirum haec: ignis quidam acumen, quod est acutus et penetrans, deinde quod est tener et delicata quadam substantia, tum quod est mobilis et semper in motu, terrae vero (obtusitas), quod est retunsa, quod corpulenta, quod semper immobils. Hae vero naturae licet sint contrariae, habent tamen aliquid ex ipsa contrarietate parilitatem—tam enim similis similibus quam dissimilia dissimilibus comparantur—et haec est analogia, id est ratio continuó competentis: quod enim est acumen adversum obtusitatem, hoc subtillitas iuxta corpulentiam, et quod subtillitas iuxta corpulentiam hoc mobilitas adversus immobilitatem et si vereris, ut id quod medium est extimum fiat, quae vero sunt extima singillatim in medio locentur, servabitur analogiae norma.

Quatenus igitur inter haec duo solida corpora, quorum est talis similitudo qualem demonstravimus, alia duo solida interiecta faciant continuationem iuxta rationem continui competentis, docet arithmetica disciplina. Si enim vicinum igni elementum quod sit et ex quibus conflatum voluerimus inquirere, sumemus ignis

---

\(^{15}\) The whole scheme of this vault can be compared with the table set out in J. Szczec: The Survival of the Pagan Gods (1953), p. 47; at Anagni the Four Humours are coloured red, orange, red and dark, instead of red, yellow, black and white. Szczec discusses the Microcosm and Macrocosm on p. 49.
quidem de proximo duas virtutes, subtilitatem et mobilitatem, unam vero terrae idest obtunsitatem, et invenietur genitura secundi elementi, quod est subter ignem, id est aeris; est enim aer obtunsis, subtilis, mobilis. Rursumque si eius elementi quod est vicinum terrae, id est aquae, genituram consideremus, sumemus duas quidem terrae virtutes, id est obtunsitatem et corpulentiam, unam vero ignem, id est motum, et exorietur aquae substantia, quae est corpus obtunsam corpulentum mobile. Atque ita inter ignem et terram aer et aqua de extimorum concretionis nascentur, ex quibus constat mundi continuatio. Conservatur autem hoc pacto analogia quoque geometrica iuxta rationem continui competentis; ut enim ignis adversum aera, sic aer adversum aquam et demum aqua iuxta terram, retrorsumque ut terra adversum aquam, sic aqua adversum aera et aer adversus ignem.\textsuperscript{16}

The way in which such material might be disseminated in manuscript form is indicated by the survival of a small manuscript, now Ms 482 in the library of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge. This is a copy with many diagrams of a Tractarius Quaternario, dating from about 1100. Although the relationship with the Anagni frescoes of these opening bays is general rather than particular the following principles are common to both: the interaction of the Zodiac with the Four Ages of Man and with the Four Humours, which have numerical values; and the presentation of these ideas in diagrammatic form. Many of the diagrams are in circular form, with descriptive inscriptions and encircled by explanatory verses. There is, however, no exact correspondence in the form or content of the diagrams. At Anagni a mass of material is presented very compactly in two bays: in the manuscript similar material is treated at greater length and expounded stage by stage. Perhaps the most interesting comparison is with the diagram on f.22 of the volume, which shows a pair of gesticulating philosophers at their books, seated below a circular disc showing the four points of the compass.\textsuperscript{17} At Anagni in bay I the fragmentary remains of philosophers have already been described; in bay II the philosophers have fortunately been preserved and are perhaps the best known part of the whole fresco cycle.

On the wall below the vault of Man as a Microcosm and to the right of the pilaster which provides a diagram of the inter-action of the Four Elements are shown the two great masters of ancient medicine, Galen and Hippocrates (pl. I). On the left seated at his desk is GALIENVS; pen in hand he points at his open book on which is written

\begin{center}
MVNDI PRESENTIS SERIES MANET EX ELEMENTIS.
\end{center}

Opposite Galen is the gesticulating IPOCRAS seated at his desk with medicine jars behind him. On his book is written

\begin{center}
EX HIS FORMANTVR QVAE SVNT QVAECVMQVE CHREANTVR.
\end{center}

On the red border below the scene is a final inscription:

...ATRVS MAGNIS DANT DOGMA SALVTIS.

This fresco has frequently been photographed and published and the boldness of the colour is well-known. But it has been published out of context as a lone painting on a flat wall. As one stands in the crypt the visual unity between the subjects of the vault and the adjoining walls is complete and satisfying.

This scene, more than any other in the crypt, offers some of the pleasures of genre painting. Hippocrates wears a gown of vair, fashionable at this period in the court at Westminster, and sits in a chair made of turned wood, a more elegant version of the same sort of chair as is still preserved in Hereford Cathedral. Galen's stool is of the sort constructed on the scissors principle with the outer struts ending in lions' masks. Both figures rest their feet on footstools of inlaid wood. Spare pens are stuck upright on their desks. The two figures are set on a green ground, on which also are set their medicine jars. A feeling of space is created, not by perspective, but by an inner 'lunette' of blue. At the left the lion mask of Galen's stool overlaps from the blue to the green, and at the top of the scene a semi-circle of reddish-brown hangs down from the upper border, over the green and into the blue area. This half disc may perhaps signify the sky; a similar feature, a blue disc sprinkled with stars, is set in the gold ground of the mosaic of the Miracle of the Quails in the north narthex of S. Marco at Venice.\(^\text{18}\)

The artist responsible for this scene has been identified by the name of the Master of the Translations. The characteristic ways in which he outlines his faces, particularly at the ears, and the modelling of the folds at the knees will be encountered again in other parts of the cycle.

The zodiacal and allied scenes at Anagni are positioned at the entrance to the crypt; this is a practice frequently encountered at the sculptured entrances of North Italian and Burgundian Romanesque churches.\(^\text{19}\)

\((b)\) Symbols of the Old and New Testaments

The opening of the scheme of decoration in bays I and II may be considered as filling the function of a Creation cycle in a more normal typological scheme. At Anagni the next bays to be dealt with contain symbols of the Old and New

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\(^{18}\) Clearly the gold background of a mosaic is not intended to represent the heavens; see for example the starry centre of the Ascension cupola at S. Marco, Venice, and the Joseph domes in the narthex. The reddish half-disc at Anagni may represent the decorative use of a misunderstood feature or may prove to be only the underpainting for a brighter blue. In any case, blue is not used by the Anagni painters to represent the sky, for regularly the green 'ground' encircles, surrounds and encloses it. For this reason the Hand of God and the bust of Christ in vault IX are shown encircled by clouds. (Photos of the Venetian mosaics may be found in O. Demus: Byzantine Mosaic Decoration (1947), p. 10a, with other examples of the same practice including some in Norman Sicily. Compare too the starred mandorla around Christ in the Anastasis against a blue background in the parecclesion at Kariye Camii.)

\(^{19}\) Compare, for instance, Piacenza of c. 1125; see D. M. Robb: 'Niccolo, a North Italian Sculptor of the XII century', Art Bulletin II (1930), p. 374 ff.; and D. Grivot and G. Zarnecki: Gislebertus of Autun: the Zodiac and Labours of the Month surround the Apocalypse, and a similar arrangement appears at Vézelay, which is also based on the now destroyed tympanum of Cluny. But compare Grivot and Zarnecki, note 3, p. 149: 'there is no reason to suppose that Honorius of Autun had ever been to Autun'. For a discussion of the identity of Honorius 'of Autun', see R. W. Southern: S. Anselm and his Biographer (1963), pp. 209–17, where it is suggested that Honorius was probably an Irishman.
Testaments; these are not very consistently arranged and little logic is discernible in the positioning of these relatively minor, non-cyclical subjects.

Bay III. *Tetramorphs.* The vault of bay III is divided by a bold floreate cross with a rundel in the centre; in each of the four quarters of the vault is an extremely decorative tetramorph—the winged hybrid covered with eyes, having the face of a man, the heads of an ox and a lion, and the complete eagle—symbolic of the four Evangelists and their Gospels. This vault may be symbolic of the Evangelists either solely in distinction and contrast to the Prophets in vault VII, or there may be an extension of the imagery of the Four Evangelists shown symbolically one by one around the vision of the Lamb in the Apocalyptic series described below.\(^{20}\)

Not the least effective feature of the design of the vault is the way in which the four Tetramorphs fill the four-square division of the vault, at the same time spreading their wings and hands beyond the whole series of borders.

Bay VII. (pl. II) *The Prophets.* Four Prophets, symbolic of the Old Testament and perhaps complementary to the Tetramorphs symbolising the New Testament, are shown in the vault of bay VII, the last in the back row of the crypt and at the alternative entrance.

The vault is divided by a large floreate cross; in the centre and emphasising the message of the prophets is a disk or medallion with the representation of the Agnus Dei holding a cross. In each of the four quarters of the vault is the bust of one of the greater prophets of Christ, each holding a scroll. Contractions in the inscriptions have been expanded:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prophet</th>
<th>Inscription</th>
<th>Passage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ISAIA</td>
<td>ECCE VIRGO IN VTERO CONCIPIET ET PARVET FILIVM</td>
<td>(Is. vi. 14)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DAVIT</td>
<td>MATER SION DICET HOMO FACTVS EST IN EA ET IPSE FVNDAVIT EAM IN ALTISSIMVS</td>
<td>(Ps. lxxxvii. 5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SALOMONIS</td>
<td>ECCE ISTE VENIT SALIENS IN MONTIBVS TRANSILIENS COLLES</td>
<td>(Song ii. 8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DANIEL</td>
<td>CVM VENERIT SANCTVS SANCTORVM</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The last prophecy attributed to Daniel does not appear in the text of the Vulgate but comes from a Pseudo-Augustine Sermon, *Contra Judaeos, Paganos et Arianos.* . . . In full the quotation reads 'Dic Sanctus Daniel, dic de Christo quod nostri. Cum venerit, Sanctus Sanctorum, cessabit unctio'. It appears quite frequently in Romanesque art, for instance on Lombard *portal* sculpture at Cremona and Ferrara; the position of the prophets at Anagni is by the right-hand *entrance*, balancing

\(^{20}\) Tetramorphs from Rev. iv, 6–8.
the zodiacal signs at the left door. On the wall below the prophecies is a fresco of the Virgin and Child which is described below, p. 31.

**Bays IV, VIII, XV, XVI. The Person of Christ.** The Person of Christ is referred to in three vaults of the crypt, and the Holy Ghost in another. In vault IV next to that with the Tetramorphs are shown Four Angels supporting a central medallion enclosing a decorated Latin cross. This vault is the central one in the back row of the crypt and is best considered as a continuation of the subject of the fresco on the back wall. This shows the Pantocrator enthroned with standing saints (described below); wall and vault together form an emphatic feature at the back of the crypt, immediately opposite the bishop as he sits in his cathedra behind the main altar of the crypt. The frescoes of the vaults over the altar showing the Apocalypse similarly provide an east-to-west emphasis in a scheme in which the main typological series reads across the width of the crypt.

Vault VIII, next to that of the Prophets, is divided by a diagonal cross; in each of the triangles of the vault is a bust of an angel with outstretched hands. In the centre of the cross is a medallion with the sacred monogram Chi-Rho and the letters A and W. This vault may have been related to the original fresco in the adjoining apse in the way that vault and wall are related in bay IV. But the conch above the altar in bay VIII now contains a later fresco of S. Peter of Anagni (described below); on the opposite side of the crypt in bay XIV all the frescoes have been lost.

Vault XV shows a bust of Christ blessing, a book in His hand; around the central circular madorla are four square panels, each with a symbol of an Evangelist. In general design this is one of the least satisfying vaults though the individual elements, particularly the faces of Christ and of the angel of S. Matthew, are finely executed.

In the adjoining vault XVI is shown the symbol of the Holy Ghost, a haloed Dove on an altar or arca, in a roundel supported by four angels. This has previously been wrongly described as the Agnus Dei.

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For Cremona see G. H. Crichton: *Romanesque Sculpture in Italy* (1954), pp. 18 and 23; the other prophets at Cremona besides Daniel are Jeremiah, Ezekiel and Isaiah; for Ferrara, see D. M. Robb: ‘Nicolò . . .’, *Art Bulletin* II (1930), p. 394.

22 The Dove on an altar or throne is symbolic of the Holy Ghost in dome mosaics of Pentecost; see Hosios Lukas (E. Díez and O. Demus: *Byzantine Mosaics in Greece* (Harvard, 1931), pls. V and XV, and fig. 7; and for a detail of the Dove, see A. Procopioui: *The Macedonian Question in Byzantine Painting* (Athens, 1962), pl. 28. Compare the Pentecost dome of S. Marco, Venice; see O. Demus: *Byzantine Mosaic Decoration* (1947–8), pl. 8. The iconography of these domes is probably to be traced back to the IX–Xc. Pentecost dome in the south gallery of S. Sophia, Istanbul; see G. Mango: *Materials for the Study of the Mosaics in S. Sophia* (Dumbarton Oaks, 1962), p. 35. The Old Testament Ark of the Covenant is a type of the New Testament Throne: both Ark and Throne are the place of God’s presence.

Comparison should also be made with the Dove on the Altar and the Seven Gifts of the Holy Spirit in Amiens: Ms. Escalopier 2, f. 19 bis. (V. Leroquis: *Les Psaumiers manuscrits latins* (1940–1941), vol. I, pp. 16–19). After the Calendar (which includes S. Magnus) are instructions for the Fixing of Easter and Concerning Embolism; on f. XVIII are two circular diagrams, one relating the Four Winds to the Points of the Compass, and the other relating the Four Elements to their qualities e.g. Terra: sicca frigida, Ignea: calidus siccus. There seems to have been manuscript influence on this part of the Anagni frescoes. For the Master of the Translations as a manuscript artist, see Appendix I, below.
The Old Testament Series

A major series of continuous narrative, the story of the loss and recovery of the Ark of the Israelites, was chosen as the main Old Testament element of the scheme. As will be explained below the story is to be interpreted typologically with reference in particular to the legend of the loss and recovery of the *area* containing the relics of S. Magnus.

The complete story of the Ark of the Israelites is uncommon in medieval art as a whole although the narrative is well-known through the use of single episodes in conjunction with a continuous Gospel narrative, as in such works at the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis* or the *Biblia Pauperum*. The complete narrative is to be found in I Samuel ii–x; it is full of dramatic incidents the moral of which is straightforward and of particular relevance to the citizens of Anagni who now guard the relics of S. Magnus in their cathedral.

The Biblical narrative falls neatly into separate episodes which are fitted into the vaults of the crypt. Sometimes a continuous episode such as a procession or battle is shown encircling the vault. Or related parts of the same sequence can be shown in four sections either per saltire or quarterly, often separated by a floreate cross with a central medallion containing a visual reference to the typological meaning of the episode. The greater part of the story is fitted into the vaults of the middle aisle across the width of the crypt, but two parts at the very end of the story are fitted into the back aisle. There are a further pair of Old Testament scenes in the front aisle. These irregularities provoke again the suspicion that the preliminary planning of the cycle was not very precise.

The frescoes of bay XIV have not survived; if the vault was not decorated with a subject related to the adjoining conch an alternative suggestion would be that it might have contained any of the following episodes: the birth of Samuel, his ministry before the Lord or the sacriligious behaviour of Hophni and Phinehas.

The narrative now begins in vault XIII; in this vault and in others where appropriate the separate episodes are distinguished in order: i, ii, iii, iv.

**Vault XIII.** *The Capture of the Ark* (pl. III). The narrative is taken from I Sam. iv.–v. 2. It shows the events which followed the defeat of the Israelites at the first battle of Aphek and the fulfilment of the prophecy of fate awaiting the unworthy priests, Hophni and Phinehas (I Sam. ii. 34). There are four episodes shown in a circle round the vault, with a star-feature at the centre. The inscriptions for the second and fourth episodes have been lost.

(i) After their first defeat the Israelites sent to Silo for the Ark of Covenant, *area foederis Dei*; but as shown in the vault, once again the Philistines were victorious and captured the ARCA DEI. The main inscription on the side of the supporting arch is damaged:

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PERDITVR ARCA DEI . . . TIMOR . . .
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I Sam. iv. 10–11: ‘And the Philistines fought and Israel was smitten . . . and the ark of God was taken, and the two sons of Eli, Hophni and Phinehas were slain.’
(ii) The Philistines are here shown beheading OBNI and FINEES in front of the captured Ark (pl. III).

I Sam. iv. 12–18: ‘And there ran a man of Benjamin out of the army and came to Shiloh ... and the man said to Eli ... Israel is fled before the Philistines and there hath been also a great slaughter among the people, and thy two sons also, Hophni and Phinehas are dead, and the ark of God is taken. And it came to pass, when he made mention of the ark of God that he fell from off the seat backward by the side of the gate, and his neck brake, and he died; for he was an old man and heavy.’

(iii) A man of Benjamin is shown running to tell ELI SACERDOS, who is at the gate of SILO: at the news he falls and breaks his neck:

ISTVD VT AVDIVIT TVNC ELI SIC ET OBITVIT.

(iv) In the final episode of this part of the story, the Philistines are shown taking the Ark back to AZOTVM (Ashdod) where they place it in their temple next to the statue of their god, +DAGON DEVS (I Sam. v. 2.).

This vault was painted by the same artist as worked in the adjoining bay with Man as a Microcosm and with Galen, and in the bay adjoining with the Zodiac. He has been called the Master of the Translations, a name taken from frescoes described below.

Vault XII. The Ark causes Plague (pl. IX). The narrative is continued across the width of the crypt with the present vault showing the four cities of the Philistines, one in each quarter of the vault, separated by a floreate cross with a central medallion. The painter of this vault is known as the Ornate Master: the effect of this vault is aesthetically very different from that of the one just described.

I Sam. v. 3–9: ‘And when they of Ashdod arose early on the morrow, behold, Dagon was fallen upon his face to the earth before the ark of the Lord. And they took Dagon and set him on his place again. And when they arose early on the morrow morning, behold, Dagon was fallen upon his face to the ground, before the ark of the Lord; and the head of Dagon and both the palms of his hands were cut off upon the threshold; only the stump of Dagon was left to him. Therefore neither the priest of Dagon, nor any that come into Dagon’s house tread on the threshold of Dagon in Ashdod unto this day. But the hand of the Lord was heavy upon them of Ashdod, and he destroyed them, and smote them with emerods, even Ashdod and the coasts thereof.’

(i) At AZOTVM the idol of Dagon is shown falling from its pedestal and breaking into pieces while the citizens lament the first deaths from plague. This episode is the most familiar of the whole narrative being regularly used as a type of the fall of the idols of Aphrodiasis (Pseudo–Matt. xxxiii) when the Holy Family rested in their temple. That the painters at Anagni intended a Mariological interpretation of this scene is not left in any doubt: in the centre of the vault in the large medallion is the crowned bust of the Madonna Orante; this, with other Mariological references in the scheme, is further discussed below, pp. 35–6 (pl. IX).
(ii) I Sam. v. 8: ‘(The men of Ashdod) sent therefore and gathered all the lords of the Philistines unto them, and said, What shall we do with the ark of the God of Israel? And they answered, Let the ark of the God of Israel be carried about unto Gath. And they carried the ark of the God of Israel about thither.’

The removal of the ark from Ashdod is not illustrated; but the men of GAZA (Gath) are shown in their sufferings,—a droll piece of painting.

I Sam. v. 9: ‘And it was so, that, after they had carried it about, the hand of the Lord was against the city with a very great destruction: and he smote the men of the city, both small and great, and they had emerods in their secret parts.’

(iii) In the third quarter, diagonally opposite the second, is shown the city of ACCARON (Ekron), where the plague has spread with the removal of the ark into that city, as the citizens had feared would happen (I Sam. v. 10–12).

In despair the Philistines sought the advice of priests and diviners who advised that it would be necessary to make trespass offerings to return with the ark of the God of Israel. The painter has depicted a priest standing in Ekron holding a scroll with the instructions

**FACITE V MVRES AVREOS ET CE.**

I Sam. vi. 4: ‘Then said they, What shall be the trespass offering which we shall return to Him? They answered, Five golden emerods and five golden mice, according to the number of the lords of the Philistines: for one plague was on you all and on your lords.’

In the foreground of the scene a smith is seen working at his anvil.

(iv) In the last quarter of the vault are depicted the citizens of ASCALON peering over the walls of the city, watching the smiths at work. Two are at the anvil, the third holds up for admiration a model of a golden mouse of unnatural size, meanwhile soothing with his hand the plague in his hinder parts.

**Vault XI. The Return of the Ark.** The Ark was returned by the Philistines to the Israelites, being placed on a cart drawn by two milch kine which ‘took the straight way to the way of Beth-shemesh, and went along the highway, lowing as they went, and turned not aside to the right hand or to the left’. With the Ark were sent the coffer with the golden mice and the images of the emerods (I Sam. vi. 10–18). This episode is shown in a continuous movement encircling the vault without any subdivisions, from the city of AZOTVM towards the Israelites at BESAMIS where the cattle are offered in sacrifice. In the centre of the vault is a foliate feature; although the vault is not otherwise divided the general style is that of the previous vault. The Ornate Master was also responsible for the Tetramorphs and Angels.

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23 The last word might be CEphrases. For a recent discussion of the symptoms and causes of the plague, see J. F. D. Shrewsbury: The Plague of the Philistines (1964). Compare the painting in the Louvre of the Plague of Ashdod by Poussin, for which a bibliography can be found in the Catalogue of the Poussin Exhibition (1960), no. 23; and see also O. Neustatter: ‘Mice in Plague Pictures’, Jnl. of the Walker Art Gallery, IV (1941), p. 105.
in the adjoining bays (III and IV) and for the frescoes, yet to be described, on the walls below them. The architectural style of his cities is distinctive, and the appropriateness of his 'name' can be judged from the wealth of flowers sprinkled over the ground.

**Vault X. The Ark at Beth-Shemesh.** The narrative in the next vault falls into four linked episodes divided one from the other by a fine floreate cross with recurved sides and pointed ends; the centre of the cross is of the 'dome of heaven' pattern.

(i) In the first quarter the Ark is shown at the CIVITAS BETHANIENTIVN. I Sam. vi. 19–20: 'And he smote the men of Beth-shemesh, because they had looked into the ark of the Lord, even he smote of the people fifty thousand and three score and ten men: and the people lamented, because the Lord had smitten many of the people with a great slaughter. And the men of Beth-shemesh said, Who is able to stand before this holy Lord God? and to whom shall he go up from us?'

To the right is depicted a group of five sufferers of the plague and to the left one man stretching up to the Ark and another with a scroll:

**QVIS POTERIS STARE Î CONSPECTV DNÌ.**

(ii) I Sam. vi. 21: 'And they sent messengers to the inhabitants of Kirjath-jearim, saying, The Philistines have brought again the ark of the Lord; come ye down, and fetch it up to you.'

The messengers are shown, in the next quarter, outside the walls of CIVITAS CARIATHERIM; a young man leading the group from Beth-shemesh holds up his scroll, pointing at the inscription:

**ARCA DNÌ DESCÉDITE 7 DVCITE EA AD VOS.**

(iii) I Sam. vii. 1: 'And the men of Kirjath-Jearim came, and fetched up the ark of the Lord, and brought it into the house of Abinadab in the hill, and sanctified Eleazar his son to keep the ark of the Lord.'

On the border of the central cross above the scene is written

**ARCA DOMINI DESCENDITE.**

The scene shows four young men helping to transport the Ark; the one in the rear is at a lower level as if to suggest movement up a hill. In front of the Ark a young man, perhaps Eleazar, and a bearded man, Abinadab with a scroll:

**REDVCAM' EA I DOMV ABANAB.**

(iv) In the last part of this vault the Ark is shown resting in the DOMVS AMNADAB, adored by a woman and by Abinadab.

The genealogy at the opening of S. Matthew indicated that Abinadab is one of the ancestors of the Virgin and in these episodes is to be considered as her type-figure.

The design of this vault is particularly attractive: while the central cross provides a strong unifying feature the grace and elegance with which the architectural
settings and various groups of figures and individuals is the work of a considerable artist. He has invented designs which fill with animated narrative the rather extraordinary spaces available. One is reminded of the elegance of figures poised within the interlocking frameworks found in Opus Anglicanum. The artist has been titled the Anagni Master.

**Vault IX.** _Israel Returns to the Lord_ (pl. IV). The final return of Israel to the Lord and their deliverance from the Philistines is shown in three vaults of which the hero is Samuel, the faithful son of Eli—a contrast to Hopni and Phinehas.

The surface of vault IX is divided quarterly by a fine floreate cross with a quatrefoil at the centre. The four episodes show the destruction of the idols and the return of Israel to the Lord, to be followed by the expulsion of the Philistines shown in the next vault. Vault IX is the second of the four vaults by the Anagni Master.

(i) I Sam. vii. 2–3: 'And it came to pass, while the ark abode in Kirjath-jearim, that the time was long; for it was twenty years; and all the house of Israel lamented after the Lord.

And Samuel spake unto all the house of Israel, saying, If ye do return unto the Lord with all your hearts, then put away the strange gods and Ashtaroth from among you, and prepare your hearts unto the Lord, and serve him only: and he will deliver you out of the hand of the Philistines.'

In the painting SAMVEL is shown with a scroll ordering the destruction of the strange gods:

**AVFERTE DEOS ALIENOS DE MEDIO VESTRVM ET ASTAROT.**

(ii) I Sam. vii. 4: 'Then the children of Israel did put away Baalim and Ashtaroth, and served the Lord only.'

This text is illustrated by a painting of the destruction of the idols of the false gods: **IDOLVM ASTAROT, ... BAALI.  (pl. IV).**

(iii) I Sam. vii. 5–6: 'And Samuel said, Gather all Israel to Mizpeh, and I will pray for you unto the Lord. And they gathered together to Mizpeh, and drew water, and poured it out before the Lord, and fasted on that day, and said there, We have sinned against the Lord. And Samuel judged the children of Israel in Mizpeh.'

This text is not one to offer great scope for dramatic painting: Samuel is shown purifying the people.

(iv) I Sam. vii. 7–9: 'And when the Philistines heard that the children of Israel were gathered together to Mizpeh, the Lords of the Philistines went up against Israel. And when the children of Israel heard it, they were afraid of the Philistines. And the children of Israel said to Samuel, Cease not to cry unto the Lord our God for us, that he will save us out of the hand of the Philistines. And Samuel took a sucking lamb, and offered it for a burnt offering wholly unto the Lord: and Samuel cried unto the Lord for Israel: and the Lord heard him.'
ANAGNI: EXAMPLE OF MEDIEVAL TYPOLOGICAL DECORATION

Samuel is shown offering the lamb to the Almighty while the Israelites make their plea:

NE CESSES CLAMARE P NOBIS AD DOMINÆ.

In the upper part of the last two scenes where Samuel is shown purifying the people and making offering for them the Hand of God is shown protruding from a circle of cloud. It is of considerable importance for the acceptance of a typological interpretation of this series to note that in the second episode, the Destruction of the Idols, the Hand of God is replaced by the bust of Christ Himself with an inscription which makes clear the reference to the New Testament, ÍC XC. More was intended by the painters than merely a literal identification of the scenes.

Vault VI. *The Battle of Mizpeh.* The two final parts of the story are depicted in the vaults of bays VI and V in the back aisle of the crypt.

I Sam. vii. 10–12: ‘And as Samuel was offering up the burnt offering, the Philistines drew near to battle against Israel: but the Lord thundered with a great thunder on that day upon the Philistines, and discomfited them; and they were smitten before Israel. And the men of Israel went out of Mizpeh, and pursued the Philistines, and smote them, until they came under Beth-car. Then Samuel took a stone, and set it between Mizpeh and Shen, and called the name of it Eben-ezer, saying, Hitherto hath the Lord helped us.’

In the representation of these events the artist has not split up the surface of the vault by using a cross, but has arranged the events in a continuous action circling the vault around a large central disc decorated with outspread leaves. The vault can be attributed perhaps to the Anagni Master or a follower. In style, as in subject, it is rather strange.

Beginning near the pilaster on the back wall is shown a hill named MASPHT (Mizpeh), and from here the battle is shown with great vigour, moving clockwise round the circular field. With about a dozen vigorous armed knights, brandishing spears and swords, or getting to close quarters with a dagger the artist has well caught the fury of battle, for under these fighting men are seen a rather larger number of dead Philistines.

Two naked men, their hands behind their backs, may represent prisoners. These are shown sitting below a hill marked BETHAR. Beyond the hill is SAMVEL with his left hand setting in place the LAPIS AIVTORII. In his right hand is a scroll with the inscription:

DIXIT QVE HVCVSQVE AVXILIATVS.

Vault V. *Samuel Anoints Saul as King.* The vault is divided diagonally into four triangular sections by a floreate cross. In the quatrefoil in the centre is depicted a large bust of Christ, ÍC XC, blessing the Old Testament figures whose actions here as elsewhere in the cycle are to be interpreted typologically.
(i) I Sam. viii. 19–20: ‘Nevertheless, the people refused to obey the voice of Samuel; and they said, Nay; but we will have a king over us; that we also may be like all the nations; and that our king may judge us, and go out before us, and fight our battles.’

SAMVEL with a halo is shown beside the Ark, being asked by the people for a king. The leader of the delegation holds up a scroll but there is now no inscription on it.

(ii) The Lord tells Samuel to await the arrival of Saul, who comes to the gate of the city while searching for his father’s asses. Here Samuel awaits him. Toesca quotes the inscriptions as

VBI...VIDISTIS...; and ...SOLVM VIDES.

These readings might represent ‘Accessit autem Saul ad Samuelem in medio portae, et ait, Iudica, oro mihi VBI EST DOMVS VIDENTIS. Et respondit Samuel Sauli, dicens EGO SVM VIDENS?’

I Sam. ix. 18–19: ‘Then Saul drew near to Samuel in the gate, and said, Tell me I pray thee, where the seer’s house is. And Samuel answered Saul, and said, I am the seer: go up before me unto the high place; for ye shall eat with me today, and tomorrow I will let thee go, and will tell thee all that is in thine heart.’

To the left SAMVEL and to the right SAVL greet each other outside the gate, stretching out their hands and holding scrolls now without inscriptions.

(iii) In the next section is shown the feast that SAMVEL had prepared for SAVL. Space prevents the inclusion of the thirty or so guests invited, but the painter shows Samuel encouraging his cook to place food before Saul and his servant (I Sam. viii. 22–24).

(iv) The last episode of the main typological series is the anointing of SAVL by SAMVEL.

I Sam. ix. 27–x. 1: ‘And as they were going down to the end of the city, Samuel said to Saul, Bid thy servant pass on before us (and he passed on,) but stand thou still a while, that I may show thee the word of God. Then Samuel took a vial of oil, and poured it upon his head, and kissed him, and said, Is it not because the Lord hath anointed thee to be captain over his inheritance?’

SAMVEL is shown with the vial anointing SAVL, with a servant behind Samuel and the inquisitive servant of Saul turning back to see what is happening.

This vault is arranged with all the liveliness of pose that was noticed in vault X. Once more the painter has used architectural settings and dramatically composed groups which fill the triangular spaces available with dramatic tension. Saul leans forward, half kneeling, to be anointed; and Samuel and his cook lean, arms outstretched towards the table, in poses that echo the framework of the scene. When Samuel and Saul greet each other at the gate they face each other in a triangular group, but a more dramatic formula is used in the episode which shows the
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Israelites asking for a king. Here Samuel turns to look over his shoulder at the suppliants, his head thrown back in his anxiety to see what is going on behind him.

The position of the two vaults last described indicates a lack of exact planning in the arrangement of the scenes; instead of the cycle of scenes of the story of the Ark being left complete in the central aisle of the crypt two additional parts of the continuation of the narrative have been placed in the back aisle. Similar lack of foresight is to be suspected as the reason for the position of two further typological subjects, which appear in adjoining bays XX and XXI in the front aisle, next to the small apse to the right of the main altar.

Vault XX. The Ascension of Elijah. The main subject of the vault is that often found in the initial of the opening of the Fourth Book of Kings (II Kings) in illuminated Romanesque bibles: the Ascension of Elijah in the fiery chariot, with the dropping of his cloak to Elisha; the artist is the Master of the Translations whose hand has been recognised in the illuminations of a Sacramentary from Anagni (see below).

Elisha is shown stretching upwards arms out-spread in astonishment as he cries to ELIAS:

(Pater mi, pater mi, currus Isr)AEL ET AVRIGA EIVS

(II Kings ii. 12).

Both Elijah and Elisha are haloed. Elijah in the chariot drawn by four prancing horses is set within a central circle while Elisha stands below in the corner of the vault. In another corner is a second representation of ELIAS. He is being fed by a raven (I Kings xviii. 5).

The major episode is a regular type of the Ascension of Christ. As is further explained below, this is the necessary prelude to the Second Coming of Christ, the subject of the adjoining bay to the left. In the bay to the right is a typological reference to the Eucharist and this may be the purpose of the episode of the feeding of Elias.

The placing of the ascending Elijah in a central circle coloured white and the asymmetrical design of the subsidiary parts gives the vault a poetic quality all of its own, though the drawing of the central subject is a little clumsy.

Vault XXI. Abraham and Melchisedec. The Eucharistic reference is made clear in the adjoining vault where MELCHISEDEC is shown in priestly robes offering bread and wine to ABRAHAM wearing armour. Both figures have haloes and stand at either side of the altar set beneath a domed ciborium. The subject is taken from Gen. xiv. 18, and the typological interpretation is traditional, being based on S. Paul's important discussion of the Priesthood of Christ in Hebrews v.

The drawing of the draperies and of the faces show that this vault and the previous one are by the same master, the Master of the Translations. The faces of Melchisedec and Elijah (and of Galen and Hippocrates) are very much alike. Although in the scene of Abraham and Melchisedec only two characters are required the painter has retained the same figure scale as used for more complex scenes. He
has not shown onlookers or servants. The two figures and the altar are arranged economically within a square frame set in the centre of the vault; the shield of Abraham just overlaps the frame as do the hooves of the galloping horses and the tip of the cloak of Elijah. But for the Communion of Abraham the rest of the vault is given a firmer and more architectural structure; instead of using a circle and ellipses the painter prefers a square set within a square, diamond-wise. In the corners of the outer square are pairs of birds at fountains, and in the very corners of the vault, providing a contrast of circular lines, are peacocks with their tails outspread.

Birds at fountains are frequently encountered in Early Christian art and peacocks are often interpreted as symbols of the immortality of the flesh. In many other parts of the decoration of the crypt are many other such traditional features, perhaps to be interpreted symbolically, although no precise definitions need be offered.

(d) The Apocalypse

The several episodes of the Apocalyptic sequence are arranged in the main conch and the adjoining vaults and walls over and around the altar containing the relics of S. Magnus. The position is strange judged by the practices of later centuries, when in the terms of a Last Judgement similar scenes are frequently shown on the back wall of a church. In many Roman examples, however, and also at S. Angelo in Formis the apse contains a vision of the Almighty in Majesty. Often the Adoration of the Lamb is included too, as at Castel S. Elia where the Apocalyptic scenes are in the adjoining transept. A study of the typological links between the various parts of the scheme at Anagni make it clear that the choice of a position over the altar rather than on the entrance wall was a considered, not a chance, occurrence.  

Vault XVIII. The Vision of the Almighty (pl. V). The vault immediately above the main altar is filled with the great vision of the opening chapter of Revelation. In the lower left-hand corner is the figure of S. John looking up to see the Almighty, Alpha and Omega.

‘I saw seven golden candlesticks, and in the midst of the seven candlesticks one like unto the Son of Man, clothed with a garment down to the foot, and girt about the paps with a golden girdle. His head and his hairs were white like wool, as white as snow; and his eyes were as a flame of fire. And his feet like unto fine brass, as if they burned in a furnace; and his voice as the sound of many waters. And he had in his right hand seven stars; and out of his mouth went a two-edged sword’;

In His left hand, he holds the keys of hell and death; beyond the mandorla are the seven angels of the seven churches. The churches are shown at the bottom of the scene as seven towered buildings (Rev. i. 10–end).

24 A detailed discussion of these paintings is to be found in E. Van de Meer: Maestas Domini, Studi di Antichita Cristiana (Rome, 1938). The other important Apocalyptic cycle in the area is at Castel S. Elia, although there are many precedents for parts of the Anagni scheme in the mosaics and paintings of medieval Rome. The fresco of S. John in Oil, perhaps part of this Apocalyptic sequence, is described below.
The way these buildings are drawn, the figure of S. John (rather like Elias waiting to catch the cloak), and the drapery of the Almighty (particularly over his stomach like that worn by Elijah) are indications that this vault was painted by the same Master of the Translations. His hand and perhaps that of an assistant is responsible for all the Apocalyptic scenes and for the decoration of the side apses, and for the walls below with the hagiographic scenes from which he takes his title.

**The Main Conch.** *The Vision of the Lamb.* The conch of the main apse shows the vision of the Lamb, holding open the book with its inscription

ECCE VICT LEO DE TRIBV IVDA RAEDEM DD
APERIRE LIBRVM. (Rev. v. 5).

Rev. v. 6–8: ‘... in the midst of the throne and of the *four beasts* and in the midst of the elders stood a *lamb* as it had been slain, having *seven horns* and *seven eyes*. And when he had taken the *book*, the *four and twenty elders*, having everyone of them *harps* and *golden vials*, full of odours which are the prayers of saints...’

The last phrase is full of significance for the local saint rests in the altar beneath this scene. He is surrounded by paintings which depict his legend.

In the lower portion of the vault are standing the twenty four Elders stretching upwards. They hold stringed instruments in their hands, and offer up their vials. Around the lower border is a boldly lettered inscription:

QVI LAUDANT AGNUM SENIORES BIS DVODENI HOS VETVS
ET NOVA LEX DOCTORES CONTVLIT EVI.

The human face of the symbol of S. Matthew is clearly by the Master of the Translations: the drawing is almost identical with that of the Seven Angels in the adjoining vault of the Vision of the Almighty. Equally characteristic is the modelling of the draperies at the knees of the Elders, which is in the same manner as that at the knees of Galen and Hippocrates. A white highlight and an intermediate shade are used over the basic colour which when left uncovered provides the ‘shadows’ or deep folds of the robes. The faces and hands are outlined firmly in brown with the flesh tones modelled—though to a lesser extent than in the Galen and Hippocrates—in red and green.

The Adoration of the Lamb is the most formal part of the decoration of the crypt; the poses of the Elders are repetitive and variety is achieved only by colour changes and varieties of folds in their robes. The Adoration of a Lamb with Seven Horns and Seven Eyes by winged Symbols of the Evangelists is not, in any case, a subject suitably portrayed in a naturalistic manner.

The natural break caused by a window opening at the rear of the apse allowed the painter to divide the Elders into two groups of twelve facing each other. All are shown looking forwards and upwards towards the Agnus Dei, thus avoiding the problem, encountered in some Ascension vaults, of having to show some figures looking upwards over their shoulder. The Elders stand firmly on solid ground; this is ‘supported’ by an extremely firm, broad border of great architectural quality.
Unlike the border around the arch of the apse, which is covered with a relatively flat floral pattern, the lower border around the apse has a three-dimensional effect like a carved frieze. This is of great importance in distinguishing the mundane story of S. Magnus from the Heavenly Vision, both for iconographic reasons and for aesthetic effect. Similarly strong frames appear in the Upper Church at Assisi.

**Vaults XVII and XIX. Cherubim and the Rebel Angels.** Vaults XVII and XIX are to either side of the Vision of the Almighty. To the left are four cherubim about a central monogram with Alpha and Omega. To the right is shown the Defeat of the Rebel Angels: the vault is divided diagonally by a small medallion with a jewelled Greek cross and in each of the quarters of the vault is shown a haloed angel overpowering an ugly nude rebel angel. The poses of the victorious angels are energetic with the force of their movements fluttering a loose drapery behind them. The wings of the angels, like the shield of Abraham, slightly overlap the framework of the section. The artist has used the space available to give the maximum dramatic impact to the figures, posing them without great distortion to echo the shape of the framework: the upper arms of the angels are raised and turned outwards to provide a line which echoes the line of the border above. Yet there is no mechanical copying from one quarter to another; although the faces are clearly alike, the poses and draperies are slightly altered in each quarter. Behind the angels, like arubesques, there are small bushes with birds, fitted into the corners of the vault. The use of a white background as in parts of the vaults XX and XXI around Elijah and Melchisedec is very effective.\(^5\)

**Right Wall. The Four Horsemen (pl. VIII).** At the opening of the first four seals of the seven on the book held by the Lamb the four horsemen are sent out: these are shown on the upper part of the wall immediately to the right of the conch and immediately beneath the vault showing the Defeat of the Rebel Angels. On the border below the scene is written

**PIAS PERPPICTRAS BIS BINAS DISCE FIGVRAS.**

Rev. vi. 1–3: ‘And I saw when the Lamb opened one of the seals, and I heard as it were a noise of thunder, and one of the four beasts saying, Come and see. And I saw, and behold a white horse; and he that sat on him had a bow, and a crown was given unto him; and he went forth conquering and to conquer.’

At the opening of the second, third and fourth seals S. John sees the rider on the red horse with a great sword, a black horse and his rider holding a pair of balances, and Death and Hell on a pale horse (Rev. vi. 4–8). The artist has not managed to catch any of the grandeur or awfulness of the vision. The shape available to the artist is not a convenient one: it may seem presumptuous to suggest that if the Anagni Master had painted this scene, he would have used the arrow-like angle of the framework to positive advantage.

\(^5\) The frescoes in the conch to the right are perhaps part of this sequence; they show S. Michael overcoming Satan (?), and are discussed below.
Left Wall. *The Souls of the Martyrs* (pl. VI). The narrative is continued in a complementary position on the wall to the left of the conch.

Rev. vi. 9–10: ‘And when he had opened the fifth seal, I saw under the altar (sub altare) the souls of them that were slain for the word of God, and for the testimony which they held; and they cried with a loud voice, saying, How long O Lord, holy and true, dost thou not judge, and avenge our blood on them that dwell on the earth?’

The episode depicted is very clearly linked with the scene shown immediately lower on the wall, the martyrdom of S. Magnus whose relics lie in the altar beneath the Vision of the Apocalypse. The souls of the martyrs, amongst whom is to be numbered S. Magnus, are shown as naked figures pleading from the altar. In the middle of the scene is written

VINDICA DOMINE SANGVINE NOSTRVM

and below the scene

XPE DEVSPRESTOVINDEXTVNOBISADESTO.

Behind the Agnus Dei on the altar rises the half-length figure of Christ, IHS, in a mandorla. He clutches in each hand seals from the Book, four of them in all though there should be five.

This scene of the souls of the martyrs is immediately and directly joined (rather than divided) by the red border above the scene of the martyrdom of S. Magnus. It is difficult to imagine how the intimate iconological relationship between the Apocalyptic and hagiographical cycles could have been presented more vividly: both scenes were painted by the same artist.

Side Arches. *Trumpeting Angels*. On the face of the arch rising from the pilaster to the right of the altar next to the Four Horsemen is shown a single trumpeting angel. There is another in a comparable position to the left of the Apocalyptic scenes above the Souls of the Martyrs. These angels seem to lean out over scenes which will be described below, the legend of S. Magnus and the martyrdom of S. Sebastian.26

(e) The Hagiographical Cycles

i: S. Magnus (pls. VI–VIII). The major hagiographical cycle is devoted to the story of S. Magnus27 and is arranged around the wall of the main apse and on the flanking walls to either side. The cycle thus encircles the altar within which are placed the remains of the saint; above all is the Apocalyptic cycle. The Master

26 The trumpeting angels at Anagni are not easy to see; the subject of the arch to the right of the altar may include the heavens departing ‘as a scroll when it is rolled together’ (Rev. vi. 12–17). This takes place after the vision of the souls of the martyrs. The subject appears in the frescoes of SS. Quattro Coronati; the whole cycle of scenes may be compared with the frescoes of S. Piero above Civate. Both these churches are discussed below.

27 The narrative sources for the first two scenes are given in various versions in *Acta Sanctorum*: August 19, tom. III, pp. 706–8; the literary sources for the scenes of the Translation of the Relics are to be found on pp. 708–710, and the whole legend in one of its fuller forms is printed on pp. 713–717. Comparison should also be made with the anonymous *Acta Passionis etque Translationum S. Magni* (Jesi, 1743); this contains texts and sources for the scenes to be described, proper lessons &c. for the feasts of S. Magnus, and seven plates after the frescoes of the apse and of the miracle of Andreas (pp. 27–88). As indicated in note 5, the legends of S. Magnus are extremely complex.
of the Translations takes his name from these works for reasons of scale, not quality. These are not his best works, and have even been attributed to a follower.

The narrative is arranged in seven episodes which follow one another from the wall to the left of the apse around the wall of the apse and on to the wall at the right.

(i) On the face of the pilaster to the left of the altar is shown the refusal of S. Magnus to sacrifice to pagan gods; this subject may imply that a contrast was intended with the long acceptance of the Philistines' gods by the Israelites.

Only part of the inscription is legible: of this the last five letters are indistinct:

VILIA MONSTRANTVR ... IC CIRCO CREMANTVR.

(ii) Immediately to the right on the return of the apse wall is painted the martyrdom; S. Magnus is at the altar being cut down by the soldiers (pl. VI). The significance of the position of this scene immediately below the Apocalyptic vision of the Souls of the Martyrs crying to the Lord for vengeance has already been mentioned and will be further discussed below. The inscription may include a reference to the Ascension of Elias:

POSTQVAM MIGRavit IVGVLATVS AD ASTRA VOLAVIT.

The next four scenes are painted in a continuous narrative band around the wall of the apse (pl. VII).

(iii) The transfer of the relics of MAGNVS at the approach of the Saracens is shown as a procession from FVNDI towards BErula (Veroli) where the bishop and his attendants are standing at the gates to receive the body on its bier. On the lower border is

... PLATO DEDIT NVNC BERVLANVS

and there is above the tall figure of Plato the remains of the word tribvNVS.

(iv) Inside the walls of bervLE CIVITAS is shown the body of the saint as if in a church. To the right are seen the Saracens, surprised to discover that the horses which they had stabled by the relics are dead on the ground. Along the lower border is the inscription

QUID IVS SANCTORVM VALEAT MORS DICTAT EQVORVM.

(v) To the right of the apse window is shown the return of the relics with the Saracen commander, MVCA, enthroned. Emissaries bring him gifts. The lower part of the scene and of the inscription is much damaged.

(Pretium) EXQVIRIT et dant ANAgnini libenTIVS EMITAGNANINI (?)

(vi) The continuation of the story shows the second translation of S. MAGNVS with the bishop and his assistants with crosses, candles and holy water waiting at the gate of ANAGNIA. Once again the inscriptions are damaged, and must be partly taken from the Acta of 1743:

EMptum aquiruNT IVLiuE deferuNT ANAGNIAm
EXTRAHITVR VERVLIS ACQVIRIT ANAGNIA NVMMMIS.
(vii) On the return wall beneath the Four Horsemen is shown the Bishop of Anagni surrounded by his clergy (pl. VIII). One holds holy water and another a thurible. The bishop is blessing incense at the ceremony of placing the body of S. Magnus in its new resting place. Only fragments of the lettering on the book held by the bishop still survive. This sort of scene was popular both with painters and sculptors in Rome at this period. Below is the inscription

sarcoPHAGO TRVDVNT STVDIO SACTVMQ REPonvnt

Further events from the legends of S. Magnus, of an episodic nature rather than from a continuous narrative are shown on the back wall of the crypt. The first of these is depicted in a double scene in the lunette of the wall below vault III, the Tetramorphs. To the left is a scene loosely related to the Apocalyptic sequence, the torture of S. John the Evangelist,\textsuperscript{28} who is shown immersed in a cauldron of boiling oil. This all takes place inside the Porta Latina, with the emperor DOMITIANVS and various citizens watching.

The right-hand part of the lunette depicts a miracle of S. MAGNVS who in his episcopal robes and with a crozier in his hand pulls a child by his hair from a well. The mother watches from the branches of a tree—a precarious position but one useful for the composition. The event seems to be taking place in a garden, as if just inside the Latin Gate. The inscription is not very legible:

? I E PVTEO PROLEM SCS LEVAT ADQVE DOLOREM
MATRIS . . . FACIEM LACERANTIS.

On the wall of bay V are two more of the miracles of S. Magnus. In the upper scene is shown the healing of a man with a crippled hand. He is being led by a bishop to an altar where he is healed. The man then goes off to show his healed hand to a group of friends. The lower scene shows the resuscitation of a woman drowned in a well. Once again the arca of S. Magnus is shown with the priest at the tomb of the saint praying:

PER MORTEM DOMINI NOSTRI IESV CHRISTI ET PER MERITA.

Two more miracles of S. Magnus are shown on the wall of the adjoining bay VI. Above is shown the healing of Lisa the paralytic. To the left she is shown being carried in from the outside—represented by a few small plants—into an extravagantly depicted interior, with spiral columns and a draped curtain. Here she is shown being raised up by S. Magnus, as he stands by her bed, arrayed in his pontifical robes and haloed. In the scene depicted beneath this the crippled Andrea is shown at the arca of the saint, where he is healed. The inscription reads:

ANDREAS CLAVS.

\textsuperscript{28} For the inclusion of the martyrdom of S. John in illustrated Apocalypse mss. of the thirteenth century, see P. Brieger: Oxford History of English Art, vol. IV (1957), p. 165; Brieger, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 210 suggests that the Anagni cope and chasuble may be contemporary in date with the Anagni frescoes (though this does not necessarily imply that the Opus Anglicanum was in Anagni as early as 1255).

For the story of the torture at the Latin Gate, see \textit{Acta Sanctorum}, May 6.

As indicated in note 19, the Tetramorphs in the vault above are derived from the Apocalyptic narrative.
The character of the scenes in bays V and VI indicates the hand of the Anagni Master who worked in the vaults above. Similarly the hand of the Ornate Master was responsible not only for the vault of bay III but also for the double scene below with S. John in Oil and S. Magnus at the Well.

ii. *S. Secundina*. The wall of the apse to the left of the main altar is decorated with scenes of the legend of S. Secundina encircling the altar dedicated to her.  

(i) To the left of the apse on the return wall is shown the arrest of S. SECVN-DINA, who stands between two groups of men. The scene is damaged, like the inscription: 

? ANE DVM CEPERVNT HIS CVSTODIIS DEDERVNT

(ii) It is particularly unfortunate that the four episodes of the trial and martyrdom of the saint are very badly damaged; all the lower part of the frescoes around the wall of the apse has been lost or so damaged as to be indecipherable. The architectural settings in the upper parts of the scenes are very fine, excelled only by similar work preserved in better condition in vault V.

(iii) On the wall to the right of the apse is shown the translation: S. Secundina is shown on her bier carried by four youths and watched by a crowd of women. The procession moves towards the citizens of Anagni who are depicted on the return face of the pilaster. On the front of the pilaster the placing of the body of the saint into her *area* is shown with the full ceremonial, clergy, lamps hanging from a baldacchino, thurible and crosses. The inscriptions below these scenes have been almost entirely obliterated.

Although the scenes described above in sections (i) and (iii) are somewhat pedestrian in quality and those in the apse very badly damaged, the narrative quality of the whole group of scenes is notable. The sequence of events in the legend of S. Secundina, continued into the next section of the church with the legend of S. Magnus, is depicted with an emphasis on movement and with a delight in story-telling that proves extremely effective. On the wider spaces of the apse walls the traditional borders between separate events are omitted; instead episodes are divided by less emphatic means, by architecture, which unites rather than separates the succeeding parts of the narrative. Red borders are used only at the angles of the architecture, as at the corners of the pilaster; but the pace of the story-telling is maintained uninterruptedly.

iii. *Standing Figures* (pl. I). Vacant spaces on the walls of the crypt are filled in the traditional manner with representations of saints. At Anagni the range is limited and there are many repetitions. The figures are, however, often of considerable artistic merit and some groups are as beautiful as they are historically important. Stylistic analysis and discussions of the importance of at least some of the groups are to be found in the standard general histories of Italian thirteenth century painting.

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29 For the legend of S. Secundina, see *Acta Sanctorum*, under S. Magnus (August, tom. III, p. 701 ff.) where the links with Anagni are discussed; and under her own name, at January, tom. I, pp. 996–7.
In bay II below the figures of Galen and Hippocrates painted by the Master of the Translations another painter, the Anagni Master, has shown four fine standing saints. S. Paul, with his sword and book, turns towards S. Peter who has his keys hanging from his raised right hand and a book in his left. Next there stands a bishop, perhaps S. Magnus, book in hand and blessing his neighbour as he glances towards him from the corner of his eye. The last figure of the four is S. John the Evangelist who inclines his head towards the bishop and points to the scroll in his hand, IN PRINCIPIO ERAT VERBV. Of this group SS. Paul, Peter and John are especially fine; they stand out boldly, before a background of four mock-marble panels, in well-modelled draperies which overlap even the dentils of the inner order of the framework. To the left of this group and as a continuation of it is another haloed bishop on the return of the pilaster; on the front of the pilaster is S. John the Evangelist, once again with the opening of his gospel, and S. Onuphrius of Egypt clothed only in his hair.

The central figure on the wall of bay IV is that of Christ, shown enthroned and holding an open book with an abbreviated inscription (John. viii. 12):

EGO SVM LVX mundi Qui SEQVitur ME NON AmBuLAT
in tenebris sed habebit lumen vitae.

To the left is S. Peter and an apostle (Paul?); to the right are a tonsured saint in a cope and S. IHOannes once more with his scroll:

IN PRINCIPIO ERAT VERBV.

The frescoes on the wall of this bay are no doubt connected with the four angels shown overhead in the vault: both wall and vault were painted by the Ornate Master. The fine figure of the Almighty, flanked by saints and watched over by angels, gives both iconographic and aesthetic emphasis to the centre bay of the back aisle of the crypt. Contrasting with the movement of the main typological series across the width of the crypt, the angels in the vault and the gaze of the five figures on the wall provide an emphatic feature immediately opposite the main altar. The mosaic on the back wall of the Capella Palatina at Palermo is a comparable example.

On the face of the pilaster between bays V and VI are shown again SS. Onuphrius and Peter, with a standing apostle on the return wall to the right.

In bay VII to the side of the entrance is a beautiful representation of the Madonna suckling the Child (pl. II); the vault above is that of the Four Prophets of Christ's Coming; the wall and vault of this bay are thus iconographically linked, like the second bay with Galen and the Microcosm and the fourth bay with Christ and the Angels. In the same way the Apocalyptic material spreads from the vault and conch on to the surrounding walls. Of the four male saints shown standing around the Madonna and Child only one can be certainly identified—S. John the Evangelist, once more with the opening words of his gospel on a scroll.

In the conch of the left apse is another fine representation of the Madonna and Child enthroned. This is immediately above the story of S. Secundina and was painted by the same Master of the Translations. The flanking saints are the local Saints Aurelia and Noemisia. An inscription around the lower border reads:
TE NIMIS IMPLORANT VIRGO IVBILANT ET ADORANT DVM TIBI SVBDVNTVR NATVM MORIENDO SECVNTVR.

The Madonna has great grandeur and to some eyes has a quality not exceeded in more famous works by Guido da Siena. On the wall above the apse opening are grand figures of the two S. Johns. To the left is the Evangelist; below him on the border is written:

DANS POLICOS AMNES VERBO PETIT ASTRA IOHANNES.

To the right is the Baptist with ECCE (Agnus Dei), and the inscription below

DAT SALVBRIS AMNES POPVLIS BAPTISTA IOANNES.

To either side of the small window of the side wall in the same bay (XV) are standing figures of SCA AVRELIA and SCA NOEMISIA.

On the other side of the crypt in the apse to the right of the altar are frescoes which have suffered badly during the last seven hundred years. On the wall were a set of saints of whom S. Nemisius of Rome was recognisable from an inscription. The subject of the conch was perhaps originally designed as a continuation of the Apocalyptic cycle: there remain S. Michael standing over the dragon, and a flying angel. On the wall higher up to either side is an angel with draped hands outstretched.

Between the right apse and the main altar is a damaged, but important, small fresco of the martyrdom of S. SEBASTIANVS. The invocation reads:

SVSTINET AFFIXAS DOMINO SERVANTE
SAGITTAS RESPICIET MENTES
MARTIR SVA FESTA DOLENTES.

Over the altar against the right wall of the crypt is a later medieval fresco of S. Peter, the bishop of Anagni, shown enthroned between two female saints. A fresco to the left is later still and does not blend with the rest of the painting.

The lower parts of the walls of the crypt were covered with painted draperies, while the wall around the synthonus behind the main altar is painted to represent marble inlays. Even though some of the decoration of the crypt, especially on the walls, has been lost or damaged, the general effect is still rich, complete and full of colour. Anagni provides a rare chance to walk in a Romanesque building still completely covered on ceilings, walls and even on the floor, with rich, bright, fragmented colours. It is not until later, looking more closely, that one notices that iconographically the scenes are not ordered with scholastic clarity, and that there are considerable stylistic differences between different parts of the scheme; these differences are, however, mainly restricted to details of quality in line; since unities of scale and colour are maintained the general effect is one of a crypt uniformly decorated.

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80 This image is an early example of the saint naked except for a loin-cloth: compare G. Kaftal: Iconography of the Saints in Tuscan Painting (1952), col. 917, p. 281. Compare too the Martyrdom of S. Sebastian, a fresco of the first quarter of the eleventh century, in the old Lateran Palace chapel, which is reproduced and discussed in E. B. Garrison: Studies in the History of Medieval Italian Painting, vol. II (1955–6), p. 185, fig. 200.
VI. The Interpretation of the Scheme

The subject matter of the frescoes of the crypt is very varied and the way in which the various scenes are arranged is not entirely logical. There is, however, strong internal evidence which suggests that the scheme of decoration has a unified typological basis. The paintings are arranged so as to include the legend of the local patron S. Magnus and his relics within a typological scheme of some complexity. The key to the proper appreciation of the Anagni paintings is to be found in the five inter-related ways in which medieval theologians used and understood the word 'arca'.

In the following sections these meanings are discussed one by one; parts of the material already presented in the literal identifications of the various parts of the scheme will be repeated and the typological meanings briefly demonstrated. Evidence will be produced to show how the word arca is used with reference to the Eucharist, to the Apocalypse, to the Virgin Mary, in a literal sense in the story of the Israelites, and with direct reference to Anagni and its citizens in connexion with the arca of S. Magnus himself.

(a) The Eucharistic Arca Foederis

That the arca with the relics of the saint forms the altar of a place of worship, the arca foederis, is a tradition familiar to students of the architectural history of the confessio or martyrium. Similarly the identification of the arca, that is to say the chest containing the bones of the martyr, with the arca, the table bearing the Eucharistic Flesh and Blood, is important in the early history of the altar as the symbolic Sepulchrum Christi. There is thus a primary link between the arca containing the body of the martyr S. Magnus and the Sacrifice of the Eucharist.

The anonymous Acta Passionis etque Translacionum S. Magni (1743) shows in pl. VII a standing figure of S. Olive, from above her altar in bay XIV; this fresco is recorded as already lost at this date. See A. Grabar: Martyrium (Paris, 1943–6). For the altar as arca, see Durandus: Rationale I, chap. 2, viii, in which the claim is advanced that the original Ark of the Covenant, which Titus had brought from Jerusalem, was preserved with the Seven-branched Candlestick in S. John Lateran. See also chap. 7, xxiv ff., 'The Dedication of the Altar', for the importance of relics, with reference to the Ark of the Covenant. Durandus died in 1296, and is buried in S. Maria Sopra Minerva in Rome. The use of similar ideas in early liturgical drama in Italy is discussed in K. Young: The Drama of the Medieval Church (1933), vol. I, pp. 218–220.

Compare also the arca of S. Dominic in Bologna; the cover for the arca containing the body of the saint has a carving of the dead Christ in the tomb—the tomb of the saint and of Christ are united at the arca of the altar where Mass is celebrated. Similarly, compare the relief by Donatello at the tomb-altar-arca of S. Anthony at Padua; S. Anthony was himself known colloquially as 'L'Arca del Testamento'. A further colloquial use of arca foederis for altar will be found in Skelton's 'Ware the Hawk'.

Perhaps the most important parallel is to be seen in Suger's window at S. Denis, with the arca of Abinadab including not only Aaron's rod and the tablets of the Law but also a great Cross, with the inscription:

Foederis ex arca Christi cruce sstititur ara
Foedere majori vult ibi vita mori
(On the ark of the Covenant is established the altar with the cross of Christ; here life wishes to die under a greater covenant). See E. Mäle: Religious Art of the Thirteenth Century (1913), p. 171; and E. Papoński: Abbot Suger on . . . S. Denis et its Treasures (Princeton, 1946), pp. 72–5.

For the arca as a type of the Eucharist, see for example, Rhabanus Maurus: Allegoriae in Sacram Scripturam, MPL 112, col. 864: Arca est Corpus Domini. See also Rhabanus Maurus: Commentaria in Genesis I, xvi; MPL 107, col. 540. These ideas are well-known, appearing in the Canon of the Mass.

For the use of the word arca, see Mittelalterliches Wörterbuch (Munich, 1963), cols. 872–873: e.g. I.4 arca: foederis Dei e.g. ecclesia et Christi arca Dei legitur (Rhabanus Carm. 16.54); Christus qui est arca testamenti (Albert min: apoc 12 p. 256); arca significat eucharistiam (Albert M. sacram. 73 p. 32); I.5: mortuorum, reliquarium i.q sarcophagus e.g. duo presbiteri tollant arcam cum reliquis (Rituale Flor. p. 36–26), &c.
on the _area_, the altar. At Anagni, as so often elsewhere, the _area_ containing the relics is itself the _area_ at which Mass is offered.

The painters at Anagni have depicted the story of the relics of S. Magnus around the altar which is the _area_ containing those same relics. The reception of these relics and their placing in the cathedral are shown in the last scenes of the hagiographical cycle. The typological precedent is in the fresco of vault VI where Samuel is shown after the victory of Mizpeh consecrating the stone—'and he called the name of it Eben-ezer, saying, Hitherto the Lord hath helped us.' A further typological reference is implied in the safe resting of the Ark of the Covenant in the house of Abinadab (X).

The clearest typological reference to the Eucharist is to be found in vault XXI, where Melchisedec is shown as a priest at the altar, offering Bread and Wine to Abraham returning from the slaughter of the kings (Gen. xiv and Heb. vii). The link between this first interpretation, the Eucharistic, and the second, the Apocalyptic, is implicit in the words of the Institution: 'For as often as ye eat this bread and drink this cup, ye do show the Lord's death until he come' (I Cor. xi. 26; and compare Lu. xxii. 18). The Sacrament is given only until the time of the Second Coming; the _area_ of the Eucharist and of the Judgement are the two places at which the same Person is made apparent, the Sacramental and the Apocalyptic Christ.

(b) The Apocalyptic _Area Testamenti_

The _area_ of the martyr is also clearly linked with the _area testamenti_ of the Apocalypse; scenes in the vaults provide suitable typological references.

The necessary prelude to the opening of the Ark of the Testament at the time of the Apocalypse is the return of Christ to heaven at the Ascension. Of this event two typological scenes are depicted. These have at the same time reference to the return of the _area_ with the relics of S. Magnus from the hands of the Saracens.

First, in vault X the painters have depicted the return of the Ark of the Israelites and its reception by the men of Kirjath-Jearim with the inscription 'Who is able to stand before this holy Lord God, and to whom will he go up from us?' The second type is shown in vault XX. That the Ascension is the necessary prelude to the Last Judgement is obvious; as indicated by the two men in white apparel (Acts i. 11), Christ must ascend before He can come again. Of the various types of the Ascension, none is more straightforward than that of the Ascension of Elijah. The inscription in this scene, Elisha's exclamation with its mention of 'the chariot (currus) of Israel' may refer to the _area_.

In representations of the Last Judgement Christ is sometimes shown between Elijah and Enoch who were both believed to have been taken up into heaven (Gen. v. 24). Each was thus a type of Christ's Ascension. The two types are frequently quoted in the services of the Church particularly in Advent, when typological links between Elias and the Apocalypse are interwoven with references to the last and greatest type of Christ, S. John the Baptist. Not only did the priests

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33 S. Hilary: _Tractatus in CXXXI Psalmum_, MPL 9, col. 757. On the importance of this psalm, see below, note 35.
and Levites go out to ask him 'Art thou Elias?' (Jo. i. 21), but Christ also emphatically used this parallel (Mat. xi. 14). Such thoughts are implicit in many parts of the services for Advent, the season of preparation not only for the Nativity but also for the Second Coming. These ideas are complex but familiar. They appear frequently, as for instance in the well-known sixth century hymn, 'Vox clara ecce intonat.' The planners of the Anagni scheme intended these interpretations, taking them for granted.

A further link is to be suspected between the Ascension of Elias and the scene of the martyrdom of S. Magnus with its inscription 'Postquam migravit iugulator ad astra volavit.' Immediately above this scene is the Apocalyptic Vision of the Souls of the Martyrs with the Lamb of God standing on the *arca*. The Agnus Dei is symbolic both in the context of the Passion and Eucharist (as in the Ghent Altarpiece), and of the Apocalyptic narrative with the plea 'How long, O Lord, holy and true, dost thou not judge and avenge our blood on them that dwell on the earth?'

The whole sequence of events is summed up in the idea of the coming of the Holy One whether at the First or Second Coming, and is prophesied in the words on the scrolls held by David, Solomon, Daniel and Isaiah in vault VII. The intention of this part of the scheme is made absolutely clear; the painter has shown in the central medallion of the vault the Agnus Dei of the Eucharist and of the Apocalypse, haloed and holding the Cross. On the adjoining wall are the Madonna and Child.

(c) *The Mariological Arca Dei*

Consideration of the Ark of the Covenant as a type of Christ led the Fathers, for example, Hippolytus, to associate the incorruptible timber of the Ark (Exodus xv. 10) not only with the incorruptible body of Christ but also with the body of His Mother. The Virgin Mary is given the title Arca in that she enclosed within herself the Holy One of Israel. In the popular Loretan Litany the title appears in the form 'Foederis Arca'. Honorius in his *Speculum Ecclesiae* uses the form 'Arca Dei', and again in his Commentary on the Song of Songs. In speaking of the Ark of Abinadab (Song. iii. 9; MPL 72, col. 461) his whole explanation is typological, and such an interpretation is clearly relevant to the fresco in the fourth section of vault X where the Ark is shown resting in the House of Abinadab.

As indicated above in the discussion of the Apocalyptic *arca*, the Ascension of Elijah is a type of the Ascension of Christ; it is also a type of the Assumption of the Virgin with the dropping of the cloak of Elijah being echoed by the dropping of the Virgin's girdle. In the continuation of such parallels the Virgin also appears in an Apocalyptic context. As the Woman clothed with the Sun (Rev. xii. I), the Virgin was known by the title of Ark of the Covenant. This was the form used, for instance, by S. Anthony of Padua in his Commentary on Psalm cxxxi (132), 'Arise, O Lord, into thy resting place, thou and the ark which thou hast sanctified'. (See below, and note 35 for further use of this psalm).

The clearest pictorial reference to the Virgin within the typological frescoes is to be found in vault XII where the bust of the Virgin is shown above the cities of the Philistines, smitten with plague (pl. IX). In the way that the idol of Dagon
fell and the Saracens’ horses died next the *area* of S. Magnus, so too the idols of Aphrodias had fallen when Mary came with the Holy One into Egypt.\textsuperscript{34}

(d) *The Israelites’ Arca Dei*

The Ark of the Israelites is described in great detail in Exodus xxv–xxvii; its lid is called the mercy-seat. The Ark is the place where God is present among His people: when the Ark was in the hand of the Philistines Israel had been deserted by God (I Sam. iv. and Ps. lxxviii. 60). The *area* is the ‘appointed’ place where God and His people meet, it is the throne and footstool (I Sam. iv, I Chron. xxviii. 2.). As indicated by the story depicted in the vaults across the width of the crypt the *area* is the instrument of God’s power, bringing down the idols of the Philistines, causing plague, until finally bringing about the defeat of the enemies of Israel. In these events the power of the Almighty is everywhere apparent. Even the cows willingly leave their calves and need no one to guide them as they pull the *area* towards Bethshemesh. In the same way the *area* had moved at the will of God as a guide through the wilderness: ‘... when the ark set forward, Moses said, Rise up Lord, and let thine enemies be scattered, and let them that hate thee flee before thee. And when it rested, he said, Return O Lord unto the many thousands of Israel’ (Num. x.). Similarly it was the *area* which led Israel into the promised land (Josh. iii, iv.). The resting of the *area* in the safety of the house of Abinadab is to be compared with and is a type prefiguring the *area* of S. Magnus, now safe at Anagni after its recovery from the Saracens.

The prophetic function of the *area* of the Israelites is indicated by what it contains, the tables of the old Mosaic Law. These prefigure the New Law of Christ. Such prefigurations of Christ in this context are frequently encountered in a tradition based on Hebrews ix. Of the many Biblical references to the *area* one of the most extensive and most popular is Psalm cxxxix. (132). This is related to David’s removal of the *area* (II Sam. vi.) from Kirjath-jearim to Sion. The psalm is still used with particular relevance at Christmas.\textsuperscript{35}

(e) *The Arca of S. Magnus*

The importance of the *area* of S. Magnus to the people of Anagni should by now be very evident: the *area* is not to be thought of only in the literal sense of being the chest within which are preserved the bones of the saint. It is also as the *area* of the Old Law, of the Virgin, and of Christ both in the Eucharist and in the Second tympanum of Notre Dame, Paris, on the right tympanum at Amiens, and on the outer part of the north porch at Chartres, see A. Katzenellenbogen: *The Sculptural Programs of Chartres* (1959 and 1964), pp. 61 and 75, and pl. 48.

\textsuperscript{34} See P. Palmer: *Mary in the Documents of the Church* (1953), pp. 15, 56 ff and 108 ff. S. Ambrose called the Virgin the Lady who enclosed the heir of the Law as the ark enclosed the Law; compare S. Ambrose: *Sermo XLII*, MPL 16, col. 712.

Coming. Dramatic episodes from the history of the *area* of the First Law are illustrated as prefigurations of the story of the *area* of S. Magnus. The Old Testament narrative is always used typologically. It tells of the plagues that fell on both Philistines and Israelites who dishonoured the *area*. Lack of proper respect for the *area* on the part of the people of Anagni can lead only to punishment similar to that suffered by the Philistines, the Israelites at Beth-shemesh and by the Saracens at Veroli. The importance of the *area* to the people of Anagni and the necessity of treating it with respect is emphasised by several references to plague and sudden death.

The most obvious references to sickness and health are in the first and second bays of the crypt. Here man is shown under the influence of the Zodiac; diagrams relate the Four Humours and the Four Seasons and the Four Ages of Man. Hippocrates and Galen are the masters of medicine who try to keep man in good health. Yet the only sure help comes from God through the intercession of His saints. For this reason, to the right of the altar is painted the greatest ‘plague-protector’, S. Sebastian with an inscription which indicates his ‘function’:

SVSTINET AFFIXAS DOMINO SERVANTE
SAGITTAS RESPICIAT MENTES
MARTIR SVA FESTA DOLENTES.

On the wall a little higher up is the vision of the Four Horsemen including the rider on the white horse with the usual symbols of pestilence, the Bow and Arrow. With him ride the man on the red horse with a sword; on a pale horse is the rider who is Death and Hell.

This positional link between S. Sebastian the plague-protector and a scene from the Apocalypse is balanced by other scenes on the other side of the *area*. Here there are linked scenes of the martyrdom of S. Magnus with the inscription XPE DEVVS PRESTO VINDEX TV NOSTER ADEST and of the Souls of the Martyrs pleading before the Lamb. Similarly the inscription in the apse further to the left reads

TE NIMIS IMPLORANT VIRGO IVBILANT
ET ADORANT DVM TIBI SVBDVNTVR
NATVM MORIENDO SECVTVR.

The methods of typological thought are well-illustrated in vault IX where the type of the interceding saints is shown, Samuel offering a sacrificial lamb. ‘... And the children of Israel said to Samuel, cease not to cry unto the Lord our God for us’ (I Sam. vii. 8). In the centre of the vault (as in vault V) the offering of the lamb and the prayer are received, as the painter has shown, by Christ Himself.

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36 For an important commentary, see S. Gregory the Great: *In Libros Regum*, MPL 219, cols. 105 ff. A shorter commentary appears in S. Isidore: *Questiones in Vetus Testamentum*, in Regum I, iii; MPL 83, cols. 305–6; and compare Walasfrid Strabo: *Glossa Ordinaria*, MPL 113, cols. 539 ff. The Ark of the Covenant (Exod. xxv) is discussed as a type by S. Paul (Heb. ix).

For the invocation ‘May it please God and S. Magnus that you should dance for a whole year!’ (i.e. suffer from dancing plague) in a parish of S. Magnus in Saxony in the early XI century, see J. Nohl: *The Black Death* (1926), p. 253. L. Réau: *Iconographie de l’Art Chrétien*, vol. III, ii, p. 861 includes a S. Magnus, feast day Oct. 6, among the Fourteen Auxiliary Saints of Italy.
Throughout any typological scheme the impression is of circular argument in which the narratives of the Old and New Testaments and of the locally-celebrated saint are used literally, and then re-used and inter-related in a variety of inter-locking interpretations. The congregation and citizens of Anagni are thus given clear examples and stern warnings. S. Magnus is one of the martyrs who pleads before the Lord. The people of Anagni know what happened to the Philistines and Saracens, to the unworthy Hophni and Phinehas and to the citizens of Beth-shemesh who did not respect the holiness of the area. The altar of the crypt, the area of S. Magnus, is to Anagni as the area to the Israelites, as the Virgin to Her Son; it serves as the area at the sacrifice of the Mass and is the instrument of God’s will in their midst until the time of the vision of the area at the Apocalypse.37

The frescoes are arranged in an order which indicates the inter-relationship of the various cycles. The main typological cycle, the story of the Ark, is placed in five vaults running across the width of the crypt. The central vault is of the Return of the Ark and is typologically related to the adjoining bay at the back of the crypt, the Pantocrator with saints and angels. The way in which this bay is set immediately opposite the altar has already been commented on. It is linked to the Apocalyptic cycle, the area in heaven, by the typological subject of the Return of the Ark. In the vaults to the right of the Apocalyptic cycle are two prefigurations of the Person of Christ, Elias or the Apocalyptic Christ and Melchisedek, the Sacramental. These are balanced to the left of the altar by the representations of Christ with His Evangelists and of the Second Person of the Trinity. Around the area, the altar of Christ which is also the area of S. Magnus, is shown the main hagiographical cycle.

The formal organisation of the back aisle of the crypt is disrupted by the Samuel scenes in bays V and VI. Otherwise the Zodiacal and related scenes at one entrance are complemented by the Prophets at the other. The subjects of the walls and vaults in bays I, II, IV and VII are interrelated; the same may have been the case in the less well-preserved bays VIII and XIV.

As one moves from these farther parts of the crypt, the iconography becomes gradually more complex. Its greatest richness of meaning is achieved on the walls and vaults immediately around the area of S. Magnus, the altar, area foederis.

VII. Comparisons

The decoration of the crypt at Anagni is a major monument of a ‘clerky’ scheme of typological decoration. Although the inscriptions with which it was so liberally furnished explain only the literal sense, other interpretations including the typological are made visually clear by the juxtaposition of the Apocalyptic and

37 For the tomb of a saint as area, see again A. Grabar: Martyrium (Paris, 1943–6).

The frequently repeated suggestion that the iconography of the Anagni frescoes is based on the Rite of Consecration of a Church seems incorrect; the representation of the Translation of relics is not solely occasional, but has wider implications. The most important type mentioned in the Rite is Jacob’s stone (Gen. xxxviii) which does not appear in the frescoes; conversely, the loss and recovery of the area are not mentioned in the service. For the Dedication Rite see J. Andrieu: Le Pontifical romain au XII siècle. Rev. XXI 2–5, the Celestial City, is the subject of the Epistle—and the subject of the fresco at the entry at Civate: see below.
hagiographic cycles and by the presence of representations of Christ, the Virgin
and the Agnus Dei in the middle of vaults devoted to Old Testament subjects.
Other scenes such as those of Melchisedec and Elijah are likewise typological in
intent. They are regularly used for this special purpose. Typological thought
figures so largely in the works of the Fathers and in the services of the church that
everyone appreciated the implications of a typological scheme of decoration. The
explanation of such a scheme as that at Anagni is necessarily slow; although in
the systematic elucidation of the scheme some details may seem to require evidence
of excessive ingenuity on the part of the painters the general conclusions appear
indisputable. It was within the framework of typological thought as generally
accepted throughout the medieval Church that the scheme at Anagni was conceived
and executed.

Although relatively little Romanesque wall-painting survives, there are still in
Italy various schemes which help us in different ways to see the Anagni frescoes
in some perspective. There are first of all other works near Rome and in the city
itself which have stylistic and iconographic links with Anagni—evidence to suggest
that there were in the city other works of similar date, style and intention now
unfortunately lost. A few of the more relevant examples of those that survive may
be listed briefly.

Precedents for the decoration of a vault with a central feature surrounded by
angels or symbols of the Evangelists are to be found in mosaics. In Rome there
is a vault in the chapel of S. Zeno in Sta. Prassede, which is like that in the chapel
of the Archbishop’s Palace at Ravenna. It is in Early Christian Rome and in
Ravenna that the most obvious precedents can be found for the rich, inventive
decoration of ribs and for the great variety of decorative detail in subsidiary parts
of the vaults. In so far as is possible the Anagni painters achieved in paint a richness
more usual in the very different technique of mosaic.

The frescoes of CASTEL S. ELIA have recently been studied by E. B. Garrison, who
proposes a date of about 1115. In the ornamental work of the borders and
friezes there are links with Anagni; there are also stylistic links between the standing
Virgins and the manner of the Ornate Master. The Apocalyptic scenes in the
transepts with the Elders in procession raising chalices are supplemented in the apse
by three hagiographic scenes of the story of the local S. Anastasius. The cycle
includes a representation of the church of Castel S. Elia itself. There was perhaps
originally a cycle also of the life of S. Elia. The general dependence on Roman
models is indicated by the subject of the conch: Christ between saints with the
Twelve Apostles as sheep, and, lower, the Virgin and Child enthroned between
archangels and adored by a procession of Virgins. Castel S. Elia thus has the life
of its patron saint shown in relation to Apocalyptic cycles.

In Rome itself there are features in the decoration of S. CLEMENTE relevant
in a study of Anagni. In the Lower Church the scene of the Reception of the
Relics of S. Clemente and the rich floral framework are an indication of the manner
of painting in the city. The mosaic of the Upper Church, perhaps dated 1128, is

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38 E. B. Garrison: Studies in the History of Medieval Painting III, i (1957), pp. 5 and plates. E. Mâle:
The Early Churches of Rome (1960), p. 114, retains the date 1030-60 proposed in the original edition of
like so much work at Anagni full of echoes of late antique and Early Christian art. Not far from S. Clemente the rather harsh frescoes of the chapel of SS. QUATTRO CORONATI\(40\) include a cycle of scenes devoted to the legend of S. Sylvester. In these the crowds of onlookers and the architectural settings are not unlike those painted by the Ornate Master, but the general effect is much drier and less lively. On the back wall of the chapel above the continuation of the hagiographical scenes is shown Christ in Judgement enthroned with the Instruments of the Passion, between the Virgin, the Baptist and the Twelve Apostles. To either side above the Apostles is an angel, one with a trumpet and the other rolling up the heavens like a scroll; these may provide parallels to the angels in the Apocalyptic Vision at Anagni (see above, note 25). The frescoes of SS. Quattro Coronati have been dated to c. 1246, about a decade before those at Anagni. They provide an example of an Apocalyptic scene being represented in connexion with a hagiographic cycle. The cycle is clearly ‘typological’, referring to the claims of the Papacy.

Further afield, two churches near Como must be mentioned. The frescoes in S. PIERO at CIVATE\(41\) are in their lower parts much damaged and it is for this reason difficult to make any very precise interpretation of the overall iconographic scheme. It includes the remaining part of a Nativity cycle, a cycle devoted to S. Gregory, the nine Orders of Angels, standing saints and other fragments on the walls. The great typanum and four small groin vaults are better preserved. The central vault shows the Almighty within the Heavenly City, from which flow the Four Rivers. This is a scene of great grandeur even though only about the same size as the vaults of Anagni. The three vaults to north, south and west are divided diagonally as are some at Anagni by decorative crosses with central medallions containing the sacred monogram. The subject of the central vault is continued into the surrounding ones: the subjects are the Four Evangelists in symbolic form, the Four Rivers shown as small men with large vases,\(42\) and four Trumpeting Angels. The typanum above the openings of the entrance and side apses shows a large composite scene with the Vision of the Almighty, the Woman in Travail, and the Red Dragon which Michael and his angels are casting out into the earth (Rev. xii.). The parallels with Anagni are in the relation of a series of small vaults, some divided diagonally by floral bands with central medallions, an Apocalyptic cycle and New Testament and hagiographic cycles. The last are now sadly damaged but were probably directly linked to each other by typological thought.

\(39\) For suggestions of stylistic links between the Master of the Translations and the work of the second cycle of S. Clemente and the Tivoli triptych, see P. Toesca: ‘Miniature Romane dei Secoli XI e XII: Bibbie Miniate’, in Rivista del R. Istituto d’Archeologia e Storia dell’Arte (1929). It is suggested that there is an evolution towards the style of the typological frescoes of S. Giovanni a Porta Latina, which are variously dated, sometimes to c. 1190. It is of interest to note that the border above the Elders (on the wall by the apse) at S. Giovanni a Porta Latina is not unlike that used beneath the Elders in the conch at Anagni.

\(40\) A. Munoz: Il Restauro della Chiesa e del Chiossro dei S. Quattro Coronati (Rome, 1914). Grabar and Nordenfalk: Romanesque Painting (1958) p. 57 and colour plate, suggest the date c. 1246.

\(41\) G. Bognetti and C. Marcara: L’Abazia Benedettina di Civate (Civate, 1957); Grabar and Nordenfalk: Romanesque Painting (1958) including plate on p. 48; and many references in F. Van Der Meer: Maestas Domini (Roma, 1938); and E. W. Anthony: Romanesque Frescoes (Princeton, 1951), p. 101, and figs. 161–166. As at Anagni there are many signs of Byzantine influence.

\(42\) The Four Evangelists as the Four Rivers play an important role on the Pisa cathedral pulpito; authorities for the interpretation are cited in P. Bacci: La Ricostruzione del Pergamo del Duomo di Pisa (Milan, 1926). I am indebted to Mr. John Pope-Hennessy for this reference.
The early eleventh century paintings at GALLIANO\textsuperscript{43} are well-known only in details, for the general ensemble is very battered. On the side walls of the church are shown Old Testament cycles of the Creation and of the story of Samson related typologically to series of the legends of SS. Margaret and Christopher. The legend of the patron saint, S. Vincent, appears as at Anagni round the walls of the apse. As at Anagni the cycle in the apse is particularly relevant to the place in which it appears: the last scene, to the right of the altar, includes the transferal of the relics of the patron saint, and a donor-portrait (part of which has been transferred to the Ambrosiana, Milan). The role of the patron saint is related to the subject in the conch where the Almighty is shown as the Pastor Ovium Bonus with SS. Michael and Gabriel and adored by Jeremiah and Ezekiel. Related to this vision, but separated from it by a frieze of marine creatures such as appears at Anagni and denotes the division between the visible firmament and the heavens, is the Ascension of Elias. This is shown in the left spandrel over the conch. The Ascension of Elias appears at Anagni, it will be remembered, to the right of the Vision of the Almighty. Galliano, then, has like Anagni inter-related Old Testament, hagiographic and Apocalyptic cycles of particular relevance to its own allegiances.

Comparisons with such churches as Castel S. Elia and Galliano can have only a limited validity since they are open-roofed, not vaulted; of the two vaulted buildings, the chapel at SS. Quattro Coronati has a tunnel vault sprinkled with stars; it is not covered with scenes as is the vault of the inner crypt at Anagni (described in Appendix 2 below). The comparison between Anagni and the hill chapel at Civate is then of some importance, and it is frustrating that in this case the walls have suffered so drastically. With these comparisons in mind, the importance of Anagni is emphatic; it retains on a great part of its walls, in most of its vaults, in its conches and apses, even on the floor, the imagery and colour of the last decades of Romanesque art. In each of the examples briefly mentioned above and in several other fragments of cycles there are not only points of archaeological or stylistic relevance to Anagni, but also evidence to suggest that there was in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries a strong tradition of typological church decoration. This tradition included the adaptation of the old Roman typological schema by enlivening it with reference to local matters.\textsuperscript{44} The paintings of S. Piero a Grado provide a simple example of the local use of a Roman scheme. The subject matter of the schemes at Galliano, Civate and Anagni has a topicality, so to speak, which at Anagni is emphasised by the use of specially prepared inscriptions. These are in all essentials in the manner of occasional verse.

It may be surmised that, as at Castel S. Elia, the painters came to Anagni from Rome. Early Christian, Byzantine and Romanesque elements are not entirely


\textsuperscript{44} There remains in the west front of S. Marco at Venice the well-known mosaic of the Translation of the Relics.

For a French example, compare Berzé-la-Ville (Saône-et-Loire) which has hagiographic scenes in the apse below the Majesty in the conch; on the side walls remain fragments only, including one New Testament scene; see Grabar and Nordenfalk: Romanesque Painting (1958), pp. 109–9, with plates, and E. W. Anthony: Romanesque Frescoes (Princeton, 1951), pp. 135–7, and pls. 271–4.
assimilated, and it would be idle to generalise when variety and richness of invention are so important features of the work of the three very different artists working in the crypt. The importance of some parts of the scheme—rather neglected in the present paper—ought not to be forgotten. The Madonna in the left conch, the Madonna in bay VII and the Pantocrator with Saints in bay IV are of outstanding quality: one thinks of the Madonnas on panels by Guido da Siena and the other artists of the 1260s, and of Cavallini and Cimabue. The great schemes of church decoration completed just after the frescoes at Anagni were those in Rome, in the great basilicas. But these have been lost. The next considerable monument of typological decoration unifying cycles from the Old and New Testaments, from the Apocalypse, the Life of the Virgin, of SS. Peter and Paul, is that at Assisi; it includes in its scheme cycles of its own local saint, S. Francis.

One further comparison must be made, with the frescoes of the Porecclension of KARIYE CAMII at Istanbul. Here as at Anagni an Apocalyptic series and narrative scenes from the Old Testament are related typologically with reference not only to the function of the building (a mortuary chapel) but also in honour of the Virgin. Scrolls have quotations from the works of Joseph the Poet and from funerary works by Theophanes and S. John Damascene. These indicate the interpretation of the typological scenes. Furthermore, the scenes of Jacob’s Ladder, Moses and the Burning Bush and of the Assyrians destroyed outside the portam clausam of Jerusalem include visual representations of the Virgin which emphasise the typological intent.

Underwood in his Second Report discusses the relationship between the iconographic programme at Kariye Camii and the later and less elaborate programme at Lesnovo which includes the Burning Bush and the Portam Clausam of Ezekiel. But no close parallel is offered to explain the Mariological intention of the four scenes of the Ark of the Covenant. The use at Anagni of an earlier part of the story provides at least a parallel in intention.

The frescoes of Kariye Camii and Anagni both include, as well as inter-related Apocalyptic and Marian-typological scenes, extremely rich decoration on the architectural members—on the arches at Anagni and on the ribs of the dome at Kariye Camii. Comparison too may be made between the ways in which the architectural forms of the two buildings are used. At Kariye Camii the spectator’s eye is led easily from the Anastasis, past the Second Coming, up past the pendentives and supporting scenes to the Virgin in the high dome. In contrast the crypt at Anagni lacks clarity. But the more complex, honey-comb forms of the crypt are used to advantage, showing a complex set of scenes so that each hollow and moulding is enriched with movement and colour.

48 At Gracanica (erected in 1321) a fresco shows the tabernacle, with an altar covered with a cloth, the two Tables of the Law, the vase of Manna, the candlestick, the roll, the area of the alliance; behind the altar is a seraphim, and to either side Moses and Aaron. On the vase of Manna and on the Ark is a medallion with a bust of the Virgin (for a photograph, see the Catalogue of copies: Les Fresques Yougoslaves du Moyen Age (Belgrade, 1958), no. 119, pl. 20. The fresco is in the fourth register above ground on the north wall of the bema (V. Petrovic: Revue des monuments religieux dans l’histoire du peuple serbe (Belgrade, 1950—in Serbian), p. 79).
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Anagni can be thought of in terms of Romanesque art, but reference must also be made to Byzantium; conversely the frescoes of Kariye Camii may be considered in relation to Italian painting.\textsuperscript{48} It is certain that there are several points of comparison—decorative, stylistic and iconological.

Mosaics in Sicily and the second and third domes of the story of Joseph with the dome and half dome of Moses in the north narthex of S. Marco at Venice have been quoted by Demus\textsuperscript{49} as being representative of steps in the developments in the art of the thirteenth century which culminate in the art of Kariye Camii. Similarly the work at Anagni is important both in the context of Byzantine and of Italian painting in the decades when, to use Vasari’s term, the old Greek manner was superseded by the art of the Palaeologue revival, with which the art of Duccio has so much in common, and by the art of Giotto. The geographical and historic settings of Anagni remain, however, the most important indications of the context in which matters of style and iconography must be considered: Anagni is a Papal city but fifty miles from Rome.

M. Q. Smith.

APPENDIX I

The Painters of the Scheme

The identification of at least three, if not four hands is generally accepted: these identifications are suggested by stylistic evidence. The major painters have been named the Anagni Master, the Ornate Master and the Master of the Translations. It has been suggested that a fourth painter can be identified, an assistant perhaps or follower of the Master of the Translations.

(i) THE ANAGNI MASTER

The characteristic work of this fine painter has been noted in the descriptions of the sub-divided vaults of Abinadab (X) and Samuel and Saul (V), and to the same Master may be attributed the two vaults adjoining these, the Return of Israel to the Lord (IX) and the Battle of Mizpeth (VI). The Four Standing Saints below Galen and Hippocrates in Bay II and the Virgin and Child with Saints on the wall of Bay VII have also been attributed to this artist.

Toesca attempted to identify the Anagni Master with the ‘Frater Romanus’ who signed the S. Gregory celebrating Mass at Subiaco. This identification has not been accepted by later writers, though some of the work at Subiaco, not many miles away, is stylistically close to the Anagni fresco of the Virgin in Bay VII.

Anthony says of the Samuel scenes: ‘These vaults are among the finest decorative works of the century. In his feeling for form this painter is almost a precursor of Cavallini, and his brilliant, vibrating colour is unsurpassed.’ Cavallini is recorded after 1273, less than twenty years after the Anagni frescoes. The Anagni Master’s work is full of amazing vitality and inventiveness; even his architectural settings are full of lively elegance in a manner found again, and excelled, in the later mosaics and frescoes of Kariye Camii. The practice of subdividing the vault or cupola and arranging the scenes around a central feature is found earlier in mosaics at Ravenna and Rome, as described above. It is interesting that the Anagni painters not only seized upon the aesthetic potentialities of this practice, but also managed to use the central feature for iconographic purposes. The problem is peculiarly an architectural one, for the problem of fitting scenes into a concave surface like a cupola or vault is not encountered in the illumination of the page of a manuscript. Later examples include the mosaics of the north narthex of S. Marco at Venice, and of the narthex of Kariye Camii. For the richness of decorative painting on the ribs and arches at Anagni, the best parallel is to be found in the ribs of the dome in the Parecclesion of Kariye Camii.


(ii) THE ORNATE MASTER

Toesca's 'Pittore Ornastista' worked in a rather conservative style reminiscent of that of the eleventh-century frescoes of the apse of Castel S. Elia, and related to that of the frescoes in Rome, in the chapel of Ss. Quattro Coronati, which are roughly contemporary with the Anagni frescoes. To the Ornate Master, whose style is so clearly differentiated from that of the other painters, can be attributed the Four Cities of the Philistines (XII), and the adjoining vaults with the Return of the Ark (XI), the Tetramorphs and the scene of S. John in Oil with a Miracle of S. Magnus (III), the Angels with Christ and Four Saints (IV) and the two adjoining bays near the secondary entrance, with Half-Angels (VIII) and the Four Prophets (VII).

When telling a story the Ornate Master delights in representing onlooking crowds, which the Anagni Master, whose art is less naive, treats more elegantly or omits altogether. The Ornate Master fills every square inch of the available space, perhaps a little haphazardly. He squeezes in faces and architecture, disregarding consistency of scale, to cover all the surface of the vault. His scenes are a little unruly, crowded and episodic, where those by the Anagni Master are clearer, more dramatic and unified. Yet the Ornate Master was a considerable artist, as can be seen from the impressive fresco of Christ with Four Saints. The figure of the Evangelist in this group may be compared with the Anagni Master's Evangelist in the group of Four Saints in Bay II, or with his other representation of the same saint standing beside the Virgin (Bay VII). In this larger, more formal scale the Ornate Master seems more confident and the facial modelling is more effective than when used in small scale work. In the handling of draperies, particularly that of S. John, the tendency to hardness remains but is not obtrusive. The characteristically firm and clear facial modelling can be exemplified by the bust of the Virgin Orante (XI) or by the fine head of Christ on the wall of Bay IV.

(iii) THE MASTER OF THE TRANSLATIONS

Although Toesca gave this painter the title of the Master of the Translations, the quality of the main story of S. Magnus has led some critics to suggest the identification of a Follower of the Master of the Translations. This may not be necessary; but since the Master of the Translations seems to have been responsible for over half the painting of the crypt, he may have had an assistant.

The Master of the Translations is more economical as a story-teller than the Ornate Master, but never quite achieves the vivacity of the Anagni Master. The use of architectural backgrounds of Byzantine derivation is common both to the Anagni Master and the Master of the Translations; it would, however, be dangerous to suggest that any one of the artists was influenced by the style of another of the three working in the crypt. In Bay II the Anagni Master is found working on frescoes below, and therefore after, ones painted by the Master of the Translations; and in Bay VII, the Madonna by the Anagni Master was painted below and after the Prophets in the vault, the work of the Ornate Master. The evidence is insufficient to allow us to be certain that the Anagni and the Ornate Masters worked only after the Master of the Translations had completed his work. Probably all three worked together.

E. B. Garrison has recently demonstrated in a closely reasoned paper¹ that the Master of the Translations not only worked in fresco, but also as an illustrator, painting the illuminations for a Sacramentary now in the Vatican Library (S. Pietro F.13). The illustrations show (fol. 12 and 12v) the Nativity and S. Matthew writing his Gospel, placed appropriately opposite the Proper for the Vigil of the Nativity of Our Lord (fol. IV). Garrison has made a detailed comparison between the illuminations and figural and architectural details of the Apocalyptic and S. Magnus scenes of the main conch and in the S. Secundina cycle in the left apse. The round faces, round, short-

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¹E. B. Garrison: 'Two Illustrations by the Anagni Translations Master', in Studies in the History of Medieval Italian Painting, II, i (1955). The script of the main part of the codex, the Sacramentary, is to be dated to about 1225. To the front of the Sacramentary was added later a Calendar. In its original form this included a large number of Benedictine saints, but since none of these is rubricated, the original provenance was probably clerical rather than Benedictine. Also among the original entries are S. Francis, canonised in 1228, S. Anthony of Pautea of four years later, and S. Clare who did not die until 1253, but was accepted as a saint immediately. S. Magnus and Secundina were both included in the original form of the Calendar, and their feasts were rubricated, clear evidence of the original Anagni provenance of the Calendar. Later other saints were added by another hand to the Calendar, including feasts peculiar to the cathedral itself—S. Peter of Anagni, who rebuilt the cathedral, on August 3; his biographer, S. Bruno of Segni, on July 18; and on April 20 is added the feast of the Inuentio corporis sancti Magni.

The alterations to the Calendar prove that the codex came to the Cathedral; the Sacramentary with its illustrations had, however, always been intended for use in Anagni, for it includes in its text Masses both for S. Magnus and S. Secundina, feasts celebrated in Anagni but apparently nowhere else at this period.
sighted eyes, identically shaped noses and ears, the linear, unshaded lights and darks of the draperies, the ‘tear-drop’ folds at the knees, as well as architectural features which appear in these two illuminations are found again in the frescoes, drawn more competently. Garrison suggests that the frescoes are the work of a more mature artist.

The firm dark outline to the white hair of such figures as Galen is quite distinct from the method used by the Ornate Master for the head of David (VII), and the drapery form at the stomachs of Elijah (XIX) and of the Almighty (XVIII) is also distinctive. The work of the Anagni Master and of the Master of the Translations may be compared in their representations of the Virgin and Child enthroned, in Bay VII and in the left-hand conch respectively. The narrative style of the Master of the Translations has been described above: the treatment of the stories of SS. Magnus and Secundina around the walls of the apses is such that the continuity of the narrative is expressed by the continuation of the story, episode by episode, along the wall. In the vaults by the Master of the Translations, different problems are involved, for only in vault XIII is the painter telling a story, that of the Capture of the Ark and the Death of Eli. In the opening pair of bays with the Zodiac and the Microcosm, and in the vaults of the front aisle with such subjects as the Vision of the Almighty, Melchisedec or the Dove on the Altar, the painter has static, formal subjects to portray. But the painter displays himself a master of formal invention, perhaps even equalling the Anagni Master’s Abinadab vault (X), when he shows the Ascension of Elijah (XX) or Abraham and Melchisedec (XXI).

Toesca in 1902 compared the frescoes of the Master of the Translations with manuscript work of the same period, making comparisons between the subject matter of the opening bays and similar subjects in scientific manuscripts; the Microcosm, for instance, was compared with Ms. Greco 2460 in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, and another scientific manuscript, at Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge has also been referred to. Garrison’s publication of the illustrations in the Sacramentary not only proves that a thirteenth-century fresco painter might know contemporary manuscript illuminations: he might even illustrate the manuscript himself. In the case of the Master of the Translations, this evidence is made the more relevant by the fact that Garrison has proved by calligraphic and hagiographic evidence that the codex was altered and adapted for use in the very building in which the Master of the Translations worked as a fresco painter.

The strength of connexions between Anagni and Roman art is confirmed by comparison with the frescoes of the apse at S. Silvestro at Tivoli, where the scheme is based on the usual Roman models. In the conch the Almighty is shown giving scrolls to SS. Peter and Paul; below, the twelve Lambs represent the Apostles adoring the Agnus Dei; in the middle order, the Virgin and Child enthroned are flanked by prophets, and below are four scenes of the legend of St. Sylvester. (Further subjects, lower still, are later additions.) The scheme represents a variation on the usual Roman decoration, with the scenes of the local saint’s life taking the place of the more-frequently encountered scenes of the Virgin (as in mosaics of S. Maria Maggiore and S. Maria in Trastevere). As at Anagni, the paintings at Tivoli are not by one hand only; the middle order, showing the Virgin and Saints, seems to be the work of the Master of the Translations.

The Madonna and Child Enthroned is closely related to the similar representation in the left-hand conch at Anagni—in the disposition of the figures, the drawing of the hands, the inclination of the Child and of the head of the Virgin, in the details of the delineation of noses and ears and eyes, in the lines of the sleeves of the Child, and in the jagged line of drapery below the raised hand of the Virgin. The two works are identical in intention and impact.

Similar comparisons may be made with other of the figures at Tivoli. Beyond the figure of the Baptist at the Virgin’s right hand is a figure in military uniform; the drapery at his stomach, in so far as it is visible, is in the form used in vaults XVIII, XX and XXI. The drawing of eyes, nose, beard and ears is characteristic of the Master of the Translations, and the comparison with such figures as Elijah or Galen is even more relevant when considering the next prophet, with a white beard, or his opposite number on the other side of the Virgin. These figures are of a scale somewhat like that of the Elders in the conch at Anagni: at Tivoli the Elders appear in the more usual Roman position, outside the conch, below the adoration of Christ with the Seven Candlesticks and the Four Evangelists symbols on the Triumphal Arch.

Although Toesca’s identification, of the Anagni Master and the Frater Romanus working at Subiaco has not been accepted, the stylistic comparison remains valid. Geographically, Subiaco is not twenty miles from Anagni, and Tivoli is down the valley from Subiaco towards Rome. The

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* For a full view of the apse, see E. W. Anthony: *Romanesque Frescoes* (Princeton, 1951), fig. 68; fig. 69 is of one of the hagiographic cycle; a bibliography is given on p. 71; for a photo of the Virgin enthroned, see R. Van Marle: *Italian Schools*, I (1923), fig. 70; the date suggested is not acceptable. Contemporary frescoes in the crypt of S. Silvestro are unfortunately badly preserved. The cathedral at Anagni has now post-medieval frescoes in the main apse of the (upper) church.
comparisons with the paintings at Subiaco and the indication that the Master of the Translations worked at Tivoli provide evidence, as does the inscription at Castel S. Elia, that the painters came, as did the Cosmati, from Rome to work in the church at Anagni.

Written descriptions of colours are not very satisfactory, and there has been no opportunity to make a full technical analysis of the methods and materials of the Anagni painters. Much of the work was executed a secco. All three painters seem to have used the same small range of colours—blue, green, red, yellow and a flesh tone, though this is not restricted to faces and hands. Purple is used only occasionally, which with white and an almost black paint provides a total of eight colours. All these are kept remarkably distinct and unmixed, with the details and drapery folds added over the main colour with firm, strong, distinct brushstrokes. Only on the large figures of the Elders in the conch is an intermediate tone used, either the flesh tone (used over both red and green) or diluted white. The Ornate Master has a distinct mannerism in the use of harsh round spots of colour on cheeks. The Master of the Translations outlines his faces boldly. Only the Anagni Master, in the bust of the Pantocrator in Vault V particularly, uses paint as if it were a liquid with which facial modelling could be achieved.

One feature common to the work of all three artists deserves notice. Each individual scene is painted within a red border, on the inside of which is usually a narrow dentil pattern in black and white, or, in a more complex form, of black, white and red. Inside this, dividing the border from the blue of the background, is a narrow stripe of green, generally outlined with white. Although the green serves the visual function of a mount, the subject of the scene is not restricted by it. Examples have already been quoted—the stool of Galen, for instance, and the shield of Abraham, both painted by the Master of the Translations. The same practice was followed by the Ornate Master, as for instance in Vault XII where the tops of the towers of Ekron and the heads of the citizens ignore the apparent inner border of green, and in Vault VII, where the four-square placing of the prophets is interrupted by allowing the halo of David and the outstretched hand of Daniel to pass the white line between the blue background and the green ‘mount’: in the centre of the vault the halo, tail and weight-bearing feet of the Agnus Dei are allowed to break even the border of dentils. Similar freedom can be seen in the carrying of the Ark to the House of Abinadab, the Anagni Master’s work in Vault X, where the poles on which the Ark is borne overlap the dentil border, and in Vault V, where, as Saul sits at the table, Samuel’s gown just overlaps the border. In the central quatrefoil the inner border of green and white is interrupted entirely by the shoulders and chest of the Pantocrator, so that His face is nearer to the centre of the vault.

The same practice can be seen in the paintings of standing figures, in the Pantocrator with Saints, for instance, and to particular effect in the Four Standing Saints by the Anagni Master, painted beneath the Galen and Hippocrates by the Master of the Translations. The consistency with which all three artists made use of the device of overlapping the framework supports the suggestion that all were working at the same time.
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APPENDIX II

Other Frescoes

Full descriptions of the other frescoes of the cathedral are given in Toesca’s paper; a short list of these is given here. All are of the thirteenth century.

(i) On the face of the left pillar of the triumphal arch in the upper church: Madonna and Child enthroned; S. Peter (head only).
(ii) In the lunette over the main entrance, inside the church; Madonna and Child between SS. Magnus and Secundina.
(iii) In a portico outside the right-hand apse of the church: Christ enthroned, between SS. Luke and Cataldo.

(The conch and apse around the high altar have modern paintings).

(iv) Under the south side of the cathedral is an under-croft or crypt which contains badly faded paintings which have been attributed to a follower of the Master of the Translations. Iconographically the scheme is less original than that of the main crypt; it includes a sequence of types from the Creation to Abraham which are linked in a general manner to a short set of anti-types. The Last Judgement is on the wall next to the entrance, and along the right wall are seven Benedictine saints. The apse has Christ, the twelve apostles and S. Thomas à Becket and the scene of his martyrdom (see n. 4 above). The arrangement of Biblical subjects in strips along the length of the barrel vault of the chapel is unusual: it recalls to mind a similar vault in the Cappadocian cave church of Tokale Kilisse.

(v) In the vestibule between the entrances to the main crypt and the under-croft are more formal groups of standing figures.

G. Kaftal, Iconography of the Saints in South and Central Italian Painting (1965), became available after this paper had gone to press. It should be consulted for S. Magnus, cols. 717–726 (the miracles illustrated in figs. 853–4 from the walls of bays V and VI have been described above, p.29, in the wrong order); see too especially S. Secundina, cols. 1003–1008 with figs. 1172–1178.

APPENDIX III

References in Text to Bays and Vaults of Crypt

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THE DOLABELLAE OF THE REPUBLIC

The eminent Patrician family of the Cornelii Dolabellae under the early Empire is descended from Cicero's unsatisfactory son-in-law, the consul of 44 (141). It has been adequately traced and plotted in PIR. The young man's ancestors have been less fortunate in their records. Though they produced several consuls and triumphantors, we have only two complete filiations: those of the consul of 159 and the triumphantor of 98. Moreover, despite Asconius' (insufficiently helpful) warning, homonymity between two men holding office in 81 has produced confusion. Drummann, in his stemma and treatment, without argument forged a pedigree for one of them (134: the cos. 81), and this has passed into modern tradition, being accepted (e.g.) as probable by Degrassi and as certain by Broughton. Sheer bad luck seems to pursue this man. At last fairly safely identified by an inscription found in Thasos, he had the misfortune of having it misreported in the Supplement (1960) to MRR. Yet the fact that has emerged about him not only clarifies his own place in the line of descent, but goes far towards enabling us to reconstruct the stemma of the whole family with fair plausibility. Confirmation or refutation will have to wait for further finds.

Nothing much can be done for the first Dolabella in our records, the consul (whether Cn. or P.) of 283 (139). We know nothing of his filiation, and at least two generations separate him from the first of his descendants clearly known to us. The name (= 'hatchet') may well have been earned by this man himself for his great victory over the Gauls. At any rate, he will surely be related to some other branch of the Patrician Cornelii (perhaps with a different cognomen); but we cannot tell which.

It is most useful to start with Cn. Cornelius Cn.f. Cn.n. Dolabella, cos. 159 (132), for whom we have secure information in the Capitoline Fasti. His father will be Cn. Dolabella (131), the rex sacrorum who died in 180. A L. Dolabella (137), iuuir suamalis at the time, seeking to succeed him, was prevented by the evident hostility of the Pontifices. We cannot be quite sure of the relationship of these two men; but they can hardly be father and son, since this would have been mentioned in our source; the refusal to appoint him would have been heinous and remarkable. Since he is obviously a young man, it is most economical to suppose him a nephew.

1 Numbers in parentheses refer to Münzer's entries in RE, s.v. 'Cornelius'. All dates are B.C.
2 PIR iii 318.
3 Asc. 26 Cl. (cf. 74): he could probably have given us filiations.
4 Drummann-Groebel 481 f.; Insc. It. xiii 1, 130; MRR ii 74, 552. (All 'Cn. f. Cn.n.').
6 See TLL, s.vv. 'dolabra', 'dolabella'. The praenomen of the consul is given as P. by Cassiodorus, as Cn. by Eutropius. Despite the general preference for the former, we have no way of deciding. (See Insc. It. xiii 1, 428-9.)
7 For these two men, see Livy xii 42, 8.
8 See Suolahti, Junior Officers (1955), 486ff. This man was hardly born before 203.
Let us, for the moment, leave the descendants of the cos. 159 and follow the line of the young *iiuir naualis*: it is this line that seems to have gained the greater fame in the late Republic. The triumphantor of 98 (138) has long been known to be a Lucius who is P.f. L.n. What we have recently learnt from the Thasian inscription is that Gnaeus, the cos. 81 (134), is also P.f., *i.e.* almost certainly L.n. and in fact his younger brother. It is this crucial fact that is missed by the editors of the inscription and that cannot be disengaged from the erroneous report in *MRR Supplement.*

A P. Cornelius L.f. Dolabella thus links the young *iiuir* with the eminent Dolabellae of the generation of Sulla. He himself no doubt did not live long enough to gain the highest offices; though, for all we know, he may have been praetor.

That the cos. 81 was of this line was, in fact, a reasonably obvious conjecture even before the Thasos inscription appeared, and would probably have been recognised but for the authority of Drummann’s high-handed error. For there are two more Cn. Dolabellae whom we must now consider. To start with the younger and better attested one (135): he was the praetor of 81, whom Verres later assisted in plundering Cilicia and later still betrayed at his trial. He was prosecuted (successfully) by the young M. Scaurus, who had inherited paterna inimicitiae with him: this Dolabella, in his own youth, had helped his *propinquus Q.* Caepio in the latter’s (unsuccessful) prosecution of the elder M. Scaurus, the *princeps Senatus.* That was in 92; and it is an inevitable conjecture that this Dolabella had good reason for his hatred of the *princeps*. This is where our other Cn. Dolabella (133) comes in: he was a half-brother or cousin of L. Saturninus, to whom he remained loyal to the end, dying in the final riots of 100. Now, it was Scaurus, as *princeps Senatus*, who had proposed the ‘ultimate’ decree that empowered the consuls to deal with Saturninus and his followers. The son of one of the victims would have good cause for hating him. *Propinquitas* with Caepio probably came (or, at least, was remembered) later — an incidental consequence of Caepio’s own personal and political evolution during the nineties.

It will also be clear now that both these men should belong to the other line of the Dolabellae, that of the cos. 159, which traditionally bore the *praenomen* Gnaeus. They were by now no longer closely related to the family of the man who in 98 celebrated his triumph, clearly in no way involved in the disturbances that went on until that year. The father of the man killed with Saturninus will almost certainly be another Gnaeus, son of the *cos.* 159. Since these are all eldest sons, we may put his birth c. 170 or even 175, that of his son c. 145: the man who died with Saturninus was not necessarily young and undistinguished — any more than C. Glaucius was (or Saturninus himself); it is quite likely that he had been praetor of only eight years between military tribunate and praetorship is unacceptable.

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* In the *Supplement* the inscription is ascribed to the cos. 44.
* Apart from praetorships to be inferred from later consulates, fewer than 30 praetors are attested for the years 150–130; thus about half the praetors for those years are known (though not usually precise dates).
* See also *RE Supp.* i 329 and cf. iii 258; but the identification with the *tr. mil.* of 89 (whoever he in fact is) is unlikely, since at this time an interval

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10 Asc., l.c. (n. 3).
11 Oros. v 17: ‘Saturnini frater’.
12 On Scaurus’ role in 100, see *vitr. ill.* 72, 9 (sometimes taken, erroneously, as implying friendship between him and Marius!); Val. Max. iii 2, 18 (rhetorically elaborated). On Caepio and his development in the nineties, see my *Studies in Greek and Roman History* (1964), 40f.
or at least was of an age to be so. His son, then, born c. 120, duly becomes praetor in 81. Nor need we be surprised that the son of Saturninus’ frater ends up safely on Sulla’s side. For one thing, many men with suspect connections were finally clever enough to do so; we need only mention that other shrewd and unscrupulous Patrician, M. Aemilius Lepidus. But there is another point to consider: the adherents of Saturninus had little cause to love Marius, and this may have facilitated an understanding with Sulla when the time came.

P. Cornelius Dolabella, praetor urbanus (probably) 69 (140), gained fame as pro-consul of Asia after, when he referred a morally difficult case of murder to the Areopagus. It will be seen that he is fairly certain to belong to the line that already shows a Publius in the second century, i.e. he will be a grandson of that Publius. And we can now say with some confidence that he is the son of the triumphator of 98 (138) and not of the consul of 81 (134). For the son (and not the eldest) of a cos. 81 is most unlikely to be praetor twelve years later; while, in the other case, the interval of c. 30 years fits very neatly. So we may confidently call this man L.f. P.n. He, obviously, is the father of Cicero’s son-in-law, whose birth is assigned by Appian (wrongly, as all recognise) to the year of his father’s praetorship. The error can be explained: Appian—always a poor excipitor and fumbling compressor—probably found the cos. 44 identified as the son of a man who had been praetor in 69 (i.e. 25 years earlier).

With him we may leave the Dolabellae to the labours of PIR. It is to be hoped that more epigraphical evidence will enable us to check the stemma here proposed.

E. Badian

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15 On him (and others like him), see op. cit. (last note) 206–34.
16 See JRS xlvi, 1956, 95f.
17 Val. Max. viii 1, amb. 2; Gell. xii 7, init., calling him ‘Cn.’ Since Gellius also gives a wrong reference to Valerius Maximus (he refers to Book ix), it is clear that he was writing from memory and deserves no credence against his own source.
18 App. b.c. ii 129.
19 I should like to express my gratitude to the British School at Rome for an enjoyable and profitable stay of a few weeks, of which this note is one small product.
APPENDIX: STEMMA

Names in brackets are conjectural persons; numbers in parentheses refer to RE, s.v. 'Cornelius'; filiations in parentheses are attested as given.

Cn. (or P.) Dolabella, cos. 283 (139)

[Cn. Dolabella?]

Cn. Dolabella

Cn. Dolabella, rex sacr. (131)

[Cn. Dolabella]

Cn. Dolabella, killed 100 (133)

Cn. Dolabella, pr. 81 (135)

L. Dolabella, iiuvir nau. (137)

L. Dolabella (P.f.L.n.), pr. c. 100 (138)

Cn. Dolabella (P.f.), cos. 81 (134)

P. Dolabella, pr. 69 (140)

P. Dolabella, pr. 44 (141)
NOTES ON CYRENAICAN INSCRIPTIONS  
(Plate X)

1. THE GOVERNMENT OF CYRENAICA IN THE THIRD CENTURY A.D.

In *PBR* XXX (1962) p. 37 f. R. G. Goodchild and I published two inscriptions that mention procurators operating in Cyrene in the early third century A.D. In the earlier, the procurator of three Augusti (one of whom was subjected to *damnatio memoriae*) is described by the garrison commander at Cyrene as *praeses optimus et benignissimus*, a description which would be appropriate to a governor; in the later, dated in the reign of Gordian, a procurator is presented as himself conducting the ceremonial dedication of a monument erected by the garrison in honour of the emperor, an action appropriate to a governor. In our notes we dealt much too briefly with the position of these men, simply stating our view that the title *praeses*, if not purely honorific, might indicate a temporary interruption of the normal system of administration by the *proconsul Cretae et Cyrenarum*, and that the basic work of a procurator in Cyrenaica was probably in the *ager publicus*. I do not believe that there is good reason to change this view; but in the light of questions that have been put to me about it, I would like to offer a supplementary note in order to justify it.

The earlier of our two inscriptions should belong to the joint reign of Septimius Severus, Caracalla and Geta and cannot be dated later than February, 211. If it is evidence for a change of administrative system in Cyrenaica, that change must have been made before then.

It is a fact that no proconsul or proconsular legate is securely attested as operating in Cyrenaica in the third century. Moreover one relevant senator, Cn. Petronius Probatus, approximately of the time of Severus Alexander, is described in his *curius* simply as *proconsul provinciae Cretae*. The omission of *et Cyrenarum* from his title might be taken to imply that Cyrenaica had been removed from the proconsul's jurisdiction by his time; but it need not do so, as is shown by an inscription in which C. Claudius Titianus Demostratus, proconsul of the combined territories of Crete and Cyrene in 161, is described simply as *γεμίδων Κρήτης, Κυρήνη*. There is, however, evidence for a quaestor in Cyrenaica in the third century, C. Luxilius C. f. Pompt. Sabinus Egnatius Proculus; and a quaestor obviously implies the proconsular system. From Crete and Cyrene, Proculus went on to the posts of *aedilis Cerialis, praetor, legatus provinciae Achaeiae, curator viarum et praefectus alimentorum Clodiae et coherentium, iuridicus regionis Transpadanae et legatus legionis X Geminiae Gordianae* which, at last, gives a date. Since he held his legionary command under Gordian, it is difficult, on any basis of calculation, to see how his quaestorship could have fallen before 211, unless there had been an abnormal retardation in his career. *Prima factie*, therefore, he is a clear impediment to any supposition that there had been a permanent change in the system of administration of Cyrenaica before 211 and indeed for some years thereafter. Possibly the dearth of attested proconsuls and the title of Cn. Petronius Probatus should be regarded as pointers to a change made in the second quarter of the third century, but until further inscriptions appear, it is, I suggest, hazardous, to argue in this way.

I have to thank Professor H. G. Pflaum and Dr. H. Lieb for stimulating comment on the original article, and Professor Sir Ronald Syme for his advice.

2. VOTA PRO SALUTE PRINCIPIS

In *PBR* XXX (1962) p. 33 f. I published two inscribed fragments from Cyrene and Ptolemais respectively, each containing parts of prayer formulae of a type likely to have been used for the annual *vota pro salute principis* on 3rd January. Two more similar fragments have now come to light at

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3 *ILS* 1187.

5 I am told by Professor Syme that if the career proceeded normally the gap between quaestorship and legionary command should not be more than a dozen years.

6 But cf. the similar dearth of recorded proconsuls in Cyprus, see the index to G. Barbieri, *L'Albo senatorio da Settimio Severo a Carino* (Roma, 1952), p. 787.
PTOLEMAIS, each in a different hand, and each in a hand different from that of the previously published Ptolemais one, indicating that ceremonial records were made on a number of occasions, perhaps even annually, on the analogy of the Arval Acta at Rome. The new fragments are of particular interest because they can be approximately dated, one certainly in the reign of Vespasian, the other probably in that of Marcus.

a. Fragment from a marble panel (surviving surface, c. 0.08 × 0.05). Of unknown provenance; now in Tolmeita Museum.

Letters: c. 0-009.
Photo, from a squeeze, see Pl. X, a.

\[ \ldots \]
\[ \ldots \] \( \text{O Tito } \) \( \text{Caesar} \)\( \ldots \)
\[ \ldots \] \( \text{populi } \) \( \text{Romani} \)\( \ldots \)
\[ \ldots \]

It is clear that the name of Titus appears in 1.1 in the dative or ablative case; if the first surviving letter is correctly read as O, the absence of the praenomen imperator shows that Vespasian was still alive.

In the Arval Acta of the first century A.D. the emperor’s name appears in the dative case only in the formulae of prayer at sacrifices to Dea Dia. The use of similar formulae in a province is attested by the inscription on the Ara numinis Augusti at Narbonne; and it is therefore reasonable, as it is possible, to restore the Ptolemais fragment on this basis—

\[ \text{[Quod bonum faustum felix fortunatum salutareque sit]} \]
\[ \text{[Imp(eratori) Vеспasiano Caes(ari) Aug(usto) pontifici maxim(i)] O Tito } \)\( \text{Caesar} \)
\[ \text{[Aug(usti) f(Ilio) Vеспasiano imperatoris reipublicae] populi R(omani)} \]

A reference to the respublica populi Romani is not usual in Arval prayers of this type, but Henzen thought that there was evidence for one in the record of A.D. 38. It remains possible that Titus’ name was in the ablative case. In the Arval Acta, emperors’ names are regularly in the ablative when they are part of a consular date; but a consular date would have the figure indicating the number of Vespasian’s consulate before the name of Titus and it would not stand in the required relationship to a reference to the Roman people. There is, however, one set of Acta, in fact of Vespasian’s reign, in which the list of sacrifices made on 3rd January for the salus of Vespasian is followed by the words item pro T(itio) \( \ldots \) and this wording could be restored in the Ptolemais fragment, although it involves a very long line (c. 71 letters), unless the name of Titus was in curtained form—

\[ \text{[item pr] O Tito } \)\( \text{Caesar} \)\( \text{Aug(usti) f(Ilio) Vеспasiano imperatoris] Iovis o(ptimo) m(aximo)} \\
\[ \text{b(ouem) m(arem) Iunoni uacc(am) Mineruae uacc(am) Salutis]} \]
\[ \text{[publicae] populi R(omani) uacc(am)} \ldots \]

b. Fragment of a marble panel (0.06 × 0.06 × 0.03) probably from its right side, since in lines 2 and 3 an unfinished word is followed by a space. Found in 1955, in the Odeon; now in Tolmeita Museum.

Letters: 0.007.
Photo, from a squeeze, see Pl. X, b

\[ \ldots \]
\[ \ldots \] \( \text{QN} \)\( \ldots \)
\[ \ldots \] \( \text{populo Ro} \) \( \text{v} \)\( \ldots \)
\[ \text{[mano } \ldots \] \( \text{R(oman) Quiri} \) \( \text{v} \)\( \ldots \)
\[ \text{[ium } \ldots \] \( \text{T(ımp)erator} \) \( \text{Caesar} \)\( \ldots \)
\[ \ldots \] \( \text{RM} \)\( \ldots \)
\[ \ldots \]

In the Arval Acta it is only in the formulae of prayer for the salus of the emperor and his family offered regularly on the 3rd January and extraordinarily on other occasions that the Roman people

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1 See W. Henzen, Acta Fratrum Arvalium (Berlin, 1874); E. Pasoli, Acta Fratrum Arvalium (Bologna, 1950).
2 Henzen, p. 8.
3 ILS 112.
4 Henzen, p. 8, b, 1.3.
5 Henzen, p. 8.
are mentioned twice in such quick succession, the first time in the dative case. With these as models, lines 1–4 can be restored approximately as follows—

... a(nte) d(iem) III] ηη[as]
[Januarias quae proximae pop]ulo Ro
[mano Quiritibus r(ei) publicae p(opuli)] R(omanorum) Quiri
[tium erunt ...]

The one other surviving element is an emperor’s title, beginning with Imp(erator) Cas(ar) and including either Germanicus, Sarmaticus or Armeniacus; conditions that are fulfilled only by the titles of Domitian and Nerva in the first century, Trajan, Marcus and Commodus in the second and—if we are to remain within the likely time-limits—Caracalla in the early third.

It appears that it was normal to inscribe these formulae of prayer in full or with slight abbreviations in the Arval Acta of the first century until and including the reign of Domitian; the practice under Nerva is unknown, but from Trajan to Antoninus Pius inclusive, they seem to have been omitted; they recur under Marcus but are not attested thereafter. While there can be no certainty that a province would keep such records in the same way as the Arvals did, it is a possibility pointing to a date either under Domitian (or possibly Nerva) or under Marcus for this text.

In the Arval formulae of the first century, the date as restored in lines 1–4 above was preceded by a clause naming the emperor and the members of his family on whose behalf the prayers were offered and followed by more detailed specification of what was sought for them from the gods. In the records of the reign of Marcus there is a change; the clause before the date names the Roman state etc. while the emperor and his family are only introduced after it. That the Ptolemais fragment belongs to the second type suggests quite strongly, I think, that it is to be dated under Marcus. Another argument—more subjective—may be added, for the lettering is such as I would be inclined to date in the middle or later second century.

If this is accepted the text might be reconstructed on the following lines—

[I(uppiter) o(ptime) m(axime) si r(es) p(ublica) p(opuli) R(omanorum) Quiritium imperium Rom]
[anum exercitus socii nationes quae]
[sub dicione populi Romani Quiritium]
[sunt incolumes erunt a(nte) d(iem) III] ηη[as]
[Januarias quae proximae pop]ulo Ro
[mano Quiritibus r(ei) publicae p(opuli)] R(omanorum) Quiri
[tium erunt fuerint et I]mp(eratorem) Ca[es(arem)]
[M(arcum) Aurelius Antoninum Aug(ustum) A]rm[en(iacum)]
[... ?... seruaueris ...]

J. M. REYNOLDS.

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6 Henzen, p. 100 f.
7 The interpretation of the first surviving stroke as part of N is more convincing on the stone than it may seem from the photograph of the squeeze.
8 Henzen, p. 103.
9 Marcus became Armeniacus in 164.
TWO ROMAN VILLAS AT FRANCOLISE, PROV. CASERTA.
INTERIM REPORT ON EXCAVATIONS, 1962-64
(Plates XI—XIII)

The excavations described in the following pages were sponsored by the Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, and have been carried out by members of the Institute in collaboration with members and associates of the British School at Rome. The enterprise is under the general direction of two of the undersigned and the third, Mrs. M. Aylwin Cotton, is the Field Director. The work has been financed by grants from the Batchelor Foundation and from New York University.

The warm thanks of the excavators are due to the Superintendant of Antiquities for Campania, Professor Alfonso de Franciscis, for his generous support and for much valuable assistance afforded by himself and by members of his staff. The possibility of examining a site in the Ager Falernus was first suggested by the late Professor Maiuri, and the sites finally selected for examination were proposed by Dr. Werner Johannowsky. Permission to excavate at the site of S. Rocco was generously granted by the Comune of Francolise, through the kind offices of the Deputy Mayor, Signor Del Giacomo; and at Posto by the owner, Signor A. Mesolella of Formia. In all, the work here recorded represents 21 weeks’ work with a labour force of between 35 and 45 workmen, undertaken on three separate occasions during the summers of 1962, 1963 and 1964.

The purpose of the present report is to give a summary account of the work so far undertaken, together with some provisional conclusions as to the purposes and dates of the individual buildings discovered. A more detailed account, together with full particulars of the structures, of the stratification and of the associated finds, must await the conclusion of the excavation.

The intention of the excavation was, if possible, to throw light upon the architecture and layout of a typical villa rustica of the late Republican period. This is a phase of Roman domestic architecture which is well documented in the literary sources, but for which there is all too little comparable archaeological evidence. For such an enquiry the Ager Falernus, an area which was intensively settled in Republican times but which was soon afterwards replaced in popularity by the coastlands of central Campania, seemed to offer a particularly promising setting, since here, if anywhere, one might reasonably expect to find the remains of such villas relatively unencumbered by later remains. A secondary aim of the excavation was to establish the basis for a stratified type-series of the pottery, lamps and other small objects in domestic use within the area.

The sites selected were those of two villas less than a kilometre apart in the immediate neighbourhood of Francolise, a village adjacent to the modern route of the Via Appia (SS 7) at Km. 184, about 15 km. north-west of Capua (fig. 1).
One of these sites lay immediately to the east of the village, on a rocky spur adjoining the chapel of S. Rocco, where shortly before the Second World War the preparation of foundations for a hospital building had revealed traces of a substantial Roman villa. The remains exposed on that occasion, including opus incertum masonry and mosaics of late Republican type, were sufficient to justify the suspension of building operations, and the site was clearly one that merited further examination.

The second site adjoins the Via Appia and is known locally as Posto. Before excavation it consisted simply of an upstanding rectangular platform incorporating a group of concrete-vaulted cisterns at the upper end. Traces of walling in opus incertum and a substantial scatter of late Republican and early Imperial sherds in the immediate vicinity indicated a chronological range covering the desired period, and

![Fig. 1](image-url)

the reported discovery within the platform of a number of large storage jars suggested the likelihood of its having been used for agricultural purposes.

Together, the two sites appeared from the outset to be complementary in character, the one clearly incorporating a well-to-do residence, possibly with adjoining farm-buildings, the other apparently a strictly functional villa rustica, with no pretensions whatsoever as a residence. This apparent difference in social status seemed to offer an opportunity of obtaining an archaeological picture covering a wide range of practice under identical local conditions, and it was accordingly decided to examine both sites concurrently. The report that follows summarises in turn the results so far obtained from each site. Only after the completion of the excavation will it be possible to present those results within the larger framework of their social and historical setting.
I. THE VILLA OF SAN ROCCO (figs. 2-5)

(Carta d’Italia, map sheet 172 IV 50, Carinola, 211599)

The village of Francolise, dominated by the bulk of its large medieval castle, occupies the western extremity of M. Telefono, a low but prominent eminence (m. 144) which itself constitutes the extreme western end of the M. Maggiore massif, and in particular of the range of limestone hills which at this point separates the line of the Via Appia from that of the Via Casilina, to the north.

The site is a fine one, commanding a wide panorama to the north, south and west: to the west and south-west (pl. XII, a) towards the sheer slopes of M. Massico (m. 811), which runs down to the sea at Mondragone, near the site of the ancient Sinuessa; to the north-west towards the massive bulk of M. Roccamonfina (m. 1005), on the lower eastern slopes of which 7 km. to the north and clearly visible from Francolise, lies Teano, the ancient Teanum Sidicinum; and to the south and south-west across the fertile coastal plain towards the sea, 16 km. distant, and to the mouth of the Volturno. Twelve km. to the west, just out of sight across the low saddle between M. Massico and M. Roccamonfina, lies Sessa Aurunca, the ancient Suessia, and 6 km. to the east Calvi Risorta, the ancient Cales. Although in antiquity the Via Appia must have passed some distance to the south of Francolise, there were easy natural routes leading to Suessa, Teanum, Cales and Capua, and the situation of the medieval castle is a further indication that this has in fact at all times been a natural communication centre for local traffic.

Geologically too, Francolise occupies a focal position at the junction of two successive and very different geological horizons. The earlier physiognomy of this countryside is represented by the limestone massifs of M. Massico and of M. Maggiore, including the ridge upon which Francolise itself is built. Superimposed upon this is the mass of M. Roccamonfina, a characteristic conical eminence of recent volcanic origin, the lower foothills of which spread eastwards beyond Teano and south-eastwards well down into the gap between M. Massico and M. Maggiore. Although Francolise itself and the S. Rocco villa take advantage of the limestone, the Posto villa is built on the apron of volcanic tufa which everywhere overlies the base of the limestone ridge, spreading thence some distance southwards out into the coastal plain. Historically and archaeologically this geological distinction is of considerable importance as controlling such matters as the availability of water and of building materials, and it must also have played a large part in determining the agricultural economy of the individual villas.

The villa of S. Rocco occupies an artificial platform just south of the crest of the ridge, about 400 m. to the east and slightly to the south of the church of Francolise and immediately south of the chapel of S. Rocco (pl. XI, a). Though situated barely 50 m. above the level of the plain the site is a fine one, with superb views to west and south, and it is not surprising that it should have been chosen for occupation by a residential villa. The excavation of this building, though still far from complete, has revealed two principal and one subsidiary building phases

1 The exact line which it follows across the Falernian plain, between Sinuessa (Mondragone), on the coast at the point of M. Massico, and Capua, has still to be determined.
(Periods I–III), together covering a period of some two centuries, between (approximately) the middle of the first century B.C. and the middle of the second century A.D. There are traces of an architecturally insignificant reoccupation of the ruins (Period IV) at some date in later antiquity which has still to be determined.

*San Rocco I* (fig. 2)

The plan of the original villa is as yet only partly known, since it is partly destroyed, partly re-used and partly buried beneath the superimposed structures and pavements of Period II. The lifting of some of the Period II floors, for consolidation before relaying, will doubtless reveal further elements of the earlier building and will make it possible to excavate more of the associated levels and so to establish the chronology on a firmer basis.

In Period I a rectangular platform, about 800 square metres in extent (*i.e.* rather smaller than that of Posto I), was created by cutting into the hillside along the northern side and facing the cut with a revetting wall, and by building retaining walls of *opus incertum* on the other three sides. This platform was infilled with earth and stone to make a level terrace on which to establish the floors. The walls

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*This has so far been traced only on the southern and western sides.*
were founded down to the bedrock, the retaining wall being especially strong at the south-western angle, where the slope is steepest. The stone used throughout was the brittle grey limestone quarried from the adjoining hillside.

Only a few rooms in the north and west wings have as yet been fully explored, notably Rooms A and E, which were re-used in Period II and were thus available for examination. In Room D, too, only two small patches of the overlying Period II floor had survived, and it was possible, here too, to clear the later infill and so to expose the Period I pavement. Room A may have been one of the main living rooms. Rooms D, E and F were cubicula, divided from Room A by a narrow corridor ('C1').

Room A, which opened off this corridor, with a second doorway leading into Room C, had a niche in the middle of its north-east wall and on the floor a fine lithostroton mosaic pavement of Palestrina type. Room C2 along the south-east side may have been a second corridor. Room E is a cubiculum, situated so as to enjoy the fine view out over the surrounding countryside. The position of the couch at the east end is marked by a pair of shallow projections in the green-painted plastering of its walls; between them ran a band of black-and-white mosaic with a simple design of counterposed triangles. The floor within the area occupied by the couch was of plain white opus signinum, made of crushed white limestone, and that of the rest of the floor is similar, but with the addition of large, regularly-spaced black tesserae. Room D is larger, and the siting of the mosaic band suggests that the couch was placed up against the south wall, but the flooring is in other respects similar to that of Room E. A square cavity in the floor at the south-east corner, with a tiled floor, may have served as a lavabo.

In the north wing of the villa there is an area (marked 'P' on the plan, fig. 2) in which, although the Period I walls have been much obscured by later work, the lower floor-level was retained throughout the life of the building. This floor ('os') is of opus spicatum; i.e. of small rectangular bricks laid on edge in a herring-bone pattern. Similar floors are found in classical buildings over a long period, but at Pompeii they are found only in the earlier houses.

The working quarters of the period I villa, as yet only partially excavated, were sited on a lower terrace just outside the south retaining wall of Platform I. Here there has been found part of a large storage vat, adjoining a floor of opus signinum, into which are set two slightly raised circular areas bounded by tiles set on edge. A similar floor can be seen, partially exposed, above the cisterns of a villa situated some distance up the hillside, to the south-east of San Rocco, near Casino Marinelli. The purpose of these specialised floors has not yet been determined. So far no installations for the processing of olive oil have come to light in the context of San Rocco I, but the area exposed is small.

The water supply of San Rocco I is represented by a cistern, placed centrally, beneath what was later to become the peristyle of Period II. From it radiated channels, into which two well-shafts are known to open.

Until more of the associated levels have been explored, it will not be possible to date the early buildings with any precision. They are certainly pre-Augustan and date probably from the second quarter or from the middle of the first century B.C.
San Rocco II (figs. 3–5)

In the second period the building was greatly enlarged and radically redesigned, only a few of its earlier features being incorporated in the new plan. The orientation of the building remained the same, with the main axis running from west to

Fig. 3

(Period II walls shown in black)
east through a square central peristyle enclosed by four unequal wings. To accommodate the enlarged villa the Period I platform was extended towards the west, south and east, among other things obliterating the existing lower terrace. In compensation, a large new wing was added to the east, beyond the main block. Over much of the area of the early villa the floor-levels were raised by about 80 cm. Except for those Period I walls that could be re-used within the new plan, the earlier masonry was razed to floor-level or removed altogether. The few Period I rooms that remained in use were modified.

The siting of the new central peristyle put out of use the existing arrangements for the storage and drawing of water and called for a fresh supply commensurate with the greatly increased size and needs of the villa itself. A new terrace was cut into the hillside towards the north, at a higher level than the main villa platform and extending the whole length of the new building. Deeply set into the sub-soil and rock of this new, upper terrace are two systems, each consisting of three parallel cisterns of great capacity. The north-western group alone has an estimated capacity of 565,000 litres; the north-eastern group, though explored, has not yet been excavated.

The total area covered by the Period II villa is of the order of 4,400 square metres (about 1⅓ acres), of which about 1,200 square metres are situated on the upper terrace. Only the western half of this area is shown in fig. 3. Except for the group of structures illustrated in fig. 5, the eastern part is not yet sufficiently excavated to merit illustration.

Within the area so far excavated it is the buildings adjoining the north-west corner that are best preserved, thanks to the conformation of the ground and to the correspondingly greater depth of soil above them. The present surface dips gently towards the south-east corner, and here very little of the original pavement has survived and the details of the plan are still to be determined. In all, however, at least twenty-nine rooms, together with dividing corridors, can already be distinguished; and these suffice to show that, despite the conventional grouping around a central peristyle, the villa in this period also takes on the outward-looking characteristics of a 'panoramic' villa, typical of the luxurious villas which surround the Bay of Naples. This is best seen on the west side, where the view was finest. Here was added in Period II a terrace with a covered portico (Room 7); and the conversion of the cubicula D and E of the early villa into Rooms 9 and 10 of the new building was probably designed to take advantage of the same feature.

The peristyle was enclosed by four equal porticoes, each of four columns (twelve in all) with a basin or fountain of white marble in the centre of the garden area. Traces of stucco fluting are all that has survived of the columns, but by analogy with the surviving architectural fragments from other parts of the building (e.g. from the portico in Room 7) they were of brick, with capitals and bases of a fine lithoid tufa. The edge of the peristyle roof was marked by a moulded terracotta frieze, very like that restored and seen in position round the atrium of the Villa of the Mysteries at Pompeii. It was decorated with a palmette design and had antefixes in the form of the forequarters of a lion. The flooring of the porticoes was a lithostroton mosaic of Blake Type II, i.e. made of ordinary white tesserae incorporating small, irregularly shaped fragments of coloured stone.
The main living rooms, a tablinum and a triclinium (Rooms 2 and 3), were sited along the west side of the peristyle. The detailed description of the mosaics in these and in the adjoining rooms must await the completion of the excavation. With the single exception of Room 10, where a plain black-and-white meander is used to patch the scar left by the elimination of a Period I wall, the borders and the smaller rectangular panels in the doorways are polychrome and exhibit a wide range of designs, including elaborate meanders, scale patterns and a variety of quasi-illusionistic, ‘isometric’ motifs. An oblique chequer-board in black and white occupies the whole central Panel in Room 4 (pl. XII, b), whereas in the larger rooms there is a central emblema (largely destroyed in Room 3 and of ‘isometrically’ shaded lattice-work in Room 2) surrounded by fields of plainer colour: white with small, regularly spaced groups of darker tesserae, black in Room 2 and multicoloured in Room 3. Room 2 also contains a smaller panel of lithostroton, similar to that of the peristyle porticoes. Here and there (on the very small fragment that survives of the Period II floor in Room 9 and in the frame enclosing the robbed emblema of Room 20) naturalistic designs in the form of floral or bud-and-tendril motifs make a first, tentative appearance, but the overwhelming majority of the designs are purely geometric. The well-preserved pavement of Room 20 (pl. XII, a) is so markedly different in other respects as well, both in the forms and colour-range of the border design and in having once possessed a studio-made emblema in a terracotta tray, that it may well have been of different workmanship and date.

A feature of unusual technical interest is that at two points, in the strip between Room 3 and the peristyle (a design of rosettes in hexagons) and again in Room 20, one can still see, cut into the underlying matrix, the lines used by the mosaicist in setting out this design.

The eastern part of the Period II building awaits further examination. The only part that has been fully explored is a range of five rooms (S1–S5; v. fig. 5) and, adjoining them, what may have been the main entrance to the villa, with flanking columns and a paved access road.

Subject to the further information that may be expected from the lifting of some of the Period II mosaics for consolidation and restoration, the Period II reconstruction of the building seems to date from the third quarter of the first century B.C., and thus to have followed quite soon after the original construction.

San Rocco III (figs. 4, 5)

During this phase the Period II villa continued in use, with certain interesting modifications. So far as is known at present, however, these consist merely of alterations and adaptations of function to specific areas; they do not constitute a major rebuild.

On the upper terrace, there are indications that a water catchment tank may have been built over the north-western group of cisterns, but more excavation is needed to disclose the full details of the use of this upper area.

An important innovation was the insertion of a small but well-appointed bath-suite (fig. 4) into the western end of the north wing of the main residence, adjoining the north-western group of cisterns. Rooms 4 and 5 passed out of use as living
rooms. The northern part of Room 5 was adapted to serve as a praefurnium ('PR') and into its southern half was built a rectangular plunge bath opening off the adjoining frigidarium. The latter ('FR') occupied the southern half of Room 4,
with the original mosaic floor unchanged. The northern half ('CD') became a caldarium, which in turn opened into a second hot room ('TD') with a raised plunge bath ('BC') at the far, eastern end (pl. XI, b). The hypocausts, supported on suspensurae of circular bricks, are still intact, and there are substantial remains of the jacketing of flue tiles; two low footings beyond the plunge bath BC may have supported a testudo. The two hot rooms are paved with large slabs of Carystian marble (cippolino), which bear traces of carved panelling and are evidently re-used, possibly from wall revetments or a garden screen of the Period II villa. The wall at the eastern extremity of this bath-suite is of opus reticulatum, while the southern walls of the two hot rooms contain courses of triangular bricks. Among the latter

![San Rocco III Diagram](image)

**FIG. 5.—THE SAN ROCCO VILLA—OIL VATS.**

are several that bear the stamp of BILLIE[NUS], a name that has been recorded at Capua in a mid-first-century context (*CIL* X, 1, 4044).

Another substantial innovation was the conversion to industrial use of the three rooms (S1–S3) which flanked the presumed main entrance of the preceding period (fig. 5). The original floor-levels of Period II have not survived, all three rooms having been deepened and reduced in size by the addition of lining walls, for conversion into vats for the separating of olive oil. The easternmost vat (Vat 3) has been largely destroyed, but the other two (Vats 1 and 2) are substantially intact. Interesting features are the platforms in the angles, for the use of the farm personnel, and (a feature not represented in the Posto villa) the built-in recesses at one corner,
INTERIM REPORT ON EXCAVATIONS AT FRANCOLISE

or in the middle of one side; that of Vat 1 has slots in which a timber shutter could be manipulated to control the input. As at Posto there are sunken hollows in the floor for the separation of the residue of water which, being heavier than the oil, settled at the bottom. In Vat 1 the plaster of the angle-platform has broken away, disclosing opus reticulatum masonry.

Part of a small detached out-building was found on the slopes outside and below the Period II platform. It too was of opus reticulatum, with a pink mortar of a kind not yet found elsewhere in the building.

The alterations which constitute Period III seem to belong to the middle of the first century A.D., or soon after.

San Rocco IV

There is little or no evidence of any deliberate destruction of the San Rocco villa, which seems rather to have been gradually abandoned and allowed to fall into decay. The precise duration of its occupation has not yet been determined. Sherds of Red Polished ware (‘terra sigillata chiara’) ascribable to the second century A.D. suggest that it was still in occupation at any rate during the earlier part of that century. On the other hand, the discovery among the fallen debris of the western retaining wall of the Period II platform of a hoard of seven denarii, the latest coin of which is dated to A.D. 160 at earliest, shows that by this date the villa was no longer being well maintained.

A rough wall of roof tiles built across the portico of the peristyle attests occupation by squatters at some later date, but there was no associated material by which to date it. At present no other structures can be ascribed to this phase, nor have there been any finds of burials or of late pottery comparable to those found in association with Posto IV.

II. THE POSTO VILLA (figs. 6, 7)

(Carta d’Italia, map sheet 172 IV 50, Carinola 215591)

The Posto villa stood on gently sloping ground in an olive-growing area, at the point where the high ground levels out into the plain of the Ager Falernus. The subsoil is the thick apron of volcanic tufa which here overlies the base of the limestone hills and is itself overlaid by deposits of wind-blown soil of a pozzolana-like character. All but the finest building materials could be supplied from the large open tufa quarries just across the road, and in the earlier phases of the villa’s existence galleries cut in the soft underlying rock were sufficient to house the building’s water supply. This was later supplemented by built cisterns, fed by an aqueduct from a rain-water catchment area on the slopes of M. Telefôno.

The site has yielded evidence of three main building periods (Posto I–III); and it was reoccupied for a time in late antiquity (Posto IV).

Posto I (fig. 6)

The original villa rustica occupied a rectangular area of about 850 square metres. The enclosing walls and the foundations of the villa itself were of fine opus quadratum, in blocks of a distinctive bluish-grey tufa, quarried presumably on M. Roccamonfina and laid without mortar. The living quarters occupied the north wing, facing out over a central courtyard. They have suffered greatly from the superimposition
of the Period II north wing, but the plan of five rooms (A–D, G) can be recovered in whole or in part, and at one point the superstructure can be seen to have consisted of small panels of limestone rubble laid within a timber framework (pl. XIII, b), a technique (*opus craticium*) that is represented in the houses of the Samnite period at Herculaneum. The two floors remaining in position are of *cocciopesto*, whereas those in the courtyard and in the other wings were of plain plaster, and some of the rooms had moulded plaster cornices. A well in the courtyard (Well 1, fed by a lead pipe with a protective tile cover), opened into the water-storage cisterns cut in the rock beneath.

The west wing seems to have consisted of an open portico, and there may have been lean-to sheds or other wooden structures along the other two sides, except at the south-east corner, where there were two rooms with tufa foundations (Rooms E and F). The main entrance was on the east side, just south of the rooms of the north wing, and there was a small subsidiary entrance into the courtyard through the south retaining wall of the platform.

A large *dolium* trenched into the subsoil outside the west wall of the platform, together with a storage-vat built into Room B, attest the varied agricultural
activities of this early building; and in the courtyard, beside Well 1, there was a vat for the separation of olive-oil, of the same general type as those already described in San Rocco villa, but smaller and considerably earlier in date.\(^2\)

Although many of the details have been destroyed or obscured by later occupation, the overall picture is clear enough. It is that of a simple farmhouse, with the living quarters occupying one wing and lean-to sheds or porticoes, for the storage of crops, carts and farm-implements or for the stalling of farm-animals, grouped around the other three sides of a central courtyard. The more substantially built rooms at the south-east corner could have served as extra living-quarters for the farm-labourers.

On the basis of the associated pottery the first occupation of the Posto site may be dated tentatively to the period between 120 and 80 B.C.

*Posto II* (fig. 6)

The most important feature of the second phase was the complete rebuilding of the living quarters in the north wing. Except for most of the *cocciopesto* floor of Room A, the structures of the Period I building were not re-used, most of the walls being robbed of their tufa foundation blocks and totally destroyed. Presumably the villa had prospered, for the new north wing consisted of at least nine rooms. To accommodate them the platform had to be extended towards the east and the west; and the water supply was greatly increased by the construction of three large vaulted cisterns to the north of the living-rooms of the residential wing. The south outer wall remained in use, with the addition of three semi-circular buttresses where it had begun to sag outwards. The small south entrance was now blocked.\(^4\)

The walls of the Period II building were of mortared limestone rubble approximating to *opus incertum*; and for the more important foundations the tufa blocks of the previous building were re-used, this time laid with mortar and packed, where necessary, with mortared rubble.

The main entrance was now extended eastwards to the edge of the new platform. The unusual strength of the walls of Rooms 7 and 8, beside the entrance, may denote a two-storeyed tower of a type familiar from the wall-paintings of Roman Campania. The room on the other side of the entrance (Room 10) was perhaps a porter's lodge. That one or more of these rooms had an upper storey is suggested further by the discovery, among the debris of the Period II villa which fills the entrance itself, of the remains of a pavement, evidently fallen there from a height. This was of *opus signinum*, with pieces of coloured limestone inset into its surface, and it represents the most developed type of pavement yet found at Posto.

There may have been a secondary entrance from the north, opening into a passage, which in turn led into Room 2.

In the courtyard, the original well (Well 1) went out of use and was sealed off by a large, shaped tufa slab. The remains of a carefully built well-head mark the top of a new shaft (Well 2) which was opened in its place into the cisterns beneath. The Period I oil-separating vat seems to have remained in use.

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\(^2\) This vat is now (1965) seen to have been inserted in Period IA, an intermediate period during which the courtyard was subdivided into two parts and the buildings round it considerably developed.

\(^4\) The buttressing of the south wall is now seen to have taken place in Period IA; see previous note.
There is little to show how the south and west wings were used in this period, since the associated floor-levels have all been ploughed away. The re-used floor of Room A was patched, where necessary, to close the gaps made by the insertion of the Period II walls.

The date tentatively assigned to Period II is pre-Augustan, roughly contemporary with, or a little later than, San Rocco I. This date may, however, call for some modifications when the associated pottery has been more fully studied.

*Posto III* (fig. 7)

Four substantial alterations were made to the villa during this phase:

(i) A three-room bath-suite was built into the north-west corner of the main wing, obliterating the Period II, north-western entrance. It consisted of a frigidarium (‘FR’) with a D-shaped plunge bath (‘CB’), at first marble-lined but later reduced in size by the addition of a thick internal rendering; a tepidarium (‘TP’); and a caldarium (‘CD’), which had a small D-shaped hot plunge bath (‘HB’); a pair of low walls may have carried a testudo. The hot rooms were serviced by a praefurnium at the west end, now destroyed except for its flue, and a pair of drains discharged into a main drain which was cut through the north-west corner of the Period II platform wall.

(ii) The platform was extended southwards, enlarging the size of the courtyard by some 600 square metres. Plastered floors and a few post-holes are as yet the only indication how this added area was used.

(iii) The Period II well in the courtyard remained in use, but there was now provision for bucketing water up from the latter and tipping it into a specially built water-channel, which emptied into the south sides of Cisterns 2 and 3. This channel divided Rooms 7 and 8 from the rest of the rooms in the north wing.

(iv) Rooms 7 and 8 were readapted for industrial purposes. Two new oil-separating vats were installed in Room 7 (pl. XIII, a) and the north and east walls of Room 8 were levelled so that it now opened towards the exterior, and alongside it was established an oil press. This consisted of a massive cylindrical block of limestone, into the circumference of the upper surface of which were cut four symmetrically placed, dovetail-shaped recesses, to hold the rigid upright timbers of a wooden screw-press. The base was sunk into a circular pit lined with opus reticulatum, and adjoining it was a small shed or shelter carried on four wooden posts.

There was less living space in Period III than in the previous period, but the occupants now enjoyed the luxury of a small private bath suite. There was far greater emphasis on the production of oil, and there was more space available for working-quarters, sheds and barns.

A pre-Flavian date seems to be indicated for the Period III alterations.

*Posto IV* (fig. 7)

After the villa had fallen into disuse the site was for a time reoccupied. On the eastern side the survival of the earlier retaining walls of the platform has ensured the survival also of some of the later levels, and here there can be seen the remains
of a wall that is not only out of alignment with the villa and its platform but is also
founded on top of all the other structures, blocking the former main entrance.
Seven tombs, four of them infant burials, were found outside the platform walls.
One, an intact tomba a cappuccina of carefully laid tegulae and imbrices, was unfor-
tunately devoid of datable grave goods. Another, dug into the collapsed debris
of the platform wall near the north-west corner, was that of a woman wearing bronze
ear-rings set with blue glass beads.

The pottery and lamps found in the associated levels indicate a date between
c. A.D. 350–370 and the middle of the following century, or soon after.

P. v. BLANCKENHAGEN
M. A. COTTON
J. B. WARD-PERKINS
## ERETUM

(Plates XIV–XXV, XXXVII–XXXVIII)

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## I. INTRODUCTION*

The ancient Sabine town of Eretum is said by the Peutinger Tabula to lie on the Via Salaria 14 m.ρ. from Fidenae (the modern Castel Giubileo) and by the Antonine Itinerary 18 m.ρ. from Rome. The distance is corroborated by Dionysius of Halicarnassus (A.R. 11.3) who puts it 140 stades = 17½ m.ρ. from Rome. Strabo (5.228) adds that it was close to the Tiber (ὑπὲρ τοῦ Τιβέρεως καιμένην) where the Via Nomentana joins the Via Salaria. This last piece of evidence is misleading, since the Via Nomentana after Nomentum ran due north-east towards Monte

*Throughout this article grid references are given according to the Passo Corese map published by the Istituto Geografico Militare; the lettered reference is UG. I am deeply grateful to Mr. J. B. Ward-Perkins, Mrs. Anne Kahane, Miss Joyce Reynolds, Mr. D. E. Strong, Mr. A. J. Saint, Mr. D. M. Bailey, Mr. P. M. Branston, the numismatic and photographic departments of the Ashmolean Museum for their assistance, and to the Trustees of the Craven Fund.

Numbers in heavy type refer to the list of sites contained in Section 5, pp. 92–104.
Libretti and did not in fact join the Via Salaria. As will be seen, however, there were a number of important lateral roads which linked the Via Nomentana and the Via Salaria and it is to one of these that Strabo probably refers. In 1910 in the course of reconstructing the modern Via Salaria, there was found 250 m. north-east of the old Osteria Pedochi the eighteenth milestone of the ancient road (Not. Scav. 1910, 366 ff.):

XVIII
IMP. NERVA·CAESAR
AUGUSTUS
PONTIFEX·MAXIMUS
TRIBUNICIA·POTESTATE
COS. III·PATER·PATRIAE

The milestone, dating from A.D. 97, which is now in the garden of Monte Maggiore, fixes the site of Eretum. A few metres to the north of the find-spot the line of the Roman Via Salaria swings to the east and, crossing the railway just north of the railway Casale Casa Cotta, climbs up on to a thin promontory of land. The site—a typical tongue-shaped archaic site—is liberally covered with remains from archaic to medieval times. It had already been identified as Eretum by Chaupy, who gives a graphic account of what was visible in his day (including "un mur même flanqué de tours"—presumably that of the medieval village of Rimane, which occupied the same site) and the identification was confirmed by Ashby. There is no need to consider the alternative identifications of older topographers which are fully summarised by Ashby (PBSR, iii, 1906, 26).

Servius (ad Aen. 7.711; cf. Solinus 2.10) derives the name ënò ῥῆς "Ḥp̣̣ṣ, ịḍ est, a Iūnōne quae illic colitur" but this is mere antiquarian conjecture. The name is always unaspirated and the religion of the inhabitants of Eretum will primitively have been Sabine, not Greek. A more promising approach would be to connect the name with the Umbrian eretu (heritu) = 'optato,' 'desired,' which is found, e.g., in the Iguvine Tables (ii 4; see Buck, A Grammar of Osca and Umbrian). It is certainly not Etruscan or Latin.

Eretum figures but little in Republican literature and the events recorded under the kings are of no strictly historical importance. In the reign of Tullus Hostilius, the Romans demanded satisfaction for the manhandling of some citizens attending a ceremony at the Sabine festival of Lucus Feroniae, and, when this was refused, fought an indecisive battle against the Sabines at Eretum (D.H. 3.32). In the reign of Tarquinius Priscus, the Etruscans, counting on Sabine support, attempted to consolidate bridge-heads on the left bank of the Tiber at Fidenae and Eretum. At Eretum they were heavily defeated in a battle in which Servius Tullius distinguished himself (D.H. 3.39). By now Eretum and Fidenae are presumed to be in Roman hands and a concentrated attack against both of them was launched by the Sabines when Tarquinius Superbus was detained at the siege of Suessa (D.H. 4.51). A further battle between the Romans and the Sabines was fought there in 503 B.C. (D.H. 5.45).
The events of the fifth century are more credible. The consul C. Nautilus used
it as a base of operations against the Sabines in 458 B.C. (Liv. 3.26.2; the campaign
is duplicated in 3.29.7) but in 450 B.C. it was in Sabine hands and was being used
as a base against the Romans (3.38.3). Thereafter, as the Roman power extended,
it fades from the scene. Livy records prodigies from there in 26.23.5 and Valerius
Maximus (2.4.5) anachronistically refers to a villa owned by the ancient Valerii
(who were, of course, a Sabine family) in the vicinity.

From these scattered references a coherent picture, which corresponds with the
evidence both of archaeology and topography, can be constructed. Eretum, like
Fidenae, was a strategic Etruscan bridge-head in Latium: it was presumably con-
nected by a ferry to the important centre of Lucus Feroniae. Eretum also marked
the frontier between the Latins and the Sabines. It was, therefore, a much disputed
place. If controlled by the Etruscans it opened up the communications to Praeneste
and the south. If controlled by the Romans, it confined the Etruscans to the north
bank of the Tiber and prevented the Sabines infiltrating on to the plain of Latium.
Though defensible, it was not a conspicuous natural fortress, like Fidenae: it is
found now in Roman, now in Sabine hands. In later times it was the centre of
a rich and densely-populated ‘villa’ area. Its fertile land and its gentle slopes lent
themselves to gentleman-farming.

The geological constitution of the area is predominantly the clays of the old
Tiber Valley deposits, but there are frequent outcrops of travertine, and limestone
is available from the foothills and outliers of the Sabine mountains a short distance
to the east. Selcë (volcanic basalt) had to be imported, the nearest sources being
in the Monti Sabatini across the river and the Alban Hills. There are also detached
beds of tufa overlying the clays at several points along the east bank of the river
and everywhere along the west bank (e.g. the Grotte Oscure quarries). The ready
availability of clay accounts for the number of kilns found in the area (33, 38, 95).

(A secondary problem of topography concerns Strabo 5.238, who mentions the
Aquae Labanae ὀς ἄπωθεν τοὺσ τοῦτον (sic! the Aquae Albulae) ἐν τῇ Νομενταῖ τοῖς
περὶ Ἀρμοῦ τόποις. There are a number of sulphur springs in the vicinity
but the Aquae Labanae are almost certainly not those of the Rio Moscio (096662: marked ‘Sorg(en)te Sulfurea’ on the Italian military map), which are hot and
which preserve no traces of ancient exploitation. The most likely candidate is the
Bagni di Grotta Marozza on the Fosso Fiora (095620; also marked ‘Sorg(en)te Sulfurea’), where Ashby saw ancient remains (PBSR, iii, 1906, 72). The spring
is a large, single one and the foundations of the modern factory, built some sixty
years ago to extract gas from the spring and now disused, incorporate a stretch of
Roman reticulate wall. The neighbouring hills are crowned by at least three villas.)

II. THE DEVELOPMENT OF COMMUNICATIONS AND SETTLEMENT

(a) Archaic roads and settlement (see pl. XXXVII)

Eretum occupies a commanding position on the borders of the Etruscan, Latin
and Sabine worlds and is the meeting-place of several important roads. In archaic
times the main route for the salt-trade from the Tiber mouth through Rome to the
interior, the later Via Salaria, ran along the left bank of the river and passed through
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Eretum. On the other hand, an important lateral road from Lucus Feroniae, Capena and beyond crossed a ferry over the Tiber opposite Eretum and continued across country towards Palombara Sabina and the Etruscanised cities of the south (Tibur, Praeneste etc.). Eretum lay at the cross-roads. In addition, a third main line of communication ran along the eastern edge of the Ager Eretanus, the later Via Nomentana, which carried traffic from Nomentum and the other settlements of the hinterland to join the Via Salaria shortly before it enters the Rieti Gap. Apart from Eretum itself, the Ager Eretanus has few defensible sites, and, in consequence, there are relatively few traces of archaic settlement in the area. Such as there are lie on the Marzolano ridge or close to the line of the archaic roads. It is probable that the region was sparsely inhabited before the settled conditions of the Roman Republic.

In classical times the Via Salaria ran from the Osteria del Grillo along the Tiber Valley until Eretum is reached. At that point it turned inland away from the valley, climbing up the side of the nose of the spur on which Eretum rests, passing through the main Roman town and heading across country towards the conspicuous heights of Monte Maggiore. Thereby in effect cut off the corner at the apex of which Passo Corese lies. The conditions of the valley have, however, altered so greatly since archaic times with silting and with changes of river-bed that it is impossible to detect whether the classical route was also the course of the archaic road. It seems probable that south of Eretum it was. Although there was in classical times a paved road that ran along the bluffs overlooking the Tiber from the Marzolano ridge to Eretum (see below), there is no evidence that it was used in archaic times nor is there any trace, either on the ground or on air-photographs, of its continuing south from the Marzolano ridge to the Fosso Fiora and the Osteria del Grillo. Like the road described below (p. 77), it was evidently a Roman service road from Eretum to the neighbouring villas and stopped on the Marzolano. The archaic road must therefore have followed a course along the edge of the flood-plain of the Tiber and taken to the high ground at Eretum itself. North of Eretum the Roman Via Salaria can be traced along its full length to Grotta della Volpe, north-east of Monte Maggiore, but it betrays none of the characteristic archaic features, although it runs through steep country where it might be expected to have been conspicuously engineered. Nor have any archaic finds been reported along this stretch. On the other hand, there is a well-marked route which runs due north from Eretum through a very pronounced cutting after crossing the Fosso Fontanile. This road keeps parallel to the Tiber. Its exact course has not been pursued beyond the modern Passo Corese—Monte Maggiore road. It seems probable that this represents the archaic Via Salaria, which kept close to the Tiber until Passo Corese and then turned sharply to the east to approach the Rieti Gap. One branch of it will have continued up the Tiber and another will have led to the archaic city of Cures.

The lateral road cannot be traced between the Tiber and Eretum but there have been many changes since antiquity in the exact course of the Tiber, which

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1 L. A. Holland, Janus and the Bridge, 149.  
2 There has been no systematic investigation of Cures since the survey by Ashby, PBR, iii, 1906, 35 f.
may well have flowed close to the western side of the Eretum promontory. The road left the city over the neck of the promontory, running due eastwards at right-angles to the Via Salaria. It followed the ridge, passing in a slight cutting through the gap between two hills, and continues up to the highest shoulder of the Casa Cotta ridge (near Spot Height 60). Here it seems to have divided. One branch kept on eastwards down a dramatic cutting (see pl. XVII, a), sharply marked on the air-photographs and the ground, to the Fosso dei Cupicci. East of the Fosso its course is lost on the gently undulating slopes, although there is a slight cutting over the ridge at 071661. It may have continued on in the direction of Monte Libretti, perhaps skirting the edge of the Rio Moscio, or it may have swung towards the south-east, and keeping to the ridge above the Fosso Grottuccce joined the later Via Nomentana 500 m. from the Osteria di Moricone. Ashby held that this was the route of a very ancient track, and there is a small scatter of Roman tile and coarseware along the line at 088655.

A second branch of the lateral road may have swung south-east from Spot Height 60 and kept to the ridge that joins Casa Cotta with the Colli Cesarinetta. Again, there are no visible signs of it, apart from some archaic settlements (66, 67, 70, 74), until the Colli Cesarinetta; but the air-photographs clearly show a well-marked ridge-track that leads up from Spot Height 106 to the first peak of the Colli Cesarinetta at Spot Height 129. This track shows up well on the ground. At 129, where there was a considerable archaic settlement (55), it joins up with an archaic track coming from the south, which is taken to be the original course of the Via Nomentana (see below) and which leads round the top of the hills and rejoins the Roman Via Nomentana where the Fosso Grottuccce road also joins it, 500 m. beyond the Osteria di Moricone. From that point an archaic track certainly led over Monte Venere in the direction of Palombara. It is conspicuously engineered and is adequately described by Ashby. This track, called the Moricone track, was presumably the main cross-country route from Eretum to Tibur and beyond. The evidence suggests that two branches split off 1 km. east of Eretum and rejoined again 500 m. north-east of the Osteria di Moricone to form a single route through the Monte Venere. But certainly does not seem possible.

The archaic road from Nomentum followed the line of the classical Via Nomentana over Grotto Marozza and beyond Torre Fiora. The gradients are carefully chosen and the road is engineered in parts, although with a road that has been a main thoroughfare for twenty-six centuries (it was still extensively used until the middle of the nineteenth century) and that runs through such soft terrain, it is often difficult to be sure whether the cuttings are archaic or not. After crossing the Fosso Casa Cotta, however, it seems to have taken to the high ground, probably because the valley at the head of which stands the Osteria di Moricone is marshy and liable to flooding. A pronounced cutting to the left of the Roman villa (63) took a considerable road on to the long and easy ridge which leads up to Spot Height 129 and a small archaic deposit (61) was found along the course. Thereafter its course is plain on the air-photographs and also on the ground, as it curves round the top of the ridge to rejoin the line of the later road. Adequate draining

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*PBR, iii, 1906, 74.*
in early Republican times presumably obviated the need for this détour along the top of the ridge, which is so typical of archaic roads. After the Moricone track has branched off to the east, the Via Nomentana can be followed through to near Monte Libretti and down to the Via Salaria at the 26th milestone. The nature of the road suggests that it was archaic.

Traces of archaic settlement are found close to these three archaic routes. Along the line of the Via Salaria there was a cluster of sites: to the south of Eretum archaic tile was found at 109; to the north a scatter of archaic pottery, including grey bucchero and impasto, stretching along the east slopes of the northern spur of the Eretum ridge (1), and two distinct archaic sites further north along the same spur (2, 3); and signs of an archaic settlement were also found just to the west of the road at site 6. As the Via Nomentana coming from the south passes Torre Fiora, a substantial archaic site lies to its east on a defensible nose overlooking the Fosso Fiora at 076625 (97); and to the west of it the broad ridge of the Marzolano, stretching between the Via Salaria and the Via Nomentana, was dotted with archaic settlements (85, 87, 88, 91, 100, 103, 116). It seems to have been the most densely cultivated district in archaic times. After the Nomentana has crossed the Fosso Casa Cotta and taken to the high ground, archaic sherds were found at 083643 (61). The north-west slope of Spot Height 129, where the road joins the lateral road from the direction of Eretum, may have been a large settlement (55), but the ground has been heavily ploughed out. It would be a natural site. The lateral road from Eretum provides nothing until after it has divided at Spot Height 60. The northern branch is flanked by four settlements (76, 78, 45, 46), while the Roman villa that lies close to the southern branch may have been on the site of an earlier settlement (74), but this is very uncertain.

It is remarkable that, apart from an isolated deposit which is suggestive of a burial rather than a settlement at 085670 (36), these are the only archaic remains in the immediate neighbourhood of Eretum. However, it will be seen that the pattern of settlement in medieval times, when conditions of life were not dissimilar, reverted approximately to that of the archaic period.

(b) Republican roads and settlement (see pl. XXXVIII)

A glance at the map reveals the chief difference between the Archaic and the Republican periods. Whereas the archaic remains (fig. 1) hug the Marzolano ridge (which must then, as now, have carried a road) and the main routes of communication, the Republican sites (fig. 2) are spread out over the landscape and were served by their own network of roads radiating out from Eretum. It is the difference between a defensive population and a settled agricultural population engaged in the systematic cultivation of the land.

It is inevitably arbitrary to assign limits to a period, but it seems that the *terra sigillata* wares, introduced in the late Republic, acquired a decisive popularity and quickly superseded the older black-glazed wares. It is, therefore, safe to assume that those sites which have yielded no black-glazed wares were only Imperial foundations, whereas sites with black-glazed represented the extent to which the area was settled in Republican times. The distribution of sites is relatively even:
on the whole, except in the immediate vicinity of Eretum itself, they are about 1000–1500 m. apart. These are large units—nearly 500 iugera.

As is the case in South Etruria, the main routes that were developed in archaic times continued in use throughout the classical period, but at an early date the course of the Via Salaria was re-aligned. Like the archaic road, it ran along the foot of the hills until it reached the nose of the Eretum promontory near the modern Casale Casa Cotta. It climbed the nose on a line, largely obliterated by the railway, which is visible as a depression and which is marked by a number of selce paving-blocks, where it reaches the crest. It then ran obliquely across the main site of Eretum, heading for the sharp right-angled bend in the modern farm-track at 054658. Here it swung to the east and followed the line of the archaic lateral road for about 300 m., from which it diverged to the north after passing through the dip between two hills. Crossing the head of a shallow re-entrant it ran north-east and crossed another low ridge in a dip, leaving Spot Height 60 to its south. After the dip it swung more to the north and ran down a re-entrant to join the modern track about 100 m. from the Fosso Fontanile. The whole of this stretch from Eretum to the Fosso was paved with white limestone blocks, which survive at several points along its course, particularly in the re-entrant down to the Fosso, and it was bordered with tombs and mausolea (7, 9, 10, 13, 14).

There is no trace of the crossing over the Fosso, but the line of the road can be picked up on the other side as it runs up in a marked depression and heads across the fields, leaving the Casale Nuovo on its right. Its course from here to the crossing

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**Fig. 1.—Archaic Pottery in the Ager Eretanus**

**Fig. 2.—Black-glazed Pottery in the Ager Eretanus**
on the Rio Moscio is only conjectural, but some selce paving stones built into the walls near the cross-roads by the military stables indicate that it recrossed the modern road near that point. It approached the Rio Moscio down a small cutting at 074672, which is 150 m. downstream of the corresponding approach on the other bank. The road must have run along to the bank for 150 m. before crossing. No traces of a bridge over this sizable stream survive, but some selce paving blocks have been washed down the bed of the river. The line up the easy slopes to the modern Monte Maggiore road is easily visible as a depression on the ground, although the land has evidently been under grass for a long time and there are no paving blocks or other memorials on the surface.\(^4\) It followed the course of the modern road round to the col between Monte Maggiore and Colle Bernardo, where it descends steeply down the Valle Cascianese to cross the Fosso Carolano near Grotta della Volpe and rejoins the route of the archaic road.

The old Via Salaria north of Eretum does not seem to have been paved in classical times. Although the land between the Fosso Fontanile and Passo Corese through which the road ran has been under grass as a cavalry training ground for a long time so that there are few surface finds, a number of new military roads were being bull-dozed across the line of the archaic road during the winters of 1963–64 and 1964–65 but turned up no paving stones. This northern road, besides providing communication with Passo Corese (Cures), also served at least one Republican site (5).

Of the two branches of the archaic lateral road, there is no sign that the southerly one continued as a main thoroughfare except for the most easterly section, which joined a large site on a spur of the Colli Cesarinetta (64) with the main peak. It is probable that there was always a rough farm-road along its line. The northerly branch is better attested, although it was not extensively paved. A stray selce paving stone was found on the line at 080660, which may have come from a paved section on the steepest part of the ascent up to the Cesarina plateau. Tombs are naturally located beside roads, and what looks like a funerary deposit of Republican ware was found at 073660 (47) and a large mausoleum at 084658 (39). Both branches declined in importance after the construction of the more direct and better surfaced road by the Fosso Cupicci.

The Republic witnessed a dramatic opening up of the main Casa Cotta ridge lying between the Fosso dei Cupicci and the Fosso Casa Cotta. Three new roads were constructed to serve the needs of the settlers. The first ran almost due south from the archaic lateral road near Spot Height 60. On the northern slope of the big re-entrant (062654) a fine stretch of deeply rutted selce paving stones is still in situ, while others are piled beside the modern track. The road served two big Republican sites (81, 82) but does not seem to have extended across the Fosso Casa Cotta. There are no traces either of a crossing or of a line for a road south of the Fosso, nor would there be any need for one with two arterial high-ways, the Salaria and the Nomentana, running parallel at such close distance.

The second new road branched off from the same spot near Spot Height 60 in an east-south-easterly direction and ran in an almost straight line towards Spot

\(^4\) But see 23; Chaupy saw traces of ancient paving on the slopes below the church of S. Anthimus, but these are no longer visible.
Height 129 on the Colli Cesarinetta, thereby providing a third route between Eretum and the Via Nomentana. At its beginning there is one large Republican site (74). Thereafter its course is marked by some stray selce paving stones at the head of the shallow re-entrant below the site. It crosses the ridge and makes for a larger site (73) overlooking the Fosso dei Cupicci. A good line of selce stones marks its course down to the Fosso; it probably did not cross the Fosso but ran along the left-hand bank until the nose of the long ridge running to the Colli Cesarinetta, where the modern road, flanked with pines, crosses the Fosso (069653). (Near this point a diverticum crossed the Fosso and ran up a short re-entrant to serve two Republican sites on the ridge overlooking the Fosso.) For 1 km. up the ridge its course is very obvious and follows the modern trail. Piles of selce paving stones are stacked on either side. It served two large sites on this ridge (59, 60), but only one is certainly Republican. The last stretch of the road is not wholly certain. It probably swung south from the modern track at 080650 and made for the top of Hill 129 rather than for the col between the hills as the modern track does. This seems confirmed by two stray selce paving stones and a slight depression found at 082648. From the top of Hill 129 it joined the archaic Via Nomentana, which remained in use as a service road, and the ridge route up from Casa Cotta.

The third new road, still called the Strada dei Nevi because of the white limestone blocks with which it was paved and which are scattered along its length, left Eretum itself by a well-marked cutting and after reaching the crest of the Casa Cotta ridge at Spot Height 49, swung due south. Two deep cuttings carried it down to and up from the Fosso Casa Cotta. The last trace of it is a solitary limestone block in a field immediately south of the modern road along the Marzolano. This was presumably the limit of its extension. It was a service road of importance which in Roman times gave access to at least seven substantial villas (109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 115, 117).

A clear pattern thus emerges of Eretum in Roman times as the hub of a series of roads radiating out to serve the surrounding vicinity.

III. ERETUM

(a) The ancient town

The Antonine Itinerary states that Eretum, the second stage on the Via Salaria, lay 18 m.p. from Rome. The eighteenth milestone was in fact discovered, when the modern road was being constructed, close to the Casale Casa Cotta (Not. Scav. 1910, 366 ff.) and confirmed the conjecture of earlier antiquarians that Eretum was situated on the narrow promontory which runs north-east parallel with the road and the railway from the Casale Casa Cotta. It is in fact the only site with substantial archaic remains in the vicinity.

On the first impression the long low promontory does not seem an imposing situation. But quite apart from its strategic and economic importance, near the ferry from Capena and Lucas Feroniae and on the line both of the Via Salaria and of a lateral road from Etruria to Praeneste and beyond, the site has considerable natural advantages. It is a narrow steep-sided promontory which, when allowance has been made for erosion and silting, would have been adequately defensible. On one side it is guarded by the Tiber, which probably ran closer underneath it
Fig. 3.—Eretum
than at present; on the other, by the valley of a small un-named stream. It is, in effect, a typical archaic promontory site, and its relatively low height of 50 m. is compensated by the steepness of its sides.

The natural approach to the promontory is from the north-eastern end, where it is joined by a narrow neck of land to the main plateau extending eastward towards the Fosso dei Cupicci; but from archaic times the Via Salaria ascended the nose of the promontory from the south and traversed the whole site. There are obvious analogies with the road-system of the city of Veii.

The character of the city changed in the course of its history. In archaic times it was the nucleus of a small community which benefited from the traffic that passed through, and which will have used the surrounding country for pasture and corn. Its geographical position meant that it was on the frontiers of the Etruscan, Sabine and Roman worlds, and hence its inhabitants required above all a place of refuge and defence. By the end of the fifth century it had passed firmly into Roman hands (Livy 3.26.2, 29.7, 38.3) and served as a stage on a main road rather than as an independent community. It is therefore no surprise that the main Roman site shows its greatest prosperity in the Republic and that the pottery from the Empire is relatively scarce. As the significance of Eretum dwindled to a mere post-stage, so the community ceased to be a city and became a series of wealthy detached villas. It is as a district of villas that Valerius Maximus knows it (2.4.5). Relatively few of these, however, seem to have outlived the fourth century. Compared with South Etruria, the villas of the *ager Eretanus* have surprisingly little late Red Polished ware (*cf.* Appendix III). The reasons for this are not immediately apparent. Perhaps it was found more profitable to farm the land in large units. Alternatively, other economic factors may have led to its depopulation. In medieval times archaic conditions returned and the pattern of archaic settlement was repeated.

The main archaic nucleus was on Hill 51 and formed a rough rectangle stretching from 049564575 to 05106575. A steep scarp isolated the hill from the rest of the promontory to the east, but there are no other certain traces of the fortification or the layout of the early town. The site was re-used by the medieval village which may have sealed much material beneath. The pottery is comparatively late—there is nothing which can be confidently dated before the sixth century—but it is extensive. It includes burnished impasto, grey bucchero, many fragments of archaic storage jars and dolia. Of imported wares may be mentioned a fragment of late Italo-Geometric ware (pl. XXIV, d, white slip with red horizontal bands; c. 600 B.C.), a fragment of an Etruscan skyphos (pl. XXIV, a, red-painted ground with black palmettes; for the design *cf.* Beazley, *Etruscan Vase Painting*, p. 185) and a fragment of coarse, possibly Faliscan ware (white slip with horizontal dark band). A fair quantity of material had also been carried down the south-eastern slopes beneath the archaic settlement. This included impasto jars, late archaic ware with thumb-pressed cable patterns and thumbed cordons, and fragments of cooking stands. In addition to the main settlement there were a number of outlying huts along the promontory. Many of these are no doubt hidden by later buildings, but there was an isolated hut at 048655 which is well to the south of the main settlement. Impasto and grey bucchero as well as fragments of archaic dolium and archaic double-flanged mortarium were found here associated with a quantity of archaic tile. To
the north of the settlement in the area of the main Roman site there are traces of at least two more archaic huts (052657, with red impasto, grey bucchero, archaic dolium and coarse white mortarium; 052568, with burnished impasto, a fragment of a bucchero pedestal base and archaic coarseware, including horizontal handles). These sites should be considered with others along the northern spur of the promontory (1, 2, 3).

The main Roman site lay on the more level ground to the north-east of the archaic site. The reasons for the move are natural. The Romans did not have the same necessity to occupy a purely defensive position and could extend themselves along the broad part of the promontory. Moreover, they would avoid the debris of the older settlement. The limits of the Roman town are hard to define. It seems to have been approximately circular, with a diameter of 150 m. centred on 05356580. The plentiful finds from this area indicate that the settlement was mainly of Republican date, diminishing steadily under the early Empire.

Finds from the main Roman area of settlement include much black-glazed ware, including an oenochoe with satyr-head handle; *terra sig.*; including one stamp (pl. XXIII, e): *in planta pedis* C.A.N.; cf. CIL XI, 6700.4 (Arretium), possibly C. Avilius Nym ... (CIL XV, 5030); also applied ornament and rosette stamps (pl. XXII, a, d, h) and relief ware, including pattern of alternating leaves and spirals grouped about a central stem: cf. Dragendorff-Watzinger Taf. 34, nos. 547, 548. A little Red Polished; Roman thin-walled (including beaker and barbotine fragments); Roman coarseware. Lamp fragments; fragments of blue and clear glass bowls; porphyry and *rosso antico* veneer.

The whole area is thickly covered with building material. Among the objects noted were: travertine Attic column-base (plinth 44 × 44 cm.); travertine Doric capital (74 × 74 × 17 cm.); travertine fluted column-drum (50 cm. in diameter; 10 cm. long); travertine chancel post, fluted on two sides (19 × 14 × 99 cm.); travertine and marble squared blocks; red, purple, painted and figured wall-plaster; many tesserae (white limestone, basalt, blue glass); window glass; quantities of amphora and dolium. The many tiles include three stamps (Appendix I, b), one of the early first century (pl. XXI, b) and two of a.d. 123.


Contemporary with the main area of settlement but perhaps enjoying a longer life were four large independent structures.

1. The 'North-West Villa' (052659). On the north-western slopes of Hill 52 some 150–200 m. from the edge of the main Roman settlement, a platform had been constructed to carry a large Roman structure. Associated with it was a double cistern (12 m. × 6·50 m.) of op. signatum which lay 50 m. from the ruins of a modern barn. Terra-cotta pipes led down from it.

Black-glazed; *terra sig.*; Red Polished. Roman coarseware. Tile, amphora, dolium. Travertine blocks.

The lower levels may still be intact, as little fine ware or floor material was found.

2. 05156580. 100 m. from the North-West Villa round the curve of an indentation in the Eretum promontory a small Roman site partially overlaps an earlier archaic settlement. It is probably part of, though detached from, the main Roman village.

Black-glazed; *terra sig.*; Roman coarseware. Purple painted wall-plaster; black basalt and white limestone long tesserae. Tile, including stamp (Appendix I, a) of the first century, amphora, dolium.

3. The 'South-West Villa' (049656). Below the archaic and medieval village a large Roman site lay close to the Via Salaria where it emerges on to the top of the promontory. A cistern of pebble concrete (9·6 m. × 2·9 m.) lies directly between the third and fourth electric pylons on the ridge. 76 m. to the east lies a surviving fragment of travertine opus incertum wall belonging to the villa which lay around it and perhaps stretched as far as the medieval settlement.

Black-glazed; *terra sig.*; Red Polished (including 'feather' rouletting); Roman fine and coarse wares; fragments of fine blue glass bowl.

Tile, dolium: grey veneer marble.
4. Large Roman site on the low-lying ground at the nose of the promontory in the field just west of the Casale Casa Cotta (046655) and some 50 m. west of the Via Salaria.

Black-glazed; terra sig.; Red Polished; sand-dusted beaker; Roman fine and coarse wares. Tile, amphora, doliwm; limestone and scele tesserae (all sizes); red and yellow painted wall-plaster; white Greek veneer marble. One large Italian marble moulding (54 × 30 × 25 cm.).

In the damp ground where the Fosso Casa Cotta debouches on to the flood-plain of the Tiber, there was found a small structure of uncertain function. It lay 150 m. south of the modern railway cassale, close to the railway line on the east side, and the remains comprised fragments of two columns (one of fluted Pentelic marble, the other (1-10 m. × 45 cm.; broken) of plain eipollino), much tile and travertine squared masonry, veneer marble (Paros, Grey Luni, fine-grained marmo scritto, Numidian, Phrygian, Africano). There was virtually no pottery, but a fragmentary inscription of Proconnesian marble was unearthed (1-19 m. × 60 × 19 cm.; border 14 cm. wide; height of letters 19³⁄₄, 10, 9³⁄₄ cm.; see pl. XVIII, a).

SENA[...

CVRANTE LT[...

FI[...

In the second line only half of the final T is preserved but the restoration is certain. The final letter of the third line could also be L but I seems more likely and suggests the restoration FI[ERI FECIT]. The stone had been used for an earlier inscription of which only the traces of A at the beginning of the second line are still visible, but the erasure marks are clear to see. It is unlikely that the first inscription could have been cut before c. a.d. 100 or the second before the third century.

The ground is so alluvial and has been so much disturbed by the building of the railway that one cannot be sure that the remains are in their original position. On the other hand, it is hard to imagine that such a compact conglomeration could have moved far. Since they are close to the line of the Via Salaria, they are likely to have come from a mausoleum or similar building. The assorted marbles employed in the construction indicate the indiscriminate re-use of earlier material.

(b) Medieval Eretum (Rimane)

The ager Eretanus in the fifth and sixth centuries must have presented a desolate appearance. Few of the classical villas seem to have survived the fourth century and in only one (32; but cf. 106) are there still the substantial remains of a wall which is neither classical nor post-Lombardic but which should probably be dated to this period. With the spread of the Lombards, the Ager Eretanus became a frontier-zone often in dispute with the Papacy. The church of St. Anthimus was one of the major dependencies of the Abbey of Farfa, which suggests that much of the land was in Lombard hands (a letter of Pope Zachary in 705 complains that the Lombards were appropriating Papal land in the Sabine territory). It is likely that the Lombards encouraged the resettlement and the reclamnation of the land, but we cannot date any of the medieval sites with certainty. With the decline of the Lombards the inhabitants retired to more defensible sites. The spreading network of roads which had brought all the ager into use during the Roman period shrank to the two great highways, the Via Salaria and the Via Nomentana, and after the tenth century the sites, like the archaic, tend to be grouped either close to these roads or along the broad back of the Marzoloano.

Medieval Eretum itself seems to have been re-established on the archaic site rather than on the more spacious and exposed Roman village. It occupied a rectangular area running south-west—north-east from 049657 to 051658 and measured approximately 164 m. × 75 m. A fair quantity of pottery has been discovered both on the site itself (white ware; decorated and glazed ware; many strap handles) and on the slopes below the site. There was more standing in Claupy's day. The Via Salaria, so far as we can tell, continued to follow the classical route. One site, from which a fair quantity of medieval pottery was
ERETUM

recovered (117), stood on a commanding spur immediately above the crossing over the Fosso Fiora. Another, perhaps a small tower, occupied a similar position 1 km. further to the east (106). North of Eretum the branch road to Passo Corese will doubtless have remained in use although the site on Hill 46 (055667) between the railway and the cutting of the road is probably the remains of a post-medieval building. The main route, however, clearly followed the Roman road to Monte Maggiore. A small site guards the crossing of the Fosso Fontanile (17) and the ancient church of S. Antimo (Anthimus) stood on the long shoulder that leads the road up to Monte Maggiore.

The second great pack-road was the Via Nomentana. At the southern end, where it crosses the Fosso Fiora and enters the Eretum district, it is surveyed by the magnificent Torre Fiora (99). The heights of the Colli Cesarinetta held a medieval as once they had held an archaic settlement (55). As the road passes into the mountainous country that leads from the Ager Eretanus to Monte Libretti it is watched by a great medieval keep, S. Maria Spiga (pl. XIX). Whereas the square towers can be shown to date from the early eleventh century, the larger rectangular keep with its enclosed cistern probably dates from the following century. It may have been the stronghold of a Roman noble or a Norman mercenary baron. There is no sign that it replaces an earlier tower.

Between the Via Nomentana and the Via Salaria, at the southern end of the ager Eretanus, stretched the Marzolano ridge with its fertile soil and fine views. Some re-used marble blocks and medieval sherds indicate a small site at 046639, and at 067643 (89), overlooking the Fosso S ierracavallo, a substantial hump with a mass of re-used material (including a Roman marble roof-tile), medieval tile (with cross pattern) and medieval pottery (including a characteristic spout and several strap handles) marks the site of a substantial tower. Apart from these, only two other certain medieval sites have been located—on top of Hill 73 in a bend of the Fosso Cupicci (43) and on the crest of the ridge that overlooks the castle of S. Maria Spiga from the south-west (32).

IV. THE AGER ERETANUS

(a) The Eretum–Passo Corese road

The road leads due north from the flat neck of the Eretum promontory and descends a broad, easy valley to the Fosso Fontanile. On the neck itself there is a wide scatter of archaic and Roman pottery on either side of the road, but as the area has been intensively ploughed it is difficult to distinguish nuclei. Two rubble-filled holes on the east of the road suggest tombs and it is likely that most of the material comes from wayside burials (1). The long spur which runs between the railway and the ancient road is dominated by a large site on its eastern slopes, which seems to have flourished in archaic and Republican times but died out later, presumably because of the urbanisation of the area (2). Some over-fired sherds lend colour to the conjecture that it contained an early kiln. A full survey of it was not possible as the land is under rough scrub. A small deposit, not large enough to have come from a big settlement and accompanied by very little building rubble, was found under the pylon at the top of the ridge near Spot Height 44 (3).
The road crosses the Fosso Fontanile (no traces of a bridge are extant) and passes through a sharply cut defile between Hills 46 and 45. On Hill 46, to the west of the ancient cutting, there is a conspicuous hump which looks like the remains of a medieval tower: closer inspection suggests that it was post-medieval, perhaps the ruins of a farmhouse. No Roman or medieval pottery was found on it. Hill 45 is a broadly curved hill which invites habitation. No surface traces were, however, found except for a large collapsed vault which defied exploration (4). The two facts taken in conjunction suggest that it was a tomb and the whole hill-side may conceal further tombs. After crossing the Rio Moscio—again no traces of a bridge—the road led over the undulating grass-land which is now part of the Zona Militare, along a line parallel with the railway. There was a big site to the east of it on a spur of the Fontenuovo (5): the visible remains, uncovered by the excavation of a new military road, are on the north-west slopes of the spur and have probably been ploughed down the hill. The main nucleus, which is under grass, will have been on the top of the spur. The line of the road is very clear after it has crossed the Fosso Pontenuovo and climbs up the Monte di Corese (6). The road was not followed beyond the modern road to Monte Maggiore. It presumably led down to Passo Corese.  

(b) The Via Salaria to Monte Maggiore

The first stretch of the Via Salaria after it leaves Eretum seems, as may be expected, to have been fringed with tombs and mausoleums, and in classical times the whole plateau between Eretum, the Fosso Cupiccì and Fosso Fontanile seems to have been thickly populated. Immediately beyond the gap south of Hill 51 there were two tufa-cut chamber-tombs, probably Roman, a few metres north of the road (7). A part of the roof of the first chamber had collapsed and both chambers had been systematically robbed. The Via Salaria then swings away to the north, passing on the left at the head of a shallow re-entrant a rich Imperial building (8), and on the right the remains of a mausoleum (9). Fifty metres further on, also to the right of the road, there is a small nucleus, perhaps the remains of another mausoleum (10). The road then breastes the saddle of a large outlying ridge of the Casa Cotta on which there are two sizable Roman sites (11, 12). As it turns north down the re-entrant leading to the Fosso Fontanile, it passes a mausoleum on the left (13). About 100 m. beyond on the right is a large complex of buildings. Adjoining the road was a small building (14) which, from the quantity of human bones found there, was perhaps a mausoleum. This was linked by a diverticulum of blue leucitic basalt (selce) paving stones 150 m. long to a large site, presumably the main habitation, lying on the crest of a spur, just east of the modern track (15). The two spurs overlooking the Fosso Fontanile where the Via Salaria debouches from the re-entrant were also settled (16, 17).

When it passed the Fosso Fontanile—the ancient crossing does not survive—the Via Salaria left the environs of Eretum behind. It is possible that there were other sites on the broad ridge between the Fosso Fontanile and the Rio Moscio, but only

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5 Ashby (RM, xxvii, 1912, 224 f.) reported two other ancient sites along this road (054867: Spot Height 46; and 054676: Spot Height 42) but does not give any details. Since I was unable to locate the sites I have not included them in the survey.
a single vestige (18) was found in the thick grass with which most of the ground is covered until the bank of the Rio Moscio itself is reached. The amenities of this bank, with easy access to the river and comparative shelter, made it a favoured district for settlement. The spurs to right and left of the defile which leads the road down to the river were marked with tombs (19, 20) while two large settlements, 500 m. apart, lay to the east of the road, standing back some 300 m. from the river on the gently sloping ridge (21, 22).

Across the river the character of the ground changes markedly. The ground rises more sharply to a much greater height (Monte Maggiore is over 140 m.). In this exposed and less easily cultivated terrain, the settlements are fewer and their sites are naturally selected by the lie of the ground. Apart from a small site on the north bank of the river itself, perhaps a tomb (23), and an uncertain site on a plateau above the ruined church of S. Antimo (24), only a few settlements were located. It is probable, however, that more remain to be discovered. One (25) occupies the col to the east of where the Via Salaria plunges down the Valle Cascianese from Monte Maggiore. It lies between the modern route and the cutting of an ancient road which led from Monte Libretti to the Via Salaria at Monte Maggiore and, presumably, on down the ridge to Passo Corese. A second lies at the very end of a long spur of the Colle S. Bernardo, overlooking the Fosso Pratamato (26). It can be reached by a track 1 km. long from the modern road. Local report has it that the site was excavated some sixty years ago when 'heads and things' were found, but no record of this excavation has been published. Thereafter the Via Salaria passes out of the region. To the west of the Via Salaria on the Colle Givetta there was one large villa (28) largely obscured by grass, and a small structure, perhaps a dependant outbuilding, lay in the bottom of a re-entrant 400 m. due south (27).

(c) The Cesarina ridge

The area east of Eretum between the Via Salaria and the Via Nomentana comprises three long ridges which spread long fingers northwards and westwards from the Colli Cesarianetta above the Osteria di Moricone. The most easterly of the three ridges, the Cesarina, runs approximately north-south and is bounded on the east by the Rio Moscio, which at this point runs almost northwards, and on the west by the Fosso Grottuccia, a tributary of the Rio Moscio. The second ridge is not named locally but extends between the Fosso Grottuccia and the Fosso dei Cupicci and is called here the Ficaccia ridge. The third is the main Casa Cotta ridge, bounded by the Fosso dei Cupicci and the Fosso Casa Cotta, and extending from the Colli Cesarianetta almost to Eretum itself.

The Cesarina ridge is the narrowest and the highest, being at no point wider than 800 m. and rising to 150 m. at the eastern end, with a pronounced saddle in the middle. The ground falls away very steeply, almost precipitously, on the eastern side to the Rio Moscio, but more gently on the west. A good modern road from Casale Nuovo to Monte Libretti crosses the northern tip of the ridge. The

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* This trace may be part of the remains which Persichetti saw 'north-east of Casale Nuovo' on the line of the Via Salaria: see *RM*, xxiv, 1909, 126 ff.

A small deposit on the other side of the pine-road may also be associated with it (18a).
land is intensively cultivated but destitute of modern buildings. In ancient times it was well-settled and had access to good roads. The cutting of one such road, probably not archaic, can be traced coming from the Rio Moscio up the gorge that bites into the waist of the ridge. Its course thereafter is not certain: it may have kept over the saddle and joined the Ficaccia road near 30. There are numerous sulphurous springs in the Rio Moscio (095662), but since there are no traces at all of ancient building in the valley, the *Aqua Labenae* referred to by Strabo is not to be sited here (see above, p. 72). The Via Nomentana skirts the southern end of the ridge and is well engineered through a cutting near the ruined medieval tower of S. Maria Spiga (pl. XVII, b). No ancient remains were found along this part of it except a solitary wayside mausoleum (29).

The saddle between the Cesarina ridge itself and the Colli Cesarinetta, which is a wide, grassy plateau where the archaic and Republican road from the Ficaccia ridge comes down to meet the Via Nomentana, was the site of a substantial building dating from early Republican times (30). The absence of floor material suggests that the site has not been fully ploughed out. The mill-press and the large amount of dolium point to a brewery or an inn: it is ideally situated near the junction of five roads. The Osteria di Moricone, 1 km. to the south, served the same traffic in later centuries. The other settlements were on the ridge itself. A large, complex structure (31), which looks as if it may have been excavated although there is no record of it, is situated in the densely overgrown scrub on the top of the northern of the twin peaks overlooking the plateau (Spot Height 147). About 500 m. to the east, and separated by the deep gorge of the Fosso Pantanaccio, another site (32) crowns the narrow outlying spur on which was built the medieval S. Maria Spiga. This site also is buried in thick undergrowth and difficult to survey, but it was evidently substantial. In addition to the upstanding south wall of the castle one can still make out the outlines of a chapel, a small rectangular building with a southern apse (pl. XIX, b).

Beyond the waist of the Cesarina ridge, on a detached spur overlooking the Rio Moscio, lay a small nucleus with an associated tile-kiln (33; see plate XX a–c). Five tiles found here bore the name Q. Sulpicius Sabinus, and it is likely that this was the site of his kiln. It is a small kiln, with a supply of clay in the vicinity, which produced a very soft tile of a characteristically light yellow colour flecked with pink spots. A quantity of fused and wasted tiles of this material were found around the site of the kiln. These tiles are easily recognisable and can be distinguished at neighbouring sites. If the potter was indeed Q. Sulpicius Sabinus, it is possible to map the sites to which he supplied tiles (see fig. 4, and Appendix I). It is obviously a small local enterprise, flourishing in the first half of the first century A.D.

At the northern end of the ridge two large sites occupy sheltered positions close to the modern Casale Nuovo–Monte Libretti road, where the Cesarina ridge slopes down to the Rio Moscio (34, 35). The final spur of the ridge stretches north-west to the river itself. On the crown of it is a small archaic deposit (36), while at the very end, some 200 m. from the junction of the Rio Moscio and the Fosso Grothuce, on the corner of a plateau above the river analogous to 21 and 22, was a substantial Imperial building (37), much of whose remains have been ploughed over the cliff into the river-valley itself.
(d) *The Ficaccia ridge*

The Ficaccia ridge is altogether gentler and more spacious than the Cesarina. From a broad plateau some 125 m. high at its south-eastern end, it stretches out three fingers, the first running due west above the Fosso dei Cupicci, the second (along which probably ran the main archaic and Roman road) heading north-west to Casale Nuovo and the Fosso Ficaccia, and the third running almost due north above the Fosso Grottuce to the Rio Moscio. The land is all rich and undulating, with few severe gradients. There are some small outcrops of travertine along the edge above the Fosso dei Cupicci, but it is otherwise not markedly rocky.

The northern end of the plateau was occupied by a large site which spread over the whole of the crown of the hill (Spot Height 123) and included a pottery-kiln (38). A great deal of clinker was scattered over the site and one waster showed that the kiln produced a moderately fine style of coarseware. It probably served the local trade and supplied neighbouring farms with ordinary ware. Some 200 m. from the site, midway between it and Hill 116, stood a very large travertine sarcophagus (39). It lies on the line of the conjectured road which ran over the top of Hill 116, where there were a number of burials (40).

The first finger from the plateau, running as it does westwards above the Fosso dei Cupicci and affording a genial southern aspect, was thickly settled. A sizable villa (41) commanding a steep gorge leading down to the Fosso was well-placed on the flattest part of it. About 500 m. further west two sites (42, 43), both going back to Republican times, lay on opposite sides of a small saddle within 200 m. of each other. They were served by a short *diverticulum* of limestone paving blocks, which ran down from the saddle, crossed the Fosso dei Cupicci and joined the main paved road from Eretum to the Via Nomentana. Here the finger turns to the north and makes a small rise (Spot Height 73), on the north end of which was a large complex of buildings (44) also of Republican date. All three sites are less than 500 m. apart. The finger now divides into two spurs where the archaic road cuts across it: two small archaic deposits were found close to the line of the road on the west side of the ridge (45, 46), but it is not certain whether they were *in situ* or have been washed down the slope from the crown of the ridge. On the eastern side of the ridge, however, close to the line of the road and 20 m. above an arm of the Fosso Ficaccia, an isolated find of stamped black-glazed ware with some associated material is strongly suggestive of a wayside burial (47). The westerly spur had a large site (48) on the end of it, overlooking the junction of the Fosso Ficaccia and the Fosso dei Cupicci. The easterly spur now running almost due north to Casale Nuovo, terminates in a slight knoll (Spot Height 61) on which there was a rich but enigmatical building, from which a large number of terracotta plaques (pl. XXV, b) was recovered (49). The character of the remains does not suggest an ordinary farm building, and some more elaborate structure must be presumed.

The middle finger did not offer such attractive river-side sites as the other two and seems only to have contained one settlement (50), of uncertain size as it has not been fully ploughed out, which lay on the broad level ground 100 m. east of the modern pine-flanked road.

The third finger ran almost due north from the plateau on which the pottery-kiln
stood, up to the Rio Moscio, on whose banks were two sites that have already been described (21, 22). Two smaller sites occupied the middle part of the ridge: one, a poor settlement, lay on the west-facing slope of the ridge 250 m. west of the destroyed Scuderia (51); the other, which may be no more than a burial, lay 200 m. north-west down the slope, 100 m. east of the cross-roads formed by the two modern pine-roads (52). These sites give some support to the theory that a branch road may have diverged from the main archaic lateral road (p. 74) near this point and followed approximately the line of the modern Casale Nuovo-Monte Libretti road. It would have been a useful link with the Rio Moscio sites (34, 35).

(e) The Colli Cesarinetta

Although not in fact the highest hills in the neighbourhood—the Cesarina ridge rises to over 151 m.—the Colli Cesarinetta dominate the eastern horizon of the Ager Eretanus. They form the boundary between the rolling, well-populated Tiber Valley country and the rough hinterland that stretches over to Palombara. The line of the hills is also the line of the Via Nomentana, which effectively demarcates the two areas. The main centre of settlement on the hills seems to have been not on the highest peak, which is a northerly outlier (Spot Height 143: there was a late Roman site there (53)), but the imposing horse-shoe overlooking the Osteria di Moricone. In archaic times the road ran round the circle of the horse-shoe and probably survived in Roman times as a service road, since there was a burial immediately above the road-cutting on Hill 142 (54). The archaic site, which may have been bigger than the surface finds indicate, lay on the north-west slopes of Hill 129 (55). The site is a good one and was in continual occupation until the Middle Ages. It is moderately defensible and commands an unrivalled view over the country. In the Roman period the horse-shoe was intensely inhabited. An early Republican site occupied the saddle of the horse-shoe (56) between Hills 129 and 143, while at much the same date a small settlement was founded on a spur that juts northward from Hill 142 (57). Under the early Empire a second site (58) was built on Hill 129 itself on the south-facing slopes of the summit, less than 200 m. from 55. It may have been associated with 55, but it did not replace it, as contemporary pottery is found at both sites.

The importance of the hill lay in the fact that four roads met there. In Roman times the most imposing of these was the straight, paved road that ran from Eretum on the narrow ridge bordering the Fosso dei Cupicci. This was a busy and well-made road and rich sites were spaced out along it. Two, 500 m. apart, lay on that section of the road which ran up the ridge to the Colli Cesarinetta (59, 60). A third road, the continuation southwards of the archaic Via Nomentana, followed a long, winding ridge to rejoin the Roman Via Nomentana at the bridge over the Fosso Casa Cotta. Archaic and Roman deposits were found along its route (61, 62). A fine spur, formed by travertine outcrops, fills the angle where the archaic and Roman roads met. It is a characteristic site, facing south and overlooking the Fosso Casa Cotta, and it was settled from early Roman times (63). The fourth road, perhaps an archaic lateral road to Eretum, ran along the Casa Cotta ridge itself and is described in the next section.
(f) The Casa Cotta ridge

The Casa Cotta ridge, stretching due west from the Colli Cesarinetta, is the widest and the lowest of the three ridges that comprise the area to the east of Eretum. Its northern edge runs down in a series of well-tilled fields to the Fosso dei Cupicci; the southern edge ends more abruptly in a line of travertine outcrops above the Fosso Casa Cotta. The fact that the northern part of the ridge is comparatively more fertile than the southern accounts for the absence of settlement along the latter. It is probable that in archaic times a track led along the whole Casa Cotta ridge from Eretum, and some means of communication is probable in classical times also. The ridge has a waist where the Fosso dei Cupicci and the Fosso Casa Cotta approach one another, after which it widens out into two spurs, one running north-west towards the important junction of roads at the end of the Eretum plateau, the other continuing due west. A short north-south paved road cuts across the ends of the two spurs and provides a convenient boundary to the ridge on the west, while the archaic Eretum–Colli Cesarinetta road makes a boundary to the north.

From the main conglomeration of settlements (55, 56, 58) a deep cutting led down the western shoulder of the Colli Cesarinetta and carried a road along to an important early Republican site on a detached hill 800 m. to the west (64). This large villa seems to have been one of the most long-lived of all the settlements in the Ager Eretanus. The pottery found here ranges from the fourth century B.C. (Gnathian) to the fifth century A.D. The ground falls away sharply westwards, down to the level ridge along which a track must at all times have run, for there is a scattering of small sites along the crest (65, 66, 67, 69, 70) with material ranging from archaic to late Roman. None of them is of any size or consequence, except for an outlying building constructed on a rise overlooking what is now the spectacularly deep gorge of the Fosso Casa Cotta (68). They were probably no more than huts bordering on the line of the track. At the waist of the ridge, where the modern pine-road crosses it, there were two large sites on the northern slopes facing the Fosso dei Cupicci (71, 72). The country here is part of the immediate environs of Eretum and it is noticeable that the sites are appreciably richer. Half a kilometre along the north-western spur brings one to the Eretum–Colli Cesarinetta paved road, which climbs obliquely up from the Fosso dei Cupicci valley to the big cross-roads near Spot Height 60. Two large villas lie on the course of the road, one, where a marble head (pl. XXV, a) was found, with a fine aspect over the Fosso dei Cupicci (73), the other 500 m. to the west, on the western slopes of a north-facing re-entrant (74). Between them on the crest of the ridge was a third, small site (80). Finally, the spur crosses the line of the archaic east-west road from Eretum, which has scored a deep cutting down its eastern slopes to the Fosso dei Cupicci. A series of small remains fringe the line of the road (75, 76, 77, 78, 79).

The western spur continues without signs of settlement until it reaches the north-south paved road. Here there was a very large complex of buildings with a vast quantity of tile and masonry (81). It enjoys a magnificent, elevated situation with a wide panorama over the Fosso Casa Cotta towards Monte Rotondo and Mentana. The paved road leads north to the junction near Spot Height 60. About 500 m. along it, on the northern slopes of a large re-entrant, is another lavish
building (82). About 100 m. to the north-west of this last site, in the bottom of a small re-entrant, was an indeterminate scatter of Roman pottery (83). In the angle between this paved road and the Salaria there was a small building on the south-facing slopes of the Casa Cotta (84).

(g) The Sferracavallo ridge

Between the Fosso Casa Cotta and the Fosso Sferracavallo there stretches a narrow tongue-like promontory, known as Sferracavallo. The eastern half of it, which begins at the Via Nomentana, is intensely cultivated with vines, the western half, for long under grass, was ploughed in the winter of 1964–65. Like the main Marzolano ridge, of which it is a branch, it was continuously occupied since archaic times (85, 87, 88, 91). In Roman times four substantial villas were spaced along it at half-kilometre distances (86, 90, 92, 94), and the material from some of these was employed in the construction of the medieval tower (89), which survives today as a prominent hump overlooking the Fosso Casa Cotta.

(h) Marzolano

The southern border of the Ager Eretanus is formed by a very wide valley. Today the streams have been canalised and the valley-bottom drained, so that the water is carried in the two rivers, the Fosso Fiora and the Fosso Buffalà, which flow parallel to one another 200 m. apart on either side of the valley. In classical times the valley is likely to have been very marshy and to have formed an impassable barrier except where the two main roads, the Via Salaria and the Via Nomentana, crossed it. Above the Via Nomentana crossing, marked by the ruins of the Molino Fiora, the valley is a gorge with precipitous cliffs on either side, but from the Molino Fiora to the Tiber, apart from the steep bluff on which stands the dramatic Torre Fiora, the slopes are smooth and rounded. This change in the character of the valley corresponds with the general difference between the Ager Eretanus and the land to the east of the Via Nomentana.

The whole of this southern strip of the Ager Eretanus forms a broad-backed ridge, the Marzolano, seldom less than 1 km. wide, between the Fosso Sferracavallo and the Fosso Fiora. Unlike the rest of the area it is covered with substantial modern farm buildings, some of which may well conceal ancient sites, and it is served by a fair public road which runs along its length from the Via Salaria to the Via Nomentana. It is a prosperous and busy piece of land, whose appearance today probably does not differ greatly from the time of its great affluence under the empire. It is a landscape of well-tilled fields studded with buildings. To the east of the Via Nomentana was a considerable site with a tile-kiln and double-cistern (95). Its proximity to the Via Nomentana will have facilitated trade but it has not so far proved possible to identify the name of the potter. A small deposit some 250 m. due north may have been associated with it as an outbuilding (96). Three large spurs overhang the Fosso Fiora where the Via Nomentana descends to cross the valley at its narrowest point. Each of these spurs was inhabited. The most easterly had the best defensive site and was continuously occupied from archaic to Roman times (97). The central spur, immediately above and to the east of the Via Nomentana, had a small Roman site (98). The third spur, crowned by the Torre Fiora,
a conspicuous landmark, which was often described by earlier antiquarians, was also a considerable Roman site and a good deal of re-used Roman brick, tile and marble can be seen in the walls of the medieval tower (99). Small settlements, some archaic, were scattered on the ridge itself (100) above the Torre Fiora. Further to the west, on the line of the derelict Acquedotto di Monterotondo a large Roman building covered the crown of Hill 87 (101). This was probably the source of a stray black-glazed base, found in the bed of a re-entrant some 400 m. to the west (102). The area round Hill 87 is being rapidly developed. Already a church has been completed and the foundations for some new houses have been excavated. The surviving traces of ancient settlement will quickly be obliterated. It is already too late to establish whether the large complex of farm buildings on the adjoining spur (103) covers an older site. A few surface finds and the attractive location suggest that it may have done. There was certainly a Roman site 800 m. to the west, at the edge of a vineyard on the crown of a tongue of the ridge that extends south-west towards the Fosso Fiora (104). This does not seem to have been a very large settlement but there was another one no more than 500 m. to the north-west, just north of the modern road where it crosses the narrowest part of the back of the Marzolano (105).

The narrow spurs that run south from the Marzolano at its western end are known by the separate name of the Colle del Forno. Their tips overlooking the river afforded characteristic building sites. One, marked by two prominent cypress trees, has a medieval structure superimposed upon a Roman settlement (106). The adjacent one to the west has a small settlement on low-lying ground a few metres above the river (107). A scatter of pottery and tile on the saddle that connects the two spurs may be associated with the latter (108).

(i) The Eretum—Osteria del Grillo road

The most important radial road from Eretum ran due south as far as the Marzolano ridge and was paved in Roman times with limestone blocks (hence its modern name the Strada dei Nevi). The road played a vital part in the communication system of Eretum, for several substantial houses were served by it. The region through which it travelled was a desirable one close to the Tiber and yet sufficiently elevated above the swampy and possibly malarial valley to be healthy.

Leaving the valley that borders Eretum on the east, the road strikes south-east up a cutting almost directly opposite the archaic settlement of Eretum. Reaching the crest of the hill it swings south and joins a modern track. Fifty metres west of this junction was a site which appears to have been continually occupied since archaic times (109). It is likely that a subsidiary road ran up from the south-western end of Eretum and joined the Eretum—Osteria del Grillo road at this point. Its line is indicated by a modern grass track, by the side of which was a small but opulent villa (110). The road then ran down a cutting to cross first the Fosso Casa Cotta and then, after 50 m., the Fosso Sferracavallo. No trace of the crossings has survived, but a Roman site has been ploughed out 300 m. to the east (111). A clear cutting brings the road up on to the Marzolano ridge. Here, as it breaches the slope, was a sizable Roman site (112), now heavily obscured by long-standing grass. On the other side of the road, 400 m. away, another villa faced south (113).
The road runs straight on and reaches the modern road along the Marzolano. Here it probably ceased to be paved (the last limestone block was found in an adjoining field) but a track must have served the two narrow ridges that lead down to the Fosso Fiora. On the neck where the ridges fork there was a small scatter, which may have been a burial or a small wayside hut (114). The crown of the ridge (Spot Height 52), which the track kept just below, was occupied by a large Republican building (115), with an elaborate water-storage system. It commands one of the finest views in the region over the Tiber valley. About 300 m. beyond it some archaic sherds had been washed down towards the railway, pointing to a small settlement on the crown of the ridge. The parallel ridge was also settled from early Roman times half-way along its length (117). This site had numerous medieval traces and had evidently been continuously inhabited.

R. M. Ogilvie

V. LIST OF SITES

The sites within the Ager Eretanus are given below in roughly the same order as that of the topographical description of the area in the preceding section.

The conventions and terminology are those already familiar from earlier articles in this series, with a very few exceptions. The term ‘beaker’ is used throughout to denote the small cups and bowls, some imported, some made locally (e.g. Types 1–7 from the kiln at Sutri, PBR xxxii, 1964, 38–88), which are characteristic of the first century A.D. in central as well as in northern Italy. ‘Almond’ rims and ‘rilled’ ware will be described more fully and illustrated in the forthcoming report on the Ager Veientanus. The former is a coarseware rim-shape very common on late Etruscan and Republican sites just across the river. The latter, which is distinguished by concentric grooving on the underside of the base and on the interior of the side walls, is a mass-produced fabric closely related to the Red Polished table wares (terra sigillata chiara). The peak moment of its production seems to lie in the Severan period.

1. 054659. Wide scatter of pottery along the eastern slopes of the Eretum spur down to the track; two rubble-filled holes which may be tombs. Grey bucchero; burnished impasto; black-glazed; Roman coarseware. Building material, including squared travertine blocks.

2. 054662. Archaic and Republican site on the eastern slope of the north Eretum spur. It may have been an early kiln. Archaic coarseware, some over-fired; black-glazed. Tile (some Archaic), amphora, dolium. Travertine building rubble.

3. 055663. Deposit on the tip of the ridge; too small to be from a house. Archaic tile; archaic coarseware; Roman coarseware; a solitary sherd of Red Polished.

4. 059668. Large circular depression, probably a collapsed tomb.

5. 059679. Large Roman site on a spur of the Pontenuovo hills overlooking the ancient road. Black-glazed; terra sig.; Red Polished (incl. lamp fragment); Roman coarseware. Tile, amphora, dolium.

6. 058664. On the saddle of Monte Corese, the exact nucleus difficult to locate under grass. Archaic coarseware; terra sig.; Roman coarseware. Amphora. some tile.
7. 056658. Two tufa-cut chamber tombs. The roof of the more easterly tomb has collapsed, exposing two sides of the square chamber. From this a passage had been cut into the second, and both tombs had been rifled. There is thus no indication of date but the probability is that they were early Sabine or Roman.

   (a) The westerly chamber was approached by a dromos in the south-east corner. The chamber was approximately square (2-70 m. × 2-40 m.) and had bed-recesses along the west and north walls, that on the north being two-tiered. The recesses were 60 cm. deep and approximately 70 cm. high (the lower recess on the north wall was 50 cm. deep × 60 cm. high). The beds had carved pillows at the south and west ends (30 cm. × 7 cm.). The tomb-recesses do not appear to have been sealed.

   (b) The easterly chamber was approached by a dromos in the middle of the south side. The chamber was approximately square (2-40 m. × 2-30 m.). The east side was concealed by fallen earth; there were single bed-recesses on the north and west sides but not on the south. The north recess was 40 cm. deep × 58 cm.; and had a pillow at the east end 23 cm. × 6 cm.; the west recess, which had no pillow, was 40 cm. deep × 40 cm. high, and had an inset for sealing. Since the length of the actual bed-recess was 1-94 m., it can be estimated that it was sealed by *sesquipedales*.

8. 056659. Rich Roman site with much good-class pottery, a few metres north of the Via Salaria where it crosses a shallow re-entrant.

   *Terra sig.* including three stamps:

   1. *VILLI in planta pedis* (the instep of the sandal is very narrow). Perhaps VILLI, *cf.* *CIL* XI, 6700.786; but Sex. Villius and L. Avillius should also be considered. *Pl. XXIII f.*

   2. *ARYPO*—not yet identified. *Plate XXIII i.*


   The last two may be Augustan, the first, first century A.D. Also fragments of relief ware decorated with satyr and maenads (*cf.* Dragendorff-Watzinger, pp. 121-4), and with whorl-pattern and long-haired masks (*ibid.*, Taf. 39, no. 606).

   Thin-walled beaker; Red Polished; Roman coarseware. Tile, amphora, dolium. Lamp fragments and domestic glass, incl. five fine bases and blue glass.

   Painted wall-plaster. *Op. sectile* in grey slate; small cubical *tesserae* of limestone; veneer marble (Appendix II). Window glass. Squared blocks of travertine and marble; travertine column drum, diam. 32 cm. Basalt quern.

   Copper as of Claudius (A.D. 41-54): Mattingly-Sydenham, Roman Imperial Coinage no. 66 (E)). *Obv.* TI. CLAVDIVS CAESAR AVG. P.M. TR.P. IMP. P. P. *Rev.* Minerva S.C.

9. 057657. An isolated architectural monument, probably a mausoleum, south of the Via Salaria, 100 m. after the fork from the archaic lateral road.

   Part of a large base-moulding of Luni marble, with a ribbon-twined wreath of bay-leaves on the torus and a pattern of palmettes and lotus on the cyma recta, the spreading profile of which is still in the Republican tradition. This and the open, uncramped composition suggest an early Imperial date, not later than Augustan. Probably the base-moulding from a tomb-building.

10. 058659. A small nucleus with some squared tufa and travertine blocks, perhaps a mausoleum. Pottery was very scarce.

   Black-glazed; *terra sig.* (with decoration showing an amphora in relief); Roman fine ware. Painted wall-plaster.

11. 058661. Poor Roman site on the highest point of a spur running from the Via Salaria to the Fosso Fontanile.

   Tile; building rubble.

12. 059659. Large Roman site on top of a hill (Spot Height 60), with much material scattered down the western slopes. The site was perhaps short-lived, as neither black-glazed nor Red Polished ware was collected.


   Travertine and limestone building rubble; fragment of *granito del foro.*
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13. 059660. Extensive remains of a large mausoleum, 150 m. south-west of metal pylon.
Large travertine block, 1.29 m. long with curvature of 4 cm. in chord of 1.29; 59 cm.
(86 cm. at base) wide by 52 cm. high; two pty-holes and two iron clamps longitudinally.
Also smaller squared travertine block and the socket for a stela.

14. 061661. Large nucleus, 40 m. south-east of the Via Salaria, connected by a *diverticulum* of
*selec* paving-stones to 15. Probably a tomb, or tombs, associated with 15.
Terra sig.; Roman coarse ware; fragment of small terracotta tear-vase; base of a glass
bowl.
Tile, including stamp of Q. Sulpius, type C (Appendix I, c). Shaped blocks and
weakly moulded column base (40 × 41 cm.) of travertine. Limestone and basalt *tesserae*.
Veneer marble (Appendix II); painted wall-plaster.
Remains of more than one skeleton.

15. 062661. Roman site just east of the modern track, connected by a *diverticulum* to 14.
Black-glazed; *terra sig.*; Red Polished; Roman fine and coarse wares. Lamp fragments.
Tile (incl. triangular), amphora, dolium. Painted wall-plaster. Large squared
travertine blocks (110 × 40 × 35 cm.; 175 × 40 × 25 cm.; 195 × 35 × 20 cm.).

16. 061664. Small Roman site on a spur overlooking the Fosso Fontanile, 100 m. west of the Via
Salaria.
Red Polished; coarse ware.
Tile, amphora. Squared travertine blocks with iron clamps; fragment of pink and
white speckled marble.

17. 063664. Poor Roman site, extensively re-inhabited in medieval times.
Terra sig.; plain and green-glazed medieval ware.
Tile (incl. triangular), amphora. Squared blocks of travertine.

18. 071668. Small scatter close to the line of the Via Salaria on the edge of the Istituto grass-
land. Possible outliers of a bigger site under grass, 100 m. east of the stables.
Tile, dolium.

18a. 073665. 50 m. south of the pine-flanked road from Casale Nuovo, a series of small deposits
extending over a length of about 200 m. No single nucleus could be identified. They
may be associated with 18.
Fragments of a black-glazed stemmed kylix and other black-glazed wares; thin-walled
beaker; coarse ware.
Tile, amphora; building rubble.

19. 073672. Small scatter on the crest of a cliff overlooking the Rio Moscio, west of the Via
Salaria. Probably tile-burials.
Roman coarse ware. Tile. Human bones.

20. 075672. Small nucleus on the crest of a cliff overlooking the Rio Moscio, 100 m. east of the
Via Salaria. Probably tile-burials, as there was very little pottery.
Terra sig.; Roman coarse ware. Tile (incl. triangular tile, imbrex); veneer marble.
Human bones.

21. 077670. Large Roman site on the north-western corner of a plateau overlooking the Rio
Moscio. The site was short-lived (late Republican to second century A.D.).
Terra sig., incl. decorated; also a stamp of the late Republican potter, C. Vibilius
Faustus, in a rectangular die with rounded corners; *CIL* XV, 5476, cf. T.P. Wiseman,
Red Polished; beaker, incl. rusticated; Roman coarse ware. Fragments of a blue glass
bowl.
Tile (incl. column-tile and imbrex), amphora, dolium. Painted wall-plaster; veneer
marble *op. sectile*; *op. spic.* (10.5 × 5 × 1.8 cm.). Large travertine door-sill. Marble
block with cornice.

22. 081670. Roman site on the north-eastern corner of a plateau overlooking the Rio Moscio.
The absence of *tesserae* and scarcity of pottery indicate that the site has not been ploughed
down to the floor.
Terra sig., incl. stamp RVFIQ/MESEN in a rectangular die with rounded corners =
Rufio Meseni; *cf. CIL* XV, 5343. The variations in spelling of the name of this potter
and his slaves suggest a late Republican date. Pl. XXIII, b.
Coarse ware. Tile, amphora, dolium. Squared blocks of travertine; travertine door-sill.
23. 077765. Two squared marble blocks lying in a field. No associated pottery visible. Perhaps from a tomb.

24. 083681. A scatter of probably Roman coarseware at the corner of the military stables may indicate that the stables occupy the site of an ancient settlement.

25. 091684. Roman site, perhaps late, between the ancient road-cutting and the modern road, 500 m. east of Casale Monte Maggiore.
   Red Polished; coarseware.
   Tile. Veneer marble (Appendix II).

26. 093675. Large Roman site on the nose of a spur of Colle S. Bernardo, overlooking the Rio Moscio.
   Terra sig.; Red Polished (incl. ‘feather’ rouletting); Roman coarseware, incl. ‘rilled’ ware.
   Tile (incl. triangular), amphora, doliurn. Long black basalt tesserae; op. sectile and veneer marble (Appendix II); painted wall-plaster. Window glass. Squared blocks of travertine.

27. 075676. Small nucleus under grass at the bottom of a shallow re-entrant.
   Roman coarseware. Tile. Building material.

28. 076679. Large villa on the ridge of Colle Civetta, under grass, looking south over the Rio Moscio.
   Black-glazed; Red Polished; coarseware.
   Tile, amphora, dolium. Veneer marble (Appendix II).

29. 09850. Travertine structure, probably a mausoleum, on the eastern side of the Via Nomentana immediately before it climbs through a deep cutting between two hills, both of which figure on the maps as Spot Height 152. This is the structure described by Ashby in PBSR iii, 1906, 74.
   Tile; squared blocks of travertine. No pottery.

30. 092653. Large Roman site on the saddle between the Cesarina ridge and the Colli Cesarianetta, 100 m. north-east of the modern track.
   Black-glazed; terra sig.; rouletted beaker; coarseware, incl. ‘rilled’ ware. Lamp handle.
   Tile (incl. triangular and imbrex); much dolium (incl. stamp, Appendix I, a) and amphora. Squared blocks of travertine. Circular travertine mill-press (diam. 2 m.) with a runnel running round the circumference. No floor material, wall-plaster or veneer.

31. 094656. Large Roman site on the top of Hill 147. Half the site is heavily overgrown with grass and brambles. Little pottery could be recovered and the finds are not necessarily representative.
   Black-glazed; Red Polished; coarseware.
   Tile, amphora, dolium. Squared blocks of travertine; large travertine door-sill; fluted travertine column drum (diam. 22 cm.). Limestone paving blocks. Painted wall-plaster; much veneer marble. Small marble semi-circular pilaster (diam. 15 cm.).
   Plain fragment of a marble sarcophagus; human bones.

32. 098656. Large Roman and medieval site on top of Hill 141, overlooking the ruined tower of S. Maria Spiga. An associated cistern, blocked and inaccessible, lies at the north-west corner of the site, underneath the main terrace on which the building stands; and the finds include a large terracotta water-pipe. The standing masonry is medieval, reusing Roman building material, including fragments of marble and op. ret.
   Terra sig.; Red Polished; thin-walled, ‘feather’ rouletted beaker; coarseware. Plain and glazed medieval pottery.
   Tile (incl. a stamp of Q. Sulpicius, type A (Appendix I, c) of the first half of the first century); amphora, dolium. Op. spic. (10 × 5 × 2 cm.); small cubical tesserae of white limestone and large cubical tesserae of basalt. Multicoloured wall-plaster.
   Fragment of a marble sarcophagus, with stirigl pattern.

33. 091663. Small Roman site with an associated tile-kiln 20 m. to the west. There was a quantity of wasted tiles, and it is notable that this is the only site in the area which had a floor of terracotta cubes. A solitary telce paving-stone suggests that it had a paved yard.
   Terra sig., incl. moulded; Red Polished; beaker, incl. rusticated; coarseware.
Tile (incl. triangular and column-tile), amphora, dolium. Basalt tesserae and two sizes of op. spic. (11.5 × 6 × 2 cm. and 10 × 5.5 × 2 cm.). Squared blocks of travertine. Cylindrical limestone weight.

Clinker and half-fired tiles indicate the presence of a tile-kiln, and the following tile-stamps (not all necessarily from the kiln) were collected:
Five of Q. Sulpicius (Appendix I, c), three of type A and two of type B. First century.
Two of M. Statius Lucterius (Appendix I, b). First century.
Two unidentified (Appendix I, a). First half of first century and second century respectively.

34. 085666. Large Roman site just north of the Casale Nuovo—Monte Libretti road, on a low rounded spur overlooking a tributary of the Fosso Grottauce. A limestone quarry 100 m. to the south supplied the building material.

Black-glazed; terra sig.; Red Polished; thin-walled beaker with barbotine ornament; red-coated ware; coarseware, incl. 'rilled'. Domestic glass. Amphora, dolium.

Much tile, incl. a stamp of Q. Sulpicius, type B (Appendix I, c). Op. spic.; small tesserae of white limestone; large tesserae of red stone; white pebble-concrete floor with large grey stone tesserae embedded. White Greek marble veneer (Appendix II); slab of green stone; painted wall-plaster. Squared limestone; plain capital of travertine (ht. 45 cm.; diam. of column 45 cm.).

35. 087667. Large Roman site just east of the Monte Libretti—Casale Nuovo road, at the point where the road loops round a nose with the old track running across it; on a slope facing west across to 31.

Terra sig., incl. fragment of winged Nike and chariot, as Dragendorff-Watzinger, p. 152 and Taf. 31, no. 490. Red Polished; thin-walled beaker; coarseware.

Tile, incl. one stamp of Q. Sulpicius, type A, first century, and one of Severan date (Appendix I, b and c); amphora, dolium.


36. 085670. Small archaic deposit without building material on the crown of a spur running down to the Rio Moscio. Perhaps a tomb.

Archaic tile; archaic coarseware.

37. 084672. Poor site, perhaps not fully ploughed out, on the corner of the plateau overlooking the Rio Moscio. Very little pottery.


Dolium, incl. rim with stamp (Appendix I, b), not later than second century.

38. 086657. Large Roman site with associated pottery-kiln and some earlier material, on the top of the plateau near Spot Height 123. The site is flanked to the south by a modern track. Bucchero handle; black-glazed, incl. a base stamped with palmettes; terra sig. (pl. XXII, i); Red Polished; fine and coarse wares, incl. one almond rim and fragments of four beakers.

Tile (incl. triangular and column-tile, flue-tile and imbræx); amphora, dolium. Op. sig. Small cubical white limestone tesserae. Squared blocks of travertine. Two large moulded and recessed travertine blocks (2.95 × 0.80 × 0.20 m.), perhaps from a mausoleum. Travertine mill-press.

Much kiln-clinker and one misfired pottery vessel.

39. 084658. Large travertine sarcophagus beside the road to 36. The body is still buried; the lid consists of a massive slab (2.60 × 1.60 × 0.32 m.) with a recessed groove, 24 cm. wide and 4 cm. deep, running round the edge of the underside.

Associated with it were tile, Roman coarseware and fragments of veneer marble (Appendix II).

40. 083659. Scatter of tile and bones over the top of Hill 116. Probably a cemetery.

41. 079656. Small Roman site at the head of a re-entrant overlooking the Fosso de Cupicci, immediately north of the modern track.

Black-glazed; terra sig. (incl. leaf decoration); Red Polished; coarseware. Lamp fragment.

Tile (incl. triangular and imbræx); amphora, dolium. Squared blocks of travertine; coarse travertine column-drum (diam. 54 cm.). Elongated black basalt tesserae.

The fabric of the tiles is identical with that of those manufactured by Q. Sulpicius and listed in Appendix I, c.
42. 074656. Small site with fine-quality Republican and early Imperial pottery on the col overlooking the Fosso dei Cupicci. Its proximity to 40 and 41, coupled with the relative absence of later pottery, suggests that it may have been absorbed under the Empire.

Black-glazed (incl. Calenian relief-ware with sitting female figure, pl. XXIV, e; cf. R. Pagenstecker, *Die calenische Reliefkeramik*, 22 ff.); much terra sig. (pl. XXII, 6); Red Polished; beaker (incl. sand-dusted and barbotine) and coarseware. Lamp fragments.

Tile (incl. one stamp of Q. Sulpicius, type A, Appendix I, e); amphora, dolium. Little building material.

43. 073656. Small site immediately east of the modern road, on top of a hill overlooking the Fosso dei Cupicci, probably much ploughed out and superseded by a medieval structure. The pottery has been well scattered down the slopes and is very worn.

Black-glazed; terra sig.; Red Polished; beaker; coarseware. Lamp fragments. Two medieval handles.

Tile, amphora.

44. 072658. Large complex, with a detached out-building to the south-east, 150 cm. from the modern road, on the crest of Hill 73, facing north. The detached building may have been a mausoleum, for human bones were found beside it.

Black-glazed; terra sig., incl. decorated and local fabrics; Red Polished, incl. rouletted; thin-walled beaker; coarseware. Fragment of an Italian marble basin. Lamp fragments; domestic glass.

Tile, incl. column-tile and imbrex; amphora; dolium, incl. one mended with lead. *Op. spic.* (9 × 3 × 2.5 cm.; 10.5 × 5 × 2 cm.); large cubical *tesserae* of black basalt; small cubical *tesserae* of black basalt and white limestone. *Op. sectile* (grey slate); marble veneer. Painted wall-plaster.

Human bones. Upper section of a basalt mill.

45. 068658. Small scatter in a re-entrant 100 m. south of the deep cutting for the archaic road down to the Fosso dei Cupicci. It may have been washed downhill.

Archaic tile; archaic and Roman coarseware.

46. 068661. Small scatter on the north slope of a re-entrant immediately facing the deep cutting of the archaic road.

Archaic and Roman coarseware.

Archaic and Roman tile; amphora.

47. 073660. Isolated deposit of Calenian ware on the line of the archaic road, 20 m. above a tributary of the Fosso Ficacia.

Three stamped black-glazed bases: (a) with palmettes (cf. C.V.A. *Naples* II. 1026, pl. 4); (b) with rosettes; (c) flat bowl with stem, raised omphalos. Plate XXIV, f.

Tile, amphora. Squared blocks of travertine.

48. 067662. Large Roman site on the crown of a spur looking across to Casale Nuovo. A solitary *sele* paving-stone was probably part of a courtyard.

Black-glazed; terra sig., incl. leaf and crown decoration; Red Polished; Roman fine and coarse wares. Lamp fragments.

Tile, incl. triangular, column-tile and imbrex. Amphora, dolium. Marble veneer (Appendix II). Small cubical *tesserae* of black basalt and white limestone; also cubical *tesserae* of black basalt in two other sizes, large (2 cm.) and very small. Window glass. Painted wall-plaster.

Squared blocks of travertine; plain travertine column-drum (diam. 52 cm.); travertine column-base (40 × 40 cm.).

49. 071663. Roman site on the top of Hill 61, overlooking the Fosso Ficaccia. The site is not large and is distinguished by a wealth of terracotta plaques (pl. XXV 6) which have not been found elsewhere in the neighbourhood. Possibly a small temple.

*Terra sig.;* Red Polished; coarseware, incl. 'rilled' ware. Fragments of a fine blue glass bowl.

Many squared blocks of travertine and tufa; plain travertine capital, 50 cm. high.


50. 076661. Small Roman site 100 m. east of the modern pine-flanked road. The absence of wall-plaster and *tesserae* and the scarcity of pottery suggest that it has not been ploughed out.

Red Polished; coarseware. Amphora.

Tile, incl. one stamp (Appendix I, a) of the first cent. Pl. XXI, a.
51. 079663. Poor site on a spur overlooking the same pine-flanked road.
    Black-glazed; *terra sig.*; Red Polished; coarseware.
    Tile, amphora, dolium. *Op. spic.* (poor quality: \(10 \times 8 \times 2.5\) cm.).
52. 077664. Small group ploughed out on low ground 100 m. east of the cross-roads of the
    modern pine-flanked roads.
    Roman coarseware. Tile, dolium.
53. 089651. Nucleus on the top of Hill 143, under grass.
    Roman coarseware. Tile, squared travertine blocks.
54. 088648. Tile-burial immediately north of the ancient road-cutting on Hill 142.
    Roman coarseware. Tile. Human bones.
55. 083647. Small archaic and Roman site on the north-west slopes of Hill 129, 50 m. from an
    electric pylon.
    Archaic coarseware; black-glazed; *terra sig.*; Red Polished (incl. rouletted and 'rilled');
    coarseware.
    Tile, amphora, dolium. White limestone cubical *tesserae*.
    One glazed medieval base.
56. 085647. Roman site on top of the saddle overlooking the Osteria di Moricone (between
    Spot Heights 129 and 142). Much of the material has been washed or ploughed down
    the northern slope of the saddle.
    Black-glazed; Red Polished; Roman painted wares; coarseware.
    Tile, amphora. Small and large white limestone cubical *tesserae*; black basalt cubical
    *tesserae*; marble veneer (Appendix II). Squared blocks of travertine.
57. 085651. Small Roman site on the crown of the spur running north from Hill 142 of the
    Colli Cesarinetta, overlooking the Fosso dei Cupicci.
    Black-glazed; *terra sig.* (incl. music-playing genii and Sirens; cf. Dragendorff-Watzinger,
    p. 65 f. and Taf. 2, no 21); Red Polished; beaker; coarseware.
    Tile, amphora, dolium. *Op. spic.* (\(10 \times 5 \times 2\) cm.). The fabric of the tiles is identical
    with that of those manufactured by Q. Sulpicius and listed in Appendix I, c.
58. 084646. Large Roman site on the south slope of the summit of Hill 129. Very heavily
    ploughed out, the material being worn and scattered.
    Black-glazed; *terra sig.*; Red Polished; coarseware. Fragments of blue and of clear
    glass bowls.
    Tile, incl. column-tile and imbrex; amphora, dolium. *Op. spic.* (three sizes: \(10 \times
    6 \times 2\) cm.; \(9.5 \times 5 \times 2\) cm.; \(10 \times 4 \times 2.1\) cm.); all sizes of white limestone cubical
59. 078652. Large Roman site 50 m. north of the paved Roman road, on the narrow ridge
    leading up to the Colli Cesarinetta. This was a substantial building with a hypocaust
    system.
    Black-glazed; *terra sig.* (pl. XXII, b); Red Polished; beaker; coarseware, incl. 'rilled'
    ware. Lamp fragments.
    Tile, incl. stamp of Q. Sulpicius, type B (Appendix I, c) of the 1st century (pl. XX, c);
    also column-tile, flue-tile, imbrex. Squared blocks of travertine; limestone *op. ret.*
    *Op. spic.* (of three sizes: \(9.5 \times 5 \times 2\) cm.; \(10 \times 5-5 \times 1.7\) cm.; \(10.5 \times 6-5 \times 3.5\) cm.).
    Multicoloured wall-plaster; white Greek veneer marble (Appendix II). Terracotta
    plaque.
    Amphora; dolium, incl. stamp (Appendix I, a) of uncertain date.
60. 075653. Large Roman site, probably of later foundation than 57, with associated cistern,
    30 m. north of the paved Roman road, 500 m. east of the modern bridge over the Fosso dei
    Cupicci. The cistern (\(12 \times 2.35\) m. and at least 3 m. deep), was single and lined with
    *op. sig.*, with rolled corners. At the south-western corner a *cuniculus* led into it, at least 8 m.
    long.
    *Terra sig.*; Red Polished (incl. 'feather' rouletting); rouletted beaker; coarseware. Very
    smooth, fine-grained basalt basin.
    Tile, incl. triangular; amphora, dolium. *Op. spic.* (\(10.5 \times 4.5 \times 2\) cm.); black basalt
    cubical *tesserae*; large and small white limestone cubical *tesserae*. Multicoloured wall-
    plaster.
61. 083643. Deposit of archaic sherds on the neck of the ridge, one with tilted lug handle.
62. 082642. Small scatter of black-glazed, *terra sig.*, beaker, Red Polished and coarseware, with no associated masonry but a little tile, on the crest of the ridge. Some amphora.

63. 082637. Large Roman site on a travertine outcrop in the angle between the Via Nomentana and the cutting of the archaic road, 100 m. from the bridge over the Fosso Casa Cotta. Red Polished; coarseware, incl. ‘rilled’ ware. Lamp fragment. Tile (incl. triangular); amphora, dolium. Painted wall-plaster; oblong *tesserae* of white limestone and black basalt.

64. 077645. Large Roman villa on Hill 106, connected with the Colli Cesarinetta by a track, which runs in part through a cutting. A mass of *selae* paving-stones probably comes from a courtyard rather than from a road, as there were no other paving-stones visible in the vicinity except on the site. The main nucleus lay on the western edge of the hill. Separated from it, some 50 m. to the east, was a second small nucleus, which was probably the cemetery; human bones and fine pottery being much in evidence.

(a) *Villa*—One fragment of Gnathian ware with white laurel-wreath and red band (pl. XXIV b; cf. CVA. (British Museum), vol. x, pl. 2, no. 46); black-glazed; *terra sig.*; Red Polished; beaker and coarseware (incl. ‘almond’ rims, ‘rilled’ ware and coggled ware). Domestic glass bowls. Fragment of a carved marble bowl.

Tile, incl. two stamps (Appendix I, b) of the first and early second (?) century respectively; also triangular tile, incl. imbrex. Amphora, dolium. Limestone and travertine squared blocks; plain travertine column drum (diam. 45 cm.). *Op. sect.*; *op. spic.* (10 × 5 × 2 cm.); large oblong and small cubical white limestone *tesserae*; small black basalt cubical *tesserae*. Multicoloured wall-plaster.

(b) *Cemetery*—*Terra sig.* (pl. XXII, f); Red Polished; coarseware. Domestic glass. Tile, incl. imbræx; amphora. *Op. sectile*; veneer marble (Appendix II). Window glass. Large quantity of human bones, including jawbones.


66. 071646. Archaic deposit on the crest of the Casa Cotta ridge. Much of the material had been ploughed out and washed down the slopes.

Archaic coarseware; archaic amphora; archaic tile.

67. 070647. Small archaic and later nucleus on the crest of the Casa Cotta ridge.

Archaic coarseware; archaic tile. Black-glazed, incl. base stamped with palmettes; Roman coarseware, incl. mortarium. Roman tile, incl. imbræx; amphora. Building rubble.

68. 070645. Small site on a slight rise beside the gorge of the Fosso Casa Cotta.


69. 066648. Scatter on the western side of the modern road, 100 m. from the end of it. Much tile, building rubble.

70. 065647. Scatter of pottery and building rubble in olives on the crest of a spur overlooking the Fosso Casa Cotta. Not a big site.

Archaic coarseware; black-glazed; Red Polished; Roman coarseware (incl. ‘almond’ rims).

Tile. Squared travertine blocks.

71. 070651. Roman site 100 m. south of a side-road leading from the pine-flanked road. On the crown of a small spur overlooking the Fosso dei Cupicci.

Black-glazed; *terra sig.*; Red Polished; coarseware. Tile, incl. one stamp (Appendix I, b) of the late first century; also triangular tile and imbræx. Amphora, dolium. Oblong *tesserae* of white limestone and black basalt; cubical *tesserae* of black basalt. Squared blocks of travertine; travertine column base (50 × 50 cm.) small marble column base. Painted wall-plaster.

72. 067651. Large Roman site in the angle between the pine-flanked road and a track, on the south-easterly slopes of Hill 66. The fine preservation of the material shows that this site had only recently been ploughed.
Black-glazed. *Terra sig.*, incl. two stamps, probably Augustan: (a) *in planta pedis Q.SER = Q. Sertorius*, *CIL XI*, 6700.623 (Arretium) (pl. XXIII, c); (b) *in planta pedis N* (pl. XXIII, h); also relief of satyr with goat-skin, *CIL* Dragendorff-Watzinger p. 77 and Taf. 5, no. 48; decorated with palmettes and leaves; and rouletted. Red Polished (a little); barbotine-decorated beaker; double-handled pot with zig-zag decoration; and coarseware, incl. cordoned. Lamp fragments. Blue glass. Carved bone ring.

Tile, incl. triangular tile and imbrex; amphora, dolium. *Op. spic.* (11 × 5 × 2 cm.); oblong and cubical (large and small) *tesserae* of white limestone; black basalt cubical *tesserae*. Veneer marble (Appendix II); multicoloured wall-plaster. Window glass.

73. 066655. Large Roman site 150 m. up from the Fosso dei Cupicci, on the line of the paved Roman road. A fine head of an old man (pl. XXV, a), carved in white Parian marble, was probably garden statuary and may represent a river god.

Black-glazed; Megarian bowl (pl. XXIV, c); *terra sig.*; Red Polished, incl. 'feather' rouletting; tall white ribbed pot; coarseware. Lamp fragments. Fine domestic glass.

Tile, incl. two stamps (Appendix I, a and b), one mid-first century, one first half second century (pl. XXI, f); also triangular brick. Amphora, dolium. *Op. sig.*; *lithostroton* paving; oblong *tesserae* of white limestone. Multicoloured wall-plaster; veneer marble (Appendix II). Squared blocks of travertine; column-drum of coarse travertine. Limestone pestle (14 cm. high, diam. 24 cm.) with iron handle. Human bones.

74. 063656. Large archaic and Roman site on the west slope of a north-facing re-entrant, on the line of a paved road from Ereton to Colli Cesarinetta, marked by stray selec paving-stones on the floor of the re-entrant. The site seems to have been continually occupied since archaic times, but not occupied later.

Buccheria; black-glazed; *terra sig.* (incl. stamp: *in planta pedis C.ME = C. Memminus*, *CIL XI*, 6700.359 (Arretium). Probably Augustan. Roman fine and coarse (incl. finger-tip cordonated) wares.

Archaic and Roman tile, amphora, dolium. Travertine door-sill. Copper bell with clapper. Numidian marble dish with bevelled edge.

75. 062658. A modern barn at the cross-roads near Hill 60, destroyed in the 1939-45 war, contained re-used ancient material, especially marble. Carved Proconnesian marble sarcophagus fragments, filled at an uncertain date with concrete.

76. 063658. Small archaic and Roman deposit on the line of the archaic road, on the west slopes of a re-entrant.

Archaic and Roman coarseware; Red Polished.

Archaic tile, amphora.

77. 064658. Poor scatter of Roman coarseware on the line of the archaic road, on the western slopes of a re-entrant.

78. 065658. Small archaic (?) and Roman site under thick scrub on the crown of the northern spur of the Casa Cotta ridge, beside the line of the archaic road and 50 m. from the head of the deep cutting down to the Fosso dei Cupicci.

Archaic coarseware; black-glazed; Roman coarseware.

79. 064659. At the head of a steep cutting of archaic road. The absence of building material suggests a wayside burial.

One fragment of *terra sig*. Roman coarseware.

80. 065656. Small deposit on the line of the paved road linking 73 and 74, on the crest of the ridge. The absence of building material suggests a wayside burial.

One fragment of black-glazed. Roman fine wares.

81. 061648. Large Roman site on the brow of the hill overlooking the Fosso Casa Cotta, at the end of the paved Roman road that runs due south from the Ereton plateau.

Black-glazed ware, incl. some with overpainting; *terra sig.*, incl. whorl pattern and local fabric; Red Polished; beaker; coarseware. Lamp fragments. Domestic glass.

Tile, incl. three stamps (Appendix I, b), all datable to the turn of the second and third centuries; also triangular tile. Amphora. Dolium. Dolium, incl. one bearing incised capacity marks . . . . *IVS*[ ... ] *N XLVI*, *CIL XV*, 2529 x. (Pl. XXI, e).

Squared blocks of travertine. Small cubical *tesserae* of blue and green glass. Veneer marble (Appendix II); painted wall-plaster. Window glass.

Basalt rotary mill. Loom weight. Terracotta plaque.
ERETUM

82. 061653. Large and well-to-do Roman site on the west side of the paved road, on the north slope of the valley. There was a well at the south-eastern corner. A fluted pilaster and capital of Proconnesian marble, the base of a pilaster with a cicada beside part of an acanthus scroll (pl. XVIII, d) and a carved travertine triglyph frieze (1-55 × 0-58 × 0-28 cm.) (pl. XVIII, b), found alongside the road, may come from a mausoleum. In the near-by peasant's hut there was part of a marble base with iron clamps.

   Black-glazed; terra sig. (pl. XXII, e,f); Red Polished; coarseware, incl. 'rilled' ware. Lamp fragment. Domestic glass.

   Tile (incl. triangular), amphora, dolium. Squared blocks of travertine and travertine door-sill. Op. spic (10 × 4-5 × 2 cm.); cubical tesselae of white limestone. Veneer marble (Appendix II); painted wall-plaster. Window glass.

83. 061654. Small scatter (from a hut or small cemetery) of Roman pottery in a hollow between the Roman road and a modern pylon, 150 m. north-west of the large Roman site (72). There seemed to be no associated masonry.

   Terra sig.; coarseware. Tile.

84. 056657. Small site in plough and vines on the west side of a re-entrant, 50 m. north of the modern track. Too small to be a villa, but the combination of black-glazed pottery and stamped tile proves lengthy occupation.

   Black-glazed. Roman coarse and finer wares.

   Tile, incl. one stamp (Appendix I, b) of the mid-first century.

85. Small deposit of archaic and Roman sherds in the hollow of the Sferracavallo ridge where the derelict Monte Rotondo aqueduct runs. Some sherds have been washed down the slopes to the north.

   Archaic coarseware. Roman coarseware.

   Archaic tile.

86. 074636. Villa in plough and vineyard on the crown of the Sferracavallo ridge.

   Terra sig.; Red Polished; Roman coarseware.


87. 069642. Small scatter of archaic sherds in plough. No nucleus.

88. 068643. Small archaic nucleus on the north-facing slope of a re-entrant opposite the remains of the medieval tower. It lies on the edge of a travertine outcrop which has been quarried.

   Archaic cooking-stand; horizontal handle; archaic coarseware; amphora; archaic tile.

89. 067643. Remains of a medieval tower on an artificial mound overlooking Foso Casa Cotta. Much re-used Roman material, but the site was probably not occupied in classical times, unless there was a mausoleum here.


90. 066640. Large villa on the crown of the Sferracavallo ridge, 300 m. west of a modern farmhouse. It had a detached outbuilding 100 m. to the west.

   One fragment of Attic black-glazed stamped ware and other black-glazed wares, incl. stamped with palmettes; terra sig.; Red Polished; thin-walled beaker; Roman coarseware, incl. 'rilled' ware. Fragments of clear and blue glass bowls.


   Bronze wire 'eye' (short pin with loop head).


91. 063642. Small archaic deposit on the east side of a hollow, where a stream leads down to the Foso Casa Cotta.

   Archaic coarseware; archaic dolium; archaic tile.
92. 060641. Large Roman site on the south-west corner of Hill 61, overlooking the Fosso Sfraccaravalle. It is probably the villa marked on Ashby's map.

Black-glazed (incl. stamped with palmettes; terra sig. (incl. leaf pattern); Red Polished; coarse and finer ware. Domestic glass.

Tile (incl. triangular), amphora, dolium. Limestone op. ret.; limestone block with dovetail clamp; squared blocks of limestone and of travertine. Op. spic. of three sizes (10-5 x 5 x 2; 8-5 x 4 x 3; 9 x 4 x 2 cm.); small cubical tesseræ of white limestone. Painted wall-plaster; veneer marble (Appendix II).

Human bones.

93. 057644. Two small Roman sites under grass, on the top of Hill 56. Some building material and broken tile but little recoverable pottery.

Roman coarseware. Tile (incl. triangular), amphora, dolium.

94. 055643. Large Roman villa on the south-facing slopes of Hill 56, 250 m. from 93.

Black-glazed (incl. two bases stamped with palmettes); terra sig. (incl. local fabrics); Red Polished; coarseware (incl. 'almond' rims). Italian lamp fragments of the first century b.c. (cf. B.M.C. Lamps, no. 320). Fragment of a marble bowl.

Tile, incl. two stamps (Appendix I, a and b) of the second century; also triangular brick and imbrex. Amphora, dolium. Squared block of travertine. Op. spic. (10-5 x 5 x 2 cm.); small cubical tesseræ of basalt and white limestone; medium-sized cubical and small oblong tesseræ of white limestone. Veneer marble (Appendix II); multicoloured wall-plaster. Window glass. Moulded pilaster base (32 x 24 x 16 cm.) of Luni marble; moulded marble pedestal for a statuette (18 x 18 x 10 cm.) with a central dowel-hole.

95. 078628. Large Roman site with a tile-kiln and a cistern 100 m. to the east of the Via Nomentana. The site covered a large area; the main domestic quarters seem to have lain on the southern slopes of Hill 96, while the kiln lay on the plateau on top of the hill. The kiln has been well ploughed out and much clinker and tile-waste is scattered over the ground. When visited, the house was under grass and difficult to assess. The cistern lay between the house and the kiln, on the top of the slope at the edge of the plough-land. It was a double chamber faced in op. sig. with a row of central arches and measured 8-50 m. x 5 m. with a depth of more than 2-5 m.

Black-glazed; terra sig.; Red Polished (incl. rouletted); barbotine beaker; coarseware. Fine domestic glass.

Much tile, incl. fused wasters and stamp (Appendix I, a) of the first century; also imbrex and flue-tile. Amphora, dolium. Squared blocks of travertine. Op. spic. (10 x 6 x 2-5 cm.); large black basalt and small white limestone cubical tesseræ; op. sectile. Veneer marble, incl. fluted pilaster (Appendix II); multicoloured wall-plaster. Window glass.

Coin of Constantius II (c. A.D. 348): Rev. FEL TEMP REPARATIO (fallen horseman).

96. 079630. Small scatter of tile and Roman coarseware 250 m. north of 95.

97. 076625. Small site on the nose of the spur to the east of the Molino Fiora.

Archaic and Roman coarseware; Red Polished. Archaic and Roman tile, amphora, dolium.

98. 074623. Rich Roman site on the nose of the spur between Torre Fiora and Molino Fiora, immediately to the east of the line of the Via Nomentana.

Black-glazed, terra sig.; Red Polished (incl. rouletted); coarseware (incl. 'almond' rim). Tile (incl. column-tile), amphora, dolium. Op. sectile; large white limestone, medium and small black basalt cubical tesseræ. Painted wall-plaster.

99. 069624. Torre Fiora. Much Roman material has been worked into the walls of the medieval tower. Some of this may have come from 98, but surface finds indicate that the tower stands on an older site now almost obliterated, although Ashby (PBSR, iii, 74) considered it entirely medieval. The tower itself stands 30 m. high.

Terra sig.; Red Polished; Roman coarseware; medieval glazed and unglazed wares. Roman tile, dolium. Fragmentary inscription in travertine: N (8 cm. high).

100. 075628. Wide scatter of poor material across the northern slopes of Hill 103, between the crest of the hill and the modern road.

Archaic and Roman coarseware. Archaic and Roman tile, incl. a stamp (Appendix I, a) of uncertain date. Amphora.
101. 068630. Large Roman site on the top of Hill 87, with a nucleus near the inspection-point of the derelict Acquedotto di Monterotondo. Under grass but in course of being excavated for building development; see also 102.

Roman coarseware; fragments of fine domestic glass.
Much tile, incl. imbrex; dolium. Squared blocks of travertine.

102. 063631. Stray black-glazed base in the bed of a re-entrant. It had probably been washed down by the stream from 101.

103. 069632. Small scatter of archaic material close to the modern farm-buildings, which may cover a more substantial site.
Archaic coarseware. Archaic tile.

104. 062633. Roman site on the corner of a spur of the Marzolano ridge, just west of the track leading from the Casale to the Fosso Fiora, beside a vineyard. An amphora neck found here was clearly a waster, which suggests that there may have been an amphora kiln in the vicinity. None of the identified kilns (33, 38, 95) is proved to have manufactured amphorae.

*Terra sig.* (incl. stamp: in a rectangle FB[ . . . ]; not identified. Pl. XXIII, 9); Red Polished; painted wares; coarseware, incl. ‘rilled’.

Tile, amphora; dolium. Two travertine column drums (diam. 40 and 45 cm. respectively). Limestone door-sill. *Op. spic.* (11.5 × 5.5 × 2 cm.); veneer marble (Appendix II); painted wall-plaster.

105. 059636. Roman site in the corner of a wheat field, immediately north of the modern road.

Black-glazed; *terra sig.*; Red Polished. Coarseware, incl. ‘rilled’ ware.

Tile, incl. flue-tile; amphora. *Op. spic.* (10.5 × 6 × 1.8 cm.); black basalt cubical *tesserae*. Painted wall-plaster.

106. 053629. Roman site on the nose of a spur of the Colle del Forno, marked by two small cypresses. The substantial core of a square construction of mortared limestone (9.4 (9-4) m. × 8.5 m.) occupies the site and may be the ruins of a medieval tower, although the mortar is uncharacteristically hard. This may be the building intended by Ashby on his map, although he puts it on the adjacent spur to the east.

Black-glazed (incl. lamp fragment); *terra sig.*; Red Polished; Roman coarseware.

Plain and green-glazed medieval wares.

Tile, incl. a stamp (Appendix I, a) of the first half of first century. Amphora, dolium. Squared blocks of travertine, incl. a large slab (93 × 92 cm.) with a rectangular recess (32 × 35 cm.); rough column-drum (diam. 50 cm.) and door-sill of travertine. Small cubical *tesserae* of white limestone.

107. 047629. Poor Roman site on low-lying ground at the tip of the westerly spur of the Colle del Forno. Under thick grass.

Roman coarseware. Tile (incl. stamp (Appendix I, b) of Vespasianic date); also triangular tile, imbrex. Dolium. Squared blocks of travertine.

108. 049632. Scatter of Roman tile and coarseware on the ridge leading down to 107.

109. 052649. Large archaic and Roman site on the crest of Hill 49, south of Eretum. The site lies just to the west of the limestone-paved Roman road, just after it has turned south on reaching the crest of the ridge.

Black painted ware; black-glazed; *terra sig.*; incl. oblong stamp . . . )LTT; one of the slaves of L. Titius; cf. CIL XI, 6700.700; Red Polished; coarseware. Fragments of fine domestic glass. Italian lamp fragments (incl. third-century A.D. type, as B.M.C. Lamps, no. 1193).

Archaic and Roman tile, triangular tile. Amphora, dolium, incl. stamp (Appendix I, a) not later than second century.

110. 050652. Large villa on the crest beside the modern grass track, looking across to Eretum. The coins indicate that the site enjoyed a prolonged existence. It has not been ploughed out (no floors).

Black-glazed (incl. base stamp with palmettes and lamp fragment); *terra sig.*; fragment of late imitation *terra sig.* with oblong stamp NEC[ . . . ]; Red Polished; beaker;
coarseware. Fine domestic glass.

Two bronze rings from a necklace. Two *minimissimi*. 
Tile, incl. one of Q. Sulpicius, Type A (Appendix I, c) of the first half of the first century and one other of first century date (Appendix I, b); also triangular brick and imbrex. Amphora, doliolum. Squared blocks and moulded base (65 × 53 × 21 cm.) of travertine. Marble veneer (Appendix II). Seleí paving stone. Terracotta water-pipes.


111. 055647. Small villa on a south-facing spur overlooking the Fosso Casa Cotta, 300 m. east of the Roman road. At the south-west corner hypocaust tiles and terracotta drainage pipes indicate a detached bath-house.

Black-glazed (incl. base stamped with palmetttes); terra sig. (incl. stamp in planta pedis: CCl[\(\text{possibly C(aius) Cl(odius) Pro(culus)\)}], cf. CIL XV, 5105 and 5106 (pl. XXII, g) also Red Polished; coarseware, incl. ‘rilled’ ware. Lamp fragment. Fine domestic glass. Loom weight.

Tile, incl. four stamps (Appendix I, a, b and c) ranging from the early first to the early third century; also triangular brick and imbrex. Amphora, doliolum. Medium-sized cubical tesseræ of basalt and of white limestone; oblong tesseræ of limestone. Multicoloured wall-plaster. Travertine column-base (16 × 16 × 25 cm.).

112. 051644. Roman site immediately east of the line of the Roman road, where it emerged on to the crest. Under grass.

Black-glazed; terra sig.; Red Polished; beaker; coarseware. Domestic glass.

Tile (incl. triangular and imbrex), amphora, doliolum. Squared blocks of tufa and of travertine. Small cubical tesseræ of basalt and white limestone; small oblong and large cubical tesseræ of basalt. Veneer marble (Appendix II); grey slate. Multicoloured wall-plaster.

113. 048644. Villa site under grass on a south-facing slope, 200 m. from the ancient road and 300 metres from 112.

Black-glazed; terra sig. (incl. stamp in planta pedis: C VEBI[\(\text{= C(aius) Ve(\ldots)\)}] B(a)rg(ates), CIL XV, 5727; thin-walled beaker; coarseware. Fragment of blue glass bowl.


114. 046637. Scatter of tile, amphora and Roman coarseware on the neck of the ridge. Some broken marble.

115. 046337. Large Roman site on the crown of Hill 52, surmounted by pylons and cypresses. The wealth of veneer marble and the elaborate water-storage system show it to have been a villa of substance. 100 m. down the slope to the north, towards the modern level-crossing over the railway, the hill-side has been pierced by five deep holes 50 m. apart stretching in a line east-west. The middle hole is more of a pit than a well, being about 30 m. in diameter, but it was not possible to reach the floor-level, as it has been filled up with farm refuse. Two of the holes could be measured. The second from the western end was 13-50 m. deep, the most easterly 6-50 m. deep, but the difference is to be accounted for by the drop in the slope of the hill. The exact purpose of these holes, which are certainly ancient, could not be discovered without extensive exploration with proper equipment, but it may be conjectured that the four small ones gave access to a large underground cistern. There is certainly water at the bottom now.

Black-glazed; terra sig.; Red Polished; beaker; coarseware.


116. 042636. Archaic scatter washed down the slope towards the railway.

Archaic amphora handle. Archaic coarseware.

117. 044634. Extensive Roman site occupying the middle of a long ridge leading down from Hill 42. Marked by a clump of cypresses; under grass.

Black-glazed; terra sig.; Red Polished; rouletted beaker and rilled and painted fragments; Roman coarseware. Medieval unglazed ware and yellow, brown and green glazed wares.

APPENDIX I: BRICK STAMPS

The tiles found in the Ager Eretanum include a number of brick-stamps, among them those of at least one manufacturer, Q. Sulpicius Sabinus, whose products were manufactured locally for local use.

I am indebted to Professor Herbert Bloch for examining the stamps and to Mr. A. J. Saint for compiling the lists which constitute this appendix. These have been divided into three sections: (a) Unidentified and unpublished stamps; (b) Identified stamps; (c) the tiles of Q. Sulpicius Sabinus. References are to Volumes XI, Part 2, and XV, Part 1, of the Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum and to Professor Bloch's Supplement to Volume XV, Part I, of the CIL (Harvard, 1948). Unless specifically stated otherwise, references are to ordinary bricks or to roof tiles.

Figs. 4 and 7 illustrate the distributions of, respectively, tiles of first-century date and those of the second and third centuries. How far the marked falling-off in numbers is attributable to an actual decline in building activity and how far it reflects the shift from local production to the mass-production of the second century are questions that call for comparable statistics from other areas in the neighbourhood of Rome.

R. M. O.

(a) Unidentified Stamps

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<th>Reading</th>
<th>Comments, Shape, Date, etc.</th>
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<td>30</td>
<td>MATR[...</td>
<td>Unpublished dolium stamp. Rectangular, not later than second century.</td>
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<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>O[PV]S DOLIARE[...]</td>
<td>Unidentifiable. Probably closed crescent, second century.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>[...I·SER</td>
<td>Unidentified. Rectangular, early first century.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59</td>
<td>[...JVNIO·CAI·F</td>
<td>Unpublished dolium stamp. Rectangular, litteris malis. Uncertain date.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>73</td>
<td>EX·PR·VA[.../...]CAR[...]</td>
<td>Unidentified. Probably closed crescent. First half of second century.</td>
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<tr>
<td>94</td>
<td>A·A[... or AV[...]</td>
<td>Unidentified. Rectangular, first century.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100</td>
<td>[...JIVI</td>
<td>Unpublished. Irregular rectangle, litteris malis, uncertain date.</td>
</tr>
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<td>Site</td>
<td>Reading</td>
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<td>---------</td>
<td>-----------------------------</td>
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<tr>
<td>106</td>
<td>DA[...]</td>
<td>Unidentified; not the same as CIL XV, 1268. Rectangular, first half of first century.</td>
</tr>
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<td>109</td>
<td>LVCR[...]</td>
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<td>111</td>
<td>...]SVIR</td>
<td>Unidentified. Rectangular, first century.</td>
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(b) Identified Stamps

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<td>Eretum [A·GEL]LI·KARI·EX·P·S[AB·R/A]PR·ET·PA[ET/COS]</td>
<td>Reference, Shape, Date, etc. Bloch, 151. Closed crescent, A.D. 123.</td>
<td>CIL XV, 359. Closed crescent, A.D. 123.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33 ...LV[CIFER][R...</td>
<td>CIL XV, 528. Litteris cavis, early second century.</td>
<td>CIL XV, 1244b. Circular, late first century.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35 OP·D·EX·PR·AVG·N·FL·DOMITI/A NAS·MAIORES</td>
<td>CIL XV, 659c. Semicircular, mid first century.</td>
<td>CIL XV, 189. Circular, Commodan or Severan. Probably as above, CIL XV, 189. Circular, Commodan or Severan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37 L·PETR[ONI F]VSCI/FECIT FAVSTVS·SER</td>
<td>CIL XV, 759. Closed crescent, Commodan or Severan.</td>
<td>CIL XV, 759. Closed crescent, Commodan or Severan.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fig. 4.—First-Century Brick Stamps in the Ager Eretanus

Fig. 5.—Terra Sigillata in the Ager Eretanus

Fig. 6.—Red Polished Wares in the Ager Eretanus

Fig. 7.—Brick Stamps of the Second and Third Centuries in the Ager Eretanus
Tiles made by Q. Sulpicius Sabinus had already been recorded from the Via Tiburtina and from Cures (CIL XV, 1460, 1 and 2: SVLP[... and Q SVLP[...], respectively), with which should presumably be associated also one from the Palatine (ibid, 1461: PRIMIONIS. Q. SVLPICI). The discovery of no less than thirteen examples in the neighbourhood of Eretum now makes it certain that they were manufactured locally, and there is good reason to believe that the actual site of the kiln has been located (fig. 4).

The fabric of the tiles is distinctive—a yellowish clay with a pinkish centre flecked with large specks of pink pozzolana—and tile waste of this distinctive fabric was found on the site of Roman villa overlooking the Rio Moscio near the eastern boundary of the area (Site 33), together with clinker and five tiles bearing the stamp of Q. Sulpicius. There is abundant clay in the neighbourhood, and there can be little doubt that this is in fact where these tiles were manufactured. From the form of the stamps they can be confidently ascribed to the first half of the first century A.D.

The stamps are rectangular and come in three different versions:

- **Type A** 12·5 × 3·5 cm Q SVLPICI SABN. Plate XX, a
- **Type B** 12 × 2 cm Q SVLPCI SABIN. Plate XX, b
- **Type C** 13(?) × 2·5 cm Q SVLPICI[... Plate XX, c

Tiles bearing stamps of Q. Sulpicius were found on the following sites:

- Site 14 Stamp of Type C.
- Site 32 Stamp of Type A.
- Site 33 Three stamps of Type A, two of Type B.
- Site 34 Stamp of Type B.
- Site 35 Stamp of Type A.
- Site 42 Stamp of Type A.
59 Stamp of Type B.
110 Stamp of Type A.
111 Stamp of Type A.

Tiles of the same distinctive fabric, but without stamps, were noted on sites 41 and 57.

A. J. S.

APPENDIX II: VENEER MARBLES

The *Ager Ereatanus*, by comparison with the *Ager Veientanus*, is not rich in veneer marble. It was not such a prosperous area nor was it densely inhabited for so long into the Imperial age. The following list covers those sites from which it was possible to collect a representative cross-section of the marbles in use, for submission to Mr. M. H. Ballance, to whom I am indebted for the identifications. Though not complete, this list covers the richer sites and offers a fair guide to the qualities in use in the better-class villas. Elsewhere local Italian marbles predominate, and the relatively few foreign marbles are only such as one would reasonably expect in a district so near to the marble-yards of the capital.

8 *Africano*, Numidian, Chian (*porta santa*), Luni, coarse-grained *marmo scritto*.
14 Phrygian, Grey Luni.
25 Skyros, Proconnesian.
26 Thessalian (*verde antico*).
28 Luni.
34 White Greek marble.
35 Chios (*porta santa*), coarse-grained white.
39 Luni.
48 Black porphyry, *africano*, Thasian (or coarse Parian).
56 Luni.
58 Proconnesian.
59 White Greek marble.
64 Proconnesian, fine-grained *marmo scritto*, coarse-grained *marmo scritto*.
72 Skyros, Grey Luni.
73 Proconnesian (?), Teos (?).
81 Grey Luni (?), Thasian (or coarse Parian).
82 Phrygian.
92 Luni.
94 Fine-grained *marmo scritto*, Parian, Phrygian.
95 Carystian (*cipollino*).
104 Luni.
110 Luni.
112 Numidian, *fior di pesco* (?).
113 Luni, fine-grained *marmo scritto*, *africano*.
115 Phrygian (*pavonazzetto*), Grey Luni, Numidian (*giallo antico*), *africano*. 
APPENDIX III. ‘Red Polished’ Wares in the Ager Eretanus

The observations contained in this appendix are based on information supplied by Mr. J. W. Hayes, who has in recent years made a study of the Red Slip wares (in Italian, Terra Sigillata Chiara) that were widely exported from North Africa from the end of the first century A.D. onwards, and who kindly examined and classified the finds from the Ager Eretanus. The term ‘Red Polished’ has here been retained for the sake of consistency with the previous articles in this series.

Fragments of Red Polished vessels were collected from 57 sites within the Ager Eretanus, and from 50 of these it was possible to assign the sherds to one or more of three broad chronological groups: I, from the end of the first century A.D. to the first half of the third; II, from the first half of the third century to the middle of the fifth; III, from the second half of the fifth century to the end of the sixth. No sites produced identifiable sherds of seventh-century date.

The table that follows sets out these results. In it it is assumed that the absence of identifiable sherds of Period II on sites 33 and 38 is fortuitous and that these sites were in fact continuously occupied, as all the other evidence suggests. The same consideration applies to sites 60, 62 and 73, all of which were certainly occupied during the early Empire.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Site</th>
<th>I</th>
<th>II</th>
<th>III</th>
<th>Site</th>
<th>I</th>
<th>II</th>
<th>III</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>——</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>——</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>——</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>——</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>——</td>
<td>——</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>——</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>——</td>
<td>x</td>
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<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>——</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>x</td>
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<td>x</td>
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<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>——</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>——</td>
<td>x</td>
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<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>——</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>——</td>
<td>x</td>
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<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>——</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>——</td>
<td>——</td>
<td>x</td>
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<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>——</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>——</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>——</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>x</td>
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<td>x</td>
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<td>28</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>——</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>x</td>
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<td>x</td>
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<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>--—</td>
<td>x?</td>
<td>——x?</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>——</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>——</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>x</td>
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<td>34</td>
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<td>90</td>
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<td>92</td>
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<td>x</td>
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<td>x</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>x</td>
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<td>x</td>
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<td>44</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>——</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>x?</td>
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<td>x</td>
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<td>x</td>
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<tr>
<td>51</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>——</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>——</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>——</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>——</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>——</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>——</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>——</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>——</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>——</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>Eretum (town)</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>——</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

x?
In addition to the above, seven sites have yielded sherds of Red Polished ware that cannot be more precisely classified, and of these four (sites 58, 72, 109 and 110) had been occupied since Republican times and two more (sites 35 and 50) since the first century A.D. All six may reasonably be regarded as having been occupied during Period I. The seventh site (97) is of uncertain date. If one adds these figures to those of the preceding table, it emerges that out of 56 classifiable sites, 32 (57 per cent.) cannot be shown to have outlasted Period I; another 17 (30 per cent.) survived into Period II, but not later; only 7 (13 per cent.) can be shown to have been still in occupation in Period III.

**Fig. 8.—Red Polished Wares**
- Open Circles: Period I only
- Solid Circles: Periods I and II only
- Ringed Circles: Periods I–II

**Fig. 9.—Medieval Sites**
Analysis of the individual fabrics yields very similar results:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Fabric</th>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Number of Sherds</th>
<th>Percentage of total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Early R.S. ware (TSC ‘A’)</td>
<td>End of first century to early middle third century</td>
<td>201</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Subsidiary wares</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Late Roman A’</td>
<td>Early third to middle fourth centuries</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Late Roman B’ (and late types of ‘Late A’)</td>
<td>Middle fourth to middle fifth centuries</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Late B’</td>
<td>Late fifth to late sixth centuries</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Late B’</td>
<td>Fourth to sixth centuries (indeterminate)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>301</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

i.e. out of 301 identifiable sherds, 83 per cent. were Constantinian or earlier; only 17 per cent. were post-Constantinian. By Late Antiquity the occupation of the Ager Eretanus had dwindled notably from the high level which it had reached under the Early Empire, and such occupation as there was was concentrated on a very few, large sites.

Finally it may be remarked that these figures offer a valuable demonstration of the broad statistical reliability of the sample upon which they are based. Out of a total of 85 attributions demonstrated or reasonably inferred, in only 5 cases (6 per cent.) are there no sherds to support the attributions. Even allowing for a few sites that may have been occupied rather longer than the evidence indicates, this suggests an error of, at the outside, 8–10 per cent.

R. M. O.
THE VIA CASSIA AND THE VIA TRAIAANA NOVA
BETWEEN BOLSENA AND CHIUSI

(Plates XXVI—XXXVI)

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II. The Via Traiana .......................... 117
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I. INTRODUCTION

The Roman road-system between Bolsena and Chiusi is for several reasons one of particular interest.¹ It was detectably influenced by changes in the pattern of settlement; it was the scene of an ambitious engineering project under Trajan; and it covers three different types of country, the tufa hills of Northern Lazio, the clay and limestone ridges to the north of the River Paglia and finally the flood-plain of the upper Val di Chiana.

In the third century B.C. the importance of the Etruscan town on the site of Orvieto sharply declined and Bolsena became the leading town of the area. Orvieto is probably the site of Etruscan Volsinii. This identification, which goes back to K. O. Muller,² has been assailed by R. Bloch in a series of articles on the archaeology of Bolsena.³ It is, however, supported by the evidence of both sites: the finds at Orvieto, notably the rich groups of sixth-century and fifth-century tombs recently excavated by Bizzarrì in the Crocefisso del Tufo cemetery,⁴ easily outweigh the small quantity of early material which has emerged from the Bolsena site. Prolonged investigations in and around Bolsena have in fact produced remarkably little that is earlier than the fourth century, and the archaeological evidence agrees sufficiently well with the assertion of Dio-Zonaras (Zonaras VIII 7.8) that after the Volsinian rebellion of 265 the survivors were resettled on another site.⁵ The Etruscan road-system had, of course, already taken shape by this time, and it appears

¹ The author owes thanks above all to the Director of the British School, who first suggested this project and gave invaluable help throughout; and also to Dr. M. Bizzarrì, the representative of the Soprintendenza alle Antichità at Orvieto, who most generously shared his wide knowledge of the district; Dr. D. Adamesteau of the Fototeca of the Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione; Lady Meade, formerly of the British Consulate in Milan, and Ing. D. Vanoni, who enabled the author to see the air photographs of the area taken by the Soc. Autostrade; Miss Joanna Close-Brooks; Miss Iris Love; Miss F. Warchsberger; Mr. T. P. Wiseman; and many others.
⁴ See SE xxx, 1962, 1–156.
⁵ Although some terracotta work from Orvieto temples postdates the rebellion, Andrén 153 f.
that it at first proved adequate for Roman purposes, for the Via Cassia as such came into existence more than a century after the conquest. 6

The date of the Cassia remains uncertain. It cannot have preceded C. Flaminius' road from Bononia to Arretium built in 187 B.C., 7 for no Cassius held curule office before C. Cassius Longinus (PW no. 55), who was consul in 171. Before the first explicit reference to the Cassia is made by Cicero, 8 seven consuls (171, 164, 127, 124, 107, 96 and 73) and two censorshipes (154 and 125) are held by Cassii. Of the seven men concerned, the consul of 171, who was censor in 154, is the most likely to have been responsible. The Cassia would have improved Roman access to several of the areas which were of military interest in the 170s: Mutina, which had been colonized in 183, was occupied by the Ligurians in 177 and recaptured by C. Claudius Pulcher in 176; the consul of 171 had in 178 been involved as a tribunus militum in the Istrian war which Claudius concluded in 177, and had possibly had an opportunity to observe for himself the limitations of the Via Flaminia (Liv. XLI 5.8). In 173 'cum agri Ligustini et Gallici quod bello captum erat aliquantum vacaret, senatus consultum factum ut is ager virtim divideretur' (XLII 4.3); Cassius was among the decemviri put in charge of this distribution. In his consulship he was assigned Italy (XLII 31.1, 32.1–5) and Gaul (XLIII 1.4); he spent his energies in trying to attack Macedonia through Illyria and the following year served as tribunus militum in Macedonia. He regained office in 154 as censor, the year after the conclusion of the Dalmatian war. The most probable date for the construction of the Venetian Via Annia is the consulship of T. Annius Luscus in 153, 9 and this period offers the most plausible context for the systematization of the Cassia. 10 Of the later Cassii little that is relevant is known; a confused passage of Eutropius (IV 22) states that C. (sic) Cassius Longinus took part in a Gallic war in 127; 11 the consul of 73 was proconsul in Cisalpine Gaul in 72, and was defeated by Spartacus in a battle which Florus (II 8.10) places at Mutina; Arretium, Faesulae (or Florentia) and probably Clusium had been colonized by Sulla, and Lepidus had received some support in Etruria. But these possible indications of interest in the functioning of the Cassia do not, of course, establish a substantial case for either of the Cassii concerned. The second of the two Cassian censors, L. Cassius Longinus Ravilla (PW no. 72), has sometimes been favoured, 12 but there is no positive evidence for connecting him with the road.

Presumably the Cassia was one of the Italian roads to benefit from the repairs to the system undertaken by Augustus, 13 in A.D. 21, 14 and in 39. 15 A bridge on the

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6 For some evidence of Roman use of earlier roads in S. Etruria, cf. D. Anziani, MEFR xxxiii, 1913, esp. 239 f. The Cassia was apparently established as an addition to a working system of (less direct) roads; cf. (on the Via Veientana and the Via Nepetina) J. B. Ward-Perkins, PBSR xxii, 1955, 55–7, xxix, 1961, 60–1, and (on the Etruscan road NW of Sutri) G. C. Duncan, PBSR xxvi, 1958, 83. 7 Liv. xxxix 2.6.

8 Phil. xii 22; 'Tres viae sunt ad Mutinam ... Etruriam discriminat Cassia'.

9 The case is argued in detail by T. P. Wiseman, PBSR xxxii, 1964, 22 f.

10 Livy's silence about the establishment of the Cassia is another argument in favour of a date after 167.

11 For road-building in Italy by a popularis in the 120s, cf. App. BC i 25.98, Plu. CG 6, 7. In 150 or 123, T. Quinctius Flaminius, father or son, put up a milestone between Florence and Pisa, CIL xi, 6671 = ILS 5808.


13 CIL xi (= ILS 84), ix 2845–6 (= ILS 915), Sueet. DA 30, Dio liii 22.


15 Dio lix 15.3.
Fig. 1.—The Via Cassia and the Via Traiana Nova between Bolsena and Chiusi
Cassia near Viterbo was probably built by Claudius and repaired by Vespasian; the Colonnacce bridge near Orvieto was probably built during the first century A.D.\textsuperscript{16} The building of the Via Traiana Nova in this area, which is recorded in two inscriptions of 108, shortened the journey from Volsinii to Clusium by about ten kilometres and probably represented an entirely new construction for the twenty-five kilometres north of Bolsena; the Cassia had passed very close to the site of Orvieto, but the Traiana took a direct line to the North which was never nearer to the town than nine kilometres.\textsuperscript{17}

Five fourth-century milestone inscriptions of this area are known, two of 305 or 306, one of the reign of Constantine, one of the reign of Julian and one of the reign of Jovian.\textsuperscript{18} The first four of these inscriptions, two of them on the same stone as one of the Trajanic inscriptions, are found on two milestones on the Traiana. The fifth, that of Jovian, was discovered at a point which was on neither the Traiana nor the most likely line of the Cassia; it apparently belonged to a road which crossed the Paglia at or near the Ponte Giulio, a still extant medieval bridge, the construction of which has sometimes, though mistakenly, been regarded as in part Roman.\textsuperscript{19} Milestones are not by themselves proof that work was done to repair a road; but the quantity of the fourth-century inscriptions and the fact that under the emperor who succeeded Julian the main road was transferred to an easier and less direct line suggest that for some time before the change it was becoming more and more difficult to keep the Traiana in service. Jovian’s road seems to have followed the first part of the Traiana, where the country was not difficult, but to have made a detour towards the east to avoid the area north of the Paglia where erosion of the tertiary clay made the Trajanic road hard to maintain. In making this detour the road approached to within four kilometres of Orvieto, which had partially revived in the previous century.\textsuperscript{20}

The present article attempts to trace the precise course of the principal roads of the area and to list the Etruscan and Roman sites which are connected with them. Further evidence of ancient sites will of course continue to appear; this study, however, represents a thorough inspection of the surface remains of the area and a substantial advance from earlier publications. The most detailed of these was produced by E. Moretti in 1925\textsuperscript{21} and it contains much valuable material, although the author seems to have examined for himself only a small part of the district. The texts of two inscriptions from a milestone found in 1961 on the course of the Via Traiana are here published for the first time, and corrected texts are provided of the Constantian inscription (\textit{AE} 1926 no. 114) and of the milestone of Jovian.

\textsuperscript{16} For the Ponte di S. Nicolao near Viterbo, see \textit{CIL} xi 2999 and Bormann's note; cf. M. E. Blake, \textit{Roman Construction in Italy from Tiberius through the Flavians} (Washington D.C., 1959) 78, 142. For the Colonnacce bridge, see below p. 127.

\textsuperscript{17} For an account of Trajan’s road-building and the three Viae Traianae, cf. R. Pariben, \textit{Optimus Princeps} (Messina, 1927) ii, 101–2, 120–8. For other public works of Trajan in Etruria, cf. \textit{CIL} xi, 3308, 3793 (= \textit{ILS} 290) etc. North of Chiusi, near Montepluciano, further repairs to the Cassia were carried out by Hadrian, xi, 6668 (= \textit{ILS} 9497) (A.D. 123). On a chronological point cf. R. Syme, \textit{JRS} xx, 1930, 56).

\textsuperscript{18} See below, pp. 123 f.

\textsuperscript{19} See below, p. 128.

\textsuperscript{20} The dateable epigraphy from Orvieto in \textit{CIL} xi grows rapidly in quantity in the early third century.

\textsuperscript{21} \textit{La Via Cassia e la Via Traiana Nova a Volsinis ad Fines Clusinorum} (Orvieto, 1925); this was extensively used by E. Martinori, \textit{Via Cassia e sue deviazioni} (Rome 1930). References to fresh information provided in other local works will be found in their context. Cf. also M. Lopes Pegna, \textit{Itineraria Etruria I} in \textit{SE} xxi, 1950–1, 407–442, G. Radke in \textit{PW} art. cit., col. 845 f.
An almost complete coverage of the area by air photography has been used, consisting of the wartime photographs stored in the British School, of some made available by the Fototeca of the Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione and of some from a series taken by the Soc. Concessioni e Costruzioni Autostrade in preparation for work on the Autostrada del Sole. The principal maps used have been from the 1:25,000 edition of Sheets 121, 122, 130 and 137 of the Carta d'Italia published by the Istituto Geografico Militare (revised 1942–44).  

II. THE VIA TRAIANA

Bolsena. Four kilometres to the south of the town of Bolsena the Via Cassia comes down to the side of the lake on its way northwards. It leaves the shore again in the town itself and turns uphill to the north-east. Two paved Roman roads to the north-east can be seen within the site of the Roman town, one crossing the present easterly road at 448265, the other at 450265. Two exits from the ancient town can be traced. Roman paving on a line leading towards the former of these can be seen at 453272 (within the town). Outside the town wall this road had to cross the Fosso delle Valli (alias the Fosso Brutto); and a map published by Bloch places a 'pont romain brisé' across the fosso at 455278, below its junction with the Fosso dell Paura—presumably an inference, since no trace of it can be found on the ground. It seems more likely that this road crossed the fosso at 456279, above the junction with the Fosso della Paura, for at that point a small section of an old supporting wall, perhaps connected with an ancient bridge, can be seen on the northern rim of the ravine and running at a right angle to it. A flat area of ground in the slope immediately above these traces suggests artificial alteration of the ground level at a period when the fosso had not yet reached its present width and depth. 200 m. away through the scrub to the west (at 454279) there begins to appear the paving of the Traiana, still in place, and making a better connection with this site for the bridge than with that suggested by Bloch.

From Bolsena to the River Paglia (fig. 2; pl. XXVII). Outside Bolsena the course of a Roman road is clearly established running northwards from the Fosso delle Valli. This line continues for more than twenty miles and is shown by the evidence of the milestones (for which see below) to be a Via Traiana. Clear stretches of Roman paving first appear at 454279, curving uphill to the north and continuing for about 700 m. At 454279 this line is crossed obliquely by an existing track, which winds away down the hillside in a west-north-westerly direction, through a cutting which could be of Etruscan or Roman origin. The Traiana instead forks to the right, to climb the hill in a north-westerly direction along the line of the woodland track that leads up to Podere Piombino. Long stretches of selec paving remain in place, sometimes in the course of, sometimes beside, the present track; where the maximum width of the paving can be judged, it varies between 3-80 m. and 4 m. The gain in height between Fosso delle Valli and Piombino is about 100 m.

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22 Two zones of the U.T.M. grid which appears on these maps meet on the western side of the area; the numbering of the two zones is not continuous, so that, for example 444550 and 556550 are only one kilometre apart. The grid numbering is indicated in figs. 2–4.

23 *MEFR* lix, 1947, 23.
Fig. 2.—The Via Traiana Nova and the Via Cassia, North and North-East of Bolsena
(For the coordinates in the margin, see p. 117, n. 22)
Traces of the Traiana disappear at the point (453284) where woodland gives way to the cultivated area surrounding Podere Piombino, and reappear in the woodland to the north-north-west of the farmhouse. There are two possible courses across the intervening valley: along the present track, the eastern alternative, some selee paving blocks, not in position, survive at 452287; along the western alternative a substantial mound about 100 m. in length, which now forms a field boundary, may represent the line of the road. From its reappearance at 450288 the road is easily detectable for nearly 500 m. (pl. XXX, a). It climbs to the north-west and then, turning to the north, passes over the saddle between two hills. Lengths of selee paving remain in position; the maximum width here seems to have been fractionally less than 4 m. Clear traces of paving disappear again 300 m. to the south-east of Podere Rastrellino, at 449293, and are next to be seen 800 m. further north, where 2 m. of paving are visible beside the mulattiera. This last apparently is all that remains of a long stretch of paving, to which Martinori refers, called 'la selciata' by the contadini (pl. XXVII; XXX, b). The line which the road took across this area is obvious almost as far as Podere Medori to the north (453316); it travelled straight along the low ridge which separates the Fosso del Tesoro from the eastern branch of the Fosso di Rodinciampa. North of the Strada Statale no. 74 further paving stones have been identified at a field-edge at 452322.

From this point northwards as far as the River Paglia the road crosses ground that is, and has long been, cultivated and there are no unequivocal remains of roadworks to be seen, but the course which the Traiana took is not open to serious doubt. Guidance is provided by three considerations: first, the route taken was extremely direct, for although the ground was difficult, the Trajanic milestone at Monte Regole marked a point 13 Roman miles from Volsinii and that point was as far as 11\(\frac{3}{4}\) Roman miles from the gate of Volsinii by a direct line. Further, it seems very unlikely that the road descended into the rough going among the headstreams of the Torrente Romealla: a line to the west of Benano, by way of the Castel Giorgio airfield plateau and the village of Castel Viscardo (pl. XXXI), seems a priori much more probable. Lastly it seems most probable that the point at which the Traiana crossed the Paglia was approximately 554405 (see below). Although no decisive traces of the road have been found between the 452322 site immediately to the north of the Strada Statale no. 74 and the Paglia itself, a very possible line proceeds northwards by Podere Molare Primo (452333) crosses the Fosso Romealla at about 452338 and the Fosso Citerno at about 451346, passes over the disused Castel Giorgio airfield and approaches the existing road from Castel Giorgio to Castel Viscardo at about 449372. From Castel Viscardo itself the most probable of several possible routes down to the river leads down the narrow spur just to the west of the Fosso del Pisciarello (pl. XXXI). At a point on this spur above the level at which serious erosion has changed the lie of the ground an embankment of about thirty metres length (552382) may represent roadworks. On an alternative line down from Castel Viscardo, that through Monte Rugiaglio, a 200 m. stretch of old selee road which

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Moretti reported\(^{25}\) cannot now be seen; this could have been a short *diverticulum*. Moretti took the Traiana across the Paglia below Monte Rubiaglio at 'Barcaccia', where 'grossi blocchi cubici di travertino' were thought to have belonged to a Roman bridge; but a very large piece of Roman concrete is to be seen in the river bed at 554407 (pl. XXX, d; XXXI, a) and the line down the spur towards it is more direct, as well as being the one which best agrees with the remains to the north of the Paglia, so that Moretti's view is probably to be rejected.

455278: at the north of the 'pont romain brisé' over the Fosso delle Valli (above, p. 117) Bloch places (i) walls of a Roman villa, found in 1927, not apparently published, and (ii) a cistern excavated in 1947 (*MEFR* lix, 1947, 23).

456278: an Etruscan tomb (ib.)

455284: remains of a Roman building, perhaps a mausoleum annexed to a farm. Two pieces of pediment of a type of nenfo, both apparently left-hand ends; several other worked blocks of the same material; remains of a concrete platform; pieces of *opus signinum*; scatter of tile; piece of grindstone (?); three sherds of red-polished ware. Between the site and the Roman road: one sherd of black-glazed and one of a coarse red ware. The scatter of tile continues up to the road line.

452328: on the line of the road: one sherd of black-glazed; five of *terra sig.*, including part of a rim and part of a base; part of a dolium base; large scatter of coarse pottery and of tile.

5434: a site recorded by E. Galli, *Not. Sc.* 1910, 543-45, 'nella tenuta Citerno... al di sotto della casa colonica, posta ad alcuni chilometri dalla fattoria, in prossimità di un'antica chiesetta distrutta, detta S. Maria della Guardia': Etruscan tombs dated by Galli to the early third century B.C.; material included some black-glazed pottery.

546374: between Podere S. Maria and Torricella: a Roman cistern of laminated *sele* concrete, approximately 13-65 m. × 5-70 m., standing to a height of 1-50 m., wall-thickness 25 cm. with no facing. The cistern presumably served a villa nearby. Cozza (*apud* Moretti 7) took the line of the road down this spur, but the lie of the ground makes this improbable, in spite of his claim that 'qualche anno addietro esisteva un lungo tratto in questo punto, ma ora non si vedono più che pietre sparse...'

563400: 'nei fondi della casa parrocchiale di Monte Rubiaglio' a Roman funerary inscription of imperial date was found, G. F. Gamurrini, *Not. Sc.* 1881, 87 (*CIL* xi, 2706).

554405: the Paglia has cut back its south bank to show a section of a building, now inaccessible. It appears to consist of a standing wall at the west, a floor of Roman concrete and a fallen wall on the east.

554407: on the north bank of the river a piece of Roman concrete, approximately 7 m. × 8 m. × (at least) 2 m., which, to judge from its size, may very well have been part of the Traiana bridge (pl. XXX, d.). Some further evidence that this was the site of the Traiana bridge is provided in the account of the finding of the inscription *CIL* xi, 2718, given by Monaldo Monaldeschi della Cervara, *Cementari Historici... della Città d' Oroveto* (Venice 1584) p. 3, who refers to 'un altro castello detto Monterubiaio, sotto al quale era il ponte antico della Mola onde si passava il fiume Paglia, dalle cui ruine si fabbricò poi il Ponte Giulio'. The Monaldeschi were a family long established in the district; and though the description 'below Monte Rubiaglio' does not make it clear whether the bridge was to the east or west of the Fosso del Pisciarello, the possible connection between the Mola mentioned by Monaldeschi and the name Podere Molino (552407) on the north bank of the river supports the belief that it was to the west.

*From the River Paglia to Fabro* (fig. 3) (pl. XXVIII). Between the River Paglia and the village of Fabro Trajan's road encountered its most difficult obstacles, the ridges of tertiary clay the erosion of which eventually made his road impossible to maintain. Present conditions (pl. XXVIII) are a severer version of those of the fourth century: precipitous ravines eat into both sides of the ridges, and the clay is so

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\(^{25}\) Op cit. 8, 21. A. Cozza, cited by Moretti, referred to 'la testimonianza dei vecchi' that in order to construct a road from Monte Rubiaglio to Castel Viscardo a 'via selciata a grandi pietre con crepidine rialzata' had been destroyed. According to Cozza and Moretti the Cassia itself passed through the villages of Castel Giorgio, Benano, Viceno and Bardano; cf. below p. 129.
Fig. 3.—The Via Traiana Nova, from the River Paglia to Fabro
(For the coordinates in the margin, see p. 117, n. 22)
retentive of water that the unsurfaced tracks along the ridges often become impassable in wet weather. Between the crossing of the Paglia (at or near 554405) and the crossing of its tributary the Fosso Rivarcale (at 557442) the course taken by the Traiana is fairly clear. The first trace of an ancient road to be found on the north side of the Paglia can be seen below the banking of the existing east-west road, at 552413; this consists of a section of Roman paving about 2 m. in width, with one possible piece of edging. The farmer of this land claims that while laying out the vineyard above the road he discovered this line of paving continued uphill to the north-west for at least 200 m.; evidence of this is not now visible. The reported direction taken by this line makes it unlikely that it was part of the main course of the Traiana; possibly it was a turning off to the site of the village of Allerona.\(^{26}\) The line of the main road is more likely to have been that indicated by the section of four paving stones which can be seen at the side of the mule-track at 553415. From there the road crossed the saddle between Podere Faustina and Poggio Bivale and passed over the Fosso Ripuglie. At 555422 (pl. XXX, c) paving stones can be seen in the woodland ascending for more than 50 m. up the hill towards Casa Montemoro. On the northern slope of the hill, at 559430, blocks of selce are scattered in the woodland for a distance of about 100 m.; these are not found elsewhere in the area and may well represent Roman paving. At 557422 a block of concrete on the south-west bank of the Fosso Rivarcale has been identified\(^{27}\) as the remains of a Roman bridge, and since it is so clearly on the line of the Roman road (the continuation of which on the other side of the Rivarcale is attested by among other things, the Monte Regole milestones) this may be accepted (pl. XXXII, b).

The two milestones found near Monte Regole (at 559447) (pl. XXXII) and the one found near Fabro (at 570496) were found on, or very close to, their original sites. The distance between them in a direct line is about 3.6 Roman miles, and in spite of the difficulties of the intervening countryside the road took only four Roman miles over the journey. Only one line is really feasible as the course of the road between the two sites, and that is a fairly satisfactory one, although the ground is so eroded for most of the way that there can be little hope of finding any traces of roadworks. A possible line up to the first milestone from the bed of the Fosso Rivarcale is still visible as a depression of about 80 m. length below the site (pl. XXXII); from there the road climbed easily on to the ridge connecting Monte Regole and Podere Armata. From here it is probable that the road descended to the Torrente Ritorto at about 568465, passed the Podere Le Taie and then climbed up on to the S. Marco ridge which travels north-north-west for 2½ kilometres to Fabro. The road must have descended from the ridge near Castelrosso (567493). An alternative route from Armata turns north-west at 563458, descends to the Ritorto, at about 564473, climbs the spur opposite and meets the more likely route at 570483. This latter route is probably too indirect.

552416: near the saddle between Podere Faustina and Poggio Bivale, a site of Roman and post-Roman date. A few terra sig. and red-polished sherds; much coarse pottery and tile.
554417: at or near this point contadini allege that Etruscan tombs have been found.

\(^{26}\) For some evidence of ancient occupation of this site see Not. Sr. 1884, 212.

\(^{27}\) E. Galli, Not. Sr. 1913, 343.
THE VIA CASSIA AND VIA TRAIANA NOVA

559447: in 1912 a Trajanic milestone was found on this site on the slopes of Monte Regole; E. Galli, Not. Sc. 1913, 341 f.; AE 1914 no. 272 = CIL xi, 8104 = ILS 9496. In the Archaeological Museum garden, Florence. The text is:

IMP CAES/ DIVI NERVAE F/ NERVA TRAJANVS/ AVG GERM DACIC/ PONT MAX TRIB P XII/ IMP VI
COS V P P/ VIAM NOVAM TRAIAN/ A VOLSINIS AD FINES/ CLVSINORVM FECIT/ XIII

The date is A.D. 108.

On 2 December, 1961, in the course of fieldwork for this study, another milestone was found by Miss Iris Love within a few metres of this one, broken horizontally into two pieces (pl. XXXVI). Approximate total height 1·80 m.; diameter 55 cm.; letter heights 4·5-6 cm. In the Museo Faina, Orvieto. The upper part has on one side the inscription

DDD NNN/ CONSTANTIVS ET/ MAXIMIANVS/ AVGG ET/ DIOCLETIANVS ET/ MAXIMIANVS/ SENN
AVGG ET/

The lower part has the continuation

SEVERVS ET/ M[AX]IMINVS/ MILX[III]

Lines 9 and 10 are damaged. This inscription, like one of those on the Polvento milestone (see below) belongs to the period between May 305 and July 306. The other side of the stone has a later inscription (letter heights 5-6 cm.).

BONO REIP/ NA[TO] D N/ FL CL IVLIANO/ P F VICTORI AC/ [TRIV]MFATORI/ SEMP AVG/ M
LXXXV

Lines 2 and 5 are damaged. The date is 361-64. For another milestone of Julian on the Cassia see CIL xi, 6669. For Julian’s use of earlier milestones for his inscriptions, cf. CIL x, 6955, etc. Each phrase of this inscription is commonplace, although the text does not seem to have an exact duplicate.

The figure LXXXV shows that the distance of 72 miles from Rome to Volstini given by the Antonine Itinerary (284) was correct.

562455: at Podere Armata: remains of a platform of sele concrete which Moretti (p. 22) took as road foundations, giving the dimensions as 12 m. × 5 m. × 60 cm. The section now visible measures 5 m. × 3 m. × 2·5 m.

570496: in 1924 a milestone was found just above Podere Polvento (pl. XXXV, 5). Published by Moretti, 18 f., R. Bianchi Bandinelli, Not. Sc. 1925, 36-40. AE 1926, nos. 112-14. In the Opera del Duomo, Orvieto. Three inscriptions appear on the stone: the first is Trajanic and differs from the Trajanic inscription from Monte Regole only in that it has DACICUS for DACIC28 in line 4 and POT for P in line 5 and that it has the mileage figure XVII. The second inscription differs from the Monte Regole inscription of 305-6 in several ways. The text is

DDD NNN/ CONSTANTIVS ET/ MAXIMIANVS/ AVGG ET/ DIOCLETIANVS ET MAXIMIANVS/ SENN AVG
ET/ rassera/ MAXIMINVS/ NOBB CAESS ET (sic)/ MIL XVII

Moretti adds several words, but Bandinelli’s text is substantially accurate. Année épigraphique mistakenly put GALERIUS in rassera at the end of line 2. The words erased in line 8 must have been SEVERVS ET. The word ET in line 10 is inexcusable as part of this inscription, yet it certainly does not seem to belong to the third inscription (which is immediately to the right of this one). An accurate text of this inscription does not seem to have been published. It runs as follows:

b[o]no/ generis/ hvman/ creati/ IMPP DD NN/ cons[?]ANTINI/ uninscribed space/ perpetvi/ semper/ AVG/ XVII

Line 5 certainly has IMPP DD NN (IMP D N Bandinelli). After CONSTANTINI an uninscription space has been left; there is no sign of rassera nor was that part of the stone too damaged to be used. The second name at one time intended was that of Licinius (in rassera in other similar inscriptions, cf. CIL viii 10090, 10246, x 6973).

III. THE VIA CASSIA

From Bolsena to the Paglia (figs. 2, 4) (pl. XXVII). Another ancient road left Bolsena to the north-east. On this line Bloch claims to have identified at 456273 the site of the Roman gate which is ‘sinon certaine, du moins fort probable.’

28 Moretti mistakenly gave DACIC for DACICUS.

29 MEFR lxii, 1950, 68.
At this point l'enceinte se présente sous un aspect curieux et opère plusieurs zigzags successifs. A cet endroit, elle est encore constituée par une belle courtine. Elle s'interrompt sur un largeur de 2-50 m. et l'ouverture ainsi déterminée est encadrée par des pierres transversales. He dates the wall to the fourth century B.C.; but a date soon after 265 is possible.

Although the course of the Traiana between Bolsena and Fabro can be decided with confidence, that of the Cassia itself is more problematical. Originally Orvieto was the most important site in the area and naturally the one from which its roads radiated. After the conquest, when Bolsena became much more important than Orvieto, Rome appears to have continued to rely on the lines of the Etruscan road system until the time of Trajan, for the Colonnacce bridge was probably built in the first century A.D. to serve a line which still made the detour to Orvieto. Under Trajan a new road was built for a large part of the journey from Bolsena to Chiusi, a road which was very direct and made no detour towards Orvieto. But the country which it crossed made it much more difficult to maintain and after a last attempt had been made in Julian's reign to keep the Traiana in service, the main traffic reverted to a line further to the east. At least in part this new line was different from that of the original Cassia, for the milestone of Jovian found to the north-west of Orvieto (at 602371) cannot (if it belonged to that site) have been on any road which crossed the Paglia at the Colonnacce bridge. It is probable, therefore, that at various stages there were at least two Roman road-lines northwards besides the Traiana. The problem of locating the Roman roads around Orvieto is further complicated by the fact that although for long periods after the decline of Rome it was an important centre it is apparently impossible to specify in detail the whereabouts of the most important medieval roads around the town. In one vital respect these later highways are likely to have made some use of the Roman lines, namely on the section between Bolsena and Orvieto: here it is often possible to establish the existence of an old road line, but very difficult to decide whether that line was exclusively Roman or both Roman and medieval or exclusively post-Roman.

Of the several candidates for the course of the Cassia in the area between Bolsena and Orvieto the strongest one is an old line which looks like a continuation of the known north-easterly Roman roads inside the site of Bolsena. From near the Etruscan gate identified by Bloch (at 456273) some embankments can be seen running north-east beside the existing track at intervals as far as 542273, that is for about 400 m. Further on this line becomes more decisive: north-east from 545277 for 300 m. a bank stretches along the field edge, sometimes reaching a height of 6 m. Traces of a cutting can be seen continuing north-east from 548278 for 150 m. (width: 9 m. at the narrowest; sides: 5 m. at the highest). During or shortly before this stage the track passes an Etruscan and Roman burial site 'nel fondo Vietena'. The existing path runs along the bank at one side of the cutting and the bank continues for 350 m. (to 556284) beyond the end of the clear part of the cutting. The obvious north-eastward continuation of this line leaves Podere Colonnette (563289) to its south-east and then joins the Strada Statale no. 74, perhaps leaving it again at the junction with the Umbro-Casentinese (569297). Above the present road at 566293 one side of a road cutting seems to be preserved for a very short distance
FIG. 4.—THE VIA CASSIA WEST AND NORTH OF ORVIETO
(For the coordinates in the margin, see p. 117, n. 22)
(on the south-east side) and immediately afterwards there is a 200 m. stretch on the north-west side. From the junction a high bank of an apparent road-cutting runs north-east for more than 300 m. From this point the road could either have passed down the Pian di Palazzo (5730) or down the present mule track further to the left, or it could have kept to the line of the Umbro-Casentinese until Monte Osteria Nuova and branched leftwards at 602319 to follow the cutting which certainly marks an old way down to Orvieto (pls. XXVI, XXXIII). This cutting continues down to 608329, where the incision in the rock is well preserved (width: 3-60 m.).

After it has crossed the Umbro-Casentinese this track becomes a paved road running steeply down into the valley of Orvieto for more than a kilometre; the paving is not Roman but the line is that of the earlier road. Beyond the Rio Chiaro, on the slopes of the rock itself, remains have been found of a road apparently Roman, but no doubt also earlier, which led up into the town of Orvieto (via the Porta Maggiore). ‘Per un tratto di molti metri, s’incontrò la via selciata e fiancheggiata da monumenti.’

This site was near the Podere Baiocchini (623334); the paving is no longer visible; evidence was found of both Etruscan and Roman burials.

At least two other lines between Bolsena and Orvieto should be discussed. At Fattoraccio (544289), whence a number of Etruscan tombs have been reported with material of the third and second centuries B.C., the supposed remains of the Cassia once reported are no longer to be seen; and from the available evidence about the tombs it is not possible to discover the precise direction which they indicated for the road, although Pasqui’s description suggests a course approximately west-south-west and east-north-east. The obvious line north-east of Fattoraccio has provided no further evidence. Another possible course runs from Podere Fontana Selvetta (551302) to Case Perazza and Pian Rosato (5732). According to Cozza Case Perazza is the site of a necropolis of the second century B.C., on the road from Bolsena to Orvieto.

North of Orvieto the Colonnacce bridge (633368) (pls. XXVI, 1; XXIX) is a crucial element in the road-system; it fits well with a Via Cassia which descended into the valley south and west of Orvieto at the point where all the lines indicated must have descended into it.

545277: ‘nel fondo Vietena … e precisamente lungo l’antica via consolare, che da Orvieto conduceva a Bolsena’ (Not. Sc. 1883, 419–20), a Roman casse; an Etruscan tomb (Not. Sc. 1884, 101); further Etruscan finds, including CIE 5176 (Not. Sc. 1885, 65).

563289: Podere Colonnetta possibly has a significant name.

544289: near Podere Fattoraccio: an Etruscan cemetery, including substantial quantities of material of the third and second centuries B.C. (black-glazed pottery, etc.); Not. Sc. 1877, 260–1, 310; 1878, 157 (Fiorelli); 1890, 351–3 (Pasqui); CIE 5122–3.

5531: Case Perazza: Etruscan tombs referred to above; no accurate record of them seems to exist; the inhabitants of Case Perazza assert that the only local tombs are by Poggio di Biagio, more than 1½ km. to the south-south-east and perhaps on the first Cassia line discussed above.

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30 An inscription in the cutting refers to a tradition that it was miraculously provided in 1263 (the year of the Bolsena miracle) to give the pious procession to Orvieto a course which was ‘più agevole’.
32 Fiorelli, Not. Sc. 1877, 260.
33 Not. Sc. 1890, 351 ‘tenuto conto della direzione data dalla doppia fila di tombe, si arguisce che una via etrusca solcava l’altipiano del Fattoraccio, ma capo diretta ad Orvieto, dall’altro alle Grotte di Castro’.
34 Quoted in the Bibliografia of the Carta Archeologica (Sheet 130), 34; cf. R. Mengarelli, SE i, 1927, 461.
5831: two inscriptions which have been connected with the Via Cassia have their original sites shrouded in vague descriptions: CIL xi, 2687, ½ km. from Canonica (A. Cozza, cited by Martinori 85–6); xi, 7319, 1 km. from Canonica 'sulla Piana del Ponte Giulio' (G. F. Gamurrini, Not. Sc. 1896, 322), an unintelligible description (see below, p. 128, on the Ponte Giulio); Gamurrini's text of the latter inscription is corrected by Bormann in CIL.

607338: at Podere Travaglia, north-east of the village of Sugano, the site of the find of CIE 5126.

623334: at Podere Baiocchini Etruscan and Roman burials already referred to flanked the road according to Gamurrini, Not. Sc. 1887, 87 f., cf. Martinori 87 n.2.

622348: Ponte Albergo la Nonna (cf. Molino La Nona at 623350) has been suggested (for example by P. Perali, Orvieto, note storiche etc. (Orvieto, 1925) 14) as marking the ninth mile from Bolsena. The distance is about 12.5 km. by the probable line of the Cassia; 9 Roman miles approximately = 12-6 km. Cf. Quinto and Sesto Fiorentino outside Florence.

633368: although the Colonnacce bridge over the Paglia (pls. XXVI, 1; XXIX) has been mentioned in print (Perali, op. cit. 14), it was not known to Moretti or Martinori and its character and its importance for the road-system have not been discussed. Three kilometres directly north of Orvieto, north-north-east of the Rio Chiaro crossing, the bridge serves none of the Cassia lines discussed by Moretti and Martinori; but some possible lines to the south have been listed and the bridge connects with two possible courses to the north.

Three piers are substantially preserved and there are traces of a fourth. The piers are hexagonal; they have a concrete core and a facing of limestone and, lower down, of tufo (this last feature is visible only in the north pier, which has fallen). Overall dimensions of the piers are 11 m. × 4.5 m and the span of each arch is apparently 12-70 m. (measured between the middle two of the existing piers). Limestone facing is approximately 1.75 m. high below the spring of the arch and the height of the tufo facing is 1.10 m. (these measurements are from the north pier).

What is the date of this structure? The pebble-concrete core of the piers faced with stone is likely to belong to the first century A.D. and cannot in any case be pre-Augustan. The facing of the type of squared-stone masonry which Lugli (Tecnica edilizia romana (Rome, 1957) 633 f.) calls opus vittatum, resembles work in the theatres of Sepino, Gubbio and Assisi which he dates to the reign of Augustus (see his Plate CXCI). But the comparison does not give any secure date, for the material and quite possibly the contractor were local. The only other dateable bridge on the Cassia is the Ponte di S. Nicolao near Viterbo (see above n. 16), which is probably Claudian.

Other roads south-west of Orvieto (figs. 2, 4). These hypotheses about the location of the Roman roads of the area leave unexplained the site of the milestone of Jovian (602371). There is a temptation to trace the line of the road from the area of Casa Acquaviva (546336) (there could have been a junction with the Traiana nearby), over the plateau of the Podere Strada Vecchia (569340), down into the valley of the Romealla by Podere Palombara (586345) and across the spur of Poggio Ginestra. As far as the Strada Vecchia plateau is concerned an old road has been preserved (pl. XXXIII, e–d), but the type of construction is not characteristically Roman. Some of the surface is composed of small vertically placed stones and it has little resemblance to a normal Roman road surface. May we not have here a road of originally Roman construction remade to carry the medieval traffic? The detailed evidence for this line is as follows: a 150 m. line of paving can be seen at 556335 and this can be connected with the selce paving which appears 600 m. to the north-east on the Strada Vecchia plateau. Traces of this continue for more than 400 m. to the east-north-east along the highest line of the plateau (from 561337 to 564338). East of the Podere Strada Vecchia similar material is said by contadini

35 Unless indeed (as is not impossible) the make-shift paving represents the original 4th-century construction, no doubt patched and repaired in later times. The line is a natural one for a connection between Orvieto and the medieval centres of Castel Giorgio and S. Lorenzo; but Mr. D. Waley, the historian of medieval Orvieto, has suggested that it is unlikely that the commune would ever have paved a new line of road.

36 A stretch of 150 m. of paving blocks running east from approximately 549335, south of and parallel to the existing track, is said by some contadini to have been cleared a few years ago.
to have continued east-north-east until it was cleared in 1958 or 1959. No strong evidence has been found that a Roman road descended from the plateau at either of the most plausible points (near Podere Palombo, at 586347, and in the direction of Rocca Ripesena, at 590342). North of the Romea, possible traces of Roman paving are visible running north-north-east towards the Bardano ridge, scattered beside an existing track for a distance of 50 m. (595366). Further up the same hillside traces of a cutting of about 30 m. length can be seen in the tufa, curving round from east-north-east to east. On the other side of this spur is the site of the Jovian milestone, and slightly over a kilometre from that point lies the Ponte Giulio (often but incorrectly claimed as an ancient bridge) (pls. XXVI, 2; XXXIV).

548332: at Casa Pisana, a Roman rotary quern.
549332: Bizzarri reports Etruscan tombs on a site between Casa Pisana and the Fosso delle Roie.
559337: scatter of Roman coarse pottery and of tile to the north of the road line.
563330: Podere Fanello perhaps has a significant name connected with Lat. *fanum*. This site seems to have been referred to in the thirteenth century as ‘via(m) Fanula’. The document concerned is cited by F. Perali in *Orvieto Etrusca* (a compilation, Orvieto, 1928) n. 197. He refers the description to the Fosso del Fanello (5931), mistakenly, for (inter alia) the document is describing the boundary between Pivieri di S. Donato (Castel Giorgio) and Sucano (Sugano).
566342: in the scrub below the edge of the plateau, a column-drum and a base (found by Bizzarri); there is said to be another section of column at a nearby farm (about 564332).
585365: beside the supposed road line, remains of a concrete platform, 22 m. × 3-5 m.; on one side there is a deep stream bed and there the maximum height of the concrete is 3-70 m.
598367: at Bardano, ‘in proprietà Cimicchi’; remains of an ‘acquedotto’ of Etruscan manufacture reported by A. Talocchini, SE xxvii, 1959, 228.
596370: Podere Corno is presumably the site of the Etruscan tomb at Bardano, ‘loc. Corno’, reported by R. Mancini, Not. Sc. 1890, 386.
60384: beside the road running down from the Strada Vecchia plateau to the village of Rocca Ripesena third century B.C. burials were reported by Gamurrini, Not. Sc. 1881, 86: ‘grotte sepolcrali disfatte, alcune delle quali del terzo sec. av. Cr., come dai sparsi frammenti vascolari. Tra il diruto selciato si estrasse una pietra basaltica a forma di pigna ... con la sua iscrizione etrusca in giro’ (CIE 5127).
602371: the site of the finding of the Jovian milestone (pl. XXXV b, c) is described in *Il Cittadino* of Orvieto, 4 March 1893, by V. Valentini, who was the first to publish the text:77 ‘Al miglio 86 dell’antica Via Cassia, a sinistra della via che da Orvieto (quando sarà compiuta) menerà a Monte Rubbiaglio, passato il casale del Podere Pellaro ... e prima di giungere all’altro casale del podere “Fontanelle” ... in un campo detto “della Madonna”, fra la via sopradetta e il colle di Bardano, di proprietà della Chiesa parrocchiale di Bardano ...’. There need be no serious doubt that this was the original site of the milestone, for since Volsinii was 72 Roman miles from Rome (Itin. Antonin. 284, cf. above, p. 123) the Jovian milestone was 14 miles from Volsinii, about 20-6 km. Such a route was indirect, but no longer than a road from Bolsena via Castel Giorgio and the Strada Vecchia would have been. Moretti 10, Martinori 91 (each makes a mistake about line division). Bormann (CIL xi, p. 1401) referred to the inscription but did not have a copy of the text. In the Opera del Duomo, Orvieto. The inscription is very worn but it can be read. The text is

**BONO REIP/ NATO D N FL/ IOVIANO P F/ VICTORI AC TRI/ VMFATORI SEMP/ AVG MIL/ LXXXVI**

598382: the Ponte Giulio (pls. XXVI, 2; XXXIV): the standing remains of this bridge (eight piers can be identified; five arches are standing) are not of Roman construction (so Ashby, Ward-Perkins). Sixteenth-century evidence has been cited for the use by Julius II of Roman material from a bridge higher up the Paglia (p. 120). The opinion that the bridge represented a Roman crossing of the Paglia goes back at least as far as L. Holstenius (*Adnotationes ... in Italia Antiquam Cluerii* (Rome, 1666) 69, n. to p. 566 line 1). As far as the site is concerned, a bridge at this point could possibly have served a road which was served also by the Jovian milestone. No substantial confirmation is forthcoming on the north side of the river that this was a Roman road line. The course of the river has moved so far north across the plain that it is now 800 m. from the bridge.

77 This description was kindly excerpted from *Il Cittadino* by Dr. Bizzarri.
THE VIA CASSIA AND VIA TRAIANA NOVA

5536: Cozza (cited by Moretti 8) took the Cassia through Castel Giorgio, Benano, Viceno and Bardano, an impossibly contorted route unsupported by specific evidence. Viceno offers no ancient sites, but it has been claimed that the name represented Roman Ad Vicesimum (G. Buccolini, *Il Problema Archeologico di Orvieto Antica* (Orvieto, 1935) p. 55). The author of this theory quoted an itinerary in a thirteenth-century MS (cited as ‘Fondo Sessoriano della Vittorio Emanuele no. 210/2124, p. 561’) which he held to derive from the Peutinger Table; the relevant sections are

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Buccolini’s MS</th>
<th>Peutinger</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Volsinos</td>
<td>Volsinos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vicesimum sive ad fines Clusinorum</td>
<td>Pallia fl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pallia flumen</td>
<td>III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clusium</td>
<td>XVII</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>VIII</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Clusio</td>
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</tbody>
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(The Antonine itinerary gives an interval of 30 miles between Volsini and Clusium). But the *fines Clusinorum* cannot have extended as far to the south as Viceno, south of the Paglia—indeed they are limited by Trajan’s Polvento milestone. I eschew attempts to amend Buccolini’s itinerary, but it should be noted that the twenty mile from Volsini could offer a plausible site for the beginning of the *fines Clusinorum*; and that the phrase *fines Clusinorum* was otherwise lost until Onofrio Panvinì read *CIL* xi, 6668 (Hadrian’s milestone at Montepulciano) in 1566—although the inscription was already ‘su la piazza’.

**North of the Paglia.** The line of the Cassia north of the Paglia is not entirely certain. Some promising ridges run northwards but none of them can show decisive ancient remains. Moretti 88 took the line of the Cassia from Ponte Giulio along the path by the Poderi Casellina (599400), Osteria (595411), Civitella (594420), Torrone (590447), Torroncino and Stallone (589451). Large *selce* blocks on this line he interpreted as the remains of Roman paving, and at Torrone he recorded ‘tratti di lastricato’ which have now disappeared. North of the Foso di Remicciolo, according to his view, the road went by the Poderi Molinello, Campolungo (591464), S. Cristina (593468), Ribellino (591473) and down the spur of Podere Colonnacce (591464—an alleged Roman site) to S. Lazzaro (591502). In spite of the absence of convincing remains this line is the most likely one for the Cassia, but Moretti was mistaken about the Ponte Giulio and the road would have had to follow the north bank of the Paglia at the base of the hills from the Colonnacce site to Podere Casellina. The only other line which a rationally devised road crossing the Paglia at Colonnacce could have taken is further to the east, along the ridge running north-north-west from Poggio Casaccia (6337) by the Poderi La Pieve (630389), Scaramuccia (621396), Poggio Sasso (618404) and Sole (613421). Next, in order to avoid the difficult ground at the head of the Foso della Sala, such a road would have been compelled to turn north or north-north-east as far as the present Orvieto-Ficulle road (the Umbro-Casentine) and to make its way through Ficulle. Ficulle offers no sign of having been an ancient centre and positive evidence for such a road is entirely lacking. But the argument which weighs decisively against it is that while Moretti’s line never rises above 375 m., the line further to the east makes necessary a climb up to a height of nearly 550 m. on the side of Monte Nibbio, without any compensatory shortening of the distance.

The area is strikingly lacking in evidence of ancient sites. Near the road lines there are the following:

594488: Moretti was told by the ‘vecchi’ of Ficulle that ‘una colonna’ was once to be seen at Podere Colonnacce, which he liked to think of as a possible milestone. He actually saw there what he took to be ‘due mura di emplecton, disposti ad angolo retto, appartenenti ad una costruzione romana’ (13, cf. Martinori 99).

603470: Ficulle: CIL xi, 2684 (= ILS 4223) does not belong to the town itself. The nearest other find is from Podere Mealla, three kilometres to the east; Martinori 96-7, etc.
608512: a construction which was once to be seen on the Chiana but has now disappeared was generally regarded as part of Roman hydraulic works (mentioned by G. Tedeschini-Romani, I monumenti... di Ficulle (Orvieto, 1879) 23; described in full by Cozza, cited in Bull. Inst. 1882, 241 f.; Moretti 23; Martinori 106 f., who apparently locates it at Ponte Molinnone, slightly to the west of Ponte Muro Grosso; G. Lugli in Enc. It. IX 331 s.v. Cassia).

IV. ROMAN ROADS IN THE VAL DI CHIANA

Fabro and Chiusi are connected by the valley of the Chiana and the ancient road or roads must either have taken a direct course along the valley itself or followed the difficult ridge on its eastern side through Monteleone d’Orvieto and Città della Pieve. The known Roman roads near Fabro and near Chiusi are on the western side of the river. To cross the valley a substantial causeway would probably have been necessary in the uncertain hydrographical conditions which prevailed, and of this no trace remains. A road which took the eastern route would have had to climb to a height approximately 270 m. above the floor of the valley and traverse a distance about half as long again as the direct route along the western edge of the valley. The Città della Pieve ridge has produced a certain amount of Etruscan material, though less than the sites in the valley below, and some of it is of a relatively late date: it is possible that the Etruscan road and the Cassia took this route. Trajanic engineers can hardly have rested content with such a road, and sites of imperial date in the valley show that it was not as marshy then as it was later to become.39 The Trajanic road extended ‘ad fines Clusinorum’40 and this suggests that a new road was only thought necessary as far as the junction with the Via Cassia in the Val di Chiana below Fabro.41 Again, the absence of positive evidence of roadworks is rather more surprising if the road travelled the eastern ridge than if it kept to the valley where alluvial deposits seem to have raised the ground level.

The Val di Chiana has had a complicated hydrographical history, in the course of which much of the river has changed from a tributary of the Tiber into a tributary of the Arno.42 The diversion northwards of some of the waters of the Chiana was considered in A.D. 15;43 eventually the alluvial deposits in the area about Chiusi produced stagnant marshes,44 and from the fourteenth century onwards numerous attempts were made to understand and control the waters concerned.45 Alluvial deposits seem gradually to have raised the level of the centre of the valley between Fabro and Chiusi,46 and it is possible that this has concealed the remains of the Roman road.

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39 Remains of the Cassia in the valley itself are attested by Holstenius, Adnotationes 70, n. to p. 539 line 31 (cf. T. Ashby, JRS xx, 1930, 102 n. 2), but he may be referring to a point further north than Chiusi.
40 As Hadrian’s repairs were ‘a Clusinorum finibus Florentiam’, CIL xi, 6668.
41 Cf. R. Bianchi Bandinelli, Not. Sc. 1925, 38-9. That the fines Clusinorum extended as far south as the site La Volpara on the eastern side of the Chiana (588521) is probably shown by CIL xi, 2232 = CIL 1646. See note on the site (588521).
42 Cf. V. Possombroni, Memorie idraulico-storiche sopra la Val di Chiana (Florence 1789; another edition, Montepulciano, 1835, later reprinted elsewhere); A. Manetti, Carte idrauliche dello stato antico e moderno della Val di Chiana; memoria sulla stabile sistemazione della Val di Chiana (1840-9); H. Nissen, Italische Landeskunde (Berlin, 1883) i, 299 f.; etc.
43 Tac. Ann i, 79.
44 Cf. Dante, Inferno xxix, 46 f.
45 First in 1341 on the part of the Commune of Arezzo. The Canale Maestro della Chiana was designed by A. Ricasoli in the sixteenth century.
46 As sample borings near Fabro seem to demonstrate; thanks are due to Mr. M. J. Webb for his help on this point.
It has generally been assumed that the Cassia entered Clusium up the small valley through which the present road from the station rises to the upper town. At the junction of this road with the road for Chianciano, Montepulciano and Siena, in the area known as Il Deposito, groups of Roman tombs have been found, according to D. Levi, on either side of the road. The line is extremely plausible, and there is nothing definite to be said in favour of the theoretically possible alternative line up the ridge to the east of this valley.

(a) Sites on the western side of the valley:

567513: in the farmhouse Il Casale, not named on the Carta d'Italia: a Roman building still shows some remains. Concrete flooring and ceiling, wall faced with triangular bricks, an abutting apron of opus signinum. These materials are scattered to the south and for 200 m. to the north of the site. Several sherds of terra sig. Possibly a road station.

563492: Podere Colonnetta, just to the west-south-west of this site, perhaps has a significant name.


415601: isolated find of a terra sig. sherd.

413600-410615: the Etruscan sarcophagus reported from Buterone (aliter Bottarone) by L. Milani, *Not. Sc.* 1888, 219, probably came from Poggio Cavallone according to Bandinelli col. 423, n.l. Cf. also Dennis II 376 f., Bandinelli in *Dedalo VI*, 1925-6, 21 f., P. Ducati, *Storia dell'arte etrusca* (Florence, 1927) 318 f.


410615: at Podere Il Porto (= Porto Vecchio): 'presso il podere, ai piedi delle scale', two tombs with 'vasellame etrusco-campano'; five chamber tombs 'quasi totalmente nel piano della Chianetta'; six late tombs a pannacchio with 'etruisco-campano' and some buccero (!); Bandinelli col. 348.

(b) Sites on the eastern edge of the valley:

588521: at La Volpara: chamber tomb of the Cicunia gens; nine travertine urns, four with Etruscan inscriptions and two with Latin, *Bull. Inst.* 1882, 239 (Helbig), *CIL* xi, 2250-52, *CIE* 1641-6, Bandinelli, col. 246. *CIL* xi, 2252 = *CIE* 1646 gives the subject's tribe as Arnensis, the tribe of Clusium, so that the fines Clusinoi probably extended as far south as the Chiana in this direction.

562568: isolated find of a black-glazed sherd.

554558: this seems to be the approximate site of the Etruscan and Etrusco-Roman tombs found 'tra il km. 153 e 154 della ferrovia' and described by Milani, *Not. Sc.* 1883, 248, 1884, 100, Bandinelli col. 425.

420628: at Casa Peschiera chamber tomb reported by Bandinelli, col. 422.

425652: at Case Po Bandino chamber tomb reported by Bandinelli, *loc. cit.*; he had no usefully precise information about either of these sites.

(c) Sites on the Città della Pieve ridge

556602: Città della Pieve: *CIE* 1632-4, inscriptions of the tomb of the so-called Velidii; but their precise provenience is quite uncertain, the only evidence being Gamurrini's phrase 'vidi a Città della Pieve', *Appendice al Corpus Inscriptionum Italicarum* (Florence, 1880) nos. 556-8. Cf. also *CIE* 1635-7, 4847-4895, funerary inscriptions of the area of Città della Pieve.

445612: a chamber tomb 1 km. south of Villa Taccini and almost 1 km. north of Città della Pieve, described by Helbig, *Bull. Inst.* 1880, 253 f., Bandinelli, col. 424 f.

438627: S. Litaro: a travertine urn, with *CIE* 1630, Bandinelli, col. 425.

(d) Sites in the approaches to Chiusi

Imprecisely located: eight tombs a ciro, alleged to be on the Via Cassia 'verso la stazione', 'quasi a livello della strada che va al podere dell'Arcipretura', Brogi, *Bull. Inst.*, 1875, 219. Also a loculo tombs and a Roman burial with *CIL* xi, 2288, Bandinelli, col. 243.

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48 This site was pointed out by Sig. N. Fucillo, the Fabro carpenter who found the Polvento milestone.
402666: at Podere Casa Nuova: a burial columbarium, about 200 m. from the road line, was reported by Bandinelli, col. 243; *CIL* xi, 1308-9.


**NOTES ON THE ILLUSTRATIONS**

**XXVI** Air photograph of the area immediately west and north of Orvieto. The points marked are:

1. The Ponte Colonnacce, carrying the Via Cassia across the R. Paglia; cf. pl. XXIX.
2. The medieval and later Ponte Giulio, now left high and dry by a shift in the course of the river; cf. pl. XXXIV. The dark, straight line alongside it is that of main railway from Rome to Florence and Milan. Since this photo was taken the Autostrada del Sole has been laid out along the flat valley-bottom, between the railway and the present course of the river.
3. Deep cutting carrying the Etruscan, Roman and mediaeval road from Bolsena to Orvieto down through the cliffs along the crest of the tufa escarpment overlooking the Orvieto valley; cf. pl. XXXIII, b. The onward line is clearly visible heading straight down the lower slopes towards the city, while the modern road follows a more devious line, at first to the south and then to the north of the earlier road. The old line is that of the Via Cassia, which must have swung northwards just short of the city, heading for Ponte Colonnacce.
4. The same road, but at the point illustrated in pl. XXXIII, a.

**XXVII** Air photograph showing *white arrows* the course of the Via Traiana Nova from Bolsena to Castel Giorgio, a distance of approximately 5 km.; also *dark arrows* the beginning of the old road from Bolsena to Orvieto, later the Via Cassia. At the bottom left-hand corner is the north end of Lake Bolsena. For ground photos along this stretch of the Via Traiana, see pl. XXX, a and b.

**XXVIII** Air photograph showing the course of the Via Traiana Nova from the R. Paglia to a point midway between Monte Regole and Fabro. The heavily-wooded slopes at the bottom left-hand corner of the plate are those visible in pl. XXXI, b. For the remains of the bridge over the R. Paglia, see pl. XXX, d. The white arrow midway between this bridge and the find-spot of the milestones marks the approximate viewpoint of pl. XXX, e; and the black arrow next to the north of it the approximate site of the bridge over the F. Rivarcale (cf. pl. XXXII, b).

The photograph illustrates very clearly the deeply serrated contours of the clay country to the north of the R. Paglia and the F. Rivercale, still in very active and rapid state of erosion, and to be contrasted with the relatively smooth, stable contours of the tufa country to the south, as illustrated in pl. XXVII.

**XXIX** Ponte Colonnacce (p. 127): general view, looking towards the steep, rapidly eroding clay hills along the north bank of the R. Paglia, and a detail of one of the piers, showing the layered concrete construction, with a core of small river-boulders and a facing of small, roughly coursed, squared blocks.

**XXX** Views along the Via Traiana Nova:

a. Climbing the hill to the north-west of Podere Piombino. The road is here paved with *selee*, which is in abundant supply around the Bolsena crater. The *margo* is still preserved *bottom right*.

b. Looking north along the long straight stretch that leads gently down from the crest of the Bolsena crater towards the modern Strada Statale 74, the road from S. Lorenzo Nuovo to Orvieto. The photo shows *selee* paving-blocks ploughed out recently along the stretch known as *La Selciata*, just north of the second white arrow on pl. XXVII.

c. The line of the road in woodland about 1½ km. north of the bridge over the R. Paglia (near the central white arrow on pl. XXVIII). The principal surviving indication of the road is the scatter of small river-boulders and pebbles with which it was paved.

d. The very large lump of Roman concrete which is all that survives of the bridge that carried the Via Traiana across the R. Paglia; looking northwards, towards the low hills that divide the Paglia from its tributary, the F. Rivercale.
XXXI a. Looking south-westwards up the Paglia valley from a point near the junction of the F. Rivarcale with the Paglia. The arrow marks the position of the Roman bridge (pl. XXX, d) and the wooded slopes beyond it are those seen in more detail in the photograph below. The cliffs beyond are those along the edge of the tufa plateau, north and north-west of Castel Viscardo.

b. The same, seen from a point on the road visible in the foreground of the upper photograph, just round the wooded bluff. The arrows mark (A) the prominent new buildings just west of M. Rubiglio and (B) the position of Castel Viscardo, just out of sight beyond the cliffs. The long wooded slope down from Castel Viscardo was the line followed by the Via Traiana Nova.

XXXII The Via Traiana Nova at Monte Regole:

a. Looking north-eastwards towards Casale M. Regole (A) and the find-spot of the milestones (B). The line of the Roman road probably passed just above the field of grain in the middle distance, between the two arrows. The head of the gully shown in the foreground of the photograph below can be seen just above, and to the right of, the pillar that marks the find-spot of the milestones.

b. Looking southwards from a point just above the find-spot of the milestones. The gully, though deepened by erosion may represent the ancient road, heading for the scanty remains of the bridge (B) over F. Rivercale. The distant hills are the escarpment visible in pl. XXXI, the arrow (A) marking the modern buildings that are arrowed in pl. XXXI, b.

XXXIII a. The Etruscan, Roman and medieval road from Bolsena to Orvieto (the Roman Via Cassia) just north of Strada Statatale 74, a short distance west of the escarpment overlooking Orvieto; see pl. XXVI, 4.

b. The same, a short distance to the east of a; see pl. XXVI, 3.

c. The Strada Vecchia (p. 127), near Podere Strada Vecchia, showing the characteristic paving.

d. Another stretch of the same.

XXXIV The Ponte Giulio (p. 128); see pl. XXVI, 2:

a. General view, showing one of the surviving medieval spans, with voussoirs of tufa and facing of neatly fitted and coursed blocks of tufa.

b. Part of one of the later arches, in brickwork (note the scaffolding holes), with a facing of rather coarser tufa blocks.

c. Detail of one of the piers visible in a, showing medieval (bottom left) and later masonry.

XXXV a. Milestone XVII of the Via Traiana Nova, found near the Podere Polvento in 1924; Trajanic. See p. 123.

b,c. Milestone LXXXV of the Via Traiana Nova. See p. 128.

XXXVI Milestone XIII of the Via Traiana Nova, found on Monte Regole in 1961 (p. 123):


b. The inscription of Julian.
ROMAN REPUBLICAN POTTERY FROM THE VICINITY
OF SUTRI (SUTRIUM)

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V. Comparative Black-glazed Ware—Sutri, Falerii Novi and Capena . 170

I. INTRODUCTION

In 1958, an archaeological field survey located a Roman pit 2\frac{1}{2} km. south-east of
Sutri (at grid reference 737789 on the 1:25,000 Carta d’Italia, Istituto Geo-
grafico Militare, sheet ‘Sutri’)¹ (fig. 1). The pit had been dug on the south side of
a narrow spur, near its point, there only 2–3 m. high. Surface finds showed it to be
full of black-glazed ware (ceramica campana) and other Roman pottery. In 1959 it was
evacuated, with the courteous permission of the Soprintendenza alle Antichità per
l’Etruria Meridionale and of the local land-owner, Sig. Sansoni, and with the kind
assistance of friends. This article deals mainly with its contents.

The excavation achieved its aim, to collect a comprehensive group of Republican
pottery. The deposit could date from the last half of the second century B.C., but this
is the earliest possible date and it may well fall entirely in the first century B.C.

The pit was roughly oval, just over 2 m. long and 1 m. deep as it survived (fig. 1).
It had been enlarged, not long after it was initially dug, by an extension on the north
side. Erosion since antiquity had then removed much of it and clandestine digging
had disturbed its contents. This helps to explain why in no instance was any vessel
recovered in its entirety.

The interior was filled with large quantities of pottery from at least 349 different
vessels. These were contained in black soil. About 10–15 cm. from the bottom, the
filling also included some of the surrounding, natural, yellow tufa and many lumps
of tufa and selce, thrown in at the time that the pit was extended. There were a few
pieces of carbonised wood and four animal teeth (apparently from a young cow);
also a chipped loom-weight and lengths of terracotta piping. 84 tile fragments com-
pleted the contents, the remains of 4 pan-tiles and 1–2 cover-tiles at the minimum,
but probably in fact of several more.

The pottery is described separately in sections II and III and general conclusions
are given in section IV.

¹ PBSR, xxvi (1958), p. 119, site 737789.
Fig. 1.—Deposit of Republican Pottery: Location of Site
II. BLACK-GLAZED WARE

This account owes much to Miss D. M. Taylor (Mrs Bishop), who examined the black-glazed ware after the excavation, in its store in the British School at Rome, and made invaluable comments on it from her experience of similar products at Cosa. Her notes form the basis of what follows. Any error, arising from expansion or incomplete understanding of them, is entirely my fault. Parts of at least 74 vessels came to light, which are catalogued below.

Their fabric is their most notable feature: for about 80 per cent have a uniform clay and glaze and display similar workmanship (60 pieces out of the 74: the exceptions are 3, 8, 9, 22, 33, 36, 37, 38, 41, 48, 49, 51, 52 and one not illustrated; possibly also 32, 43, 66.

The clay of this group is buff, with occasional pink or orange tints. It is finely levigated, although a quarter of the vessels retain one or two small impurities. It includes glinting specks of mica and is fired hard most of the time.

The glaze is consistent, but not very good. Few pieces were fired a single, overall black or grey. Most combined these colours. Many added brown, or united all three colours. The last colour, brown, usually occurred where the glaze was thin, a fault affecting at least 60 per cent of the group. Occasionally too a deep blue, or dark olive-green tint is visible in the black. The general effect is mottled. The glaze is more often shiny than not, although again there is much variation between metallic grey, or glossy black, on the one hand, and dull finishes which have no sheen at all. Once more a consistent finish for any single piece was fairly rare. The lower exterior walls of most bowls with incurved rim (Form 6) and at times of bowls with ribbon-band rim (Form 7) were left unglazed. Discoloured firing-rings, caused by stacking in the kiln, mark the floors of seven vessels, all open forms and mainly, if not always, bowls (Forms 5, 6, 7, 9).

The workmanship is competent, but never reaches a high finish. Turning (or ‘template’) marks and lines appear constantly, as do small holes and flaws in the surface. Nearly every vessel found showed signs of wear. In all but ten specimens the glaze had been rubbed off part of the rims or resting surfaces—a sure indication of use.

The fabric of the group resembles Cosa Type II, which corresponds to Lamboglia’s Campana B.  But its quality falls short of that standard. A local Cosan fabric, Type IV, is also similar, but has a coarser clay. The uniformity of the Sutri group indicates a single production centre, while its standard suggests that this lay not far away. Poor work would not repay export to a distance.

Among the remaining fourteen pieces may be some which caution has incorrectly excluded from classification above. Four (3, 43, 52 and a sherd not illustrated) have a pale grey clay, although this could be purely an accident of firing rather than an indication of Lamboglia’s Campana C fabric. The remainder stand out on the whole for their high quality.


The forms recovered comprise plates, bowls, both large and small, cups, pyxides and closed vessels, and they offer a fairly comprehensive selection of the black-glazed ware available at the time. Over 17 forms are represented, but the closed vessels in particular are hard to identify precisely from fragments. Bowls are the commonest shape and the abundance of those with ribbon-band rim is especially striking (Form 7: 23 out of 74 pieces). They seem to be a form distinctive of central Etruria.

Most shapes occur in the main Sutri fabric defined above, except for the rare ‘omphalos’ bowl and the small bowl with flaring wall (Forms 11, 13), and perhaps the cups and bowls with grooved upper wall (Forms 8, 9).

In the similar fabric at Cosa (Type II), the following Sutri forms recur, 1, 4, 5, 6, 8 or 9 (?), 14; while in Type IV, the local fabric imitating II, one meets Sutri forms 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8 or 9 (?), 10, 14. Between them, then, the Cosan fabrics which resemble that of Sutri’s main group echo most of its forms. One exception is the miniature bowl (Form 12). The other, more important exception is the bowl with ribbon-band rim (Form 7). It is absent in the Type II fabric and rare in IV, and then usually in miniature form. This scarcity of the form at Cosa confirms its main distribution area as inland Etruria.

Lamboglia’s classification emphasises this, by omitting the form altogether, except in a miniature size.\(^4\) But, whereas the related Cosan fabrics possess a corpus of shapes recalling Sutri’s, Lamboglia’s Campana B displays few similarities of form, except with Sutri 1, 6, 8 or 9 (?), 14. Other Sutri forms that are represented in Lamboglia’s series are 2, 5, 10, 11, but they occur apparently only in a different fabric, Campana A.

The incomplete nature of the finds did not prevent fairly full profiles from being reconstructed of most forms. But it has meant a concentration of interest on rim shapes. The average foot-profile exhibits a straight, oblique interior, with squared and beveled exterior (cf. 10, 20, 24, 25, 42). But variations are too many to allow one to exclude on this basis from the main Sutri fabric vessels which do not have such a foot.

Decoration was not abundant. Six vessels have grooved upper walls, some of them possibly of the main fabric (Forms 8, 9). Three more also have individual grooves at different points, two certainly of the main fabric, one probably not (Forms 1, 1 ; 6, 16 ; 12, 49). On the interior of vessels, rouletting occasionally occurs; but there were only five examples, two in the main fabric (Forms 7, 37 ; 11, 48 ; 12, 50 ; 61 and 66). Twice palmette stamps were combined with it. In each case, the one extant stamp may be the lone survivor of four arranged around the centre. The stamps were dissimilar and neither probably on vessels representative of the main fabric (Form 11, 48 ; 66). Bowls with out-turned rim may always have been adorned with two pairs of concentric grooves on their floors (Form 5; cf. 65). There is no obvious exception to the rule. All are in the main fabric. Concentric circles sometimes appear on other vessels, twice at least in conjunction with rouletting (Forms 4, 7, 37, 8, 38, 66). Elaborate adornment was not a feature of the deposit. The best examples occur on pieces outside the main group.

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\(^4\) Lamboglia, p. 195, form 51.
Parallels have been cited, where appropriate, from Miss Taylor's and Lamboglia's publications, both of which in turn range wide for their own comparative material. Cosa is singularly apposite, because it is well-dated and because it is the nearest group to Sutri of similar pottery. Hence the relevance of Miss Taylor's notes on the present finds.

The advantage of nearby comparisons is enhanced when one considers the Sutri deposit closely. The uniform fabric of most of the pieces suggests a single centre of production. The low standard of the glaze among this group indicates a source which is not far distant. Lamboglia assigns the origin of the related Campana B fabric to central Italy. Furthermore he fails to include the bowl with ribbon-band rim in his classification, while Miss Taylor notes that such bowls are 'not common on the west coast of Italy and may belong to central Etruria'. Yet they are the commonest form in the Sutri deposit. The shape, therefore, is localised, but still abundant in Sutri's vicinity. Everything points to manufacture of this group somewhere in inland Etruria.

It is premature to hazard a guess as to precisely where the group was made. But it is noteworthy that, when considerable quantities of black-glazed ware were collected in 1956–57 from a dump below the walls of Falerii Novi, only 12 km. east of Sutri, the vast majority of the pieces had an identical buff clay. All the commoner forms of the Sutri group were represented. The date of the dump seems to be in the main to be in the second century. The Ager Faliscus has a long ceramic tradition and is quite likely to prove to be one source at least of this ware. Specimens from the dump have been illustrated in section V (fig. 15).

The date of the Sutri deposit depends mainly on the black-glazed ware itself. There were no coins. Miss Taylor concluded that the 'forms (of the black-glazed ware) suggest a date near the mid-second century' for the deposit. Further considerations favour a date comfortably after 150 B.C. and perhaps as late as the first century.

Lamboglia's similar fabric, Campana B, is said to commence after 150 B.C. At Cosa, the corresponding fabric, Type II, appears before the mid-second century B.C., but in small quantities. It is dominant, however, by the last quarter of the second century and continues popular throughout the first. The 'bowl with broad foot' and pyxis are added to the fabric's repertory of forms about the middle of the second century (Sutri Forms 9 (?) and 14). The small plate with heavy rim only appears in a dump whose terminus post quem is 110–100 B.C.; but admittedly Cosa only has a single example of the form (Sutri Form 4). Cosa's local product, Type IV, has a corpus of forms resembling Type II, only when II becomes popular enough to be imitated, i.e. in the late second century and first century. Conversely, there is some evidence that stamps (as a decoration for open vessels of Type II) disappear in the course of the first century and there are two at Sutri (but perhaps in different fabrics: 48, 66).

A final point is this. Miss Taylor has recently examined other finds of black-glazed ware stored in the British School at Rome, collected over wide areas in the

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8 Lamboglia, p. 140.
10 op cit., p. 142.
12 'Cosa', p. 163, no. E 21a: classified, in error, as a fragment of a lid—see further below under Form 4.
environ of Veii and Capena during archaeological field-survey work. She has previously looked at more black-glazed pottery gathered during related work in the vicinity of Falerii and Sutri. She herself expressed surprise to find that there was a dearth of distinctive first century specimens in all these areas. It is unlikely that this entire zone of Etruria, between Rome, Lago di Bracciano and the Tiber, suffered a major slump during the first century, even if the Civil Wars caused a setback. It appears more probable that the whole of this inland zone was conservative in its pottery tradition and that second-century forms had a longer life there than, say, on the coast, or elsewhere in the western Mediterranean.

In sum, the original estimate of ‘near the mid-second century’ should probably be lowered at least to ‘the last half of the second century’ and it would not be surprising if the deposit eventually turned out to belong entirely in the first century. Subsequent excavations should date the Sutri deposit more accurately within this period.

The list below does not include every find, but only representative pieces; the total number of recognisable pieces belonging to any given form is given in brackets at the end of each heading. Each vessel is given a serial number, to make it easier to locate in figs. 2–5. Its clay is not described unless it appears not to belong to the main buff-clay group already mentioned. The glazes, on the other hand, are very diverse. Quotation marks enclose specific comments of Miss Taylor on particular forms.

1. *Plate with horizontal, offset rim.* (4) Fig. 2.

1. Is the smallest in size and has a decorative interior groove. The rim profile of 2 differs slightly from the others. 3 seems not to share the main group fabric, but it may be no more than a misfired piece. 4 is local and similar in form to late 2nd century examples from Cosa. Form occurs in impasto. (Cosa, A.6 and p. 154. Lamboglia, form 6, p. 147.)

1. Decorative groove on interior. Shiny black glaze, tinged with very dark brown, especially below.
2. Part of rim. Angle approx. horizontal. Diameter approx. 16 cm. Glossy blue-black glaze both sides.
3. Dusty, pale grey clay, with slight traces of buff near bowl, finely levigated, containing mica and fired hard. Glossy black glaze above, dull below.
4. Shiny dark grey-black glaze, speckled with a few dark brown patches. It flakes a little at the rim edges.

2. *Plate with horizontal, recurving rim?* (1) Fig. 2.

1. It is possible that this fragment should be included under Form 1. (Cosa, B.6 (cf. B.25) and p. 176. Lamboglia, form 36, p. 183.)
5. Black glaze, shiny above, shiny to dull below.

3. *Saucer with furrowed rim.* (1) Fig. 2.

1. ‘Form common in Cosa deposit C, dated mid-2nd. Sutri example local’. (Cosa, B.11 and p. 177. Not classified by Lamboglia.)
6. Grey glaze, shiny above and moderately so below, becoming dark grey on lip.

4. *Small Plate with heavy rim.* (3) Fig. 2.

1. Fragments of this form were once classed as lids; but 7 made this doubtful and the argument was clinched by a find from near Capena whose interior is decorated with a stamp and rouletting (illustrated in section (V) and fig. 15). The rim of 7 is simpler than the other two. ‘Sutri examples local’. But the distinctive glaze of 8 and 9 seems to mark them out as the work of a different shop from the main group. (Cosa, E.21a and p. 163. Not classified by Lamboglia.)
Fig. 2.—Sutri: Black-Glazed Wares (scale 1/4)
Fig. 3.—Sutri: Black-Glazed Wares (scale ¼)
FIG. 4.—SUTRI: BLACK-GLAZED WARES (scale 1/3)
7. Pair of shallow, concentric, decorative grooves towards centre inside. Glaze dull to shiny black or very dark brown inside; rim and outside—fairly dull mottled brown, grey and grey-black.

8. Groove at edge of fr. outside, nearest centre. Buff, fine clay, with mica, fired hard. Shiny grey glaze, becoming brown (thin) on 1–2 sharper angles and purple-grey on parts of moulding.


5. *Bowl with out-turned rim.* (8) Fig. 2.

The third most common form. The rim profiles range from rounded, through pointed to flattened shapes, at times on the same vessel. There is no particular preference between them. Four concentric, decorative grooves on the floor of the bowl, arranged in two pairs as on 10, may well have been the rule, since they can be seen wherever that part of the bowl is preserved. ‘The concentric circles are similar to imitations of type II at Cosa’. ‘Sutri examples local?’—a verdict that is likely, because all share the fabric of the main group, even though the glazes are very diverse. ‘Mid-2nd century’. (Cosa, A.14 and p. 157: cf. B.40, pl. VIII. Lamboglia, form 22, p. 171.)

10. Two pairs of concentric circles on floor. Dark olive grey-green glaze, with patches of light brown and black. Maroon firing-ring inside, off-centre at centre: diam. 5 cm.

11. At least one pair of concentric circles on floor. Mottled black, grey and very dark brown, fairly shiny inside: outside, fairly dull and mostly brown. Edge of shiny metallic, silvery brown firing-ring at centre. Glaze flakes off part of inside.

12. 2 rim frs. with different profiles. Shiny grey-black to very dark brown. Large patch of shiny red-brown outside.

13. At least one pair of concentric circles on floor. Dull black to dark brown inside. Lip dull black to chestnut brown. Slightly shiny grey-black to black outside. Two brown streaks near foot.
14. At least one pair of concentric circles on floor. Moderately shiny brown with patches of black.

15. 3 rim frs. with different profiles. Inside and lip—grey-black, with high metallic sheen, but brown (thin) on lip edge. Outside—fairly shiny grey-black.

6. **Bowl with incurved rim.** (12) Fig. 2.

The second commonest form. The size is remarkably constant, 23 alone being a smaller specimen. ‘Sutri examples are lower, thicker and coarser than Cosa bowls’. The curve is fairly uniform, save that 20 is noticeably more angular. Since this bowl is also the only one with decoration—at least one pair of concentric circles on the floor—and one of the only two with an overall glaze, it is probably from a different shop, even if its fabric is that of the main group. The foot of 16 is unusual for having a curved exterior and grooved interior. Most vessels which can demonstrate it show that the lower outer wall was left unglazed (exceptions, 18, 20.) ‘Sutri examples local?’—only 22 has a manifestly different fabric from the main group. ‘Mid-2nd century’. (Cosa, A.21 and p.183. Lamboglia, form 27, p. 176.)

16. Foot has curved exterior and grooved interior. Inside, shiny black, with shiny silver firing-ring off-centre near centre (diam. identical with this bowl): slight oily sheen. Outside, shiny black for top half, then dull grey and light brown for 1 cm. and for 1–2 drops down the unglazed remainder.

17. Inside, shiny grey-black to fairly dull purple-grey or brown: brown (thin) near lip. Outside, mixed dull grey, brown, purple-grey and shiny grey for top half: nothing below except drips.

18. Glossy black inside and top half outside. Remainder dull grey with brown mottling.

19. Grey-black inside, shiny in patches. Dull black to shiny metallic light grey outside: dull brown and cracked at one point, where flame touched it in firing (?).

20. Angular wall and at least one pair of concentric circles on floor. Dull black to very dark brown inside. Mottled dull brown outside, with thin, poor, moderately shiny black wash over it.

21. Shiny grey inside and top half outside. No glaze below, except drips.


7. **Bowl with ribbon-band rim.** (23) Fig. 3.

The commonest form. Its size is fairly constant: 35 alone exceeds the average, while only 36 and 37 are smaller. Rim and wall vary considerably in thickness, but are both curved. Poor turning has made 25 and 34 slightly angular. Decoration is absent, except on one small bowl, 37, which exhibits concentric circles and rouletting. The lower exterior wall is occasionally left unglazed (e.g. 24, 29). ‘Sutri examples local? But 36 and 37 may not belong to this group: their fabric (clay and glaze) seems different’. 33, too, has a different fabric, and perhaps 32 as well. ‘Form rare at Cosa’ and conceivably anywhere outside inland Etruria. ‘Mid-2nd century or later?’ (Cosa, A.31 and p. 184. Not classified by Lamboglia.)

24. Dull dark grey to medium brown inside. Medium brown with grey and black outside—very patchy. Foot and lower part of wall unglazed, save for smears.


26. Fairly shiny, dark red-brown inside, changing to fairly shiny dark grey near lip and outside.

27. Shiny grey inside, with dark brown patch. Shiny black outside.


29. Shiny grey-black, olive brown or brick red. Lower wall outside bare, save for drips. Glaze tends to flake off in places.

30. Inside, dark grey to chestnut brown, slightly shiny. Outside, chestnut, mottled with olive brown or shiny black. Glaze tends to flake off.


32. Pink, fine clay, with little mica, fired hard. Shiny metallic grey all over.

33. Buff clay with slight pink tinge, fine, containing mica and fired hard. Shiny silver grey, with light brown (thin) bands.

34. Angle and diameter approx. Ridge inside lip due to bad turning. Moderately shiny black: brown on lip and lower exterior.
35. Larger bowl. Shiny silver-purple inside and out, with medium brown patches near base outside.

36. Smaller bowl, with smaller rim. Buff, fine clay, with exceedingly little mica, fired hard. Shiny black or very dark grey glaze: brown (thin) on lower rim edge. A good product.

37. Smaller bowl, with smaller rim. At least one pair of decorative, concentric circles on floor, bounding an area of rouletting. Buff, fine clay, with no visible mica, fired hard. Shiny grey inside and out, with tinge of olive brown: a high sheen. A good product.

8. *Cup with grooved upper wall.* (2?) Fig. 3.

The next six vessels share the characteristic of a grooved upper wall, but are not easy to parallel. 38 is clearly a cup: 40 is probably a bowl with broad foot: 42 and 43 are deep bowls: 39 and 41 are indeterminate and have been provisionally classified purely on the basis of their size. The forms are uncommon, the fabrics diverse and the impression is left that some, if not all, are not local products. The fabric of each has been described in full. (Cosa, B.41 and p. 159—bowl with broad foot: no comparative cup or deep bowl. Lamboglia, form 48, p. 194—cup, but without the grooved wall: form 1, p. 143—bowl with broad foot: form 8, p. 148—bowl with grooved wall.)

38. One round, vertical handle exists, with flat thumb-plate on top. Presumably there was a pair to it on the other side of the cup. Two decorative grooves on the upper wall and another inside at the point where the fr. has been broken. Orange-buff, fine clay, with mica, fired hard. Glossy metallic black glaze with slight oily sheen, which has flaked off handle in patches.

39. Full form of vessel uncertain, but included here for its size. One decorative groove on upper wall. Buff, fine clay, with mica, fired hard. Shiny to fairly shiny silver grey glaze.

9. *Bowls with grooved upper wall.* (4?) Fig. 3.

This form should probably be divided in two: (a) bowl with broad foot—40 and 41, and (b) deep bowl—42 and 43. The complete shape of 41 is lost, making it impossible to assign it securely to either form. In fact it is only included here for its size: it could conceivably be a cup. For a discussion of these forms and their parallels, see Form 8 above.

40. The curve of the interior at the point of break suggests a bowl with broad foot. Three decorative grooves on upper wall, one discontinuous. Fine clay, a cross between buff and dusty grey; a little mica; fired hard. Black on lip to very dark olive green-black on body. Glossy.

41. 3 rim frs. Full form uncertain. Two decorative grooves on upper wall. Bright pink to orange-buff clay, very fine, containing mica and fired hard. Glossy blue-black glaze: brown (thin) on outer edge of lip.

42. Deep bowl. Three decorative grooves on upper wall, two grouped as a pair. Pink clay, or occasionally pink-buff; fine, with mica, and fired hard. Shiny black glaze. Metallic dark brown in patches inside. Silvery firing-ring inside, off-centre near centre (diam. identical with this pot's base).

43. Deep bowl. Two decorative grooves on upper wall. Dusty, pale grey clay; fine, with mica, and fired very hard. Grey glaze, to chestnut, or lighter, brown in large patches, shiny inside, dull outside.

10. *Rimless Cup or Bowl with handles.* (4) Fig. 4.

This form, also, should perhaps be divided. Two specimens show traces of a handle attachment. But the form of handle is not clear. On the other hand, two further pieces show no such traces and may never have possessed handles. They may simply be small bowls. The fabric for all is probably that of the main group. ‘Sutri examples local? Mid-2nd century’. (Cosa, A.32—bowl with handle: A.18 (cf. C 29c) and p. 182—rimless bowl. Lamboglia, form 48, p. 194—rimless cup with handles: form 31, p. 180—rimless bowl or cup.)

44. Handle broken off at one edge of fr. Perhaps a second break vertically above near lip, but more likely a glazing fault. Shiny black, to dull light brown near lip inside and out.

45. 2 rim frs. Wide, shallow turning groove outside—in error? Shiny black.

46. Handle broken off at one edge of fr. Shiny black.

47. 2 frs. Dusty buff to buff-grey clay; fine, with very little mica, fired hard. Inside, shiny black to fairly shiny grey. Outside, mostly dull dark grey, with patches of medium grey, dirty grey-yellow and shiny grey.

11. ‘Omphalos’ *Bowl.* (1) Fig. 4.

This unique specimen has a distinctive fabric: an import? (Not found at Cosa. Lamboglia, form 63, p. 200.)
48. Stamped palmette near centre inside, slightly smudged: one of four? Also double band of concentric rouletting. Pink, very fine clay, with mica, fired hard. Good glossy black glaze, with faint oily sheen outside.

12. Miniature Bowl. (2) Fig. 4.

This may be related to the miniature bowl with ribbon-band rim. But here the rim has coalesced with the wall. The nearest Cosa example is C.31, 'from deposit dated mid-2nd century'. But truly rimless examples are rare. The fabric of 49 could be different from that of the main Sutri group—or just a poor version of it. (Cosa, A.29 and p. 184—miniature bowl with ribbon-band rim. Lamboglia, form 51, p. 195—miniature bowl with ribbon-band rim: form 20, p. 161—miniature hemispherical bowl.)


50. Band of very light, diagonal rouletting on inside at carination, heavier below. Dull black glaze, which flakes away at times outside.

13. Small Bowl with flaring wall. (2) Fig. 4.

It is not certain that both specimens represent the same form, but they are classed together in default of further evidence. There are no close parallels. Cosa and Lamboglia illustrate a small bowl with flaring wall, but the join of wall and floor is sharply angular and the lip swings out markedly. Perhaps neither is of the main Sutri fabric. (Cosa, D.17 and p. 160. Lamboglia, form 2, p. 144.)

51. Buff, fine clay, with mica, fired hard. Fairly dull, chestnut brown glaze, with black patches.

52. Pale, dusty grey clay, fine, with little mica, fired hard. Shiny blue-grey glaze, with tinge of dark olive brown.

14. Pyxis. (2) Fig. 4.

Variations in rim profile and wall angle may point to separate workshops for the specimens found. The fabric conforms to that of the main group. 'Cosa examples start in the mid-2nd century'. (Cosa, C.11 and p. 161. Lamboglia, form 3.)


54. Grooved rim and fairly straight wall. Shiny black, to brown (thin) outside and on lip.

15. Miscellaneous Closed Forms. (4) Fig. 4.

All are fragmentary and prevent proper identification, so no attempt has been made to quote parallels. All are apparently of the main fabric.

55. 5 frs. Angle and diameter approx. Interior turning ridges suggest that the piece should be the way up that it has been drawn—the ridges remaining near the base. Good glossy metallic black. No glaze inside.

56. 8 small frs. Neck of a closed form. Drawn the way up as shown, because of turning ridges and finger-prints on lower part of interior, and glaze on top 2 cm. Dull grey to black or dirty brown. Poor work.

57. 2 frs. Beginning of a handle at one edge of fr. Drawn the way up as shown, despite turning ridges, as the wall curve seems too abrupt for a shoulder of a pot. Black, with a high sheen outside. Inside, dull dark brown—implying a wide-necked vessel.

58. 6 frs. Drawn the way up as shown, because of turning ridges. Fairly shiny grey to light brown outside. Inside, alternating bands of light and dark brown, a thin coat of glaze—suggesting quite a wide neck.

16. Base of a miniature Closed Form. (1) Fig. 5.

Unique. Not found at Cosa or classified by Lamboglia. Main Sutri fabric, but especially fine clay.

59. Spiral of turning ridges left unsmoothed inside on floor. Fairly dull black to brown outside. One brown drip inside.
17. **Base of a Closed Form.** (1) Fig. 5.

Full form not clear, but apparently large. Fabric of main group.

60. Inside, glossy black on floor, to dull chestnut brown. Outside, one streak of silver: rest bare.

**Miscellaneous Bases of Open Forms.** (7) Fig. 5.

Those illustrated are chosen for their diversity or decoration. Various types of foot are represented, none of them the more usual profile found, say, on 10, 20, 24, 25, 42. 61 shows multiple bands of rouletting appropriate for a plate. 65 has two pairs of concentric circles, most fitting, in Sutri’s context, for a bowl with out-turned rim. 66 has a stamped palmette, fine rouletting and two or three concentric circles: its form is unusual for Sutri and its fabric possibly not local.

61. Angle and diameter approx. Seven concentric bands of neat rouletting. Shiny black inside, dull grey-black outside.


66. Angular, tapering foot. Stamped palmette on floor (one of four?). Band of fine rouletting enclosed by two concentric circles. Probably a further circle near the centre, along which the fri has broken. Buff, fine clay, with mica, fired hard. Shiny grey-black glaze, becoming grey inside, or brown outside where thin. Dull dark grey under foot.

**III. OTHER REPUBLICAN POTTERY**

(Form numbers follow on from those of black-glazed ware. The letter ‘A’ has been added to the number of each specimen illustrated, to avoid confusion with the black-glazed vessels.)

About 275 vessels were unearthed of pottery other than black-glazed ware. Forms included beakers, dishes, jugs, pitchers, jars, bowls and lids. Of these, jars were far and away the most abundant (c. 132). There were a fair number of beakers and jugs (c. 28 each). But dishes and bowls were very poorly represented (c. 7 and c. 6 respectively). These figures make an interesting contrast with the frequency of the various black-glazed forms, as they complement one another.

Shapes were comparatively simple and decoration, with rare exceptions, sparsely employed. The commonest motif was a single horizontal groove, usually on the shoulder of closed forms (A9, A25, A27-30, A56, A67, A70, A85, A88, A90, A97, A120, A128). Only one form consistently used it, the bulbous jar (Form 25). On it the groove is sometimes single, sometimes double and in one instance is accompanied by a zig-zag groove as well (A25, A27-30). In addition, the flat rim of this jar was often grooved too. The jar, in fact, was the most decorated form found—save for a unique closed pot, which was covered with rouletted lines picked out in red paint (Form 19, A3). Twice a horizontal ridge appears in place of a groove, once on the shoulder and once on the neck of closed forms (A31, A75). Twice, too, we find a small, rounded lump of clay on the shoulder of closed forms, like an abortive lug (A25, A100). And that is the sum total of decorative devices.
If we next consider clay, slips or colour-washes (where present) and burnishing (again where present), we shall eventually be in a position to isolate some distinctive fabrics.

If we regard wares with fine clay as more suitable to accompany black-glazed ware ‘on the dinner table’ and coarse clays as better adapted ‘to the kitchen’, some revealing results emerge. Few vessels have outstandingly fine clay, but they do include a jug (Form 28): cf. miniature jar (Form 53), and two unidentified closed shapes (Forms 19, 54). But, among those with fairly fine clay, figure beakers, bulbous jars and squat jars (both with handles), jugs and a pitcher with shoulder handles (Forms 20, 25, 26, 27, 29). Only six jars appear in this category and possibly two lids (Forms 30, 32, 35, 36, 37, 41; 51, 52). One or two dishes might be included (Forms 21, 23). But the majority of them, all of the bowls and a huge number of jars were all ‘kitchen-ware’.

It is probably right to deduce from this that jars were seldom table-ware and that the need for bowls, and to some extent dishes, was amply supplied by black-glazed ware. But it is worth remembering, when considering the beakers, handled jars, jugs and pitchers, that a fine clay was a functional requirement to make containers of liquids more water-tight.

The same argument applies to slips or colour-washes, which served a similar function. Accordingly we find them employed almost exclusively on handled jars, jugs and pitchers (Forms 25, 27, 28, 29, 43, 44: cf. 19). They generally coat the outside of such vessels, but occasionally some or all of the inside as well. Only one jar has such a slip, which spreads over onto the rim too (A94). Two other jars have a slip just on the inner rim face, where it perhaps gave some protection against wear (A47, A60). So much for slips.

Normally the surfaces of the vases are much the same colour as the clay and are left matt. But a few beakers, about a quarter of the total, are finished so smoothly as to have a slight sheen. Besides this, quite a high percentage of the pots are burnished. Frequently this consists of isolated, horizontal bands on the upper body, often coalescing into a completely smoothed area on the lower body. Such is the case with beakers (14 out of 22), some bulbous jars and certain pieces among the other jars (Forms 20, 25, 34a, 36a, 37, 38a, 38b, 41: cf. 54). Dishes, on the other hand, are commonly burnished inside—with an occasional touch outside—together with an odd jar or two (Forms 22, 23, 24, 42: 36b, 39: cf. 46). Finally, a few jars have bands of burnishing on the rim (Forms 31, 36a and b, 38b). On the whole, however, burnishing was not applied *de rigueur* to all specimens of any particular form: dishes were the nearest approach to such a state of affairs.

We can now distinguish a few fabrics which stand out from the others. First, there are five vessels which are unique both for shape and ware, and yet bear no resemblance to each other—Forms 19, A3; 28, A44; 41, A100; 52, A128; 54, A130.

Next, there are some wares which are distinctive. Among these, bulbous jars (Form 25) spring to mind and what we might call the ‘jug group’—Forms 26, 27 and 29. This latter group is not quite so uniform as the bulbous jars and, although they have many characteristics in common, future work may be able to subdivide them more finely. The group as a whole differ from bulbous jars in possessing a less fine clay and in being less liberally decorated.
ROMAN POTTERY FROM THE VICINITY OF SUTRI

We might have expected the use of slips, burnishing or, another criterion, the amount of mica in the clay, to have indicated further outstanding wares. But, generally speaking, these are not employed sufficiently consistently to allow us to pick out recognisable groups, although again the future may clarify the issue. In two cases, however, the last two do give some assistance. Their interior burnishing and, in particular, the large quantity of mica in their composition unite the dishes of Forms 22–24 in one group. Similarly, there is a group of jars which are connected together by the presence of considerable mica and of exterior burnishing. They are of moderate size and their walls are fairly slim. Most of them appear in Forms 36a and 37, but one or two less certain members of the group belong to Form 34a (see A66, A68, A69, A70, A73, A80; there are fragments of six additional jars: possible members of the group, A56, A57, A83, A84). These jars are most readily separated from the remainder during actual handling of the pots. Description alone cannot make their individuality so clear. In fact, it will be seen that identical shapes, for example, occur in jars outside the group. From time to time pieces of other forms also contain a lot of mica, but in our present state of knowledge they cannot be classed together satisfactorily, e.g. some beakers (Form 20), another jar, a flanged bowl, a lid (Forms 34a, A55; 49, A117; 51, A127). Liberal amounts of mica may indicate particular areas of origin. On the other hand, they may represent no more than peculiar beds of clay in widely scattered areas. One hesitates for the moment to identify workshops by this criterion.

Finally we are left with a few notable shapes. The three specimens of Form 40 with their unusual rim are quite likely to stem from a single pottery. But the more numerous examples of Form 38, jars with half-almond rim, probably come from more than one source, even if the shape is constant. Beakers, too, have a fairly uniform profile, but there is still too much variety in the details of their form and fabric to make it worthwhile to try to class them as yet by individual potteries.

This leads naturally to a discussion of where the kilns were located which produced all this pottery. But no attempt has been made in this study to find these sources nor to quote parallels for the various forms. It has seemed premature to try this, until more Roman pottery has been published from well-dated contexts in Italy—and preferably in central Italy.

Generally speaking, however, one can argue that the coarser the pottery, the nearer must be its production centre. There are, indeed, one or two beds of clay close to Sutri itself, even though the landscape is predominantly tufa. But, in spite of an extensive field survey, no evidence has yet shown that they were exploited by potters before the first-century a.d. Moreover much of the vicinity was still forestland or had only recently been cleared. It is improbable that Sutri itself was yet manufacturing pottery on a commercial scale. The zone to the east, on the contrary, the Ager Faliscus, between Sutri and the Tiber, already had a long ceramic tradition and appears to have been, besides, a major source of much of the black-glazed

11 Fieldwork in 1958 and later located at least two potteries near Sutri. One was excavated and dated to about 60–70 a.d. The other was closely contemporary in character. Sites recorded in PBR, xxvi (1958), p. 98 and sites 713823, 726815: excavation reported in PBR, xxxii (1964), pp. 38–88.

12 See PBR, xxvi (1958), pp. 91 ff.
ware found. It would not be surprising to find that it was the home of a good percentage of the coarse pottery, too.

The easy corollary to the law that coarse wares come from nearby, is that fine wares must come from far afield. Undoubtedly, good quality products, like the decorated vase of Form 19, could repay transport costs over a considerable distance. (The amphorae, too, may have travelled quite a way.) But to insist that fine ware could not be made close by is an unreasonable claim. It goes beyond the bounds of logic and furthermore casts aspersions on the capabilities of southern Etruria—which I should be the last to decry!

The date of most of the coarse pottery depends on the black-glazed ware found with it, but Forms 18 and 19 tend to confirm the period as late second or even first century B.C. Subsequent excavations should make the chronology of some of the wares more precise.

The list below again includes only representative pieces, but the total number of vases belonging to each form is given at the end of its title. Every vessel has its own serial number, which recurs in figures 5–14. Signs of wear were less easy to detect on coarse ware than black-glazed, and less easy to separate from the effects of abrasion after the pots went out of use. But it was noted, where observed. Signs of use, however, in the form of burning, were comparatively frequent, especially on jars.

18. Amphora. (At least 2) Fig. 5.

The two rims illustrated are both triangular and slightly undercut, a form appropriate to the 2nd and early 1st centuries B.C. (cf. Rivista di studi Liguri, XXI (1955), pp. 241–270, pl. 9–16.) 6–8 body fragments of amphorae also came to light, but it is not clear how many whole amphorae there were.

A1. Profile restored at rim edges. Coarse clay, but even grained, with few impurities and no mica, fired hard and pink. Surface pink outside, but buff-white inside.

A2. Fairly fine clay with a little mica, fired moderately hard and pale pink in colour. Surface—dirty white.

19. Fine-quality, decorated, closed form. (1) Fig. 5.

Multiple bands of rouletting cover virtually all the extant surface of this form, but, since only wall-sheards survive, its complete shape is uncertain. Its high quality sets it apart from all the other finds and makes it probable that it is an import to the region.

A3. Bands of long, upright, rouletted strokes are interspersed with horizontal lines. All are picked out in red paint, against a very pale buff-white clay (The ‘paint’ may first have been applied as a very thin slip, which has only survived in the impressions made by the rouletting.) Matt surface. Very fine, hard clay, containing minute specks of mica.

20. Beaker. (circa 28) Fig. 6.

All beakers have a fairly wide mouth, formed into an out-turned rim. The belly reaches about the same diameter as the rim and is not particularly bulbous. The base is narrower than the mouth and is sometimes flat, sometimes slightly concave underneath. The foot is not marked off from the wall in any way. Rim profiles show some variety. They range from a continuous curve to a straight outline meeting the wall at an angle. Curved shapes, however, are more common than straight. Most rims maintain a more or less uniform thickness, but a few taper outwards, while one or two actually widen towards their extremities. Individual beakers differ in size, but their heights generally fall between 8 and 12 cm. (cf. A4 and A14). Similar shapes recur, however, on an increased scale, among small jars (Forms 30–33).

Decoration is only found on one example, where it consists of a single groove round the shoulder. But many beakers were burnished, in a way which enhances their appeal. The upper body is burnished in horizontal bands, which on the lower body coalesce to make a continuous polished surface. The rim, too, is occasionally polished in bands. This occurs on 14 out of 22 specimens.
Fig. 6.—Sutri: Other Wares (scale 1/4)
Fig. 7.—Sutri: Other Wares (scale ¼)
Fig. 8.—Sutri: Other Wares (scale 1/3)
Fig. 9.—Sutri: Other Wares (scale ¼)
Fig. 10.—Sutri: Other Wares (scale $\frac{1}{4}$)
Fig. 11.—Sutri: Other Wares (scale ¼)
Fig. 12.—Sutri: Other Wares (scale $\frac{1}{6}$)
Fig. 13.—Sutri: Other Wares (scale 1/4)
Fig. 14.—Sutri: Other Wares (scale ¼)
which could show it. All but one of the extant beakers with curved rims were burnished, but no more than about half those with tapering rims. In addition, the surface of half a dozen beakers was so smooth as to have a faint sheen—only two of these were burnished. Normally the surface is matt.

The colour of the beakers echoes that of their clay. It is mainly brown, becoming orange, when light, or grey, when dark. The surface usually exhibits more shades of colour than the inner clay. There was apparently no use of slips or colour-washes.

The texture of the clay is at times moderately fine, at times fine, but it never completely excludes small impurities. About half the pieces found could be classed as having a 'fine' clay, including all beakers with tapering rims, whatever their size. Two beakers were composed of a fairly coarse clay, by contrast; and one contained distinctive specks of a white, crystalline stone, although in other respects it was perfectly normal (A4; A12). All beakers had glinting specks of 'gold' mica in their fabric which sometimes feature prominently on the surface. They were fired hard.

A4. Profile partly restored. Curved rim, slightly thickened underneath. Fairly fine clay, with mica, impurities and many small, distinctive, white specks. Surface brown to grey-brown, becoming lighter inside. Matt, but almost a sheen outside.

A5. Curved rim. Patchy medium to light brown, with sooty black marks inside and out. Lower exterior burnished and 3–4 marked bands of burnishing near rim.

A6. Curved rim. Fairly fine clay, but large specks of gold mica and sizeable impurities in it. Fr. burnt grey, perhaps after breaking. A faint burnish outside.


A8. Straight rim, thicker at its outer end. Angular join with wall. Pale orange. Traces of occasional burnishing outside, which also has a slight sheen.


A14. Base partly restored. Tapering rim, curved on the exterior, meeting the wall at an angle. Brown to dull orange.

A15. Tapering rim, curved on the exterior, meeting the wall at an angle. Grey-brown, moderat- ing to orange-brown inside. Faint silky sheen inside and out.


21. Rimless Dish. (1) Fig. 6.

The upright wall of this dish turns in sharply at its foot towards the centre, but the base of the dish has been lost. Its lack of rim, and the paucity of mica in its clay, suggests a different source from that of the other three types below (Forms 22–24).

A19. Fairly fine clay; a little mica and several small impurities; fired hard. Patchy orange-brown, grey and black—uneven firing.

22. Dish with rolled rim. (1) Fig. 6.

A roll moulding tops the wall of this dish. It is broken off below, at the point where it turns in towards the foot. The abundant gold mica in the clay gives the surface a delightful finish, a character- istic which this dish shares with those of Forms 23 and 24.

A20. Fairly coarse clay, with much mica, fired hard. Light brown inside, burnt dark brown to black outside. Burnished inside, on rim and in broad, horizontal bands outside.

23. Dish with projecting rim. (1) Fig. 6.

A horizontal, wedge-shaped rim tapers in to meet the top of the wall. This is upright, but soon turns in towards the centre. There is abundant gold mica in the clay, as in Forms 22 and 24.

A21. Rim slightly unevenly turned. Fairly fine clay with much mica, fired hard. Medium to light brown, with sooty black patches outside. Burnished on most of interior, on underneath and on part of wall.
24. **Dish with curved, projecting rim.** (4) Fig. 6.

The more or less horizontal rim of this Form is curved, to present a markedly convex upper face. This ends in a distinctive, raised inner lip, from which the wall descends abruptly, before turning in towards the foot. The bases of all the dishes of Forms 21–24 are lost, but are most likely to have been simple and flat—as is illustrated in Form 42, A101. Form 24 again has profuse mica in its clay and this, together with the burnishing which also recurs in Forms 22 and 23, implies that these three Forms stem from the same provenience, or at least from related sources.

**A22.** Stubby rim. Fairly coarse clay, with much mica, fired hard. Black: dish has been heavily burnt and still has soot on it, inside and out. Burnished interior.

**A23.** Fairly coarse clay, with much mica, fired hard. Light brown outside, to dusty buff-white inside, all mottled with patches of grey. Burnished, except on upper wall outside and parts of inner face.

**A24.** Profile partly restored. Wide rim. Fairly fine clay, with much mica, fired hard. Grey-brown, where not burnt black. Burnished on upper rim and lower parts of wall, inside and out.

25. **Bulbous Jar.** (7) Fig. 7.

This low, two-handled jar has a wide belly, topped by a broad mouth. The rim is flattened and is twice decorated with grooves on its upper face. A pair of narrow strap-handles spring from just below the rim and soon loop round to rejoin the shoulder. At this point there is some form of decoration on all the jars, but not the same on each specimen. One has a shoulder-ridge, two a single groove—in one instance with the addition of an abortive lug—and three a double groove. The most elaborate adds a wavy line above a double groove. The shape of foot is not certain, but a ring-foot base and a ‘false ring-foot’ base, which came to light were both likely to have belonged to jars of this type (Forms 43, 44, A102, A103). The clay is fine in all cases (with mica and occasional impurities) and is fired hard. The surface is light in colour, pale brown or buff generally, and three pieces were given an external slip or colour-wash. Three times, too, the exterior was lightly burnished. Although all the pots echo the same basic type, their minor differences, especially in decoration, suggest that they share related, but not identical, points of origin.

**A25.** Single shoulder groove, across which has been placed a low, rounded lug. Handle lost. Dull orange inside; light brown outside, to red-brown and grey at one point.

**A26.** Flattened rim, without decoration. Rim edges worn. Pale brown-buff.

**A27.** Single shoulder groove. Light brown-buff. Narrow, isolated bands of burnishing below the shoulder groove.

**A28.** Double shoulder groove. Thin slip outside, tending from pale buff to dirty white.

**A29.** Diameter approximate. Double shoulder groove. Remains of handle attachment at edge of fr. Light brown-buff. Lower body burnished outside, with 5-6 isolated, narrow bands above, up to the shoulder groove.

**A30.** One third survives, including complete handle and attachment of second. 2-3 shallow grooves on upper rim face. Two grooves on shoulder and incised wavy line above, which is slightly irregular. Thin slip outside and on upper 3-4 cm. inside. Red-brown to dirty white (on opposite sides of the pot). 5-6 narrow, isolated bands of burnishing outside below shoulder. Handles applied after decoration, but before burnishing. Their profiles a little asymmetrical.

**A31.** Both handle attachments extant. 2-3 shallow grooves on upper rim face. Low ridge on shoulder instead of groove. Thin slip outside. Mostly dirty white, to light red-brown.

26. **Squat Jars with no neck.** (2) Fig. 7.

The two specimens do not belong to the same form, but are classed together for convenience. They were both wide-bellied, neckless vessels, but their fabrics differ, as do details of their rims.

**A32.** A wide, flattened rim tops an oblique wall. A broad strap handle springs from just beneath it to rejoin the belly lower down, but it is impossible to tell precisely where, since neither the angle nor the diameter of the lower handle attachment are clear. Nothing shows whether the pot had one or two handles. Fine clay, with quite large specks of mica and impurities; fired hard. White, tinted with very pale apple-green and speckled by the impurities in the clay.

27. *Jug* (c. 27) Figs. 8 and 9.

The salient feature of all jugs is their fabric—a fine clay, fired a pale buff-white at its best. The clay contains mica and never fully excludes impurities. The colour at times has pink tints and once is orange. Strangely enough, only half the jugs are fired hard; the remainder are only moderately so. Five examples have an external colour-wash the same colour as the clay, and perhaps four others, though in their cases it is less easy to decide. The form has one handle, roughly oval in section, rising from the shoulder to the lip. The rim is out-turned and, basically, flattened. But at times it is rounded, at times cut back underneath to give a triangular profile and at times left thick and square in section. These divisions, however, merge into each other. More often than not a distinct shoulder marks the join of neck and belly and this can be angular. The base is flat—or slightly concave underneath—and the foot is not distinguished from the wall in any way. Size and proportions can vary from piece to piece. \textbf{A42} and \textbf{A43} are normal specimens, \textbf{A34} and \textbf{A35} less usual.

\textbf{A34.} Rim lost opposite handle, but restored the same as elsewhere: it is unlikely there was a spout.
There was certainly no second handle, as the wall of the pot survives where its lower attachment would have been. Shape unusually squat and graceless. Pale pink-buff.

\textbf{A35.} Upper handle attachment lost. Part of wall restored. Rounded rim. No obvious shoulder. White, tinted with very pale apple-green.


\textbf{A37.} Profile reconstructed from frs.: position of shoulder approx. Triangular rim. Very probably a thin colour-wash outside. Very pale buff-white.

\textbf{A38.} Triangular rim. Orange, with quite a lot of black impurities.

\textbf{A39.} Square rim. A thin colour-wash inside and out. Light brown-buff.

\textbf{A40.} Fairly square rim. Thin colour-wash inside and out, which tends to flake away. Very pale buff, with pink tint.

\textbf{A41.} Square rim. Handle profile a bit asymmetrical. Probably a thin slip, especially outside. Very pale buff-white.

\textbf{A42.} Lower handle attachment extant, but its position on the shoulder not precisely fixed. Hence it is shown only in outline. Fairly square rim turned down at its end to overhang. Angular shoulder. Thin colour-wash outside, and probably inside neck. Very pale buff-white, tinged with orange in places.

\textbf{A43.} Whole pot slightly asymmetrical and handle not quite vertical. Resting surface of foot worn. Probably a thin colour-wash inside and out. Very pale buff-white, tinted with pink in places and speckled by impurities in the clay.

28. *Jug with red slip.* (1) Fig. 9.

A unique pot in many ways. It is presumably a jug, although a second handle cannot be positively excluded, except on the grounds of probability. Its height is uncertain, as its shoulder can be variously restored, as shown. But it was not large. The neck is virtually rimless, the strap handle continuing its line. The clay is as fine as that of black-glazed ware, without impurities, but including mica. It is buff and fired hard. A thin slip covers the exterior, the upper neck inside and the lower half of the interior. It is bright red, changing to light brown-buff inside. The bright red portions are speckled, where the slip has come off or never fully taken initially, perhaps because the slip blistered during firing. No other piece resembles this one.

\textbf{A44.} Some of neck restored. The shoulder is lost, but could be reconstructed within the limits shown. Diameter approx. Exceptionally fine clay, covered with a bright red slip.

29. *Pitcher with handles on shoulder.* (1) Fig. 9.

This pitcher differs from the other one found (Form 39) in its handles, which are here high on the shoulder, and in its fabric, which is similar to that of the jugs of Form 27.

\textbf{A45.} Part of one handle survives, a horizontal loop-handle, tilted upwards. The existence of a pair to it is not proven, but merely probable. Diameter approx. Fine clay, with mica and small impurities, fired hard. Thin colour-wash outside, and perhaps inside, nearly pure white at its thickest, but approaching pink-brown where thinnest.

30. *Small Jar with incurved rim.* (3) Fig. 10.

The next four Forms resemble overgrown beakers in shape. This one has an incurved rim, which is somewhat more oblique when it occurs on a beaker (\textbf{A16}). The end of the rim is also slightly thickened.

\textbf{A46.} Fairly fine clay, with mica and impurities, fired hard. Pale orange-brown.
31. Small Jar with wedge-shaped rim. (2) Fig. 10.

The rim tapers in towards the neck like a wedge and meets it at an angle. A47 has a distinctive slip on the inner face of the rim and A48 bears traces of burnishing.

A47. Fairly coarse clay, with little mica, fired hard. Slip on lip and inner rim face—pink to white. Remaining brown.

32. Small Jar with out-curved rim. (2) Fig. 10.

A49 represents the pure form, its rim sweeping out in a continuous curve. A50 is made from a coarser fabric and is thickened at its extremity.

A49. Fairly fine clay, with mica and small impurities, fired hard. Orange, to purple-brown on lip.
A50. Fairly coarse clay, with mica, fired hard. Pale orange.

33. Small Jar with thickened, out-curved rim. (1) Fig. 10.

This is really a variant of the previous Form, the outer face of the rim being thickened and flattened in two stages.

A51. Fairly coarse clay, with very little mica, fired hard. Light brown.

34a. Jar with thickened, rounded rim. (c. 28) Fig. 10.

All the jars in the next four Forms share the same basic shape, a flat base, a wide belly, a broad mouth and an out-turned rim. With very few exceptions, they also share the same fabric, a more or less coarse, hard clay, with mica, generally fired a shade of brown. In a sense, therefore, they compose one large group, the most prolific among the finds. This group has been divided according to variations in the rim profile. But, although the individual types described can be separated from each other, there are so many transitional pieces between one type and the next that the whole series can, if so desired, be arranged in an unbroken sequence. Once again, then, the group has a sort of unity, which the classification by rim profile artificially breaks. Perhaps only the true half-almond rims merit a class on their own (Form 38). In a similar way, there is no valid distinction between those jars whose necks join the body at an angle and those where the junction is a gradual curve. Again some jars are adorned with a single shoulder groove. But identical jars carry no such groove. So decoration is no help in classification. In short, granted the fundamental form, the details of a jar’s shape were so fluid at this time as to vitiate most attempts at typological classification and to make them of little use to the archaeologist wanting to employ them for dating purposes.

Form 34a is an extension of Form 33 and leads in its turn to Forms 35 and 36.

A52. A curved profile throughout. Shades of brown.
A53. Rim begins to project a little. Red-orange.
A54. A splayed lower neck, leading to a wider body than usual. Black outside, orange inside.
A55. Diameter approx. Surprisingly large jar. Friable clay, containing vast amounts of gold mica, which shows on the surface; fired no more than fairly hard. Light brown to light grey. Faulty burnishing outside, especially 1–2 broad bands under rim.
A58. Very little mica in clay. Orange, burnt grey in places.

34b. Jar with thickened, rounded rim, cut back underneath. (5) Fig. 10.

A variant of Form 34a, the under edge of the rim cut back towards the wall, so as to become noticeably angular at times.

On jars in general, see Form 34a above.

A60. Thin white slip on lip and inner face of rim. Otherwise red-brown.
A63. Quite a large jar, with angular lower rim edge. Brown to grey-black.

35. Jar with thickened, triangular rim. (2) Fig. 10.

A further development of Form 34b, the upper rim face becoming less rounded, so that the profile approaches a triangular section.

On jars in general, see Form 34a.
A64. Brown, burnt black, particularly inside.
A65. Fairly fine clay, with mica and impurities, fired hard. Light to medium brown.

36a. Jar with projecting rim, flattened underneath. (c. 31) Fig. 11.
An extension of Form 34b, a common form. The rim is no longer a mere thickening of the wall, but projects distinctly from it, while its under side is cut back sharply towards it.
On jars in general, see Form 34a.
A67. Slight thickening under rim. Broad shoulder groove. Pot a bit deformed: ovoid in plan, while rim and shoulder groove are not in same horizontal plane. Diameter approx. therefore. Mottled brown and grey-black outside (burnt); mottled orange and purple-brown inside.
A68. Much mica. Orange to black. Faintly burnished outside, in horizontal bands.
A71. Fairly small rim, quite close to Form 34b. Brown. A little burningish on inner rim.
A72. Little mica. Brown, with grey outside.
A73. Much mica. Orange to black. Lightly burnished outside, in horizontal bands.

36b. Jar with projecting rim, rounded underneath. (c. 21) Fig. 11.
A variation of Form 36a. Unlike Form 34, the under face of the rim meets the wall at an angle.
On jars in general, see Form 34a.
A74. Large jar. Patches of brown or grey merging with brown. Burnishing complete on lower interior, in bands above and very light outside.
A76. Diameter between limits shown. Fairly large jar. Orange-brown to brown. Very faint traces of burnishing on inner rim.
A77. Brown to grey.
A78. Grey-black.
A79. The body almost continues straight to the rim, so that the neck practically disappears. Brown to grey. Burnished smooth on top of rim and upper part of interior.

37. Jar with overhanging rim. (c. 8) Fig. 12.
A82, however, stands in a category by itself, both for its finer fabric and for its more fully developed shape. No other rim turns over quite so emphatically.
On jars in general, see Form 34a.
A80. Much mica. Originally brown, but burnt black inside and out. Burnished a little outside.
A81. Large jar. Red-brown, burnt outside.
A82. Thin-walled vessel. Rim turned right over in a continuous curve. Fine clay, with a little mica and several impurities (some large), fired fairly hard. Surface tends to flake away. Light to medium brown, overlaid with light grey on upper wall outside; brown-orange inside.
A84. Red-brown.

38a. Jar with half-almond rim (undercut). (4) Fig. 12.
Such jars take their name from the rim profile, which resembles half an almond. The basic shape occurs in Form 38b. 38a represents an undercut version of it. This can be considered as related to an overhanging rim (Form 37), but it is much better regarded as a type in its own right. 38, in fact, is the only jar Form occurring in any number which has a clearly separate identity.
On jars in general, see Form 34a.
A86. Fairly fine clay, with quite a lot of mica, fired hard. Brown to grey. Narrow, horizontal bands of burnishing outside.
A87. Brown to grey.

38b. Jar with half-almond rim. (c. 20) Fig. 12.

The basic shape is demonstrated by A89–92. Of this, Forms 38a and 38c are variants. A93–95 are not strictly half-almond rims, but hybrids between this Form and Form 36b. It is possible that A95 is not a jar at all, but a bowl.

On jars in general, see Form 34a.

A89. Very little mica. Medium brown, to grey outside, or to red-brown inside. 3–4 horizontal bands of burnishing outside.
A91. Red-brown to brown.
A92. Red-brown to brown.
A94. The rounded rim has almost a semi-circular section, like a roll-moulding. Fairly coarse clay, with mica, fired hard. Thin, grey-white slip outside, on lip and on inner rim face. Remainder brown to grey. Oblique inner rim face burnished.

38c. Jar with half-almond rim (oblique). (1) Fig. 12.

This unique rim most resembles a half-almond type laid almost horizontal. One wonders, in fact, whether the design was a mistake.

On jars in general, see Form 34a.

A96. Orange.

39. Pitcher with handles on belly. (1) Fig. 13.

Unlike the pitcher of Form 29, this one has the fabric of jars, not of jugs, while its handle is positioned halfway up the belly, not on the shoulder. Its rim, too, is akin to that of jars of Form 34b. A single decorative groove girdles the belly. The handle was a loop-handle, round in section, tilted upwards. There was presumably a pair of them, placed opposite each other.


40. Jar with down-turned, curved rim. (3) Fig. 13.

The down-turned rim curves up towards its outer extremity. There is scarcely any neck as such, the belly rising straight to the wide mouth. Shape of base unknown. A normal jar fabric, fairly coarse clay, with mica, fired hard.

A98. Purple-brown outside; light brown to pale orange inside: all burnt grey in places.
A99. Rim profile varies a little on different parts of the circumference. Dirty light brown, mostly burnt grey.

41. Jar with vertical neck. (1) Fig. 13.

A high quality piece. The short neck is topped by a small roll-moulding. From its base the belly widens out and carries a rounded lug on its shoulder. Shape of base unknown. Fine clay, with minute specks of mica and small impurities, fired hard.

A100. Light brown-buff. Narrow bands of burnishing on belly outside.

42. Flat Base of a carinated form. (1) Fig. 13.

This base is fairly certain to belong to a dish (Forms 21–24), but its fabric seems to preclude any of the particular dishes found. Its clay is fairly coarse, is fired hard, but contains only a little mica.


43. Ring-foot Base of a closed form. (1) Fig. 13.

This base sits on a low ring-foot. Its fabric, and particularly its slip, make it most appropriate for a bulbous jar (Form 25).

A102. Centre partly restored. Fine clay, but with several small impurities, as well as mica, fired hard. Thin slip, or colour-wash, outside; dirty white. Light brown inside.
44. ‘False Ring-foot Base’ of a closed form. (1) Fig. 13.

From the exterior, this base resembles a ring-foot, since the foot is set off from the wall. But the underneath belies this. It is only slightly concave. Fabric and slip again strongly suggest that it came from a bulbous jar (Form 25), like Form 43 above.

A103. Fine clay, with a few small impurities and mica, fired hard. Thin slip, or colour-wash, outside; pale brown-buff. Pink-buff inside.

45. Pedestal Base. (5) Fig. 13.

Two at least of these came from open forms (A104, A105) and one from a closed form (A107). The former have the foot set close to the centre of the pot: the single extant profile is rounded. The latter has the foot set apparently an impossible distance away from the centre, but its diameter is beyond question: its profile, too, is rounded, though it has a flattened resting surface and straight, oblique interior. All possess a fairly coarse clay, containing mica, fired hard.

A104. End of foot lost, but extant portion curved. Brown outside, burnt grey in places: light tan inside, which is burned.

A105. Very little mica. Orange-brown to light grey.

A106. Judging from the remains, the foot was seemingly intended to rest on a flat section, about 1 cm, long, which is now tilted obliquely up and inwards. Was the pot, therefore, deformed? The profile would certainly be more probable, if the foot were less vertical than it is at present. Red-brown, to grey-black on lower foot.

A107. The diameter is certain, even if large. The original vessel was closed, but its full form is a puzzle. Very little mica. Brown, burnt grey in places.

46. Flat Bases. (c. 37, excluding beakers) Fig. 13.

A selection of flat bases is given here, by far the most numerous type. Beakers have not been included, nor have jugs, with their distinctive fabric. The clay of all these specimens is more or less coarse, contains some mica and is fired hard—appropriate for most forms of jar. Many, although nominally flat, are in fact slightly concave underneath. A108 is exceptionally small and is reminiscent of one miniature jar, found virtually intact (Form 53, A129): its fabric is correspondingly better.


A112. Not clear whether closed or open form, but quite wide. Brown to orange.

47. Rimless Bowl. (1) Fig. 14.

The wall of this bowl recalls the similar black-glazed form, terminating as it does in a rounded end, without a rim. We cannot tell whether it had a ring-foot to match, since the base is not known.

A113. Fairly coarse clay, with mica, fired hard. Dull orange inside; light and dark brown outside, with burnt, light grey patch.

48. Miscellaneous Bowls with projecting rims. (3) Fig. 14.

Three different bowls are grouped here, to save creating three separate Forms. They have only their fabric in common—fairly coarse clay, with mica, fired hard. The lower portions of all of them have been lost.


A115. The wall splay out towards the rim, which is a shorter and smaller version of the last. The angle of the wall can be steeper, at some parts of the circumference. Light brown; pale orange inside; burnt light grey in places.

A116. Diameter between limits shown. Inner rim edge worn. A curving wall rises to a rounded, but slim rim, which has been cut back underneath towards the wall. Brown, burnt grey in patches.
49. *Bowl with flange.* (1) Fig. 14.

Such seems the best interpretation of this piece. The flat side of the flange was apparently designed to support the bowl on some form of stand, even though it is not as horizontal as it should ideally have been. The flange's end is turned up slightly and is thickened. Rest of form lost.

A117. Fairly coarse clay, with much gold mica and a considerable number of impurities: fired only moderately hard and friable. Grey to pale buff-brown.

50. *Bowl with down-turned rim.* (1) Fig. 14.

The heavy, down-turned rim and oblique, curving bowl conjure up a mortarium. There are large impurities in the fairly coarse, hard clay (besides mica). But the extant portion of the interior of the bowl is smooth and the wall seems too thin to serve as an effective mortarium.

A118. Diameter approx. dull orange.

51. *Lid.* (12) Fig. 14.

These vary in size, as the illustrations show. In shape, they start from a flat-topped, central knob. This is often uneven in profile and no two are exactly alike. Below the flat upper surface, there is usually an upright portion for the fingers to grasp, before the handle constricts to meet the wall. A122 is abnormal, in being cut straight back towards the wall. The interior of the handle is generally hollow. The wall drops at a steady angle towards the rim, which is mostly turned up at its end, as in A122. But occasionally it is 'rimless' (A121) or it can project inwards a little (A119, A126). Clay is fairly coarse in most cases (exceptions—A120, A123): all specimens contain mica and are fired hard.


A120. Decorative groove below knob. Fairly fine clay, though not without many impurities and tiny mica specks; fired hard. Brown.

A121. Handle profile very uneven. No rim as such. Hardly any mica. Brown to orange, burnt grey or black, especially inside.

A122. Handle profile unusual in being triangular. Dull brown, burnt greyblack inside.

A123. Diameter approx. correct, but rim a bit uneven. Rim curves out, rather than positively turning up. Small lid. Fairly fine clay, but not devoid of impurities and mica; hard. Dull orange.


A125. Fairly steep wall angle. Turned-up rim. Brown, burnt grey-black, particularly at rim.

A126. Rim projects both in and out. Red-brown to brown.


52. *Ornamental Lid (?)*. (1) Fig. 14.

The splayed rim recalls a lid, but the way in which the wall bends is not paralleled in other lids, nor is the decorative groove on the exterior. The position of the groove implies a lid: otherwise it would not be visible. But this argument is not conclusive. The full form and its purpose remain uncertain.

A128. Diameter approx. Fairly fine clay, with mica, but few impurities: hard. Orange-brown to dark brown.

53. *Miniature Jar.* (1) Fig. 14.

A unique piece. Only the small flat base, A108, approaches it in size. A graceful, out-turned rim curves down into the belly, which is placed low in the profile. The foot turns out fractionally, to differentiate it from the wall. The base appears flat, but is slightly concave. Hand-made. A toy?

A129. Whole pot asymmetrical. Very fine, hard clay, containing tiny mica specks. Four round, rough patches, equally spaced on the circumference of the belly at its widest point, apparently caused by some four-armed support holding pot just before, or during, firing. Light brown.

54. *Closed Form of uncertain shape.* (1) Fig. 14.

Two portions of this vessel survive, both of a very fine, hard clay, containing mica, but few impurities. The profiles have been drawn to the same horizontal datum-line. In profile 'C' of portion (2), the top of the vessel (if that is the correct way up) has been noticeably flattened, after
having been turned on the wheel as a more upright shape. The finish is very smooth below the curve of profile 'A': but above it there are several flattened extra lumps of clay adhering to the surface, as well as scratches and finger-marks. The full form is a puzzle.

A130. Both fragments were wheel-turned, but the diameter is not constant. It varies even in the larger portion (1), while the diameter of the other is much smaller (2). Light brown. Outer surface, below curve of profile 'A', burnished.

Loom-weight. (1) Fig. 14.
A heavy loom-weight, square in plan, but tapering towards the top. A hole pierces it from side to side near the top and a groove marks the upper surface in the same direction.


Pipe. (2?)
Parts of a pipe came to light, tapering slightly in shape, between 6-5 and 8 cm. in radius. Neither end was preserved. It was made of a very hard, fine, pink clay. It is not illustrated. Nor is a second possible pipe, which also tapered, but of which too little was found to be sure of the identification. Its fabric was a coarse, grey clay.

IV. CONCLUSIONS

A review of the pit's contents shows that it was filled primarily with broken pottery. To this were added a few fractured tiles and some refuse—witness the black soil and animal teeth. It was a rubbish pit. Further, we can say that it was not open very long, since, after the initial enlargement of the hole, there was no breakdown of soil from the yellow tufa sides mixed with the pure black filling. Yet the vast number of vessels and the signs of wear on many of them suggest a considerable time needed to accumulate them. The pottery, then, was collected elsewhere over a fairly long period, but buried here over a short period.

It is a good inference that we are dealing with the rubbish of a Roman villa. It was not a kiln that produced this debris, as there are no recognisable wasters and the nearest deposits of clay are some way away, in any case. Nor was it the stock of a shop buried after some calamity, since the pots had been in service and the site anyway lies nowhere near the town.

Where was this villa? There are no obvious traces of it nearby. 200 m. to the east a scatter of Roman wares and tiles has been discovered on a gentle rise, but there is an intervening gully (Fig. 1 (ii), 'B'). 300 m. to the west, however, more substantial remains have been detected further up the same spur on the end of which the pit was dug. They consisted of part of an opus signinum pavement and of coarse sherds and tiles. Grass, however, concealed the full size of the building (Fig. 1 (ii), 'A'). This is the most probable site, as far as we can see at present, for our villa. Here the pottery collected on a heap outside the kitchen. Here the owner found it one day, piling up and, to his annoyance, encumbering his yard. From here it was carted, at his orders, to be buried at a distance from the villa, together with some refuse which happened to be lying about at the same time.

It is a reasonable assumption that the pit contained a complete spectrum of all the pottery used by the villa over a certain period. Some has been lost, but what remains still provides a remarkably full corpus of forms and wares. The finer pieces, particularly the black-glazed, presumably represent what the owner ate from,

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18 Reported in PBSR, xxvi (1958), p. 98 ff., sites ('B') included red polished ware (terra sigillata 734789 and 739790. Pottery from the former chiera).
the coarser what his staff used for eating, cooking and storage. The difference between the types of vessels which occur in fine ware and those which occur in coarse ware bears this out. The two categories do not duplicate each other, but are complementary. The number of burnt, coarse jars best illustrates the point. There is, besides, the spate of black-glazed bowls and the corresponding dearth of coarse equivalents. The jars demonstrate a functional difference. They were the primary cooking vessel. The paucity of coarse bowls may perhaps be explained by assuming that the staff commonly ate direct from the cooking pot.

It is difficult to assess the size of the villa’s household. The pit could hold a week’s breakages from an enormous familia, or a year, or more’s, crocks from a single family, to cite the extremes. Knowledge of local conditions suggests an answer nearer the latter estimate than the former. What we can gather elsewhere of Sutri’s life, in general, tells against the presence of huge households, running extensive, agricultural estates. Admittedly, the evidence is sketchy for the Republic. But there is no sign that we have here, in our villa, a suitably large house to accommodate them. We would do better to think on a smaller scale. If one man and his family owned the villa, then his staff—servile or free—need not have numbered more than his family. There are, admittedly, four times as many ‘coarse’ pots as black-glazed. But the disparity is diminished, if we remember that jars and jugs served both groups, and plausibly beakers as well.

We can carry this speculation a paragraph further. We can infer that the owner was resident at his villa. He was not an absentee landlord. If the black-glazed ware was ‘best china’, reserved for an occasionally visiting proprietor, then there is too much of it in the pit: too much of it was in use and broken. (By the same token, this ware was not the ‘best china’ of a single, small family, kept purely for entertaining guests.) Moreover, it is improbable that it is a bailiff, and not a landlord, using such fine pottery. Low though the quality of most of the black-glazed pots is, nevertheless the size of the familia, the working unit at the villa, is not great enough to justify a bailiff sufficiently prosperous to rise even this high in the world. The same low quality of this ware reflects the prosperity of the landlord himself. He could afford the best pottery available, but he was not rich enough to buy high grade specimens of it. He was only moderately affluent—a typical Sutrine.

He was almost certainly a farmer, the natural occupation of country residents near Sutri at this time. The loom-weight shows that there was weaving at his villa and sheep may well have figured among his stock. But the precise pursuits of his fundus remain hidden, since corn, olive-oil and wine would have left no trace in our pit. The amphorae are not valid evidence in this respect.

It is not surprising to find his farm situated where it is. Although a distribution map of black-glazed ware demonstrates that the Ciminiain forest still covered wide areas north and west of Sutri at this epoch, his villa lies in the centre of the zone where settlement had been longest established in these parts. Within 250 m. is the cemetery of an early Iron Age village, the first recorded inhabitants of the region; an Etruscan chamber-tomb can be seen 500 m. away; and Romans came to cultivate the Empire, the evidence on all these points is more abundant and is further aided by epigraphy. cf. PBR, xxvi (1938), pp. 91–121.
the vicinity during the Republic, as the above mentioned distribution map shows (cf. fig. 1). Our pit shows us what level one of these Roman farmers reached.

The economic life of the region is also illuminated. For the black-glazed ware reveals strong ties between Sutri and the Ager Faliscus. This is natural, on reflection. Any hostility of a hundred years or more before, between the Latin colony and the Faliscan people in rebellion, had come to an end. Rivers and communications run easily from Sutri towards the east, whereas the watershed joining the M. Cimini to the M. Sabatini cuts her off from visible contact with the territory to the west. The continued presence of the Silva Ciminia would have further diminished any westward-looking tendencies. Probably the most important factor is the question of transport. A heavy and fragile commodity like pottery travelled slowly and with a high risk of breakages by road. Therefore the shorter the haul, the better. Hence the dependence on the adjacent Ager Faliscus. Hence the virtually total absence of black-glazed ware manifestly imported from a distance, such as Lamboglia’s Campana ‘A’ and ‘C’. (With this goes the likelihood that none of the other wares, either, came from far away.) Hence, finally, the establishment of a viable pottery industry in this inland part of southern Etruria, cut off from the coast, able to develop its own distinct forms—in black-glazed ware, at least—and conservative in retaining those forms, because of its isolation.

The fundamental aim of the excavation, however, was to publish a group of Roman pottery unearthed under controlled conditions. The more we know of such pottery, the better able future archaeologists will be to date their excavations in Italy, when other criteria fail. After all, good coins are not always forthcoming, nor always in the right place! And the value of (e.g.) building-styles for this purpose declines in proportion to the increasing distance from Rome and to the local changes in geology. This explains why stress has been placed on recording the pottery in detail. It explains, too, why an extra section has been added on comparative black-glazed ware, section (V) below.

It was ideal, therefore, to find that the pit contained a complete spectrum of all the wares in use at a Roman villa. They range from the finest to the coarsest; they represent practically all functions requiring pottery; they came to light in considerable numbers. The only pity is the absence of evidence to give them a precise date—that elusive coin! On the other hand, since the group is not only a wide one, but absolutely contemporary in all its members, closer dating of any one of its components will benefit the group as a whole. Therefore, we would welcome the publication of other dated pottery not only to improve the value of this pit, but to increase the usefulness of pottery in general as an invaluable chronological touchstone.

V. COMPARATIVE BLACK-GLAZED WARE—SUTRI, FALERII NOVI AND CAPENA

In 1956–57 hand cultivation broke into a dump of pottery lying below the walls of Falerii Novi, just west of the Porta Romana. It had apparently been tipped

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15 *PBSR*, xxvi (1958), p. 94, map fig. 7a and sites 739788 (Iron Age cemetery) and 732791 (Etruscan tomb).

over the walls from time to time. It consisted primarily of black-glazed ware, but there was also some *terra sigillata* and *terra sigillata chiara* (red polished ware) to show that it continued at least until the early Empire. 194 pieces of black-glazed ware were collected from the surface, most of them fragmentary.17

Miss Taylor examined the sherds and concluded that the deposit was 'less homogeneous than black glaze from Sutri pottery dump. Material from Falerii Novi contains a few pieces from an earlier period (last half of third?) and a few imports, e.g. Campana B (= Cosa Type II). Similar to black glaze from Sutri in several respects—forms, perhaps some fabrics, general color of clay. Simplicity of forms suggests a date in the second century for most of material. Quality of glaze and sharpness of profiles supports the first rather than second half of the century. Cosa black glaze of the middle of the second century is not as good as most of the Falerii Novi material, but at that period Cosa's pottery is at low ebb. Practically every form at Falerii Novi (but consider miscellaneous oddities) was known at Cosa by 150, perhaps by 170. Most of the oddities are earlier than the forms for which I have given parallels, I think' (*i.e.* parallels in appended notes on individual forms, not included here).

The important point is the similarity with Sutri. Almost invariably the clay is identical with the main Sutri fabric—buff, fine, containing mica and fired hard—even if the glaze is generally of a higher quality. The forms, too, parallel most of those at Sutri (Forms 1, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, 12, 14: fig. 15). The production centres of the two deposits must be closely related.

Comparative pieces from the dump at Falerii Novi have been illustrated in fig. 15. All share the uniform type of buff clay. The frequency with which the forms occur is tabulated below. Sherds were collected only if they excited some interest by their profile or decoration. Hence the table is weighted. But the number of plates with horizontal, offset rim is notable and of rimless cups or bowls (Forms 1, 10). Bowls, generally, hold their own in popularity (Forms 5, 6, 7): but those with ribbon-band rim seem not to retain their Sutri dominance (Form 7). The dearth of Forms 8 or 9 is interesting. On the whole the picture presented is not very dissimilar to that of the Sutri pit.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sutri pit Forms</th>
<th>Number at Falerii Novi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>46 + 2?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>28 (13 shallow)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>10 (no handles)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Misc. Closed Forms</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Misc. Bases</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>20 examples of 15 other Forms (incl. 5 lamps)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

17 Now stored in the British School, under reference 'FAL N.51 B'.
A glance at the black-glazed ware found in the vicinity of Sutri itself during fieldwork in 1957-58, elsewhere than in the pit under discussion, reveals a similar predominance of the characteristic buff clay.¹⁸ Of 60 sherds, no fewer than 55 have it. Glazes vary considerably. But no attempt has been made to classify them, partly because so many of the sherds were not only fragmentary, but abraded. This state of affairs also prevents very significant statistics on forms, as few could be recognised. But the bowl with ribbon-band rim still appears (Form 7). The few recognisable or significant pieces are shown in fig. 16.

¹⁸ PBSR, xxvi (1958), pp. 63 ff., figs. 1 and 7.
Fig. 16.—Pottery from the environs of Sutri (scale 1:4)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sutri Pit Forms</th>
<th>Number in Sutri's vicinity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Misc. Closed Forms</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Misc. Bases</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4 (3 other Forms)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Finally, black-glazed ware collected (a) during fieldwork on the site of Capena and (b) during preliminary fieldwork in its environs, during 1962, adds further to the
picture of this ware in S. Etruria. As during fieldwork near Sutri, recognisable shapes were rare. But an initial study has shown that many of the familiar forms still appear. There is more variety, however. Several types of stamps can be seen as decoration, including centrally-placed examples, while simple painted ornament occurs on four pieces. Most important was the finding of a sherd demonstrating the correct interpretation of Form 4, the small plate with heavy rim (fig. 15, B4). Equally interesting, however, is the fact that the characteristic buff clay of Sutri and Falerii Novi is no longer the only well-represented fabric. Among others, a much paler clay challenges it. The buff clay’s virtually exclusive position is lost. But any generalisations about links between Sutri, Falerii Novi and Capena should be treated with considerable caution, until the chronology of the Capena finds has been more securely established.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sutri pit Forms</th>
<th>Number from Capena Town</th>
<th>Number from Capena Area</th>
<th>Sutri pit Forms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1 (fig. 15)</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>11–13</td>
<td>5–7</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>4 (3 miniature)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Misc. Closed Forms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 (5 other Forms)</td>
<td>3 (3 other Forms)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Misc. Bases</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In sum, then, we find a striking relationship between Sutri and Falerii Novi in the fabric and forms of their black-glazed ware. The obvious interpretation is that both were primarily being supplied by the same source—and this may plausibly be in the Ager Faliscus itself. Their corpus of forms is echoed in part by Capena, but there is not the same virtual monopoly by one fabric.

Also noteworthy is a dearth of pre-second century forms near Sutri. This may partly explain the differences vis-à-vis Capena. More important are its implications for the spread of settlement in the countryside around Sutrium. It has already been shown that the Romans were slow to clear the surrounding Ciminian Forest. The paucity of early black-glazed ware suggests that settlement outside the town was either limited before the second century or not particularly prosperous. Perhaps a combination of both possibilities is the most likely answer. Etruria was intermittently at war with Rome until c. 280 B.C. Crises ensured the destruction of Volsinii in 265–4 and of Falerii itself in 241. There was an irruption of Gauls in 225 and Hannibal was loose in Italy during the Second Punic War. Therefore, peaceful conditions conducive to people living in this part of the countryside did not arrive permanently until the start of the second century.

For the results of this fieldwork, see PBSR, xxx

and xxxi.  

PBSR, xxvi (1958), pp. 91–96 and fig. 7.
List of comparative pieces from Falerii Novi and Capena.  Fig. 15.

All come from the Falerii Novi dump, except B4, from the vicinity of Capena—to be precise from grid reference 991652 on the 1:25,000 Carta d’Italia of the Istituto Geografico Militare (map sheet ‘Castelnuovo di Porto’). All, including the Capena plate, share the fine, buff clay of the main Sutri fabric.

B1. Plate with horizontal, offset rim (Form 1). Small plate. Decorative interior groove as on Sutri 1. Fairly dull grey.
B2. Plate with horizontal, offset rim (Form 1). Diameter between limits shown. Very shiny, very dark grey glaze, which tends to peel.
B3. Plate with horizontal, offset rim (Form 1). Glossy dark brown, with medium brown patches on lip.
B4. Small plate with heavy rim (Form 4). Three concentric bands of rouletting in dish, enclosing a ‘thunderbolt’ stamp (one of four?). Shiny black, with small brown patch on upper rim. (From Capena.)
B5. Small plate with heavy rim (Form 4). Shiny dark grey, metallic above and with slight blue sheen below. Glaze split and peeling along join of moulding and wall outside.
B6. Bowl with out-turned rim (Form 5). Fairly flat rim. Poor black to dark grey, with very oily, blue-green sheen.
B8. Bowl with out-turned rim (Form 5). Rounded rim. Very dark, shiny brown inside. Black outside and on lip, with metallic sheen.
B9. Bowl with incurved rim (Form 6). Metallic dark grey with high sheen. No glaze on lower wall outside.
B12. Bowl with ribbon-band rim (Form 7). Thick rim. Mottled brown and grey, shiny outside, moderately so inside.
B14. Bowl with grooved upper wall (Form 9). Shallow; possibly Cosa’s bowl with broad foot. Three grooves on upper wall. Uneven glaze—poor black, brown or olive green. Fairly shiny inside, fairly dull outside.
B15. Rimless Cup or Bowl with handles (Form 10). Apparent traces of a handle attachment at one edge of fr. Moderately glossy black.
B16. Rimless Bowl or Cup with handles (?) (Form 10). No evidence for handles. Shiny dark grey on lip.
B19. Pyxis (Form 14). Moderately glossy black.

List of comparative pieces from the environs of Sutri itself  Fig. 16.
C1. Small Plate with heavy rim (Form 4).
C2. Bowl with incurved rim (Form 6).
C3. Bowl with incurved rim (Form 6). Slightly larger example.
C4. Bowl with ribbon-band rim (Form 7).
C5. Bowl with ribbon-band rim (Form 7). Small example.
C7. Bowl with rim angled inwards (a mistake for Form 6?).
C8. Cup with horizontal loop-handle. Handle only.
C9. Cup with horizontal loop-handle.
C10. Closed Form with painted decoration. Traces of white paint curve across one corner of the fragment.
C11. Small Closed Form.
Miscellaneous Decorated Bases of Open Forms.

C12. Central Rosette stamp.
C13. Parts of two unusual stamps.
C14. Five Palmette stamps, framed within two well-spaced, concentric grooves.
C15. Palmette stamp, plausibly one of four, combined with a pair of grooves at the centre of the design.
C16. Stylised Palmette stamp, possibly one of four, within a wide band of fine rouletting which is framed between pairs of concentric grooves.
C17. Band of Rouletting, framed between pairs of concentric grooves. Less well finished than C16.

G. C. DUNCAN
THE FINANCES OF THE YOUNGER PLINY

Abbreviations.

References are to Pliny's Epistulae unless otherwise indicated.

Allain E. Allain, Pline le jeune et ses héritiers, 1901–1902.

Chilver G. E. F. Chilver, Cisalpinae Gaul, 1941.

CIL Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum.


ILS H. Dessau, Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae, 1892–1916.

JRS Journal of Roman Studies.


PBSR Papers of the British School at Rome.

PIR Prosopographia Imperii Romani.


SCRI R. Duncan-Jones, 'An epigraphic survey of costs in Roman Italy', Papers of the British School at Rome (present volume), pp. 189–306.


The financial affairs of the younger Pliny are of particular interest for the social and economic history of the Roman Empire, because Pliny was one of the largest municipal benefactors in the West (almost the largest known) and because unusually full information has survived about both his gifts and the resources that lay behind them. Almost every corner of Pliny's life as revealed by his Letters and by inscriptions is well-trodden ground, and his generosities are no exception.¹ But the standard treatment of Pliny's gifts (Gentile's article published in 1881) is somewhat out of date and deals fully only with the gifts made to Comum.² The only extensive discussion of Pliny's public and private generosities together with his resources appears in a popular work which is marred by too many uncertainties of method to allow justice to be done to the subject.³ No more than three of the 103 pages of Mommsen's biographical study of Pliny are devoted to his gifts, and the question

¹ For a bibliography of recent work on Pliny, with references to four previous bibliographies, see J. Beaujeu, 'Pline le Jeune 1955–1960', Lustrum vi, 1961, pp. 272–303. I am indebted to Mr. J. A. Crook for valuable criticisms. Responsibility for the views expressed here is mine.


³ E. Allain, Pline le Jeune et ses héritiers, 4 vols., 1901–1902, esp. vol. i, pp. 56–118.
of his resources is not considered. Since a number of points remain controversial, there are grounds for attempting a fresh analysis of Pliny's financial affairs as a whole.

No contemporary evaluation of the size of Pliny's fortune survives, and it is difficult to decide quite where to place him in the senatorial scale of wealth on the basis of the scattered and disconnected facts about his possessions that emerge from the Letters. They certainly offer no grounds whatever for ranking Pliny among the proverbially rich senators of the early Empire, men such as Cn. Cornelius Lentulus, L. Tarius Rufus, C. Passienus Crispus and L. Annaeus Seneca, all of whom counted their wealth in hundreds of millions. It is unlikely that Pliny could vie with M. Aquilius Regulus, a senator and advocate of his own day who claimed to have HS60 million or more. And some of the Italian senators who also owned land in the provinces would no doubt have been richer men than Pliny, whose only landholdings lay within the Italian peninsula. Nevertheless Pliny was not a 'poor' senator. It is impossible to regard in this light a man who showed outstanding openhandedness during his lifetime and left phenomenally large public bequests. Pliny's own avowal (made when writing off a bad debt) that his means were modest meant almost nothing in absolute terms in a man born to substantial wealth, as he was. Though the extent of Pliny's public munificence was quite exceptional by all the standards of his time, his gifts do not seem to have been made at the cost of any attenuation of the spacious existence expected of a senator. He owned and maintained at least half a dozen houses, situated in four different parts of Italy. Good taste, rather than any need to economise, seems to have governed Pliny's fondness for simple dinner parties (I, 15; IX, 17). A close consideration of the Letters suggests that Pliny may have possessed at least double the HS8 million that contemporary sources sometimes indicate as a reasonable basic capital for a senator.

The main basis of Pliny's wealth, like that of most respectable Romans, was landed estates. To quote his well-known remark, 'Sum quidem prope totus in praediosis ...' (III, 19, 8). Pliny, as we should expect, owned large estates in the region of his native town, Comum: one of the Letters shows that he had a number

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4 Th. Mommsen, *Hermes* iii, 1869, pp. 31-139. A slightly revised version appeared in French as 'Etude sur Pline le Jeune', *Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études, sci. hist. et phil.,* fasc. 15, 1878, and in German (with additions, partly by other hands) in Th. Mommsen, *Gesammelte Schriften* IV, 1906, pp. 366-468. The references in the present article are to the version of 1906.

5 PIR² C 1379; Pliny, *NH* XVIII, 37 (PIR² T 14 & SCR{I} no. 1194); PIR² P 109; Cassius Dio LX, 10, 3 (PIR² A 617).

6 Th. Mommsen, Gesammelte Schriften IV, 1906, pp. 366-468. The references in the present article are to the version of 1906.

7 PIR² C 1379; Pliny, *NH* XVIII, 37 (PIR² T 14 & SCR{I} no. 1194); PIR² P 109; Cassius Dio LX, 10, 3 (PIR² A 617).

8 Sunt quidem omnino nobis modicae facultates', II, 4, 3. Pliny's father was rich enough to donate a temple to Comum during his lifetime (Pais no. 745; for the identification, see n. 45 below). Both his father and his mother bequeathed to Pliny estates by Lake Como (VII, 11, 5), and Pliny was the adopted heir of Pliny the Naturalist (V, 8, 5).

9 Sunt quidem omnino nobis modicae facultates', II, 4, 3. Pliny's father was rich enough to donate a temple to Comum during his lifetime (Pais no. 745; for the identification, see n. 45 below). Both his father and his mother bequeathed to Pliny estates by Lake Como (VII, 11, 5), and Pliny was the adopted heir of Pliny the Naturalist (V, 8, 5).

10 Pliny refers to his own position as a 'dignitas sumptuosa' (II, 4, 3).

11 For HS8 million as a senatorial fortune, Tacitus, *Ann.* XIII, 34, Suetonius, *Vesp.* 17 (briefly discussed in *PBSR* xxxi, 1963, p. 164; cf. also Cassius Dio LX, 29, 2 & Pliny, *NH* XXIX, 8). But resources of half this amount could apparently be countenanced in an aspirant to the Senate under Trajan (X, 4, 2). Carcopino states that Pliny was worth HS20 million or less (a figure apparently accepted by Radice, p. 311), but offers no substantiation (*Daily life in ancient Rome*, 1962 ed., pp. 81, 83).
of *praedia* near Lake Como besides those inherited from his father and mother; when he inherited another property in this neighbourhood, he chose to sell it to a friend at a preferential price. Though it has been argued more than once that Pliny owned other estates in the north of Italy besides the bloc round Lake Como, there is no sound evidence that this was so. His other main property lay much further south, near Tifernum Tiberinum in Umbria (though Pliny usually refers to the estate as ‘Tusci’ or ‘mei Tusci’). His property in this district was bringing in more than HS400,000 per year in A.D. 98. A further estate which we subsequently see Pliny on the verge of buying was probably also at Tifernum Tiberinum, though modern opinion has usually placed it at Comum. The property had depreciated through neglect from HS5 to HS3 million, at which price Pliny thought it an attractive proposition (III, 19, 7). It is described as lying next to lands which Pliny owned already in a letter to Calvisius Rufus, a native and decurion of Comum. Since Pliny found it necessary to inform Rufus that no one used chained labour in the district to which the property belonged, the holding is unlikely to have lain in the region of Comum; furthermore, Pliny speaks of being able to practise economy by keeping up only one house in the district concerned, though there were at least three houses on his Comum estates (III, 19, 2 & 7; IX, 7, 2). The new property must therefore have adjoined the estate at Tifernum Tiberinum, where there was a single house (V, 6, 3); for this was Pliny's only other substantial landholding (IV, 6, 1).

It is not clear that Pliny's estates near Tifernum Tiberinum were originally larger than those which he owned to the north of the Po. Though the Letters seem to imply that Pliny visited Tifernum more frequently than Comum, this would be natural simply on grounds of convenience in a senator zealous in fulfilling his duties at Rome, since Comum lay three times as far from the capital as Tifernum. Though unavoidably absent from them for most of the time, Pliny took an active part in running his estates in both districts when he had the opportunity.

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18 VII, 11, 5-6; for Pliny's estates inherited from his mother, see also II, 15, 2.
19 The distinction drawn by Sirago between Pliny's *praedia circa Larius* and his *praedia trans Padum* seems to be spurious (Sirago, pp. 27-28). Even if, as he argues, Lake Como (*Larius lacus*) did not belong to Transpadana under the Augustan system of *regiones*, it is sufficiently clear that Pliny uses a colloquial laxity in referring to his estates (*mei Tusci* probably lay mainly in Umbria, cf. Radice, p. 33) for his mentions of Transpadana to carry no topographical weight by themselves. Sirago is obliged to admit one instance where Pliny's use of *trans Padum* is clearly generic, not precise (VI, 1, 1, to which should be added IV, 6, 1); and his case appears to rest merely on the proximity of lands which Pliny owned to lands owned by the Milanese L. Verginius Rufus (a point already made by Chilver, p. 150; II, 1, 8; cf. Syme, p. 86 for Rufus' origin). This has no sure topographical significance, as Rufus himself quite possibly owned estates by LakeComo; he certainly owned one property outside Mediolanium (at Alsiuim, VI, 10, 1), and it was common for the rich to own property in several districts. To take three obvious examples, the younger Pliny held property at Tifernum Tiberinum, Vicus Laurentium and Rome as well as by Lake Como (IV, 1, 4-5; II, 17; III, 21, 5; VII, 11, 5); his mother-in-law Pompsea Celerina held property at Oericulum, Narnia, Carsulae, Perusia and Alsiuim (I, 4, 1; VI, 10, 1); and his wife's grandfather, L. Calpurnius Fabatus, lived at Comum and held other property at Ameria and in Campania (V, 11, *ILS* 2721; VIII, 20, 3; VI, 30, 2-4).
20 IV, 1, 3-5; 6, 1, etc. For epigraphic record of Pliny's estate at Tifernum, cf. *GIL* XI 6689171 and Mommsen, p. 442 fin.
21 X, 8, 5 (*SCR* no. 1185) dated to 98 by Otto, pp. 82-85 & Syme, p. 658.
22 Allain 1, p. 70, n. 1; Chilver, pp. 150-151; Radice, p. 105, n. 1.
23 *PJI* C 349; V, 7, 4; III, 19. Calvisius Rufus was not merely a useful local contact at Comum, but a close friend and adviser of Pliny's (III, 19, 1 and 9; I, 12, 12; IV, 4, 1; V, 7).
24 *Tifernum*: IX, 13; 16; 20; X, 8, 5; VIII, 2 (because addressed to Calvisius Rufus, who lived at Comum). *Comum*: II, 15, 2 (cf. VII, 11, 5); V, 14, 8. Cf. VII, 30, 3 and IX, 37, which may refer to either district.
capital value of the Tifernum estate was approximately HS7 million before the new purchase (the income of over HS400,000 probably representing a 6% return). If we assume a comparable figure for his Transpadane lands, and add the further property (probably) purchased at Tifernum for HS3 million, a rough estimate of HS17 million for the capital value of Pliny’s landholdings is reached.

Pliny’s immediate cash resources amounted to considerably less than his holdings in land, at least at the time of his intended purchase of a further landed property: to continue the sentence already quoted, ‘aliquid tamen foenero’ (III, 19, 8). At that juncture Pliny also expected to be able to draw, if necessary, on the funds of his mother-in-law. But taking the facts provided by his Letters as a whole, the giving of more than HS1,600,000 to public bodies and more than HS740,000 to private individuals during his lifetime alone, suggests that Pliny enjoyed quite a high level of liquidity (these figures are discussed below). Although there is too little evidence to allow a firm quantitative assessment of the cash resources which Pliny had available at any one moment, it is interesting to notice that despite the catalogue of adverse reports from his estates, Pliny had enough funds nevertheless to allow the investment of a part of them outside the land-market, in loans at interest. The income of his estates, using the estimated valuation of HS17 million arrived at above, would have been about HS1 million per year, at 6%. To judge from the secondary reliance placed on his funds out at interest, their income might have been one-fifth as much, or HS200,000 per year. But even a provisional income of HS1,200,000 per year perhaps appears a little low to have been the basis for spontaneous lifetime gifts totalling well over HS2 million.

It is important to remember here that substantial sums were also frequently reaching Pliny from inheritances and legacies: in the course of the Letters, he mentions bequests whose total value was HS1,450,000, while three further inheritances are referred to without mention of their amount (see below). The abundance of inheritances and legacies left by friends and (perhaps also) distant relations may itself have been partly a reflection of the childlessness which was an endemic problem of the Roman upper classes. On his own submission, Pliny was also regularly the recipient of legacies as a literary celebrity, being mentioned in wills side by side with the historian Cornelius Tacitus; the will of Dasumius made in A.D. 108 (though fragmentary) appears to bear out Pliny’s statement. Even if the legacies that Pliny received from virtual strangers as a successful littérateur were not very large, other bequests that came his way certainly were so. This adventitious but far from

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19 X, 8, 5; cf. SCRi no. 1184 and note.
20 The only grounds attached to Pliny’s Laurentine villa were a garden and beach (IV, 6), though the house itself was probably grand enough to fetch a substantial sale price (cf. II, 17; Cicero’s houses at Tusculum and Formiae were worth more than HS500,000 and HS250,000 respectively, ad Att. IV, 2, 5).
21 At the time of writing III, 19, Pliny evidently thought that he might have less than HS3 million in hand.
22 II, 4, 3; 15, 2; 1V, 6, 1; V, 14, 8; VII, 30, 3; VIII, 2; IX, 13; 16; 20, 2; 28, 2; 37; X, 8, 5.
24 VII, 20, 6; cf. II, 18, 2; IX, 11; 23; Martial X, 19. FIRA III, no. 48. The author of this will, first identified as a [Dasumius] by Borghesi (Deuerer, VI, p. 429), has been further defined as ‘L. Dasumius Tuscus?’ (Mommsen ad CIL VI 10229), ‘P. Dasumius Tuscus’ (Arango-Ruiz, FIRA III, p. 133), ‘L. Dasumius [Hadrianus?]’ (A. Degrassi, I fasti consolari dell’impero romano, 1952, p. 28; cf. Groag PIR 11, p. xi, no. 14), and as ‘the consular L. Dasumius’ (Syme, p. 609).
negligible source of income has undoubtedly to be considered when seeking an
explanation of Pliny’s very substantial generosities both during his lifetime and
in his will.

Pliny also owned a number of houses. The most important in terms of financial
value was possibly his house in Rome on the Esquiline Hill. The house that
Pliny visited most often for purposes of relaxation in the winter was his Laurentine
villa near Ostia, which lay seventeen miles from Rome (IX, 40; II, 17, 2 & 24).
Pliny’s long and detailed account of its amenities shows that it was a place of some
size and splendour.

A sentence in another letter refers ambiguously to three other towns in the
neighbourhood of Rome. ‘Habes causas cur ego Tuscos meos Tusculanis Tiburtinis
Prænestinisque praeponam’ (V, 6, 45). Some historians have regarded this as clear
evidence that Pliny owned villas at all four of the localities named, especially
since the penultimate phrase is given by one of the manuscript sources as ‘Per-
nestinisque meis’. But three arguments can be brought against the inference.
First, the manuscript authority for ‘meis’ is inadequate and the reading is not
accepted in any of the standard editions of the Letters. Secondly, although the
tone of the Letters might at first seem to deny it, Pliny in fact shows a quiet ostenta-
tion in revealing his own possessions. His connexion with Comum is referred to in
14 different letters; the estates near Tifernum are mentioned 9 times; and the
Laurentine villa recurs 7 times. If Pliny in fact owned villas at Tibur, Praeneste
and Tusculum, it would be very surprising that he should mention them only once,
and then disparagingly. Thirdly, in another letter expressing alarm at adverse
news from both of his estates, Pliny says that he has only Laurentum to fall back on
as a support. The three other villas near Rome should have been mentioned here
if anywhere, had they existed (IV, 6, 1). The remark quoted above can be con-
strued without difficulty as a simple comparison between Pliny’s own summer
resort in Umbria and the more conventional resorts near Rome. The reference
in another letter to Pliny’s staying a few days at Tusculum (IV, 13, 1) is probably
to be explained merely by a visit to a friend or connexion there. Pliny not in-
frequently stayed in houses belonging to others. Alternatively, as Mommsen
suggested, the ‘Tusculano’ given here could be merely a corruption of ‘Tuscano’,
implying another reference to the estate at Tifernum.

But Pliny certainly owned other houses besides those at Rome and Laurentum.
He possessed at least three villas on the shores of Lake Como, where a number of
his estates were situated; these, like most of his houses, Pliny either built or

26 III, 21, 5; Martial X, 19. For the enormously high cost of land in the city of Rome, cf. Pliny NH
XXXVI, 103.
27 II, 17; cf. Pember’s reconstruction of the layout of the villa reproduced in Radice, p. 305, and
28 That Pliny owned these further three villas is accepted by Gentile, p. 470, n. 1, Syme, p. 84, n. 5
and Sirago, pp. 32–34; the notion is rejected by Radice, p. 144, n. 1.
30 I, 3, 1; 8, 2; II, 8, 1; III, 6, 4; IV, 6, 1; 13, 3;
31 VII, 11, 5; IX, 7, 1.
32 III, 4, 2; IV, 1, 9; 6, 1; V, 6; 18, 2; IX, 15;
33 I, 9, 4; 22, 11; II, 17; IV, 6; V, 2; VII, 4, 3;
34 IX, 40.
35 With Pompeia Celerina, his mother-in-law, I, 4 & VI, 10; with Vestricus Spurinna, III, 1; with
Iunius Mauritius at Formiae, VI, 14; at the house of Pontius Allianus in Campania, VI, 28; frequent
stays with Caestrius Tiro, VII, 16, 2; with Terentius Junior, VII, 25, 3. Cf. V, 14, 8 & IV, 1, 1; a
visit to Calpurnius Fabianus, the grandfather of
Pliny’s wife.
36 Mynors, p. 113.
embellished in some way (IX, 7; II, 17, 20; V, 6, 41). It has been claimed that a number of letters plainly show the existence of a town house in Comum also, but the evidence does not support this inference at all clearly.  

On one of his visits to Comum, Pliny appears to have stayed with his wife's grandfather, L. Calpurnius Fabatus, who lived there (V, 14, 8; cf. IV, 1, 1). There was a villa on Pliny's estate at Tifernum Tiberinum which he often visited; from his account, it appears to have been quite large, if less elaborate than the Laurentum house (V, 6). Pliny used the Tifernum villa as a place of summer relaxation (IX, 36; 40). The purchase of a second estate at Tifernum (see above) carried with it the acquisition of a second house in that neighbourhood, assuming that the transaction proposed in III, 19, was carried out.

Thus in sum Pliny owned a town-house in Rome, a suburban seaside villa seventeen miles from Rome at Vicus Laurentium, one or two villas on his estates near Tifernum Tiberinum, and at least three villas on Lake Como, making a total of at least six or seven houses in all.

Besides having landed estates, house property and liquid cash, Pliny, like all monied men of his time, owned slaves. To quote Buckland, '[in the Roman world] the various services involved in the maintenance of an establishment in town or country were all rendered by troops of slaves'. In one letter we see Pliny buying slaves on the advice of Plinius Paternus (I, 21, 2). In another letter to Paternus, he set out the principles on which he ran his household: Pliny was very ready to manumit and to allow slaves to make wills that were binding within the household (VIII, 16). But the slaves referred to here were evidently all domestic employees of one sort or another. Pliny owned agricultural slaves as well, though none of them were chained; one of the necessities which he foresaw when he contemplated the purchase of a new property was the equipping of the tenants with new rustic slaves (maneipia) (III, 19, 7). Granted that Pliny owned agricultural slaves, there would be nothing surprising for a man of his means in owning slaves by the hundred. 

Half a century later, Aemilia Pudentilla, the wife of Apuleius, a woman of equestrian family whose resources of HS4 million could hardly have been a quarter of those of Pliny, owned more than 400 slaves, most of whom worked on her Tripolitanian estates. Even if slave-owning was markedly less prevalent in Italy than in Africa, Pliny's slave-holding would probably have been considerably more than 400, if not several times as big, on this analogy.

Sirago claims that IV, 13, 3; 30; V, 14; and VI, 1 decisively show that Pliny had a house in the town of Comum, but the letters cited do not support his inference (Sirago, p. 28). Pliny was apparently not educated in Comum (cf. II, 13, 5 & X, 4, 1), and he remained ignorant of the public educational arrangements at his native town until quite late in life (IV, 13, 3). It has to be remembered that to be a native of a particular town was almost universal in the Roman world, and did not denote urban origin in itself (cf. my remarks in JRS lxxiii, 1963, pp. 85–86).


Apuleius, Apol. 77 and 93; cf. my remarks in PBSR xxxi, 1963, pp. 161 & n. 12, 164 & n. 28.

The picture of slave numbers under the Roman Empire given by Westermann is unrealistically low, and omits much of the most suggestive evidence for large slave-holdings, including the 4,116 slaves bequeathed by the freedman Caecilius Isidorus in 8 b.c. (Pliny, NH XXXIII, 135), Pudentilla's 400 slaves (n. 36 above) and the 16 vicarii attendant on a slave dispenser who died at Rome (JLS 1514) (W. L. Westermann, The Slave Systems of Greek and Roman Antiquity, 1955, pp. 84–90). It is interesting to notice that some of the landowners who declared property at Ligures Baebiani and Veleia under Trajan employed slave bailiffs to run their estates (CIL IX 1455, i, 65; ii, 4; 71; 74; XI 1147, oblig. 16; 19; 29; 31 [bis]), though at Veleia it was more common to employ freedmen for this purpose (XI 1147, oblig. 1; 9; 15; 30; 35; 38; 41).
manumitting during his lifetime, it is likely that he used to the full what opportunities the law allowed for manumitting slaves by testament (VIII, 16, 1; VII, 32, 1). These considerations suggest that the provision for 100 freedmen found in Pliny’s main inscription should be regarded as indicating the manumission of this number by will, a facility which the law allowed only to those whose holdings of slaves ran to 500 heads or more.\textsuperscript{38} It could be objected that Pliny might nevertheless have freed most of his slaves before his death. But since this would probably have disposed of a very large part of the labour-force available for working his estates, it is very unlikely that Pliny would have felt free to impoverish his heirs by any action so drastic.\textsuperscript{39} Liberti who had already received their freedom before Pliny’s death would probably have been provided for by separate viritim bequests.\textsuperscript{40}

As has been mentioned, Pliny’s resources were augmented during his lifetime by a number of inheritances and legacies, even if his own will was to deplete them by a corresponding or even greater amount. The biggest of the inheritances that he mentions is described so casually that confusion has arisen over its size (V, 7). Pliny explains that a certain Saturninus had made him his heir, having first also made the city of Comum joint heir to one quarter of the estate; Saturninus had then substituted for the city’s fourth part a preliminary legacy of HS400,000 to be paid to the city out of the estate. Since neither procedure was legally admissible at that date, this part of the will was evidently void. Pliny proposed however to carry out Saturninus’ intention by donating to the city HS400,000 from the estate, the whole of which had fallen to him through the inadvertence of the testator. Then follows the sentence which has been variously interpreted: ‘An cui [sc. communi patriae] de meo sestertium sedecies contuli, huic quadringentorum millium paulo amplius tertiam partem ex adventicio denegem?’ (V, 7, 3). Most editors until the late nineteenth century construed ‘tertiam partem’ as applying to ‘sede- cies’, which they consequently emended to ‘undecies’ or ‘decies’ in order to improve the arithmetic. Because this is not the only possible construction of the sentence, and because the better manuscripts give ‘sedeccies’, this emendation must be rejected, as Mommsen made clear.\textsuperscript{41}

Mommsen’s own interpretation of the passage, though logical, is based on what is almost certainly a false premiss: that Calvisius Rufus, the decurion of Comum to whom the letter was addressed, was Pliny’s co-heir to the estate of Saturninus. Mommsen consequently read ‘paulo amplius tertiam partem’ as indicating the proportion of the estate which Pliny was to inherit.\textsuperscript{42} This makes the passage very awkward: if these were the circumstances, it would have been much more natural to indicate directly the extent of Pliny’s liability towards the city than to say that he would have to part with slightly more than one-third of HS400,000, leaving it to be inferred that this was the proportion of the estate which he stood to

\textsuperscript{38} ILS 2927, 11. 11–12. W. W. Buckland, Textbook of Roman Law\textsuperscript{3} 1963, p. 78 and n. 2. This conclusion has already been briefly argued by Carcopino, Daily life in ancient Rome, 1962, ed., p. 83.

\textsuperscript{39} Cf. also Apuleius, Apol. 17.

\textsuperscript{40} Cf. the contemporary will of Dasumius, FIRA III, no. 48, 11.36 ff.; Syme, p. 603.

\textsuperscript{41} Mommsen, p. 434, n. 6.

\textsuperscript{42} Ibid. Mommsen’s position (accepted by Gentile, pp. 468–469) is set out in more detail in Zeitschrift für Rechtsgeschichte, vii, 1868, pp. 314–318, though he is primarily concerned there with the juridical point at issue, not with the details of Pliny’s affairs.
inherit. Mommsen took Calvisius Rufus' share to have been the complement to Pliny's, that is, slightly under two-thirds.

But the evidence is against regarding Rufus as an heir at all. 'Saturninus autem, qui nos reliquit heredes' at the opening of the letter, can quite well be translated (with Mrs Radice) as 'but Saturninus, who made me his heir', since Pliny often uses the plural when speaking of himself in the Letters. That Pliny should have thought it necessary to justify his procedure to Rufus in the sentence beginning 'Scio te quoque a judicio meo non abhorrere' is explained simply enough when we see that Pliny then goes on to ask Rufus to do him the favour of raising Pliny's proposed payment to the city with the town-council at Comum (V, 7, 4). If, as Mommsen's interpretation would entail, Pliny had been asking Rufus to accede to arrangements which would deprive him of more than HS200,000, Pliny's oblique method of asking and his assumption of Rufus' automatic acquiescence would have been cavalier and quite out of character (especially since on this interpretation, Rufus would have stood to lose more than Pliny himself). Furthermore, if Rufus had been a fellow-heir of Saturninus, this rehearsal of elementary details would have been superfluous: Rufus would already have been as conversant with them as Pliny was.

A better interpretation of 'tertiam partem' is given by Mrs Radice: 'I have given HS1,600,000 to the town out of my own money, so surely I ought not to grudge it this 400,000, little more than a third of my unexpected inheritance' (presumably emending 'quadrangentorum' to 'quadringenta'). The total amount of the estate would thus have been about HS1,100,000, since HS400,000 formed slightly more than one-third of the whole; after Pliny had paid HS400,000 to the city, the amount that remained to him would have been HS700,000 or so.

HS700,000 was also the effective value of an inheritance which Pliny received in the form of lands adjoining Lake Como, perhaps at a slightly later date. This constituted five-twelfths of the estate of a testator who is not named. The lands could probably have fetched as much as HS900,000 if put up for sale on the open market, since this was the valuation on which the publicani assessed the 5% death duty. But Pliny chose to sell the property at once at the price of HS700,000 to Corelia, wife of Minicius Justus, to whom he wished to do a favour. However he left Corelia to pay the duty of HS45,000 (VII, 11; 14). Pliny was also part-heir to Acilianus and to Sabina, though the size of the inheritances is not mentioned (II, 16; IV, 10. Cf. III, 6, 1). He also received legacies of HS50,000 and of an unstated amount, from Iulius Largus and Asudius Curianus (X, 75; V, 1, 1; VII, 20, 6). Pliny's total increments from inheritances and bequests within the period of fifteen years or so covered by the Letters must thus have amounted to well over HS1,450,000.

We now turn to Pliny's generositities. His public gifts are to be seen in the immediate context of the 'munificentia parentum nostrorum' which Pliny mentioned in his speech at the opening of the Comum library (I, 8, 5). Pliny's father has been convincingly identified as the L. Caecilius Secundus who built a temple to Aeter-nitas Romae et Augusti at Comum, which was dedicated by his son [... Caecil]ius

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43 Radice, p. 144.  
44 Radice, p. 145; SCRI, nos. 1341a, 1343a.
Secundus. In view of the plural which Pliny uses, his mother or one of his grandparents probably also made a public gift to Comum, though no epigraphic corroboration has so far appeared. Pliny also suggests that his public munificence owed much of its impetus to the direct encouragement given to such activities by the Emperor Nerva (X, 8, 1).

Under Nerva Pliny promised to build a temple to house the imperial statues in his possession at the town of Tifernum Tiberinum. Now that Mommsen's rigid dating of the ten books of Letters is no longer fully acceptable, this is the earliest of Pliny's public gifts which can be securely dated. But it seems likely that his first generosities towards Comum would have preceded, or at least have been no later than, his gift to Tifernum, since his ties with his native town were closer than those with Tifernum Tiberinum. In a letter to Calpurnius Fabatus, Pliny felt it necessary to justify and explain his one generosity to Tifernum (IV, 1, 4–5), whereas his many gifts to Comum expressed the closer ties of a native (cf. V, 11 & 7; III, 6, 4). Thus it is very likely that the inception of the library, Pliny's first known gift to Comum, also took place in the reign of Nerva, who gave strong encouragement to public munificence (I, 8, 2; X, 8, 1). The library would almost certainly have taken several years to build, though no exact conjecture can now be made about the year in which its dedication took place. Pliny's promise to provide alimenta at Comum was evidently concurrent with the dedication of the library. Since Pliny dedicated the library in person, and made a speech before the ordo at Comum describing the benefits which his alimenta would confer, the occasion cannot easily have been earlier than A.D. 101, as Pliny was probably detained in Rome throughout the years 98–100 by the prefectship of the aerarium Saturni, directly followed by the consulship. His congé in September 98 took him no further north than Tifernum Tiberinum.

Three donations to Comum formed the largest of the gifts made during Pliny's lifetime. The alimentary fund was worth HS500,000, the fund for the maintenance of the library HS100,000, and the library itself HS1,000,000, if Mommsen's subtraction of the first two figures from the total of HS1,600,000 for Pliny's lifetime gifts to Comum given in V, 7, 3 is justified. The fund for alimenta was one-quarter larger than the only previous alimentary gift whose size is known, that bequeathed to Atina Latii by T. Helvius Basila at least one generation earlier. Pliny's alimenta also outdid in size those provided by the government at Ligures Baebiani in A.D.

45 Pais no. 745, examined by Otto, pp. 5–16; the identification is also accepted by Chilver, p. 106 and Syme, p. 60 and n. 4. Radice retains the earlier and less satisfactory identification of Pliny's father as the L. Caecilius Cilo mentioned in CIL V 5279 (Radice, p. 12 and Mommsen, pp. 394–395).
46 X, 8, 1–4; Mommsen, p. 370, n. 1.
48 For buildings that took between one and two years to complete, cf. CSRA nos. 30 & 31; SCRi no. 470. If the figure of HS1 million conjectured for the library's cost is correct, the building must have been one of considerable size; cf. CSRA nos. 1–28.
49 I, 8, 2 & 10; VII, 18, 2. Since it now appears very unlikely that the first Book of the Letters was published as early as A.D. 97 (n. 47 above), the fact that Pliny mentions his alimenta in this book offers no ground for assigning their inception to that year (as argued by Gentile, p. 460).
51 X, 8, 5, cf. III, 4, 2; for the date, Otto, pp. 82–85.
52 VII, 18, 2–4 (where Pliny makes clear that he actually laid out more than HS500,000 on his alimenta); ILS 2927, 1.14; Mommsen, p. 434 and n. 6; V, 7, 3. (SCri nos. 644, 661 & 441).
53 CIL X 5056 = ILS 977 = SCRi no. 650. For the date of this gift, see M. Hammond, Mem. Amer. Acad. in Rome, xxi, 1953, pp. 147–151.
101, though the government fund for *alimenta* at Velleia eventually reached a size double that of Pliny’s gift to Comum, probably rather later in Trajan’s reign.\(^{55}\) But when Pliny promised his *alimenta*, early under Trajan,\(^{56}\) the notion of widespread subsistence allowances was still in its infancy.\(^{57}\) Later in the second century, private gifts of *alimenta* tended to grow in size, though none of the subsequent private donors of *alimenta* are known to have been as generous in other directions as Pliny was.\(^{58}\)

Pliny’s public gifts made during his lifetime also included the temple at Tifernum Tiberinum promised under Nerva, which he gave nominally in return for the patronate which the town had voted him at an early age.\(^{59}\) The temple is mentioned in three letters, but Pliny does not say what it cost.\(^{60}\) He celebrated its dedication by giving a public feast at Tifernum at his own expense (IV, 1, 6). On religious advice Pliny restored another temple which lay on one of his estates, for the benefit of the country people round about who gathered there every September. The indication that this temple was tetrastyle shows that it was relatively small.

Pliny’s lifetime public donations also included two minor gifts to Comum: a Corinthian bronze statue intended for the temple of Jupiter; and one-third of a teacher’s salary, which Pliny offered to pay provided that the parents of Comum would find the other two-thirds (IX, 39; III, 6; IV, 13, 5–6).

Pliny’s lifetime gifts also benefited a number of private individuals. He gave the large sum of HS300,000 to his contemporary Romatius Firmus of Comum, to enable him to achieve the equestrian census; Pliny evidently also obtained for Firmus membership of the jury-courts at Rome (I, 19, 2; IV, 29). A farm worth HS100,000 went to Pliny’s nurse as a support for her old age (VI, 3, 1). Pliny mentions the amount of two presents of dowries made to daughters of his friends: HS100,000 for Calvina, and HS50,000 for the fiancée of Nonius Celer (II, 4, 2; VI, 32, 2). In selling an estate to Corellia, the sister of Corellius Rufus, for HS700,000 when its market price was HS900,000, Pliny conceded the sum of HS155,000 (Corellia paid the duty of 5% levied on the market price, VII, 11; 14). The ill-fated Metilius Crispus of Comum was given HS40,000 to pay the expenses involved in taking up the centurionate that Pliny had obtained for him (VI, 25, 3). Pliny also gave travelling expenses to the poet Martial when he retired from Rome (III, 21, 2).

At Pliny’s death the town of Comum benefited from his generosity once again. Pliny must also have made numbers of legacies to friends and relations other than his heirs, following the common custom of the Roman upper classes.\(^{61}\) The law regulating this practice, the Lex Falcidia, only obliged testators to bequeath a

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55 HS1,044,000 was the final value of the Velleian alimentary fund, reached not later than A.D. 113; *CIL* XI 1147, cf. *ILS* 6675 = *SCRi* no. 639a.
56 Cf. above and n. 48.
57 For the government *alimenta* in Italy, see my article in *PBSR*, xxxii, 1964, pp. 123–146. It is still uncertain whether Nerva or Trajan was their founder, but the balance of evidence inclines towards Trajan (*op. cit.*, pp. 123 & 144).
58 See *CSRA* no. 248; *SCRi* nos. 637, 641, 642; *CIL* II 1174 (cf. my discussion in *Historia* xiii, 1964, p. 207).
59 X, 8, 2–4; IV, 1, 4–5; Mommsen, p. 370, n. 1.
60 III, 4, 2 & n. 59 above. The overall figure for Pliny’s lifetime public gifts given in V, 7, 3 refers only to his gifts to Comum (cf. V, 7, 2).
61 Cf. II, 20; V, 1, 1; VII, 20, 6; Cicero, *Phil.* II, 16, 40; *FIRA* III, no. 48.
minimum of one-quarter of their total estate to their legal heirs. But it is very unlikely in fact that Pliny would have left his heirs so low a proportion of his wealth as this; they probably received his estates largely intact, though legacies to Comum and to his friends must have made heavy inroads on Pliny’s cash resources. It would perhaps have seemed out of character for a government financial expert to dissipate the bulk of his wealth in diverse bequests, whatever final show of widely diffused generosity he might choose to make. Though Pliny probably died childless, the value of his final gifts to Comum was a relatively small fraction of what his total resources appear to have been.

Comum received bequests of very impressive size, nonetheless. The biggest of those whose value we know was admittedly intended in the first place to provide for members of Pliny’s own familia: the sum of HS1,866,666 was to provide income for the maintenance of 100 of Pliny’s freedmen until their death, only then being transferred to the provision of an epulum for the plebs urbana of Comum. Whether this gift was vested in land, like the alimentary foundation that Pliny gave to Comum during his lifetime, is not known. Though we cannot reconstruct the exact provisions of the foundation, the irregular amount of the capital seems to conceal the regular income of HS70 per man per month. The income per head is four times that of the highest rate allowed to children under the government alimenta; but adult subsistence was reckoned to cost more than that of children, and Pliny was almost certainly allowing also for the support of the dependants that many of his freedmen would have had. It should be noticed that a jurist of Pliny’s time defined alimenta left by will as meaning the provision of clothing and housing as well as food. The almost unparalleled irregularity of the sum bequeathed for the support of his freedmen illustrates the readiness in finding his own solutions to technical questions of finance which is also seen in the letters that describe Pliny’s device for ensuring the safety of his alimentary fund, and the graduated rebates which he granted in a bad year to the wine-dealers who bought the harvest from his estates.

Pliny also bequeathed to Comum HS300,000 for the decoration of public baths, and a fund of HS200,000 for the tutela of the baths (meaning payment for their upkeep and perhaps also their running costs). The figure for the cost of the baths (which appear to have been promised while Pliny was alive, since the fund for decoration was an addition to the original sum) is lost. Their basic cost is unlikely to have been higher than the figure well in excess of HS500,000 suggested

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63 Cf. Syme, p. 84 (also n. 70 below).
64 Pliny was still childless in the last of his letters that mention the subject of offspring (VIII, 10; 11; cf. IV, 13, 5).
65 *ILS* 2927, 11.11–12 = *SCR* no. 638. Pliny’s literary friend Caninius Rufus had also given money for an annual feast to Comum (VII, 18, 1). Regarded as a provision for feasts, Pliny’s foundation was one of enormous size, the biggest of the eight foundations for popular feasts of which record has survived from Italy (*SCR* nos. 1079j, 1080–1083 & 1085–1087).
66 See note to *SCR* no. 638.
67 *Puerae legitimae* received HS16 per month under the government alimenta (*CIL* XI 1147).
68 *Digest* XXXIV, 1, 6, an excerpt from Iuvolemus Priscus, one of Pliny’s more senior contemporaries (Ep. VI, 15, 2–3, cf. Syme, pp. 52 & 91).
70 VII, 18; VIII, 2. Cf. IX, 37, 3; n. 63 above.
71 *ILS* 2927, 11.10–11 = *SCR* nos. 469a & 655, cf. nos. 1307–1309. Gentile argues that Pliny’s gift provided no more than the enlargement of existing baths; but there is no evidence for his assumption. Even if, as is very likely, Comum already possessed public baths at the time of Pliny’s death, it was not at all unusual for Roman towns to be equipped with several sets of public baths (cf. *SCR* no. 468, for example; Gentile, p. 467 & n. 2).
by Frank, and may have been lower than this. Pliny almost certainly also bequeathed a building to the town of Hispellum.

When his lifetime gifts to Comum totalling HS1,600,000 are taken into account, it emerges that Pliny was by far the largest public donor in Italy among those the value of whose gifts is known, even though our knowledge of his public gifts is certainly incomplete (no estimate of the basic cost of the Comum baths, of the temple at Tifernum Tiberinum, or of the building at Hispellum is possible). The public gifts of known value total HS3,966,666, but the three buildings whose cost is unknown must have brought the final aggregate close to HS5 million. Pliny’s closest rival in public generosity in Italy was the younger Matidia, whose gift of HS2 million (to Capua?) was not her only public donation (though it is perhaps inappropriate to number the great-niece of an Emperor among private individuals). The Italian donations next in size were worth HS1,600,000, HS1,500,000 and HS1,300,000. But Massilia in Narbonensis received almost HS10 million by the will of Crinas under Nero. And in the East Pliny’s public benefactions were certainly outstripped: a donor at Aspendos in Pamphylia gave HS8 million towards an aqueduct there. The father of Herodes Atticus made up a deficit of HS16 million for an aqueduct at Alexandria Troas when his son was corrector of the free cities of Asia under Hadrian; and his bequest to the citizens of Athens was almost certainly intended to be larger still.

Nevertheless, viewed in their Italian context, Pliny’s public generosities appear pre-eminent. They are partly to be explained, no doubt, by Pliny’s ready susceptibility to imperial example at a time when public munificence was being actively encouraged by the Emperors. It is also relevant that Pliny was a man of ‘municipal’ origin, and probably felt local ties more strongly than did men of similar means who were born into senatorial families. And childlessness probably made it easier to disburse large sums to public communities, though many other donor must have been childless too. But Pliny’s means were not exceptionally large, especially judged by the standards of subsequent generations. By the time of Marcus Aurelius, when public munificence had become more prevalent than it was under Trajan, a fortune of HS20 million could be considered moderate, at any rate by Galen, whose practice lay among the highest circles at Rome. Yet in spite of this, few if any subsequent benefactors in the West appear (from the abundant epigraphic evidence) to have rivalled Pliny either in the scope or in the scale of their munificence. Thus taking everything into account, it must be allowed that Pliny was outstanding in the extent of his public generosity.

RICHARD DUNCAN-JONES.

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73 C.I.L XI 5272; Mommsen, pp. 444–446. Cf. VIII, 8, 6.
75 S.C.R.I nos. 468+464+653+654; 639; 446+640.
76 Pliny, N.H. XXIX, 9; Paulus-Wissowa, XI, 1865.
77 I.G.R.R. III 804 (misprinted as 604 in Frank, IV, p. 785).
79 X, 8, 1; for Nerva’s allocations of land,
80 L. Caecilius Secundus, probably Pliny’s father, held one of the equestrian militias, together with a magistracy and a priesthood at Comum (Pais no. 745, n. 45 above).
81 Galen, vol. XIII, p. 636 (Kühn), where Galen rather lightly suggests the existence of a definite distinction between someone with HS20 million and a truly rich man. For tendencies towards the progressive increase in the size of large fortunes under the Empire, cf. A. H. M. Jones, The Later Roman Empire, 284–602, 1964, pp. 554–553.
# AN EPIGRAPHIC SURVEY OF COSTS IN ROMAN ITALY

## SYNOPSIS

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## PART II

### List of costs

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THE BRITISH SCHOOL AT ROME

ABBREVIATIONS

Majuscule Roman numerals (I, II, III, V, VI, VII, VIII, IX, X, XI, XII, XIII, XIV) refer to volumes of the Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum.

AE  Année épigraphique.
Beloch  J. Beloch, Bevölkerung der griechisch-römischen Welt, 1886.
Billeter  G. Billeter, Geschichte des Zinsfußes im griechisch-römischen Altertum, 1898.
CIG  Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum.
Degrassi  A. Degrassi, I fasti consolari dell'impero romano, 1952.
De Pachter  F. G. de Pachter, La Table hypothécaire de Velaria, 1920 (Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études, fasc. 228).
Dubois  Ch. Dubois, Fouilles antiques, 1907 (Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, fasc. 98).
EE  Ephemeris epigraphica, 9 vols, 1872–1913.
FIRA  Fontes Iuris Romanit Anteiustini, ed. Riccobono, etc., 1941–1943.
Friedlein  G. Friedlein, Die Zahlzeichen und das elementare Rechnen der Griechen und Römer, 1869.
IG  Inscriptiones Graecae.
Itt  Inscriptiones Italiæ, 1934–
ILS  H. Dessau, Inscriptiones Latinae selectae, 1892–1916.
JRS  Journal of Roman Studies.
Laum  B. Laum, Stiftungen in der griechischen und römischen Antike, 1914.
Liebenam  W. Liebenam, Städteverwaltung im römischen Kaiserzeith, 1900.
Mattingly  H. Mattingly, Roman coins from the earliest times to the fall of the western Empire, 1960.
NS  Notizie degli Scavi dell'Antichità.
OGIS  W. Dittenberger, Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones selectae, 1903–1905.
PIR  Prosopographia Imperii Romani.
RE  Pauly-Wissowa, Real-Encyclopädie der Klassischen Altertumswissenschaft, 1894–.
Ruggiero  E. de Ruggiero, Dizionario epigrafico di Antichità romane, 1895–.
SDHI  Studia et documenta historiae et iuris.
SEHRE 2  M. Rostovteff, Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire, rev. P. M. Fraser, 1957.
Staatsrecht  Th. Mommsen, Römisches Staatsrecht, 1887.
TAPHA  Transactions of the American Philological Association.
AN EPIGRAPHIC SURVEY OF COSTS IN ROMAN ITALY

Thylander H. Thylander, Étude sur l'épigraphie latine, 1952 (Skrifter Utgivna av Svenska Institutet i Rom, Ser. in 8°, vol. v).


PART I

INTRODUCTION

The present survey, like its African predecessor, is an attempt to collect all the epigraphic evidence for costs that has survived from a single area of the Roman Empire; Sicily has been included here as well as Italy, but its contribution to the present survey is negligible (9 out of 875 costs). As before, the only chronological limit imposed is the omission of the few post-Diocletianic costs, on the grounds that price-levels and the nature of the currency had changed so much by the fourth century that costs from that period cannot meaningfully be correlated with those from the earlier Empire. But it has also been necessary to adopt two geographical restrictions, because of the profusion of cost evidence from Italy. Costs from the city of Rome (which survive in some numbers among the 40,000 inscriptions from the capital), together with costs mentioned in the wax tablets and graffiti of Pompeii and neighbouring Campanian cities have been omitted from the survey. A minor generic omission has also been made: the financial penalties for rifling tombs, which have already been recorded in some detail by Liebenam and are of doubtful economic significance. The total number of costs and numerate gifts included in the survey approaches 900 nevertheless.

The survey draws on all the main printed sources for Italian epigraphy: volumes I, V, IX, X, XI, and XIV of the Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum; Pais’ supplement to CIL V; Dessau’s Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae; the first volume of Cagnat’s Inscriptiones Graecae ad res Romanas pertinentes; the few fascicules of Inscriptiones Italiae that have so far appeared; together with the Année épigraphique, and other periodicals, especially the Notizie degli Scavi dell’Antichità. Relevant literary costs have also been introduced from time to time, notably from the works of the two Plinys; but costs from literary sources have not been included as a matter of course. No comprehensive survey of Italian costs has previously been attempted to my knowledge, although Laum collected about three-quarters of the available evidence for perpetual foundations, and Bang about half of the available evidence for tomb costs.

I am indebted for important comments to P. A. Brunt, J. A. Crook, Prof. A. H. M. Jones and Miss J. M. Reynolds. Responsibility for the views expressed here is mine.

1 R. Duncan-Jones ‘Costs, outlays and summae honorariae from Roman Africa’, PBSR xxx, 1962, pp. 47–115, referred to hereafter as CSRA. In order to avoid ambiguity, the numbering of the Italian costs has been made to continue the sequence begun by the African series. The gap of 12 numbers between the end of the African series and the present list is due to the addition of further African material since the completion of the published version. The statement made in CSRA, p. 50 to the effect that Africa probably provides an absolute majority of the epigraphic costs surviving from the West is now seen to be quite untrue, since the number from Italy alone (without taking Rome into account), is considerably larger than the total from Africa.

2 Liebenam, pp. 49–53.

3 The numbering of the list suggests 1,000 items, but a large number of costs appear in the list twice under different headings. In all such cases, a cross-reference to the first appearance of the item in the list is given under the second heading in place of a direct reference to the inscription.

4 The index to volume XI is still unfinished; but the indices to the other five volumes, though nominally complete, reveal few of the costs that the volumes contain.

5 Although roughly one-third of the costs in the present survey appear in ILS, very few of them are to be found in the index to that work.

The Italian epigraphic costs are, like those from Africa, largely a record of the munificence of private individuals towards collectivities, usually their native town. However, expenditures on funerary monuments, a form of outlay for purely private purposes, have left more figures in Italy than in Africa (90 from Italy compared with 50 from Africa, see below). Public outlays are three times as numerous among the Italian costs as they are among those from Africa, though they still form a very small absolute proportion of the whole. Lifetime gifts in honour of office are less well-evidenced than in Africa, and bequests (sometimes on a large scale) are correspondingly more frequent. Testamentary outlays (excluding tombs and numerate outlays without prices) provide 87, or approximately 26% of the costed Italian gifts in the present sample, compared with a corresponding proportion in Africa of 44 testamentary outlays, or about 16% of the whole.

Regional variations in the incidence of cost specification are somewhat less marked in Italy than in Africa. Twelve towns from Italy (the same number as in Africa) have left 10 or more costs; the ratio between the overall number of costs from the two areas is about 2:1 (the totals are 875 from Italy and 439 from Africa*). The total number of towns and localities which have left prices corresponds closely with the size of the sample (207 in Italy, compared with 111 in Africa). But there is no single large area of the Italian peninsula so nearly devoid of cost material as are the Mauretanias in Africa. Nevertheless, some strong variations in regional practice are apparent within Italy. There are only 2 costs from regio IX (Liguria), despite its 17 towns, and only 9 from Sicily, which had 68 towns. The area most heavily represented in the sample is regio I (Latium and Campania), with 255 costs. These constitute more than 29% of the Italian total, although regio I contained only 81, or less than 19%, of the towns in Italy. But one cannot conclude from this that mention of prices was a custom that radiated from the capital, growing weaker as distances from Rome increased; for regio VII (Etruria), the area adjacent to Rome to the north has left comparatively few prices (53 or 6.1% of the total, which is well below what the number of towns, 50 or 11.6% of the total in Italy, would have led one to expect). Nevertheless, the area which is most prolific in mentions of prices in absolute terms after regio I is also quite near Rome: regio VI (Umbria) which provided 116 or 13.3% of the prices and contained 48 or 11.1% of the towns in Italy. Related to urbanisation, regiones VIII and X (Aemilia, Venetia and part of Gallia Cisalpina) are the areas most prolific in prices after regio I (they provide 9.5% and 8.5% of the prices from Italy respectively, while containing 5.8% and 6.5% of the cities of the peninsula). For details of the other regiones, see Table below, p. 233.

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7 For discussions of munificence under the Empire in the West see J. C. Rockwell, Private Bevilléhungen für die Stadtgemeinde auf Inschriften der Kaiserzeit im Westen des römischen Reiches, 1909; and A. Lussana in Epigraphica, xii, 1950, pp. 116-123; xiv, 1952, pp. 100-113; and xviii, 1956, pp. 77-93.
8 Records of the amounts of 12 outlays by local collectivities (usually the city), 2 outlays by the Roman Republic, and 8 outlays by the Emperor or in his name appear in the present sample: nos. 452, 459, 460, 464, 465, 466, 480a, 481, 484, 485, 490, 496; 455, 457, 439, 454, 639a, 645a. Cf. nos. 440, 443, outlays financed partly by cities and partly by private individuals.
9 The African total has been revised to include some finds made since CSRA was written.
10 See CSRA, Table IV, p. 78.
11 Statistics for the distribution of towns in Italy are drawn from the account given in Beloch, p. 391 (which is largely derived from the elder Pliny). For the regional distribution of costs, see Table p. 233 below.
Turning to individual towns, the Italian city that has left the largest amount of relevant material is Ostia. Ostia was, like the corresponding city in Africa, one of the largest towns of the area, though its position was more distinguished than that of Lambaesis. Two other Italian towns of the first rank have left more than 10 prices: Capua and Puteoli. None of these three towns has left prices which, taken in aggregate, clearly indicate the exceptional size or wealth of their place of origin. The price of the baths of Neptune at Ostia was phenomenally high by the standards of public building costs in the West (HS2 million and more), but it is not directly indicative of the wealth of the town, since the money came from the Emperor (no. 439). The next largest sum mentioned at Ostia, a perpetual foundation of HS1 million bequeathed by a private citizen (no. 641) was equalled by the amount of foundations at Tarracina and Pisauro and exceeded by the amount of a gift at Spoletium, though these were all lesser towns than Ostia (nos. 642, 643, 639). Capua’s largest surviving cost is another foundation of HS1 million, to which the same comparative observations apply equally strongly (no. 640; cf. no. 637, a larger foundation possibly of Capuan provenance). The largest surviving cost from Puteoli is the rent charge of HS400,000 per year for the statio Tyrensum, which could well be indicative of the heavy rents of a large town; but the size of the building or buildings in question is not known (no. 1183a).

Three substantial Italian towns of second rank have each left more than 10 costs: Comum, Brixia, and Pisauro. The evidence from Comum is dominated by the public gifts of the younger Pliny, which amounted to more than HS4 million in all, and are almost without parallel among the public donations of the West whose size is known. Analysis of the Letters suggests that Pliny was more exceptional in the degree of his public generosity than in the size of his fortune. Apart from Pliny’s gifts, Comum’s largest cost is a donation of two foundations by the same individual: their combined value was HS102,000 (nos. 668, 667). Brixia’s largest surviving cost is the restoration of a temple of Minerva which cost HS150,000 (no. 470a); the sample of costs from this town is chiefly notable for the 8 minuscule foundations which it contains. The surviving costs from Pisauro include two foundations bequeathed by a single donor which cost HS1 million in all (nos. 643, 648), and 8 spoltula rates. Aquileia, a more important city than any of these three, has left fewer prices, but these include the very large figure of HS1 million for a public building (no. 440).

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12 For the number of prices from Lambaesis, which exceeds 50, see CSRA, p. 58 and n. 30. Meiggs estimates Ostia’s population at 50,000/60,000 (Meiggs, p. 533).
13 Nos. 439; 511; 517; 521; 527; 528; 532; 533; 534; 535; 536; 538; 539; 540; 541; 543; 544; 545; 546; 547; 548; 557; 563; 600; 641; 672; 674; 675; 698; 703; 710; 715; 723; 724; 725; 726–728; 772; 863; 893; 895; 896; 937; 1006; 1007; 1008; 1009; 1010; 1011; 1076; 1311; 1319; 1334; 1364 (a small number of these headings each includes several costs).
14 Capua: nos. 586; 603; 608a; 618a; 7637; 640; 838; 853; 1183; 1391. Puteoli: nos. 480a; 526; 549; 576; 757; 788; 1185a; 1348.
15 For Comum, see V, p. 565; for Brixia, V, pp. 439, 2–440; and for Pisauro, XI, pp. 940, 2–941.
16 See pp. 177–188 above, ‘The finances of the younger Pliny’. For Pliny’s gifts to Comum, see nos. 441, 469a, 638, 644, 655 and 661. Other costs from Comum: nos. 668; 676; 677; 720; 737; 738; 1317a; 1341a; 1343a; 1345a; 1350a; 1354a; 1356a.
17 Costs from Brixia: nos. 470a; 496a; 554; 690; 717; 719; 733; 734; 735; 736; 746; 748.
18 Nos. 760; 776; 830; 833; and 1044. For other costs from Pisauro, see nos. 643; 648; 682; 1858a.
19 Cf. A. Calderini, Aquileia romana, 1930. Other costs from Aquileia: nos. 566; 632; 714; 1363; 1366; cf. no. 537a.
The remainder of the towns that have left 10 or more prices were minor ones: the two most prolific belong to the ranks of the definitely obscure: Veleia and Ligures Baebiani.20 Each has left a record on bronze of a series of land-valuations for the local estates with which the Trajanic alimentary loans were underwritten (nos. 639a, 645a and 1164–1305 passim). Two other minor towns have left single inscriptions which provide a sizeable number of costs: Lanuvium with its Hadrianic lex collegii cultorum Dianae et Antinoi, and Trebula Mutuesca with its lex familiae Silvani of Nero’s reign, both of which are particularly interesting because, unlike the bulk of the present material, they provide costs which belong to the humbler levels of society (nos. 1389–1398; 1377–1388).21 Two other minor towns have each left at least 10 costs, of more various type: Aeclanum22 and Ameria.23 Taking the Italian evidence as a whole, mass-survival of inscriptions from a few backwoods towns is less important here than it is in the evidence from Africa, which relies heavily on inscriptions from Thamugadi, Cuicul, Thugga, Verecunda, Diana Veteranorum and Madauros.24

The chronological centre of gravity of the Italian costs lies significantly earlier than that of the costs from Africa. In Africa very few costs are pre-Trajanic (the earliest is dated to A.D. 72, CSRA, no. 3), and the highest density falls in the reigns of Commodus and Septimius Severus.25 In Italy, by contrast, costs were already beginning to be mentioned in a few inscriptions in the Republican period (nos. 455, 457, 460, 466, 480, 500, 585, 1189) and became more frequent in the epigraphy of the first century A.D. In the case of Italian funerary costs, a clear majority of those which are dateable in any way appear to be no later than the first century A.D. (see below; tomb costs seem to disappear from the epigraphy of the second century as the result of a change in social practice). A small number of the public donations are certainly also pre-Trajanic,26 and a larger number are loosely dated to the first century A.D. But the bulk of public donations and ensuing mentions of costs belong to the second century A.D., the peak being in the Antonine period. In the case of distributions of sportulae, of which there are numbers of dated examples, the climacteric seems to have been reached under Marcus Aurelius (see below, p. 218). A sharp decline in costed donations of all types is apparent in Italy under the Severi, which is in strong contrast to the intense building activity which characterised the cities of Africa in the period up to the death of Caracalla.27 And whereas the series of African costs was maintained to some extent during the darker periods of the third century,28 Italy has left no clearly dated costs from the period from Severus Alexander to Diocletian apart from two foundations dated to the 230’s, and the rates of three distributions of sportulae which belong to the two middle

20 Cf. POA, p. 130 and n. 40.  
21 For other figures from Lanuvium, see nos. 479; 506; 685.  
22 Aeclanum: nos. 467a; 779; 1075; 1318; 1335; 1346; 1353; 1362; 1374.  
23 Ameria: nos. 553; 583; 601; 629; 700; 823; 831; 837; 845; 1340; 1356; 1375.  
24 CSRA, p. 59.  
25 op. cit. pp. 52–53 and Table II, p. 77.  
26 Nos. 482 +1079 +1364a, Augustus; 647, Gaius; 640, (Julio-Claudian); 650, Nero; 658, 1318, Domitian.  
27 Cf. CSRA, pp. 52–53 and Table II, p. 77.  
28 In terms of outlays on buildings and statues whose cost is specified, the figures from Africa are: 4 under Severus Alexander; 1 under Pupienus and Balbinus (unpublished temple inscription from Mustis); 4 under Gallienus; 1 under Tacitus; 1 under Probus; 2 under Diocletian; 2 from the late third century (CSRA, Table I, pp. 76–77).
decades of the third century (nos. 674, 697; 841, 892, 893). Thus although the bulk of Italian costs have no explicit date, the dated series suggests that the concentration of the sample as a whole must lie largely within the first two centuries A.D.

BUILDING COSTS (Nos. 439–490)

The emphases in the sample of building costs from Italy are quite different from those in the corresponding African sample. Whereas in Africa the predominant feature is prices of temples (CSRA nos. 1–26), in Italy there are few temple costs and the most conspicuous types are prices of public baths and roads (nos. 439, 443, 444, 445, 447, 450, 468, 469a, 470, 478, 479, 480; and nos. 454–467). Africa by contrast has few bath prices (CSRA nos. 29–31) and no road costs. An absence of costs of a particular type does not always indicate an actual deficiency of private outlays of that type, but insofar as such an interrelation exists here, these variants point to basic differences in the configuration of munificence in the two areas, which it is often difficult to explain. The comparative scarcity of temple costs in Italy may be attributable to the fact that Italian towns had often already built numbers of temples in the period before munificence became widespread, whereas Africa, which Romanised slowly over a span of several centuries, still had a large potential for temples of Roman type at the beginning of the period when munificence became most frequent. (Italy has left less than one-quarter of the number of temple costs provided by Africa, despite a much larger overall number of surviving costs: nos. 446, 470a, 471, 474, 476, 482).

The six Italian prices for baths range from more than HS2 million (for baths at Ostia whose site measured 67 × 67 m.) built by Antoninus Pius) to HS60,000 for a set of baths purchased for the city at Teanum (nos. 439 and 450). Three of the baths cost something in the region of HS350,000–300,000, which is close to the level of one of the African bath prices, HS400,000 (nos. 443–445 and CSRA no. 29). The sixteen Italian costs for roads include three which provide direct quantitative prices for road construction, and a fourth construed by Liebenam to provide an indirect but very plausible suggestion of such a price (the figures are HS21.79, HS19.33, HS20.75 and HS22.32 per longitudinal foot of road, nos. 454, 456, 466 and 463). The factor of difference between the lowest and the highest of these costs is 1.67, but the three higher costs are so close together as to provide a strong suggestion of price-standardisation. Despite their close internal resemblances, the three costs concerned come from different parts of Italy (Beneventum, regio II, Cereatae Marianae, regio I and Forum Sempronii, regio VI) and are not by any means coeval: the Beneventum figure (no. 454) is Hadrianic while the Cereatae Marianae cost (no. 466, which is included in both CIL I and ILLRP) may be Republican.

Taking the Italian building outlays as a whole (including roads but not building restorations), their distribution is as follows:

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28 There seems to be no evidence from Africa for expenditure on roads by private individuals: cf. Haywood in Frank, IV, pp. 63–69.

29 Cf. Rockwell and Lussana cited in n. 7 above.

31 Meiggs, p. 410.
HS2,000,000+—700,000  ... ... ... 4 = 12.5%
HS600,000—200,000+ ... ... ... 7 = 21.8%
HS200,000—100,000 ... ... ... 7 = 21.8%
HS80,000—50,000+ ... ... ... 3 = 9.4%
HS50,000—20,000 ... ... ... 8 = 25%
HS19,000—6,500 ... ... ... 3 = 9.4%

32

Comparing this table with the corresponding table for Africa (CSRA, p. 61), we see that the Italian sample is much more heavily weighted at the top than the African one. Over one-third of the Italian building outlays belong to the range above HS200,000, compared with less than one-sixth of the African sample. This is due in part to the presence of two large imperial outlays in the Italian sample (nos. 439 and 454) with which there is nothing to correspond in the African sample. But without them the proportion of Italian building outlays that are above HS200,000 is still 28%. A further feature of the Italian sample not found in Africa is large-scale building outlays by senators (nos. 441, 443, 444, 445, 446). If these senatorial gifts as well as the imperial expenditures are left out of consideration, the proportion of Italian building outlays above HS200,000 drops to 12.5%, which is close to the African proportion of 15.1%. Thus there is no significant difference between Italy and Africa in terms of the number of large-scale building outlays in the two samples which cannot be explained in terms of simple social and political variants. The proportions lower down the scale show significant differences only in the range from HS80,000–HS50,000+ (9.4% of the whole in Italy, but 14.3% in Africa) and the range below HS200,000 (9.4% in Italy, but 20.6% in Africa). Thus the proportion of the prices of small-scale building outlays recorded in inscriptions is greater in Africa than in Italy. But this may be as much an indication of differences of social practice as of differences in the frequency of small-scale monumental outlays in the two areas, or of variation in building costs.

STATUE COSTS AND WEIGHTS

The fifteen Italian figures which indicate or are connected with the cost of statues provide very little useful information about typicalities. Four of the examples do not indicate the total cost of a single statue, either because they give an overall figure for the cost of several statues, or because the figure given is not that of the final cost (nos. 491, 494, 500[?], 504). Four further costs refer to statues which do not belong to any ordinary type (no. 492, a silver statue of a chariot; no. 499, a statua odoramenta(?); no. 501, two imagines of silver of very small size; no. 503, a signum). The remaining seven costs span a factor of 54 overall, ranging in amount from HS43,000 to HS800, with no duplications of amount (nos. 493, 495, 496a, 496, 497, 498, 502). This handful of widely varied examples is too small to provide grounds for inference about the normal costs of statues in Italy. But honorific statues were evidently as widespread in the towns of Italy as in those of Africa, to judge from the number of bases which survive. Normal levels of statue cost in Africa are well known from the very large and self-consistent sample which has survived. Almost half of the total of 123 African statue costs fall within the range HS3,000–6,000 odd (CSRA, p. 62).
The highest individual statue price in Italy, HS43,000, is broadly comparable with the highest levels known in Africa, though we do not know the details of the monument, as the inscription is incomplete (no. 493; cf. CSRA, nos. 77, 83, 91–94). The circumstances of its erection were certainly exceptional: it was put up in gratitude to a public benefactor of quite exceptional generosity, and its construction was hurried through in the unusually short time of 33 days as a further tribute to his merits (no. 493; for some of the donor’s gifts, see nos. 515, 656, 663, 756). The lowest straightforward Italian statue price, HS800, is paralleled in Africa (no. 502; cf. CSRA nos. 211, 212). The highest multiple statue outlay in Italy comes from one of the most important towns, Patavium; but it is exceeded in size by the largest such outlay in Africa, which comes from Lepcis Magna: the figures are HS550,000 and HS1,000,000 (no. 491 and CSRA no. 77).

The legacy of HS100,000 at Formiae for a silver chariot or chariots to be constructed from 100 pounds of silver indicates roughly what proportion of the cost was taken up by the expense of materials (no. 492, cf. CSRA p. 110, n. 123). Since the gift appears to belong to the mid-second century, the metal cost would have been of the order of HS42,000–55,000, depending on whether the valuation is calculated in denarii of Trajan or denarii of Marcus (cf. CSRA Table III, p. 78). Assuming the earlier date, the ratio of metal cost to the cost of manufacture would have been approximately 42,000:58,000. The cost of manufacture would thus amount to 58% of the total. This can be compared with analogous data available for a bronze statuette which has survived intact from Lincolnshire. The bronze for this statuette cost HS12, the total outlay being HS112. This gives a ratio of 1:9:7 for cost of metal to cost of workmanship, manufacture therefore forming 93% of the total cost. It is not surprising that the relative cost of metal should have been considerably lower here than in the Formiae gift, seeing that the statuette, unlike the statue, was constructed of base metal. A further set of figures is known for a small silver plaque of the first or second century A.D. found in Asia Minor. Here cost of metal stood to cost of workmanship as 43:60, indicating a cost of working of 58% of the total outlay. Since this is the same proportion as in the silver gift at Formiae, the scepticism about the high apparent cost of workmanship shown by the authors of the article in which the find was published appears to be unjustified. In the case of full-size marble statues, the cost of workmanship seems to have been several times higher than the cost of the material, to judge from one African example (CSRA no. 394 and p. 112, n. 160).

The series of 49 Italian weights of statues and statuettes constructed of precious metal is much more homogeneous and therefore more generally useful than the series of statue costs. In view of the high cost of gold in the ancient world (less artificial then than it is today), the small number of gold offerings comes as no surprise. A pound of gold would cost HS4,000 before the cost of working it was taken into account. Though the objects must have been small in themselves,
the cost of the largest offering, the golden dragons dedicated to Mercury by a donor at Milan would have been more than HS21,000, their gold content being five pounds (no. 505). Three of the six gold offerings which appear to have been primarily of that metal contained one pound of gold, probably representing a total outlay in each case in the region of HS5,000–6,000 (nos. 508, 509, 509a). The cost of workmanship would have been relatively low, because of the enormous basic cost of gold, 12 times greater than the cost of silver.36

There are a sufficient number of silver statues of stated weight from Italy to justify a tabular summary (nos. 513–549):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Weight</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>100 Roman pounds and over</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>4 = 9.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>99–30 pounds</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>4 = 9.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29–10 pounds</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>6 = 14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9–6 pounds</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>2 = 4.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5–2 pounds</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>14 = 32.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>less than 2 pounds</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>13 = 30.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As one might expect, the weight of silver statues exceeds that of the largest gold ones by a very wide margin, though the great majority of silver statues were so small as to be more properly termed statuettes. More than half of the sample contained 5 pounds of silver or less. Nineteen, or 44%, of the silver weights come from Ostia. Total outlays would probably have been at least twice the bullion value of the silver in most cases (for cost of workmanship, see above). This equation possibly ceases to hold good with the statue of Hadrian in a chariot for which its donor bequeathed over half a ton of silver (no. 513, 1567-17 Roman pounds). When the total weight reached such a high level, the cost of workmanship as a proportion of the total cost would probably have fallen considerably. Though the bullion value would have been about HS730,000, it is unlikely that the cost of workmanship would have raised the total cost to more than HS1 million.

**SEPULCHRAL AND BURIAL COSTS**

Italy has left almost twice as many burial costs as Africa (90 compared with 50), though only 43 of the 87 (or more) that had been published by 1921 found their way into Bang’s survey of Roman tomb prices which appeared in that year.37 As well as being more plentiful than those from Africa, the costs from Italy show greater geographical diversity: there is no heavy preponderance of costs from any one town to correspond with the predominance of costs from Lambaesis in the African funerary sample. Exact dating indications are few, but a heavy concentration of Italian funerary costs in the first century A.D. and even earlier is quite clear (52 of the 68 Italian burial costs for which dating indications of any kind are available appear to be pre-Trajanic). A further six costs may be no earlier than the second century A.D., and three costs definitely appear to belong to that century (nos. 557, 560, 563, 577, 581, 604; and nos. 579, 627, 634). Only two of the 68 Italian funerary costs

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36 Mattingly, pp. 122–123.
to which dating indications of any kind are attached are clearly Severan or later (nos. 566 and 636). The chronological spread is so uneven and precise dating indications are so few (the Neronian cost in no. 587 is the only example dated to a particular reign) that little attempt can be made at chronological analysis. One clear chronological inference is possible: the custom of stating the cost of tombs, always very much a minority practice, was beginning to die out completely in Italy by the beginning of the second century A.D.

The spread of Italian burial costs is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Range</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>HS500,000-100,000</td>
<td>9 (+ 1 unspecified increase)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HS99,000-50,000</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HS49,000-20,000</td>
<td>13</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HS19,000-10,000</td>
<td>13 (+ 4 unspecified increases)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HS9,000-5,000</td>
<td>12 (+ 1 unspecified increase)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HS4,000-120</td>
<td>31</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>90</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The median average of the whole sample is HS10,000, against a much lower median for the African funerary costs of HS1,380. The commonest levels in Italy were (in order of frequency) HS20,000 (11 instances), HS2,000 (10 instances), HS10,000 (7 instances), HS100,000 (7 instances), HS5,000 (6 instances) and HS3,000 (5 instances). There is a clear suggestion of cost-standardisation at HS20,000, since more than half of the tombs in the range from HS99,000 to HS20,000 in fact cost HS20,000 (11 of the 19 which fall within this range). A similar suggestion is offered by the heavy duplications at HS2,000, HS10,000 and HS100,000 (HS2,000 was also one of the commonest levels for tomb costs in Africa, with 8 costs of this level in a total sample of 50).

The fact that the half-way point falls as high as HS10,000 and that the total range stretches well above HS100,000 definitely suggests higher levels of funerary outlay in the Italian sample than in the sample from Africa, whose half-way point falls at HS1,380, with only 6% of the costs exceeding HS30,000. The difference is too great to be accounted for merely by the possibility of cheaper labour and lower standards of workmanship in the provinces. But though social identity is only mentioned occasionally in the funerary inscriptions of the two areas, there are more indications of comparatively high rank among the individuals concerned in the Italian sample than there are among those from Africa. Thus a fortuitous variation of regional practice may to some extent explain the apparent difference of maximum costs: the African funerary costs do not include any mentions of members of the higher social classes, though the African provinces produced knights and senators in large numbers.

Comparisons between the size of the tomb outlay and the probable income of the occupant can sometimes be made in the case of the soldiers who appear in the samples of funerary costs. The two *principes* whose tombs cost HS100,000 at different Italian towns were probably being paid HS60,000 p.a. in the final stages of their careers, if they died before Domitian’s increase in military pay (their pay

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38 An unpublished survey of African knights by the present writer shows that epigraphic record of more than 300 knights has survived from Africa. For senators, see CSRA, p. 69 and n. 61.
was probably HS80,000 p.a. if post-Domitianic; nos. 555–556).39 Thus, whichever the date, the outlay would appear to represent in each case rather more than the individual’s official salary for a year. The tomb of a praef(ectus) equit(um) at Spoletium cost HS50,000. His rank in fact being that of a praefectus alae,40 his salary would probably have been in the region of HS60,000 per year (no. 564).41 The tomb of an optio or deputy centurion from Aquileia which cost HS40,000 is at least one century later, but may be later still to judge from its eccentric phraseology; and no date exact enough to allow a useful conjecture as to probable salary can be reached (no. 566).42 A holder of the tres militiae whose death probably belongs to the first century A.D. had a tomb at Nepet which cost HS20,000 (no. 575), which represents two-fifths of the salary of a tribunus angusticlaviius, probably HS50,000.43

The centurion and praetor of Cumae whose tomb cost HS10,000 appears, from the style and orthography of his epitaph (for example ‘PEQVN’ in 1.5) and the centurionate referred to without identification of the legion, to have died before the reign of Domitian (no. 590). The Augustan rate of pay for a legionary centurion was HS15,000.44 The total funerary outlay would thus correspond with two-thirds of the annual salary; but in this case only HS4,000 of the sum was bequeathed by the deceased, the rest being a contribution from his wife. Hence the deceased spent little more than one-quarter of his annual salary on his tomb here. The tomb was to provide for husband and wife and all their freedmen, freedwomen and their descendants. The holder of two of the equestrian militiae who provided a tomb for himself and five relations at Placentia at a cost of HS10,000 in the first century A.D. perhaps spent one-fifth of his annual pay (cf. above; no. 592).

The tomb of a praetorian soldier buried at Novara with his mother at a cost of HS5,000 appears certainly pre-Severan (no. 604). If pre-Domitianic, his pay would probably have been HS3,000; if later than this, HS4,000.45 In either case, his outlay would thus correspond with more than a year’s pay. The tomb of another praetorian, at Piquentum, which is probably post-Domitianic, cost slightly less (HS4,000), thus amounting to a year’s pay (no. 609). The tomb also provided room for his parents. A praetorian at Bagnacavallo spent only HS2,000 on his tomb, but was buried alone, again apparently in the period between Domitian and Septimius, when pay was probably HS4,000 (no. 618). Thus an outlay of half a year’s pay is suggested here. An optio of the praetorians whose death probably

39 Brunt, p. 71.
40 Cf. ILS III, p. 495.
41 Domaszewski, p. 141. Brunt has pointed out that there is very little direct evidence for the range of salaries for the equestres militiae inferred by Domaszewski (Brunt, p. 69). But it would seem almost inevitable on hierarchical grounds that holders of these posts would generally have been paid at a level intermediate between the salary of centurions (HS20,000–40,000 in the second century) and the salary of the lower procurators (HS60,000). The point made by Brunt to clinch his case against these conjectures is itself doubtful, involving the supposition that the salary of the proconsul of Africa (known to have been HS 1 million under Macrinus) would have been no more than HS400,000 in the second century (Brunt, p. 69). This was one of the two highest public offices that crowned the conventional senatorial career, and would always appropriately have been rewarded by a salary several times larger than that given to the highest procurators, HS300,000 (cf. Duncan-Jones, PBSR xxxi, 1963, p. 166, n. 46). For evidence of the government’s extreme slowness in raising the salaries of its civil employees, cf. A. H. M. Jones in Econ. Hist. Rev. 2nd ser., v, 1952–1953, p. 306, citing instances where money salaries were still being paid at ‘second century’ rates in the early fourth century A.D.
42 Cf. Brunt, p. 69 and n. 121.
43 Domaszewski, p. 140.
44 Brunt, p. 71.
45 ibid.
fell between Augustus and Domitian provided a tomb for himself and 3 relations at a cost of HS2,000 (no. 624). This is a comparatively low level of outlay, since his pay was probably HS9,000 in the final stage of his career.46

In sum, the approximate relationships between funerary outlays in Italy and pay received in the highest military post achieved are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Final rank</th>
<th>Conjectured rate of pay</th>
<th>Tomb outlay provided by deceased</th>
<th>Number of years' pay</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Primipilars</td>
<td>HS60,000/HS80,000 p.a.</td>
<td>HS100,000+</td>
<td>1.66/1.25</td>
<td>no. 555</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primipilars</td>
<td>HS60,000/HS80,000</td>
<td>HS100,000</td>
<td>1.66/1.25</td>
<td>no. 556</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Praefectus equitum</td>
<td>HS60,000</td>
<td>HS50,000</td>
<td>0.83</td>
<td>no. 564</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trib. mil. (angusticlavius)</td>
<td>HS50,000</td>
<td>HS20,000</td>
<td>0.40</td>
<td>no. 575</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trib. mil. (angusticlavius)</td>
<td>HS50,000</td>
<td>HS10,000</td>
<td>0.20</td>
<td>no. 592</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Centurio legionis</td>
<td>HS15,000</td>
<td>HS4,000</td>
<td>0.27</td>
<td>no. 590</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Optio (praet.)</td>
<td>HS9,000</td>
<td>HS2,000</td>
<td>0.22</td>
<td>no. 624</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miles (praet.)</td>
<td>HS4,000</td>
<td>HS4,000</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>no. 609</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miles (praet.)</td>
<td>HS4,000</td>
<td>HS2,000</td>
<td>0.50</td>
<td>no. 618</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miles (praet.)</td>
<td>HS3,000/4,000</td>
<td>HS5,000</td>
<td>1.66/1.25</td>
<td>no. 604</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The highest rate of outlay (not less than 1.25 years' pay) is found in the inscriptions of the two primipilares and one of the praetorian milites (nos. 555, 556, 604). The lowest rate of outlay (about one-fifth of a year's pay) is found in the inscriptions of one of the tribuni militum and the optio praetorianorum (nos. 592, 624). The median average rate of outlay is two-thirds of a year's pay, which compares with an African median of little more than one-fifth of a year's pay (though statuses were omitted from CSRA, there are fourteen military tomb-costs from Africa).

Soldiers are the only class whose incomes can be quantitised with any confidence, but a minimum level of resources for decurions in Italy of HS100,000 is indicated by a number of ancient sources (no. 1317a), though it is not known how consistently this qualification was applied. The most costly of the Italian tombs that clearly belonged to a decurion was worth HS76,000 (no. 560); the only comment possible here is that the size of the outlay implies actual resources very much larger than HS100,000. The individual concerned was distinguished by being adlected as a decurion of his town (Ateste). Unfortunately, no useful comparisons are possible for the remainder of the decurial tomb costs, four of which give the amount of standard sums publicly voted towards the burial expenses of the individual concerned (nos. 555, 592, 606, 608, 610, 620, 621, 622).

A number of the higher tomb costs are provided by members of the freedman class. L. Numisius L.lib. Agathemerus, a servir Augustalis of Ostia who described himself as a merchant from Hispania Citerior, spent the large sum of HS100,000 on his tomb (no. 557). Socrates Astomachi born in Tralles but likewise buried at Ostia, spent HS50,000 on his tomb, and succeeded in the unusual feat of incorporating the figure in a series of elegiacs; his Greek names alone do not necessarily indicate libertine status (no. 563). [...] N.I. Philomusus was buried at Suessa

46 Brunt, pp. 67 and 71.
Aurunca at a cost of at least HS30,000 (no. 567). [...] Serviliae I.Pylades, who received all the ornamenta of the Augustalitas at Alliaæ, was buried at that town at a cost of HS20,000 (no. 569). This was also the cost of the tomb of P. Fabius P.P. Menodotus and two others at Puteoli (no. 576; both tombs probably belong to the first century A.D.) M. Staius M.et C.lib. Lygdamus, an Augustalis, was buried at Luceria in a tomb which cost HS15,000 (no. 581). P. Publius Anthus, servus Augustalis at Cures, was buried there at a cost of which HS10,000 was an additional component (no. 587). [...]lius C.I. Philom(us)us, who was a magister pagi, was buried at Pompeii at a total cost of HS10,000 not later than the first century A.D. (no. 593). The tomb of M. Seppius M.I. Philoxenus at Teanum Sidicinum cost the same amount at roughly the same date (no. 595). [...] C.I. Priamus spent HS6,000 on his tomb at Ameria (no. 601). [...] T.I. Licinus was buried at Amiernum at a cost of at least HS3,000 (no. 612). Tittia L.I. Daphne was buried at Formiae at a cost of HS3,000 (no. 613), which was likewise the cost of the tomb of A. Sempronius A.I. Lucrio Gallus at Nola (no. 614). The humblest of the tomb costs pertaining to freedmen was HS1,000 (or more), the price of the tomb of Ter. Valerius Ter.I. Felix at Ameria (no. 629).

The median average of the 11 freedman tomb costs that appear to be substantially complete is HS10,500, which compares with a median of HS7,000 for the ten military tomb costs listed above. The highest of all the Italian tomb costs, HS500,000, may also be libertine (no. 550). The cognomen of the owner, Popillius Theo., cannot have fallen within the classical range of Roman nomenclature, though the cost is an early one. The cognomen was therefore almost certainly Greek.47 It is unlikely that a senator of eastern origin would have chosen to build his mausoleum in Italy. On the other hand, Fabrateria Nova, a town situated in an attractive part of Latium comparatively near the capital, would be plausible as the seat of a freedman magnate who had made millions out of commerce or medicine at Rome.48 A funerary outlay twice the size of the present HS500,000 mausoleum is known in the case of the freedman C. Caecilius C.I. Isidorus, who bequeathed cash amounting to HS60 million and flocks of a quarter of a million animals in 8 B.C.49

**PERPETUAL FOUNDATIONS**

The number of privately given perpetual foundations or groups of foundations of specified value that has survived from Italy is at least 119. Laum’s survey included 78 of the 112 examples that had appeared by 1914.50 The rate of interest is stated in 19 of the foundations, varying by a factor of more than three (from 4½% to 15% p.a.). The wide range of variation is probably to be accounted for in part by the very fact that the most extreme rates were exceptional and were thought worthy of mention for that reason. The agricultural dividend in Italy usually tended to be 6% (the more important references are collected in no. 1184), and investment in land was the normal basis for a perpetual foundation.51
thus no difficulty in construing interest-rates on perpetual gifts in the region of 6% as land-dividends; but the much higher rate sometimes found (12%) may have resulted from investment in commercial or industrial enterprises, which could sometimes yield larger dividends than agriculture. Six of the ten Italian foundations in which an interest-rate of 12% is known come from the thriving port of Ostia (nos. 698, 715, 723, 724, 725-726c). The bulk of the Italian foundations however come from inland towns, where investment facilities were probably less flexible. Italy provides one instance of a perpetual foundation which drew its revenue from an industrial enterprise (woollen mills); the capital value of the gift (which comes from Telesia in Campania) and its rate of yield are not known. A very small and obscurely phrased foundation at Aquileia drew its income from a house, presumably indicating a rent-charge (no. 714). The tendency in Italy for pastoral farming to spread at the expense of agriculture implies that keeping flocks could be the more profitable investment, but it is uncertain whether the investment of static funds in perpetuity in pasturing flocks would have been technically feasible. It remains likely that the great bulk of privately donated capital in Italy was (like the government alimentary funds) invested in agriculture. There is ample juridical evidence that interest-rates varied widely from region to region within the Empire. While there are indications that the interest-rates characteristic of the East were higher than those characteristic of the West, it is very difficult to see any suggestion of consistent variation from one locality to another within Italy. In fact there are two Italian examples of different interest-rates on perpetual foundations occurring at the same town: Comum offers instances of both 6% (or less) and 6-66%, Ostia examples of both 5% and 12% (nos. 644, 677; 672, 698, 715, etc.). Similarly in Hispania Tarraconensis, Barcino provides examples of both 6% and 5% in perpetual foundations. This phenomenon is not easily reconciled to any suggestion of local consistency in interest-rates; and it only becomes explicable when systematic comparisons are made between the size of foundations and the level of interest-rates.

A tabulation of the Italian evidence in order of the size of foundations thus becomes necessary:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>HS2,000,000</th>
<th>5%</th>
<th>(Capua ?)</th>
<th>161/170</th>
<th>no. 637</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>HS1,000,000</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>Tarracina I</td>
<td>(100/190)</td>
<td>no. 642</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HS500,000 (+)</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>Comum XI</td>
<td>96/108</td>
<td>no. 644</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HS100,000</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>Petelia III</td>
<td>138/161</td>
<td>no. 664</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HS70,000</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>Ferentinum</td>
<td>(post-100)</td>
<td>no. 669</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latii I</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

55 The possibility of very large profits from trade is implied by Petronius' Satyricon, 76, and by the rapid rise to great affluence of many members of the freedman class, who are typified by Trimalchio. Cfr. P. Veyne, 'Vie de Trimalcion', Annales. Economies. Sociétés. Civilisations, xvi, 1961, pp. 213-247. The fact that great Roman families often thought it worthwhile to maintain interests in brick factories despite social pressures against forms of investment other than land suggests high profitability for this type of industry (cfr. H. Bloch, I bollì laterizi e la storia edilizia romana [Studi e materiali del Museo dell'Impero Romano, no. 4], 1947, p. 337). For industry and commerce under the Empire, cf. also SEHREI, pp. 566, n. 29; 578-579; 616, n. 36. 56 ILS 5595, a gift made under Augustus. 54 Cfr. Pliny, Ep. X, 70, 2; Laun I, pp. 135-136. 55 Cfr. ILS 23: 5366; 5367; 5368; Tacitus, Ann. XII, 65, 1; Pliny, NH XXXIII, 135; Martial IV, 37; V, 13; SEHREI, p. 550, n. 25. 54 Digesta XII, 4, 3; XVII, 1, 10, 3; XXII, 1, 1; 1, 27; XXXVI, 7, 7, 10; XXVII, 4, 3, 1; XXX, 39, 1; XXXIII, 1, 21. Cfr. Billeter, pp. 103-109 and 179-181. 57 Cfr. Billeter, pp. 103-109; 181. 58 II, 4511; ILS 6957.
Here it is seen that 15% occurs once, 12% ten times (nine of the examples being from the same town), 6-66% once, 6% five times, 5% three times, and 4-33% once. The figures suggest a clear inverse correlation between the size of foundations and the level of the interest-rate. The highest common rate, 12%, occurs in no foundation larger than HS20,000 and the only other rate above 6% that is found here, 6-66%, likewise occurs in a foundation that is small rather than large (no. 677, HS30,000). The smallest foundation, itself a strange curiosity, has the highest rate of interest of all, 15% (no. 754, HS80); and the lowest interest-rate, 4-33%, is found in the largest but one of the foundations whose rate of yield is known (no. 642, HS1,000,000). In between these extremes 6% and 5% seem to have been to some extent interchangeable, though 6% is the more frequent rate. But the extremes of the ranges spanned by these two rates are in fact consistent with the pattern of inverse correlation. For 5% the range is HS2,000,000–HS16,000 (nos. 637 & 685); for 6% the effective range is the lower one of HS100,000–HS5,000 (nos. 664 and 701).\(^\text{59}\)

Thus the Italian figures imply that the larger perpetual foundations never had interest-rates of more than 6%; that the incidence of rates of 12% and above was confined to foundations of HS20,000 and below; and that foundations above HS100,000 generally had interest-rates of 5% or less. This latter rule applies equally to the two government alimentary foundations whose amounts are known: the interest-rate was 5%, and their size HS1,044,000 and HS401,800 (nos. 639a and 645a). The four explicit figures from Africa also fit these conclusions:

\[
\begin{array}{c|c|c|c}
\text{HS1,300,000} & 5\% & 175/180 & \text{no. 248} \\
\text{HS40,000} & [5\%] & — & \text{no. 258} \\
\text{HS4,000} & 6\% & \text{post–140} & \text{no. 267} \\
\text{HS2,400} & 12\% & \text{post–180} & \text{no. 268} \\
\end{array}
\]

Identical tendencies are visible in five scattered figures from the remainder of the West\(^\text{60}\):

\[
\begin{array}{c|c|c}
\text{HS100,000} & 5\% & \text{Barcino II 4511} \\
\text{HS30,000} & 6\% & \text{Barcino ILS 6957} \\
\text{HS20,000} & 12\% & \text{Roma ILS 7244} \\
\text{HS16,000} & 6\% & \text{Narbo ILS 7259} \\
\text{HS5,000} & 12\% & \text{Roma VI 10297} \\
\end{array}
\]

\(^{59}\) Pliny's alimentary gift was nominally worth HS500,000 (no. 644), but in fact bore interest at considerably less than 6%, since Pliny underwrote it by making over to the city estates worth much more than the sum promised, in order to ensure the continuance of his gift in perpetuity (\textit{cf. POA}, pp. 129–130 and Le Bras, p. 38, n. 105).

\(^{60}\) \textit{Cf.} Billeter, p. 374.
It is clear therefore that there was a strong tendency in the West for large sums given in perpetuity to be safeguarded by being invested at conservative rates of interest; and that the size of the sum invested was one of the main determinants of the interest-rate in perpetual foundations. Relatively low rates of interest often prevailed with smaller investments also, but in some cases it was evidently possible to place comparatively small sums at a high rate of return, notably at major commercial centres such as Rome and Ostia.

Although some of the foundations whose interest-rates are known are dated, it does not seem practicable to attempt any interpretation of the present interest-rates in chronological terms. In so far as any chronological tendency can be detected within the Italian sample, it would seem to have been towards a rise in interest-rates (see list above); but such an interpretation is hardly justified in view of the other obvious determinants of the rate of interest in perpetual foundations. It must be noted that the latest group of foundations are also amongst the smallest. Billiter’s theory of a heavy fall of interest-rates by the time of Severus Alexander, whose effects continued to be felt into the later Empire, seems very insecurely founded, despite its provisional acceptance by Rostovtzeff.61 There is such strong evidence for the simultaneous existence of widely different rates of interest during the first two centuries of the Empire,62 that the few isolated third and fourth century examples provide too small a sample for any secure inference about the general trend of interest-rates in the later period to be made. In the early fourth century there was enough reason to expect the exaction of high rates of interest on loans for Constantine to think it necessary to renew the prohibition on rates above 12%; and record of an Italian perpetual foundation which bore interest at 12% under Constantine has come to light since Billiter’s monograph was written.63

On the basis of the foregoing conclusions, the interest-rates suggested in the list of Italian foundations where there is need for conjecture are 6% for foundations of HS100,000 and below, and 5% for foundations above HS100,000.

The distribution of foundation-sizes can be summarised as follows (omitting governmental foundations and private foundations whose total size is not known: nos. 639a, 645a; 660, 671, 689, 690, 703, 706, 714, 730, 753; gifts consisting of several foundations of the same size have been counted once, as a single foundation having the total value of the constituent parts):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Size Range</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>HS2,000,000-1,000,000</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HS999,999-500,000</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HS499,999-250,000</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HS249,999-100,000</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HS999,999-50,000</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HS499,999-20,000</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HS19,999-10,000</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HS9,999-32</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

61 SEHRE3, p. 473; Billiter, pp. 211-219.
62 See, in addition to the western evidence cited above, the still wider range of interest-rates from Egypt assembled by Johnson in Frank, II, p. 450, n. 58.
63 Cod. Theod. II, 33, 1; ILS 9420, a foundation of HS2 million set up in A.D. 323 at Feltria, regio X.
The median average is HS10,000, compared with a much higher median for Africa of HS40,000; but the Italian sample is five times larger than that from Africa, and contains both foundations bigger than the biggest from Africa and foundations smaller than the smallest of those from Africa.

The perpetual foundation was, more than any other, a type of gift in which the amount spent lay at the donor’s discretion. It is surprising, nevertheless, that any area should have yielded such a large proportion of ‘dwarf’ foundations, the smallest of which had capitals of derisory amounts (cf. nos. 754–755, both less than HS100). Miniature foundations such as these are extremely rare outside Italy. The immediate implication of these tiny foundations is that investment facilities must have been remarkably plentiful and flexible in the area from which they come. Taking the foundations of HS3,000 and below, which form 34% of the Italian sample, we find that there are very strong tendencies towards the concentration of the smallest foundations in the north and far north of Italy: 28 of the 41 examples come from regions X and XI, while 7 of the remaining 13 come from Ostia. The outstanding prosperity of the northernmost part of Italy, especially the area of the Po valley, is attested by Strabo and others. It is striking that only one of this group of small foundations should come from a town south of Rome (no. 721, HS2,000, Fabrateria Vetus, regio I).

The remarkable proliferation of foundations of all sizes in Italy meant that large sums were continually being confined to the care of public bodies, in most cases the ordo decurionum of the donor’s native town. The bulk of such endowments were of course too small to create administrative problems by themselves. But when a foundation gift was exceptionally large, it could lead to the creation of a special post for the administration of the fund, as we see with the curator calendar(ii) pecuniae Valentinii HS DC appointed at Pisaurum after the bequest to that town of HS600,000 for quinquennial games by C. Titius C.f.Cam. Valentinus (no. 643 and note). An analogous sequence appears to lie at the root of the general phenomenon of the appointment of curatores rei publicae to many Italian cities, probably begun by Trajan. The creation of these officials partly answered to conditions where large sums of money were being transferred from the hands of private individuals to the care of local functionaries who were not always equal to this enlargement of their responsibilities. In one case we can see part of the financial background to the appointment of a curator rei publicae at an Italian town. By the time that P. Clodius Sura was appointed to Comum early in Hadrian’s reign, Comum had received foundations amounting to HS2,666,666 from the younger Pliny, who had died late in Trajan’s reign; a bequest of HS400,000 from Saturninus; and a foundation of HS40,000 from L. Caecilius Cilo, as well as a foundation for feasts of unknown

65 There are a number of analogous appointments in other Italian cities: a curator pecuniae Octavianae at Aricia (XIV 217); a curator templi et areae Vitrianae at Caes (X 4679); a curator muneri Tulli at Ticianum (ILS 6472); a curator muneri gladiatori Villi at Dea Augusta Vocomontium (ILS 6992); a curator muneri pecuniae Aquilianae at Grumentum (ILS 6451); and a curator ark(ae) Titianae coll(egii) (fabrum et centonariorum) at Mediolanium (ILS 6730).
66 Mancini in Ruggiero II, 1346–1349.
67 Pliny, Ep. IV, 13, 6; VII, 18, 1; cf. bk. X passim & P.O.A., p. 135.
68 His appointment to Comum by Hadrian appears to have followed directly on his appointment to Bergomum, which had been made by Trajan (ILS 6725). For the continued existence of this circumscription at a later date, see V, 8921: cur. r. p. Comens. et Berg.
size from Caninius Rufus. When its public endowments exceeded HS3 million (probably by a wide margin, since the surviving information is confined to a short period of the town’s history), it is not surprising that the finances of Comum should have been considered worth the government’s attention. Hadrian’s care for the financial well-being of Italian cities even extended on occasion to the appointment of curators to supervise the construction of single public buildings, as we see from an inscription at Beneventum. The installations of curatores rei publicae at the beginning of the second century do not seem, however, to have inhibited the flow of endowments in Italian cities, for the majority of the dated foundations are post-Trajanic (see below).

The typology of Italian foundations has already been treated in passing by Laum, though his study does not discriminate closely between Greek and Roman foundations. It is worthwhile to consider the main features here. As in Africa (no. 248), the most conspicuous type of large-scale perpetual foundation was the alimentary gift, a type of generosity which grew more widespread with the promotion of the public alimenta by the second century emperors, beginning with Trajan (nos. 637, 638, 641, 642, 644, 650, of which only the last and smallest is pre-Trajanic; cf. nos. 639a and 645a). The alimentary gifts provide five of the eight largest private foundations in Italy, including the two largest foundations of all. The next largest foundation, HS1,500,000, provided income for public feasts, as did 31 others (including those which provided refreshments on a smaller scale); the smallest was worth HS200 annually (no. 706 = 1102). The median of the 25 feast foundations whose value is known exactly was HS16,000 (HS800 per year, no. 685 = 1096). Endowments for the upkeep of monuments and public works provide the next highest foundation, HS1,000,000, whose income was to be devoted to the upkeep of roads at Capua (no. 640 = 1143a). There are a further 24 foundations in this category, the smallest of which had a capital value of HS400 (no. 751 = 1160). The median average is HS2,000 (nos. 751 = 1160, 722 = 1149).

Next in order of maximum size are the three perpetual provisions for games, whose largest example had a capital of HS600,000 (no. 643 = 1074a; and nos. 1079a and 641). It is striking that there should be so few Italian foundations for this purpose, seeing that theatres and amphitheatres were plentiful enough in the towns of Italy. A discouragement to the setting up of foundations for this purpose may have lain in the comparatively high cost of games (the five explicit Italian games costs range from HS50,000 per day to HS7,750; nos. 1075–1079). There are also indications that games (or games of certain kinds) were not always approved of by those in authority. Inscriptions from Italy that record the giving of munera or ludi by permission of the reigning Emperor conversely imply that permission for such occasions could also be withheld, and that the celebration of games outside the normal calendar of the city concerned depended on official approval. The younger Pliny did not think it necessary to tell his readers why the official suppression of a gymnicus agon at Vienne should have been thought desirable; and in another

70 Curator operis thermarum datu ab imp. Caesare Hadriano Aug., ILS 6489; cf. no. 467c.
71 Cf. ILS 5186; 5878.
letter he states his own distaste for the circus races at Rome. The programme of government attributed to Maecenas by Cassius Dio drew attention to excessive expenditure on public buildings and games as the chief menace to the financial stability of the cities of the Empire, and advocated the outright suppression of the circus races that took place without the concomitant of gymnici agones (though these remarks seem to have the institutions of the Hellenic East mainly in mind).

Next in order of the size of the largest example are the foundations for sportulae (cash distributions), which range from HS504,000 to HS2,000 (nos. 645, 721). There are 26 sportula foundations in all, with a median value of HS35,000 (nos. 675, 677). Although the rate of the distribution is not usually stated in the foundations, copious evidence for the rates of sportulae in non-recurrent distributions has survived, and is discussed below (nos. 818–1051). The two foundations for the maintenance of the public baths both have a capital of HS400,000; a third foundation without financial details which provided 400 cartloads of hard wood per year ‘ad lavacrum balnear(um)’ indicates the main item of expense (nos. 646 =1307; 647 =1308; cf. 1309, 1143c, and 1143d). Finally, there is a large group of foundations which provided wholly or in part for commemorative rites and votive offerings. There are 33 such foundations in all, ranging in capital value from HS60,000 to HS80 (sic), with a median average of HS1,600 (nos. 670 =1108; 754 =1143; 732 =1126).

To summarise the Italian foundations to which figures are attached, 5 provided alimenta, 32 feasts and refreshments, 25 upkeep of monuments and public works, 3 games, 26 sportulae, 2 the maintenance of public baths, 33 commemorative rites and votive offerings (there is some overlap, since a few foundations provided for more than one of the purposes specified and have thus been counted twice). The generalisation made by Le Bras in his important study of the foundations of the Empire to the effect that the orientation of perpetual foundations was primarily religious is hardly borne out in the Italian evidence (which forms more than half of the material surviving from the West). Only 33 out of an effective sample of 119 Italian foundations were ostensibly religious in purpose.

The occasions provided for vary in frequency from monthly intervals in the cash subsistence allowances provided by the alimentary foundations, to five-year intervals in a foundation that provided gladiatorial games at Pisaurum (nos. 642, etc.; 643). A high proportion of the Italian foundations (like those in Africa) are testamentary. In Africa, 12 out of 22 priced foundations are testamentary, or nearly 55% of the total. Among the Italian private foundations the absolute proportion of testamentary gifts is considerably lower: 44 out of 119, or 37% of the total. But Italy has a substantial number of foundations of less than HS2,000 with which there is nothing to correspond in Africa; if we consider only that part of the Italian sample that is strictly analogous to the range from Africa, the foundations above HS2,000, we find a much closer similarity. The proportion of testamentary gifts in the Italian

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72 Pliny, Ep. IV, 22; IX, 6; also I, 8, 10. On the other hand, Pliny also found himself able to commend the propriety of a friend’s celebration of a gladiatorium munus at Verona in memory of his wife, and to commiserate with him on the late arrival of African beasts intended for the occasion (Ep. VI, 54). Cf. also Tac. Ann. XIV, 20.


75 For Africa, cf. CSRA, p. 63 and n. 45.
foundations of this range is 36 out of 79, or 45.6%. This is not far enough below the corresponding African proportion of almost 55% to indicate a significant variation of social practice, especially since the African sample is so small that the apparent discrepancy could rest on the chance survival of as few as three foundations.

As has been implied, the proportion of testamentary gifts among the small Italian foundations is low: only 8 of the 40 foundations below HS2,000 were testamentary. It is a simple fact that small gifts were more frequently made during the donor’s lifetime than were large ones. The seven largest Italian foundations, ranging from HS2 million to HS600,000, were all testamentary; and only 4 of the 30 Italian privately given foundations of HS100,000 and above were lifetime gifts (nos. 637-666). Only one of the six foundations in the corresponding range in Africa was a lifetime gift (CSRA, nos. 248-253). Where very large sums were concerned, financial inconvenience to the donor was obviously minimised when the gift was made by will. Though lifetime munificence had the advantage over testamentary generosity that inheritance tax was circumvented, the rate of death-duty under the Roman Empire was probably too low (at 5%) to make this a serious consideration.76

The chronology provided by the Italian foundations is very intermittent, but its main features are worth considering.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A.D.</th>
<th>HS</th>
<th>no.</th>
<th>A.D.</th>
<th>HS</th>
<th>no.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>38/41</td>
<td>400,000</td>
<td>647</td>
<td>148/180</td>
<td>1,000,000</td>
<td>641</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54/68</td>
<td>400,000</td>
<td>650</td>
<td>161/170</td>
<td>2,000,000</td>
<td>637</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>69</td>
<td>1,000,000</td>
<td>640</td>
<td>168</td>
<td>10,000</td>
<td>692</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>84/96</td>
<td>120,000</td>
<td>658</td>
<td>182</td>
<td>675</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>96/108</td>
<td>500,000</td>
<td>644</td>
<td>189/200</td>
<td>753</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>98/102</td>
<td>4,000</td>
<td>706</td>
<td>190/200</td>
<td>715</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>111/113</td>
<td>866,666</td>
<td>638, 655</td>
<td>200,000</td>
<td>723-728a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>200,000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(10 instances)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>117/138</td>
<td>80,000</td>
<td>667</td>
<td>230/240</td>
<td>674</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>133</td>
<td>16,000</td>
<td>685</td>
<td>234</td>
<td>697</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>138/161</td>
<td>100,000</td>
<td>664, 694</td>
<td>10,000</td>
<td>695</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>140</td>
<td>10,000</td>
<td>693, 702</td>
<td>5,000</td>
<td>663</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>148</td>
<td>200,000</td>
<td>656, 663</td>
<td>100,000</td>
<td>647</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Three peaks are provided by foundations of HS1 million or more: these occur in the late Julio-Claudian period (a gift to Capua by the senatorial Clodii), under Trajan (a gift to Comum by the senator Pliny), and in the late Antonine period (gifts to Ostia by a consul’s daughter, and to Capua[?] by the younger Matidia) (nos. 640, 638, 641, 637). The dated sample as a whole is too small and disjointed to allow any useful attempt at tracing a graph of levels of expenditure on foundations. But it can be noted that there are no foundations explicitly dated earlier than the reign of Gaius; and no foundations of really substantial size after the Antonine period. Two undated groups of large foundations are probably dateable to the reigns of Marcus or Commodus, on general grounds of type (nos. 643-648,

76 Pliny, Ep. VII, 11, 1, etc.
HS1 million; nos. 646+653+654, HS800,000). The last firmly dated Italian
gift of HS100,000 or more belongs to the year A.D. 184 (no. 1180, HS100,000+, Reate). The series of small early Severan foundations all come, like the one large
Severan or post-Severan foundation, from Ostia, whose state of prosperity was
probably more closely linked with that of the capital than with that of Italy as a
whole (nos. 715, 723–728, 674). Apart from the Ostian material, the dated evidence
for foundation gifts in Italy at large after the reign of Commodus is negligible.

MULTIPLE DISTRIBUTIONS AND SPORTULAE
(see also ADDENDUM p. 306 below)

The Italian sportulae (cash hand-outs) included in the present sample fall into
two categories: those which were given at different rates to different groups of
recipients on a single occasion; and those which were given at a single rate, usually
to a socially homogeneous group of recipients. The majority of these distributions
in the surviving epigraphic evidence were ephemeral and non-recurrent: they
usually celebrated the dedication of a statue or building connected with the donor.
But the sportula was also sometimes used as a mechanism of perpetual commemora-
tion, capital sums being laid down to provide revenue for this purpose: there are
examples of both multiple and single-rate sportulae among the provisions of the
foundations (nos. 667, 643, etc.; see above).

There does not appear to be any evidence in Italy for the large-scale distributions
of sportulae at marriages and other family occasions which were evidently a regular
custom in the Bithynia of Trajan’s time and in the Tripolitania of Antoninus Pius. But
the giving of sportulae in these circumstances received little or no epigraphic
commemoration; and in the absence of any full contemporary literary source for
the social history of Italy in the second century A.D., it is impossible to judge what
the reality here may have been. The very high frequency of sportulae in Italy as a
commemorative device at the dedication of monuments makes it very likely that
sportulae would also have featured in the domestic occasions of the local well-to-do.
We see the sportula firmly entrenched in one area of Roman private life, the relation-
ship between wealthy patrons and their humble clients at Rome.

Before beginning to examine the size of the municipal sportulae, one further
characteristic must be noted. A number of the distributions show sportulae which
were given at public feasts to the assembled diners, or else were given for the purpose
of providing a feast. Though it does not appear that the majority of sportulae were
given in connection with feasts, there is an occasional ambiguity about the nature
of the provision. In a number of cases it is not clear whether the figure stated was
a cash gift made on the occasion of a feast, or the per capita cost of the feast itself.

77 Dated to the second century by Le Bras, p. 26, n. 8.
78 Pliny, Ep. X, 116; Apuleius, Apol. 87.
79 L. Friedlaender, Darstellungen aus der Sitten-
geschichte röm. I, pp. 225–235. J. Carcopino,
DS and RE s.v. 'sportula'. Modern discussions
have tended to concentrate almost entirely on the
sportula of the client at Rome, to the exclusion of
the municipal sportula.
80 Nos. 834, 841, 862, 879, 923, 960, 976, 992, 994, 1000, 1036 appear to be cash gifts made on
the occasion of a feast; nos. 1079b–1079h, though
very similar in amount, appear to be provisions for
feasts, and have been classified accordingly. For
the same ambiguity at an African city, cf. CSRA
no. 293, 'et epulationis nomine decurionibus sport-
(ulas)'.

Both public cash distributions and public feasts belonged to the main stream of Roman public generosity, exemplified most strikingly by the practice of Caesar and Augustus. We see early municipal instances of public feasts in an Ostian gift of an ‘epulum tricipis CCXVII colonis’ probably made under Augustus; and in the gift of a public ‘epulum . . . binos denarios’ credited to Trimalchio in the Satyricon, where the rate indicated (HS8) is not implausible in view of epigraphic parallels ranging from HS20 to HS2 per head (nos. 1079b–1079h). But a further number of inscriptions mentioning gifts of bread and wine combined with distributions of sportulae show unequivocally that the giving of cash distributions came to be frequently intertwined in municipal practice with the giving of feasts or refreshments of some kind.

In examining the rates of sportulae, five features have to be taken into account:

1. The status of the recipients
2. The number of recipients
3. The date of the distribution
4. The size and standing of the town concerned
5. The donor’s level of generosity.

For practical purposes the list could be made shorter, since (5), though an essential ingredient, always remains more or less an imponderable. However, where a sufficient amount of comparable evidence exists, it is possible to make a rough assessment of the donor’s relative generosity.

The most vivid demonstration of the importance of (1), the status of the recipients, is provided by the multiple distributions to several different social or organisational groups at correspondingly different rates. Fifty-eight such distributions survive from Italy, which is thus the main source for social information of this type in the West (there are few parallels in Africa, Spain and Gaul). These distributions have been tabulated in such a way as to show their hierarchical character (see nos. 756–816). The discrimination between highest and lowest is often considerable and at its most extreme reaches a factor of 50 (no. 757, Puteoli, where the [decurions] received HS200 and the coloni and another group HS4 per head). The next highest factor of difference (25 in no. 759) is also quite atypical. But overall discrimination by factors of 5 or 3 is not at all uncommon.

The group which appears consistently as being more highly privileged than any other in the municipal distributions is that of the decurions, or town-councillors, whose numbers were generally restricted to 100 per town in the West, though in one small Italian community there are known to have been as few as 30 decurions.

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82 XIV, 375. For dating, Meiggs, pp. 493–500.
83 Petronius, Satyricon, 71.
85 CSRA nos. 296+300; II, 2011, 4511; XIII, 1921.
86 Liebenam, p. 229; CSRA, pp. 70–71.
The decurions appear in all 58 of the distributions of sportulae at multiple rates of which there is more than partial surviving evidence. Only in two cases is there any indication that another group received *sportulae* at a higher rate than they did (nos. 772, where the freedman donor gave his fellow-Augustales more than the decurions, and 780, where the d[Juovirales?] received HS20 per head and the decurions HS8). The decurions likewise received 14 of the 64 single-rate distributions of sportulae. Thus in all, this group appears in 72 (or 64%) of the 112 Italian *sportulae* distributions of which we have specific details. No other class of recipient appears as frequently.

Discrimination in multiple distributions almost invariably followed a class pattern, as is implied by the fact that the decurions virtually always received the highest rate of benefit. Thus the *ordo Augustalium*, the second *ordo* made up of freedmen that seems to have existed in Italian towns from the time of Trajan onwards, though the Augustalitas itself was created by Augustus, generally came in for the next highest rate of benefit (see nos. 756–816 *passim*). The Augustales appear in 44 (or 76%) of the 58 multiple distributions. But their inclusion in multiple distributions was not automatic, for at least 12 of the 14 cases which did not benefit Augustales come from towns whose institutions included the Augustalitas nevertheless. However, since Augustales figured in three-quarters of the multiple distributions in this sample, they form the most persistent feature of the municipal scene after the decurions in terms of those who received *sportulae* at differentiated rates.

Except in one case at Ostia mentioned above (no. 772), the *Augustales* always received *sportulae* at a rate no higher than that of the decurions in the 35 distributions where they appear side by side. In four cases the two groups received the same amount (nos. 784, 802, 804; also in the non-specific no. 693); but in the remaining 31 cases the Augustales received less than the decurions. Their *sportulae* as a proportion of the *sportulae* given to the decurions on the same occasions range from 80% to 4%, with more than two-thirds of the instances concentrated between 80% and 50% of the decurial *sportula*. Thus the deserts of the *Augustales*, who were often quite well-to-do, were most commonly assessed as being about two-thirds of those of the decurions.

The *sportulae* of the other main recurrent group, 'the people' were lower by a much greater margin. With the exception of a freak bequest of HS200 per head to the plebs at Mons Fereter (no. 820), the popular *sportula* was never higher than HS12, and of this level there are only three instances (nos. 883, 897, 911). By comparison there are 13 instances where *sportulae* of more than HS20 were given to the decurions, and 8 instances where HS20 was the sportula given to the Augustales (see table below). Ten popular *sportulae* belong to the range from HS8 to HS6; but 36, or more than half of the total sample of 58 rates, are distributions

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87 See Appendix on dating.
88 Asculum Picenum, no. 761, Ruggiero I, 865, 1; Firma Picenum, no. 765 (ibid.); Pisaurnum, no. 776, Ruggiero I, 866, 1; Forum Flaminiae Fulginiæ, no. 781, XI, p. 755, 2; Auximum, nos. 792 & 803, cf. no. 791, where Augustales were included; Atina Latii, no. 794, Ruggiero I, 857, 2; Lupiae?, nos. 795 and 805, Ruggiero I, 862, 1; Perusia, nos. 806 and 816, Ruggiero I, 867, 1; Sestinum, no. 807, XI, p. 884, 2.
89 Cf. for example note to no. 461; Petronius, Sat. 71.
of one denarius per head, or HS4. The remaining 8 popular sportulae belong to
the range from HS2 to HS1 per head. The reason for the preponderance of very
low rates among the popular sportulae is to be seen partly in terms of conscious
status discrimination (the popular rate was almost always low regardless of whether
the people were the only recipients or only one out of several groups) and partly
in terms of the large number of recipients of popular sportulae as against the numbers
decurions and of Augustales. Though there is no proof that the number who
benefited when sportulae were given to the people generally bore a very close relation-
ship to the total size of population, in a few cases where figures are available, it
is clear that very large number of popular recipients were involved (large when it is
considered that all the beneficiaries drew on the resources of one man).

In a foundation of HS250,000 at Spoletium (no. 652) which also provided a
feast for the decurions, the intended number of popular recipients of sportulae was
apparently of the order of 5,000–6,000. My conjecture of a popular figure of 6,500
made in an earlier paper was based on an assumed interest-rate of 6%; but conclu-
sions reached above (p. 204) now suggest this to be an improbably high rate of yield
for a foundation whose capital was as large as HS250,000. The likely alternative,
5%, leads to a total of 5,250 popular recipients of sportulae under the terms of this
foundation, which now seems a preferable conjecture. The number of recipients
of a single cash distribution at Siagu in Africa Proconsularis was not very much
smaller than the number at Spoletium: the figure of 4,000 is certain. It is almost
equally clear that the total number of citizens of both sexes who benefited in an
annual distribution of sportulae at Petelia (no. 664) was 1,000, since the capital,
the rate of interest, the size of the popular sportula and the cost of the other provisions
are all explicitly stated. A figure for popular benefits of a quite different order of
size survives from Ephesus (40,000 citizens); but evidence from the great cities of
the East is not directly relevant to the present context. Finally, a figure for the
probable number present at a public feast given at Ostia under Augustus: the
inscription quoted above speaks of an ‘epulum triclinis CCXVII colonis’; since the
standard Roman triclinium had room for 9 diners, the figure implied is 1,953, just
short of 2,000. The cost of feasts seems to have covered very much the same
range as the more frequent sportula figures (cf. nos. 1079b–1079h and nos. 818–1051).
When the number of recipients ran into thousands, the outlay was bound to be
sizeable whatever the rate of benefit; and such generosities would quickly become
prohibitive for all but the most wealthy unless the rate per head was kept low.
The one strikingly large popular sportula recorded in Italy (HS200, no. 820, from
an obscure town, Mons Fereter), resulted from a legacy, unlike the great majority
distributions, which were made during the lifetime of the donor.

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90 An inscription from Corfinium has ‘plebs universa’ but such explicitness is very unusual [no. 931,
cf. CSRA nos. 298 and 305].
91 Cf. Historia, xiii, 1964, pp. 200–201. For the
cost of feasts, see nos. 1079b–1079h, which show the
maximum cost of HS20 assumed in the Historia
paper. Beloch’s inference from this foundation of
a population of 6,000–7,000 citizens was by in-
adverence overlooked when that paper was
written (Beloch, p. 441).
85–91.
94 See Broughton in Frank, IV, p. 754.
95 J. Marquardt, Das Privatleben der Römer, 1879,
pp. 293–297; cf. especially lex col. Gen. Iuliae,
c. 132, ILS 6087.
A tabular analysis of all the Italian *sportula* rates (including the few from Sicily) in terms of status of the recipients is appropriate at this point:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rates</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>E</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>HS400</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HS300</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HS200</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HS100</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HS70</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HS50</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HS40</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HS32</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HS30</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HS24</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HS20</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HS16</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HS12</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HS11</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HS10</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HS9</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HS8</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HS6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HS5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HS4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HS2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HS1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

 Totals: 74 44 38 58 52 266

Although there are 22 different rates in all, the bulk of the examples are concentrated at only 4 rates, each of which is evidenced more than twice as often as any of the other 18 rates. The four frequent rates are HS20 (34 instances, forming 12·8% of the sample), HS12 (37 instances, forming 13·9% of the sample), HS8 (51 instances forming 19·2% of the sample), and HS4 (72 instances forming 27% of the sample).

It is striking that all four rates form whole numbers of denarii, 5, 3, 2 and 1 denarii respectively. There is little evidence for the rate of 4 denarii or HS16 (5 instances forming 1·9% of the sample), which suggests that those who thought they could afford *sportulae* of this level may often have preferred to give instead the round number of 5 denarii, or HS20. In terms of the rates which are most heavily evidenced, it is noticeable that the number of examples becomes more frequent as the values decrease.

The emphasis that has been placed above on apparently utilitarian correlations between low *sportulae* and large numbers of recipients must not be allowed to obscure the heavily democratic nature of the distributions. It is true that the low number of decurions by comparison with the size of the populace made the giving of high *sportulae* to them less costly than it would have been had the *ordo* been larger. But the constant discrimination in favour of those who were already wealthy shows that the modulation of the amount of the municipal *sportula* was governed by honorific not philanthropic considerations. As has been mentioned, the decurions appeared in a larger proportion of the Italian distributions than any other group (64% against 47% for the people and 40% for the Augustales). The average rates for the three main groups show a consistently hierarchical character, whatever method of analysis is applied:
90 of the 266 group-rates were given to other colleges or to unidentified recipients; their average *sportulae* occupy a position intermediate between that of the *Augustales* and that of the people. But there is too heavy a conflation of different social groups under this heading for the statistic to be useful.

The number of recipients of sportula distributions may now be considered more closely. The three figures for the number of decurions per town known in Italy are 110, 100 and 30; in a further instance, one town is known to have had 25 *praetextati*, or sons of decurions, annexed to its ordo of 100 in the reign of Severus Alexander. It appears that 100 decurions was the normal level for Italian cities. The number of Augustales per town in Italy is a subject about which there is very little information, despite the very large number of inscriptions mentioning Augustales. The lists from Ostia are too fragmentary to provide a basis for calculation, and the only concrete suggestion that I have been able to find appears in an inscription from Cures Sabini of the first or earlier second century A.D. A female donor laid down a capital sum of unknown amount whose interest was to provide an annual public feast for the decurions ‘decem trichili[s]’ and for the sevirales (=Augustales) ‘duobus trichili[nis]’. It is abundantly testified that the standard Roman *triclinium* seated 9 persons; and when the 10 *triclini* specified for the decurions are multiplied by this factor, we reach a total of 90, which represents the known number of decurions at Cures Sabini, 100, with a margin of error of 11%. A corresponding calculation for the sevirales produces the total of 18, which may point to the low theoretical size of 20 members.

This is less than one-twelfth of the number of Augustales attested at Barcino, a big coastal city of Hispania Tarraconensis, in the mid-second century, where a figure of 250 is fairly clear. Two more shadowy indications from Italian cities suggest figures both of which fall between the extremes indicated at Barcino and Cures Sabini. Two foundations at Ostia, whose interest-rate appears to have been a version of 6%, provided capitals of HS40,000 and HS50,000 for distributions of *sportulae* to the Augustales; at the highest rate commonly given to the Augustales, HS20, the total number of recipients would have been not less than 120/150. A foundation at Aletrium of HS10,000 provided a feast for the Augustales (no. 687); if the interest-rate was the 6% usual with foundations of this size, and the rate of outlay on the feast one of those attested for feasts for the Augustales (HS8–12, nos. 1079c–1079d), the membership indicated would be in the range from 50 to 75. Thus none of the three Italian figures that can be conjectured for numbers of

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86 IX, 338. For distributions that included the sons of decurions, see nos. 822, 839, 860, 934, 949, 950, 963.
87 A. von Premerstein in Ruggiero I, 824–877. For more recent work on the Augustales, see J. H. Oliver in *Historia*, vii, 1958, pp. 481–482.
88 XIV, 4560–4563.
89 Cf. IX, 4957, 4970, 4977, 4978.
90 IX, 4971 = *ILS* 6560.

101 See n. 95 above.
102 For 100 decurions at Cures, see IX, 4952, 4957, 4959, 4970, 4973, 4976, 4978.
103 II, 4511; see *Historia*, xiii, 1964, p. 205.
104 Cf. Billeter, p. 204 and n. 2.
105 Nos. 675, 674, laid down in A.D. 182 and 230/240. HS20 is the only *sportula* attested for the Augustales at Ostia (nos. 863, 864a).
Augustales at different cities seem to resemble each other closely. An inscription from a fourth Italian city, Trebula Mutuesca, which refers to the fact that the number of seviri Augustales at that town was fixed at a definite number probably relates only to the total of 6 annual magistrates.\textsuperscript{106}

Some figures for the size of other groups which received sportulae can be inferred or conjectured. The total number of recipients of two distributions to the vicani vicorum septem of Ariminum was probably 2,100, and the number of recipients of the distribution to the vicani of the single vicus Velabrus at that town accordingly 300 (nos. 880, 977, 924; cf. nos. 645, 681).\textsuperscript{107} The number of decurions of the collegium fabrum at Ravenna who received sportulae of HS8 under the provisions of a foundation there cannot have been less than 112 unless the interest-rate was lower than 5%, which is only paralleled in western foundations more than thirty times as large as the one concerned here\textsuperscript{108} (no. 678, HS30,000; the cost of the other provisions of the foundation is specified). If, as is more likely on the basis of existing parallels, the rate of interest was 6%, this would point to a total of 150 decurions receiving the sportula. It would be hazardous to infer from this that there were 150 decuriae in the collegium fabrum at Ravenna when no other college, even at Rome, can be shown to have possessed more than 60 decuriae.\textsuperscript{109} Nevertheless, there were at least 28 decuriae in the college at Ravenna, since the donor of this gift made special provision for the members of the 28th decuria, with which he was evidently connected.

Two of the distributions of sportulae were made to bodies of dendrophori (nos. 836, Signia, 879, Antinum Marsorum). The number at Cumae is known to have been 87 in A.D. 251; and there appear to have been about 30 dendrophori at Tomi in A.D. 200/201.\textsuperscript{110} It would appear that there was a general likelihood of the number of dendrophori being smaller than the number of decurions. This was the case also with the ordo adlectorum scaenicorum at Bovillae, which numbered 60 members (no. 824).\textsuperscript{111} The ministri who figured in a distribution of sportulae at Forum Clodii in A.D. 165 (no. 758) might have numbered 38 or more, on the parallel of the number of officials specified in the lex Ursของenensis.\textsuperscript{112} An even lower number of recipients is attested in a distribution where the group concerned constituted the sole beneficiaries. A statue of a patron and magistrate of Pisaurum was erected in the third century by the ‘cives amici et amatores eius’, who each received HS40 together with bread, wine and an epulum when the statue was dedicated. Their number was 9, exactly the total needed to fill a single triclinium (no. 833).

What evidence can be found for the overall numbers of recipients of popular distributions has been presented above. The composition of the group which received such distributions, whether known as ‘populus’, ‘plebs’, ‘coloni’, or ‘municipes’, appears to have been confined to male adults for the most part. There is one, obviously small, Italian town at which women were regularly included in

\textsuperscript{106} IX, 4896=ILS 6553: adlecto supra numer-(um) sevirum Augustalium’. Cf. IX 4901.
\textsuperscript{107} Historia, xiii, 1964, p. 204. For very large collegiate sizes in Italy, compare the total of roughly 1200 in the collegium fabrum et tignuariorum at Rome implied by the 60 decurions indicated in VI, 148, 1060, 10900 and the decuria size of 20 or more in VI, 9405 (Waltzing, IV, p. 293).
\textsuperscript{108} No. 642.
\textsuperscript{109} See n. 107 above.
\textsuperscript{110} Ruggiero II, 1696, 2–1697, 1 (Aurigemma).
\textsuperscript{111} XIV, 2408.
\textsuperscript{112} FIRA I, no. 21, 62.
popular distributions on equal terms with men (Tuficum in Umbria, nos. 1026, 1027, 1028). Equality of rate is instanced also at Compsa and Petelia (nos. 991, 991a; 1014); but both these towns also provide examples of distributions to the male plebs alone (nos. 989, Compsa, 1049, Petelia). The majority of towns where women are mentioned in popular distributions at specified rates show that there was discrimination of amount in favour of the men (Firmum Picenum, Putecoli, Volcei, Crotò, Tuder, nos. 995, 1017, 1033, 1039, 1051; cf. no. 981, Bovillae for discrimination against women at a more privileged level). Since discrimination of rate appears to have been common practice in distributions in which women were included, it seems unlikely that women were included in the general run of popular distributions, where there is neither any explicit statement about the sex of the beneficiaries nor any indication of dual rates of popular benefit.¹¹³ There is only one case in the present sample in which children shared in a popular distribution (no. 1023, Ager Sorrinseum Novensium). In general the evidence points to the probability that the run of popular distributions benefited only the male adult populace. We may suspect that a further limitation of scope, the restriction of popular spoltulae to the plebs urbana, or those living within the walls of the town, was more widespread than the language of the inscriptions indicates (cf. nos. 962, 976, 990, Atina Latii, Antinum Marsorum, Compsa).¹¹⁴

In some cases it is possible to estimate the size of total expenditure on spoltula distributions. In a distribution at Forum Clodii in A.D. 165 the patroni and decurions received HS100 per head, and the minist(ri) publici HS50 per head (no. 758). If the resident patroni numbered 8 as at Canusium, where there were 8 sub-senatorial patrons at the time of the compilation of the album of A.D. 223,¹¹⁵ the total absorbed by patrons and decurions would have been HS10,800. 38 ministri publici (see above) would have brought the total to HS12,700. A distribution at Ostia at the dedication of a statue in A.D. 230/240 involved the giving of HS20 per head to the Augustales and (by an unparalleled reversal of precedence) HS12 to the decurions (no. 772). The Augustales at Ostia appear at this date to have numbered not less than 150 (see above) and the decurions of the town numbered 110 in the late second century (no. 672 and note). Hence the total outlay on the present occasion would have amounted to not less than HS4,320. Finally, seven figures for the size of outlay on distributions where the decurions were the only beneficiaries can be suggested:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rate</th>
<th>Town</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Probable ordo size</th>
<th>Outlay</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>HS100</td>
<td>Florentia</td>
<td>(pre-200)</td>
<td>(100)</td>
<td>(HS10,000)</td>
<td>no. 825</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HS70</td>
<td>Forum Sempronii</td>
<td>(100/200)</td>
<td>(100)</td>
<td>(HS7,000)</td>
<td>no. 827</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HS40</td>
<td>Ager Sorrinseum</td>
<td>(post-180)</td>
<td>(100 ?)</td>
<td>(HS4,000 ?)</td>
<td>no. 834</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Novensium</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HS20</td>
<td>Formiae</td>
<td>(pre-200)</td>
<td>(100)</td>
<td>(HS2,000)</td>
<td>no. 857</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HS20</td>
<td>Volturnum</td>
<td>174</td>
<td>(100)</td>
<td>(HS2,000)</td>
<td>no. 872</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HS12</td>
<td>Minturnae</td>
<td>249</td>
<td>(100)</td>
<td>(HS1,200)</td>
<td>no. 892</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HS12</td>
<td>Ostia</td>
<td>251</td>
<td>(110)</td>
<td>(HS1,320)</td>
<td>no. 893</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These 9 estimates for outlays on spoltulae range from HS12,700 to HS1,320, with a median of HS4,000. This average is almost certainly too low to be fully typical,

¹¹⁴ The plebs urbana is also found as a specific unit at Alba Fucens, Amiternum, Ancona, Falerii, Reate (IX, p. 788, 2) and at Albingaunum, Augusta Taurinorum, Bergomum, Comum, Eporédia, Industria, Libarna, Tergeste, Vercellae and Verona (V, p. 1196, 2). Cf. Liebenam, p. 211, n. 2. ¹¹⁵ IX 338.
because it has been impossible to include examples of distributions that embraced
the people, owing to the extreme uncertainties of calculation that this would involve.
The people in fact appeared in about half of the Italian sportula distributions (53
of the 112 multiple and single-rate distributions in the present survey).

The chronology of the sportulae has so far been left undiscussed. The great bulk
of the Italian municipal sportulae appear to be closely concentrated within a period
of about a century and a quarter, starting with the reign of Trajan. Only three
of the 266 group-rates definitely appear to precede the accession of this emperor:
two testamentary distributions to the citizens, one at Herculaneum being dated to
A.D. 48/49, the other at Auximum is by implication not later than the first century
A.D. because of the use of archaic numerals elsewhere in the inscription; the third
distribution, a gift of HS4 to the people during the donor's lifetime at Nuceria
Alfaterna, is dated to A.D. 63 or earlier by the cataclysm of that year (nos. 999, 851,
1004). It is difficult to assign an early date with confidence to a fourth distribution
made in units of victoriati at Cales, since a distribution in victoriati in the late Antonine
period is known at a coastal city of Africa (GSRA, no. 297).116

The chronology of reign-dated sportula distributions of stated amount follows
a consistent pattern, tending upwards as far as the reign of Marcus and downwards
thereafter.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ruler</th>
<th>Rate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Trajan</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hadrian</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pius</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marcus</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commodus</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Septimius</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caracalla</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alexander</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philip the Great</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Decius</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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Only the figures from Hadrian to Septimius Severus are large enough to be regarded
as statistically significant. These figures suggest that roughly five-sixths of the
municipal sportulae in Italy belonged to the second century A.D. The frequency
of multiple distributions appears to have increased up to the time of Marcus and
continued at about that level under Commodus and Septimius Severus with a
decline thereafter (1 out of 4 under Hadrian; 3 out of 10 under Pius; 9 out of 16
under Marcus; 4 out of 7 under Commodus; 4 out of 6 under Septimius; 1 out of 5
in post-Septimian distributions).

The tendency towards an increase in the number of multiple distributions up
to the later second century meant a corresponding tendency towards an increase
in the total size of outlays on sportulae. The highest rates of distribution are also
concentrated in or around the period when sportula-giving was at its height (HS400;
300; 200, A.D. 148, no. 756; HS100; 100; 50, A.D. 165, no. 758; HS100; 20; 12;
4; 4, A.D. 169, no. 759). The tendency towards an increase of sportula rates is

116 The victoriatus was another name for the quinarius, or half-denarius, Mattingly, p. 140.
Quinarii were still being struck by the Antonines, H. Mattingly, Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum, IV, 1940, p. xiii.
also observable in the fact that the unaccompanied rate of HS4 per head occurs in more than half of the 15 examples dated to the period before the death of Antoninus Pius; whereas it occurs only 5 times in the 30 examples dated to between the accession of Marcus and the death of Septimius Severus. It is tolerably clear that frequency and size of sportula distributions both reached a climax in the reign of Marcus Aurelius, and that they were beginning to decline sharply by the time of Septimius. There are too many distortions due to differences in the status and numbers of the recipients and to variations in the size and standards of generosity at different towns for a closer analysis of the chronological evidence to be safely attempted.

However, when provenances are considered, no very clear pattern of differences in sportula levels from town to town emerges. Analysis of the rates given to members of a particular group at a given town usually shows inconsistencies from one distribution to another:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Town</th>
<th>Decurions</th>
<th>Augustales</th>
<th>People</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Anagnia</td>
<td>HS20, 20</td>
<td>8, 8, 8</td>
<td>4, 4, 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Antium Marsorum</td>
<td>HS20, 8, 9</td>
<td>8, 6</td>
<td>4, 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carsulae</td>
<td>HS8, 4</td>
<td>4, 4, 4</td>
<td>6, 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bovillae</td>
<td>HS20, 9, 4</td>
<td>12, 4</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ostia</td>
<td>HS20, 20, 12, 12</td>
<td>20, 20</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Volcei</td>
<td>HS30, 12</td>
<td>20, 8</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Auximum</td>
<td>HS20, 12, 12, 12</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>8, 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lupiae ?</td>
<td>HS12, 8</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>4, 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perusia</td>
<td>HS8, 4</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>4, 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Puteoli</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>HS8, 8</td>
<td>4, 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Formiae</td>
<td>HS20, 20</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forum Sempronii</td>
<td>HS70, 30</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ager Sorrinens.Novens.</td>
<td>HS40, 16</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tuficum</td>
<td>HS8, 6</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vibo</td>
<td>HS8, 8</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salernum</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>HS12, 8</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pisauro</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>HS12, 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Compsa</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>HS54, 4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Consistency between the sportulae given to a single group by different donors is found at only 8 of the 17 towns concerned, and only 2 of the 10 towns where relevant information is available for more than one group show consistency throughout (Anagnia and Puteoli). Precise dating indications are so few that chronological criteria can be brought into play in only 4 of the 31 cases. In 2 of these, the group-rate fell (the rates for decurions at Ostia and Tuficum between the second and third centuries\(^{117}\)); and in 2 cases the group-rate rose (the rates for decurions and people at Perusia, in the same two distributions, and the rate for the people at Auximum, between the 160's and the end of the second century in both cases\(^{118}\)). While this tiny chronological sample is self-consistent in that it could point to a rise in average levels of outlay up to the last decades of the second century, which was soon followed

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\(^{117}\) The decurions of Ostia received HS20 per head in two distributions in the late second century (no. 863, dated to 182, no. 864, dated to 160/200), and HS12 in two third century distributions (no. 893 dated to 251, no. 894 dated to 230/240). The decurions at Tuficum received HS6 in a distribution dated to the reign of Commodus, and HS6 in a distribution dated after 200 (nos. 953, 969).

\(^{118}\) The decurions and people of Perusia received rates of HS4 and HS2 in 166, and HS8 and HS4 in 205 (nos. 1013, 1042, 938, 1012). The people at Auximum received HS4 per head in a distribution dated to 161/169, and HS8 in a distribution dated to 169/190 (nos. 979, 927).
by a fall in levels during the third century, it is too small for any sound inference to be made. It would appear that there was a strong random element in the choice of *sportula* levels, and that the precedents of the town concerned were not regarded very closely, possibly because *sportula* distributions took place relatively infrequently at many places, and no doubt also because the level of generosity and the size of the surplus available varied from one donor to another. Random variants in social practice are also apparent at 4 of the 5 towns where there is enough evidence to allow comparative analysis of the discrimination between decurions and Augustales made by different donors at the same town.\textsuperscript{119}

A few local features may be noticed. The *sportula* rate of HS100 found in the 160’s A.D. at Bovillae and Forum Clodii, which appears very high for these small towns, may be attributable to the fact that both places lay within a short distance of Rome, where prices were exceptionally high (nos. 758, 759). By contrast, the various *sportulae* never exceeding HS8 that are found at Petelia in Bruttium and Tuficum in Umbria appear to correlate accurately with the fact that these towns were both small and remote (nos. 815, 1014; 809, 813, 1026).\textsuperscript{120} As in Africa, there is a shortage of evidence from the largest towns (cf. CSRA, p. 56). The widespread custom of giving *sportulae* at broadly consistent rates to the people, and at widely modulated rates to other groups often has the effect of disguising what tendencies there may have been towards local characteristics in *sportula*-rates.

One general regional tendency is striking. More than half of the Italian group *sportula*-rates, 142 out of 266, come from two of the 11 *regiones* of Italy, numbers I and VI, which were equivalent to Latium, Campania and Umbria: in terms of urbanisation, these areas between them outnumbered less than one-third of the towns of Italy.\textsuperscript{121} By contrast, the 4 northern *regiones* (*regiones* VIII-XI), which accounted for 19% of the towns in Italy have left only 10 group *sportula*-rates, or less than 4% of the total. Aggregate *sportula*-rates and town numbers correlate fairly closely in the southern *regiones* and Picenum. The municipal *sportula* thus had by far its strongest hold in parts of central Italy, and was a familiar feature of urban life in the south; but it was hardly found at all in the north, despite the greater prosperity of that part of Italy.\textsuperscript{122} It would appear that the geographical incidence of the *sportula* was mainly determined by social custom rather than by the wealth of the area concerned. In view of the primarily timocratic nature of the distributions (see above), it is difficult to interpret the institution in a converse sense, as being some sort of dole whose incidence was naturally greater in the less prosperous areas.

Finally, a brief consideration of the social status of the donors of *sportulae*. Relevant indications have survived in 80 of the 112 Italian gifts of *sportulae* at specified rates. More than one-third of the donors belonged to the highest ranks commonly

\textsuperscript{119} The *sportulae* given to the Augustales as a percentage of those given to the decurions: Anagnia, 66%, 40%, 40% (nos. 788, 774, 775); Antium, 75%, 40% (nos. 787, 778); Carsulae, 100%, 50%, 33% (nos. 802, 801, 786); Putoli, 66%, 4% (nos. 788, 775); Volcei, 66%, 66% (sic) (nos. 762, 790).


\textsuperscript{121} Cf. Frank, V, pp. 107–120. These circumstances throw some light on why sportula-giving appeared somewhat foreign to the younger Pliny (who came from Comum, *regio* XI), when he encountered it in Bithynia, though the municipal *sportula* was also still in its infancy in Italy at large in Trajan’s time (Pliny, *Ep. X*, 116).

\textsuperscript{122} 129 of the 431 cities in Italy listed by the elder Pliny, or 30%, were in *regiones* I and VI (Beloch, p. 191).
found on the municipal scene: patrons, curators of cities and knights account for 28 (or 35%) of the 80 individuals whose status is known. A further 21 (or 26%) of the donors held the highest local magistracies, the quinquennialitas, or the annual IIIvirate or IIvirate. The next largest social group is made up of 16 freedmen, forming a further 20% of the sample (they included 3 bisellii, 7 individuals who had been distinguished by election to honorary membership of the ordo decurionum, and a further 6 who were Augustales). The remaining 15 donors included 2 patrons of municipal colleges, 3 army veterans, 6 women and one public slave.

SUBSISTENCE

Financial details of six private and two governmental foundations that provided subsistence have survived from Italy (nos. 1161–1168). In every case but one, the beneficiaries were children (the exception is Pliny’s testamentary foundation for his freedmen, no. 638, cf. nos. 1162, 1169). Two of the foundations have left information about the rates of benefit: the monthly maintenance rate for children in the government scheme at Veleia varied from HS16 per month for legitimate boys to HS10 per month for illegitimate girls (nos. 1172 and 1176; nos. 1174 and 1175 give the intermediate rates). The private scheme at Tarracina was apparently somewhat more generous to its beneficiaries, since boys received HS20 per month and girls HS16 (nos. 1171 and 1173). The gift belongs to some point in the Antonine period and could conceivably reflect an increase in subsistence costs since the founding of the Trajanic alimenta at Veleia, though the surviving evidence for grain prices is not such that this hypothesis can be securely tested. Whatever the uncertainty here, a difference in basic costs of subsistence is almost certainly reflected in the disparity between the Italian rates of benefit and the much lower rates of the African alimentary gift made late in the reign of Marcus Aurelius, HS10 for boys and HS8 for girls (CSRA, no. 248).

There is wide evidence that the main ingredient of subsistence diet in the ancient world was bread. Though there are very few figures for the cost of bread itself, the price of wheat under the early Empire seems frequently to have been HS2–2½ per modius, to judge from the evidence of Sicily, Palestine and Asia; the cost in Egypt, one of the two main corn-exporting regions, seems often to have been lower than this in the first century of the Empire. After Cicero’s figures for the Sicilian of ornamentalia, etc.: nos. 776, 788, 809, 830, 858, 872, 898, 942; Augustales: nos. 791, 801–802, 808, 812, 863, 880.

112 Patrons: nos. 766, 767, 771, 774, 778, 781, 784, 790, 794, 806, 827, 833, 841, 977, 1014, 1040; curatores r.p.: curatores calendarii, nos. 763, 778, 784, 790, 793, 806, 822, 828, 831, 977, 980, 1040; knights, nos. 764, 767, 783, 790, 793, 794, 800, 806, 827, 977. The various duplications of rôle here have been allowed for in calculating the total.


114 Bisellii: nos. 796, 815, 858; recipients of ornamenta decurionalia, etc.: nos. 776, 788, 809, 830, 858, 872, 898, 942; Augustales: nos. 791, 801–802, 808, 812, 863, 880.

115 Patrons of collegia: nos. 936, 1041; veterans: nos. 761, 999, 1026; women: nos. 775 (‘Marcia, stolata femina’ who may have been the celebrated concubine of Commodus, Mommsen ad ILS 406, n. 1); 777; 799; 805; 807; 978; serus: no. 849 (a dispensator araea sumorum, or civic financial official, who was also chief contributor to the cost of a temple whose dedication this distribution celebrated; cf. Liebenam, pp. 66–67).

116 A. H. M. Jones, Econ. Hist. Rev. ser. II, v. 1952–1953, pp. 295–296. For Palestine, Heichelheim in Frank IV, pp. 181, 183. Egypt provides a sizeable number of instances of wheat at lower prices: HS1 per modius in 18 b.c.; HS1–2 in 13 b.c.; HS0–75 in 10 and 9 b.c.; HS0–58 in 5 b.c.; HS1 in 4 b.c.; HS0–9 in A.D. 3; HS1–3 in A.D. 45/6 and in A.D. 56; HS0–5 in A.D. 65; HS1–8 in A.D. 138/161 (Johnson in Frank II, pp. 310–311; I have translated from drachmae per arista into stateres per modius for convenience comparison).
his day, there are unfortunately almost no corn-prices from the West which are not either indications of the level to which the cost rose at times of famine, or of the level to which it was artificially reduced by public-spirited intervention in the same circumstances. The figures of HS3 per modius from Rome after the fire of A.D. 64, and of HS4 per modius from Pisidian Antioch at the end of the first century and from Forum Sempronii in the mid-second century are all artificial levels of the second type, which do not indicate what would have been a fair price in normal times. It is known that the controlled price of HS4 imposed at the time of the famine at Antioch was in fact almost double the normal price of corn at that town, which was HS2–2½ per modius.

A higher cost figure has sometimes been suggested as the norm under the early Empire. Hirschfeld inferred from the coincidence between the number of denarii per head in Augustus’ congiaria of 5 and 2 B.C. and the number of modii in the conventional public ration (60 in both cases) that corn was normally reckoned at 1 denarius or HS4 per modius at Rome at that time. This conjecture (which was not considered by van Berchem in his study of the distributions at Rome) seems implausible, since the congiaria of Augustus’ successors soon reached much higher levels, without any indication that the price of corn had risen correspondingly, or that their gifts were in any way geared to commodity prices. Furthermore, in describing the second of his congiaria of 60 denarii, Augustus says ‘Consul tertium decimum sexagenos denariose plebei quae tum frumentum publicum accipiebat dedi’. There is no implication here that the cash distribution was a commutation for the normal 60 modii of corn given to the plebs frumentaria; and if it had been no more than this, the action would not have been recorded as an object for the admiration of posterity. Rostovtzeff read the alimentary rates cited above as indications of maximum corn prices, assuming a constant ration of 5 modii per head per month. But children probably received substantially less than the adult ration of 5 modii, in which case the higher alimentary rates seem large enough to indicate a margin for expenditure on other items of diet (even when corn was as high as HS4 per modius, the highest allowance, HS20, would still have bought 5 modii per month).

It must be noticed that simple though the basic ancient diet was, even the severe Cato reckoned to allow his agricultural slaves wine, olives, oil and salt as well as bread. Their wine allowances ranged from roughly 180 litres per year for those slaves whose occupations were less strenuous to 260 litres per year for members of the conpediti, the chain gang. Wine would have formed a substantial item of expense, if the ratio given in Diocletian’s Edict for the cost of the cheapest kind of wine to the price of wheat is any indication: at the rates given there the cost of the wine ration of the more leisureed class of agricultural slaves would have been half the cost of the grain ration. It is likely that some provision for wine

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129 Cf. Rostovtzeff in RE VII, 143–150; two famine prices from the West are found in CSRA no. 389 (HS40) and no. 1177 (HS50?)
129a AE 1925, 126b.
130 Klio, iv, 1904, pp. 90–91. Cf. no. 1176b.
131 D. van Berchem, Les distributions de bêle et d’argent à la plèbe romaine sous l’Empire, 1939.
132 Res Gestae, XV, 4.
133 RE VII, 148.
134 Cato, de agri cultura, 57–58.
135 7 and 10 quadrants, op. cit., 57; RE s.v. quadrant.
136 One modius of wheat cost 100 denarii and a sextarius of vinum rusticum cost 1 denarius in Diocletian’s Edict (Frank V, pp. 318, 322). For parity between the castrerensis modius and the normal modius: see Jones (cited in n. 128), p. 299, n. 4.
and olives would have been included in the budgeting of the second century alimentary schemes, since they appear to have been intended to provide full subsistence. The statement by a jurist of Trajan's time that alimentary gifts were to be interpreted as including provision for clothing and housing may apply here, though it may have been made as a comment on a gift providing for adult subsistence of the type of Pliny's gift for his freedmen, rather than on gifts for infant subsistence.

The adult male ration of corn seems to have been fairly well standardised at 5 modii per month from the end of the Republic onwards: this figure is twice found for distributions at Rome to the citizens (no. 1176b). It is also found as the normal slave ration in a letter of Seneca's (no. 1170), and in a gift at Lingones Galli in Germania Superior which laid down terms for the employment of topiarii that included rations of 5 modii per month. Corn seems to have been available to the privileged at Nemausus under Tiberius in rations of 50 modii per year, or 4.2 modii per month. Cato had allowed his unchained field slaves 4-4½ modii per month, according to the time of year. Those whose manual tasks were lighter received only 3 modii, but the members of Cato's chain gang received an especially high ration, 120-150 pounds of bread per month, roughly equivalent to 4.6-6 modii of grain; no doubt their tasks of haulage and heavy labour demanded a large diet (as noted above, their wine ration was almost half as large again as Cato's normal ration for his slaves; nos. 1176a, 1176c, 1176d). The corn ration of the footsoldier of the mid-Republic had been considerably lower, 3 modii per month. It is unlikely that the legionary ration would generally have remained as low at the time when the plebs of Rome and even slaves were regularly receiving 5 modii per month. Though it seems to be attested that the legionary in Egypt received only 1 aritaba or 3/4 modii per month, the Egyptian legionary was evidently underprivileged in a number of ways, and his rations probably do not represent a standard figure for the legions as a whole.

The dietetic value of the adult ration of 5 modii per month was probably of the order of 3,000-4,000 calories per day; according to Pliny the elder the bread yield of a modius of wheat could amount to 25-26 pounds. This range is not recognisably different from modern theoretical ideals of approximately 3,300 calories per day for male adults.

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137 Cf. XIV 4450 (= no. 641, Ostia) [ut ex eius] summae usu[ris] p[ue]lueae [alimentar[iae] centum alerentu[g]; Ulpian in Digesta XXXIV, 1, 1, 'Si alimenta fuerint legata, dici potest etiam aquam legato inesse, si in ea regione fuerint legata, ubi venumdari aqua solet'; it would thus appear that the gift of alimenta was to be taken to include financial provision for all the necessities of life. See also the quotation from Iavolenus in the next note.

138 No. 638. Iavolenus Priscus, a Trajanic iurisconsultus (cf. Syme, pp. 52 and 91) in Digesta XXXIV, 1, 6; 'Legatis alimenta cibaria et vestitus et habitatio debeatur, quia sine his ali corpus non potest'.

139 ILS 8379.

140 ILS 2267.

141 This appears to be the correct interpretation of Polybios, VI, 39, 13; cf. F. W. Walbank, A Commentary on Polybius I, 1957, p. 722.

142 Johnson in Frank II, p. 301 and n. 10; pp. 670-671; Brunt, p. 59.

143 NH XVIII, 66-68. See L. A. Moritz, Grain-mills and flour in classical antiquity, 1956, pp. 185, 202-207. The Roman pound is conventionally interpreted as 327.45 gms (cf. Ruggiero s.v. libra). The calorific value of modern bread ranges from about 3.03 to about 2.47 calories per gram (R. Hutchison & V. H. Mottram, Food and the Principles of Dietetics, 1956, p. 24). These co-ordinates suggest a parity between 5 modii per month and 3,700-4,300 calories per day; but the calorific value of Roman bread was probably somewhat lower than that of modern bread.

144 op. cit., pp. 48 and 53.
A conventional valuation for unimproved agricultural land of HS1,000 per iugera (0.252 hectares) can be inferred from two Italian sources: one is found in a statement made by Columella, the other was derived by Mommsen from three other literary sources by ingeniously matching Augustus' grants to his veterans with those made by Caesar (nos. 1192 and 1193). This level is considerably exceeded in the one clear-cut land price that survives from Roman Palestine: 39 plethra or half-iugera of cultivated land near Bethlehem cost HS36,000 under Domitian, working out at HS1,846 per iugera. Very much lower figures for the price of land are frequently found in Roman Egypt: when translated into sesterces per iugera the averages compiled by Johnson work out at HS171 per iugera for the first century, HS300 for the second, and HS550 for the third century A.D. But it was recognised by contemporaries that prices in Egypt were low by comparison with elsewhere, and the very high interest-rates generally prevalent in Egypt are a strong suggestion of low liquidity in that province.

Improved agricultural land could cost considerably more than the conventional valuation of HS1,000 per iugera. A vineyard of 60 iugera near Nomentum changed hands for HS400,000 after being improved by an expert in viticulture in the mid-first century A.D.; the price here of HS6,666 per iugera was almost six times more than the basic land price (nos. 1209 and 1190). Columella implied that viticulture could bring in dividends of the order of HS3,900 per iugera per year after several years of heavy capital expenditure and no yield. The extremely high price of HS11,500 per iugera has been inferred from figures given by Cicero for a property owned by C. Albanius, apparently adjoining the Scapulani horti on the outskirts of Rome. A price roughly equivalent to HS2,500 per iugera is known for what was evidently improved land attached to a villa owned by the senator Q. Axius (less whatever capital outlay had been made on stock and farming equipment); this figure belongs to the end of the Republic (nos. 1191 and 1188).

The one urban land price in the present sample points to very high land costs in large cities of the Empire: the annual rent of the statio Tyrensis at Putecili in A.D. 174 was HS400,000 per year (no. 1185a and note). No archaeological remains sufficiently complete to throw light on the size or nature of the statio have been found; it is evident from the inscription that the statio must have been something more considerable than one of the series of booths round the Piazzale delle Corporazioni which appear to have formed the stationes of foreign cities at Ostia.

143 Mommsen's suggestion elsewhere that a cost per iugera of HS2,200 was the land valuation underlying the property classes of the early fifth century B.C. is extremely speculative, and seems implausible in view of the strong probability that liquidity was much lower under the earlier Republic than several centuries later (Staatsrecht 3, 3, p. 244–249).
144 Eusebius, Hist. eccl. 3, 20, 3 cited by Heichelheim in Frank, IV, p. 151. Parity between the plethron and the iugera is suggested by Heichelheim, but the Syro-Roman Law Book states that 5 iugera = 10 plethra (FIRA 2, p. 795, c. 121; cf. also RE IX, 2507).
145 John in Frank, II, p. 147.
147 Cf. examples collected by Johnson loc. cit., p. 450, n. 58; Historia, xii, 1964, p. 203 and n. 29.
152 Meiggs, pp. 283-287.
The rent figure was clearly a very high one nevertheless. The sum may have included a large consideration for the licence to use Puteoli as a trading depot, in addition to what would now be called ground-rent and rates.

There is a little comparative evidence for urban land-values. An inscription from Dyrrachium in Macedonia states that a donor gave HS170,000 to cover the cost of the site for a public library which his city built under Trajan. Archaeology does not appear to have revealed remains of this building, but the size of public libraries in two other cities of the Empire is known. The library of Thamugadi in Numidia had a ground plan of roughly 25 × 30 m, and thus an area of about 750 m², or 0.29 iugera. A library at Ephesus had a ground plan measuring about 22.5 × 19 m, and thus an area of about 430 m², or 0.17 iugera. If we assume that the Dyrrachium library was as large as the bigger of the two parallel buildings, the enormous land-cost of HS596,000 per iugere results. It is possible that a large part of this cost covered indemnification to the owners of buildings which had previously occupied the site.

The second figure provides an urban land cost which is considerably larger still. Pliny and Suetonius both state that the land bought for the construction of Caesar’s Forum cost HS100 million. The dimensions of the Forum Iulium, which was rectangular, are known to have been approximately 115 × 30 m. This indicates an area of 3,450 m², or about 1.37 iugera, with a price of HS73 million per iugere, or 73,000 times the price of ordinary agricultural land. Here also indemnification for the buildings which had to be demolished to make way for the Forum probably has to be taken into account. Some very large figures for the price of houses in Rome at the end of the Republican period are known: HS14,800,000 for the house of Clodius, HS3,500,000 for the house on the Palatine which Cicero bought from Crassus, and approximately HS1 million for the house purchased in stages by Q. Cicero. The details of one of Caesar’s generosities possibly imply an assumption that basic rents were four times as high in Rome as they were in the rest of Italy. The evidence as a whole points to an overpowering concentration of the wealth of the Mediterranean area in the city of Rome at the height of its power, which resulted in extremely high property and land values.

A series of rural land-valuations without specified area have also survived from Italy. The great bulk of them come from the two Trajanic alimentary Tables (nos. 1194–1306). Their distribution can most easily be shown by a tabular analysis of the amounts:

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156 E. Boeswillwald, R. Cagnat, A. Ballu, Timгад, une cite africaine sous l’empire romain, 1905, p. 298, fig. 141.
159 Pliny, NH XXXVI, 103; Cicero, ad fam. V, 6, 2; ad Att. I, 14, 7. Cf. J. Marquardt, Römische Staatsverwaltung II, 1894, pp. 54–55.
The heaviest concentration by far lies in the range from HS250,000 to HS30,000, to which 81 or 71.6% of the estate valuations belong. If the literary material is disregarded, the highest land valuation is HS1,600,000 (no. 1197, from the Veleian alimentary Table). Although the alimentary land valuations seem sufficiently plentiful to offer potential material for an analysis of wealth distribution of the kind already attempted for Africa,\(^\text{161}\) they do not cover the whole spectrum of agrarian wealth. They result from the conflation of a series of 46 valuations from one town (Veleia) where estates of less than HS50,000 were apparently inadmissible as security for the alimentary loans, with 57 valuations from another town much further south (Ligures Baebiani), where this restriction was not applied and 40% of the surviving valuations fall below HS50,000. Thus the representation of the smallholder in the sample is very haphazard, and almost certainly distorted. Furthermore, it does not appear that the sample includes any senatorial or equestrian landholdings; and by the nature of the evidence, which is confined to two small localities, there can be no representation of the aggregate value of landholdings that were composed of several estates in different parts of Italy, as tended to be the case with the larger fortunes.\(^\text{162}\)

**SUMMAE HONORARIAE AND CAPITAL PAYMENTS TO CITIES**

The basic outlines of the system of *summae honorariae* or fixed payments for local or collegiate office have been treated adequately in previous writings and need not be repeated here.\(^\text{163}\) Although a persistent tendency to confuse spontaneous payments or outlays with fixed charges is found in most of the existing treatments of the *summa honoraria* (cf. *CSRA*, p. 66 and n. 49), this hardly affects the Italian evidence.

Very few explicit *summae honorariae* survive from Italy, but there is evidence for a property qualification for the decurionate of HS100,000 at Comum and other cities. To judge from the spread of literary references (see no. 1317a), this figure seems to have been a fairly general one in Italy, though it is unlikely on general grounds that it can have applied to the smaller cities. Pliny's 'Esse autem tibi centum milium censum, satis indicat quod apud nos decurio es' could betray an awareness that there were Italian cities of which this inference would not have been true.\(^\text{164}\) A cash *summa honoraria* was evidently payable for the decurionate in Italian

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\(^{161}\) *PBSR*, xxxi, 1963, pp. 159–177.


cities, since a number of adlections to the ordo were signalised as having been made without charge to the person concerned.\textsuperscript{165} The fact that the one payment connected with the decurionate whose size is known in Italy was exactly equivalent to one year's income of a capital of HS100,000 at 6% (no. 1184) is at least an interesting coincidence (HS6,000 paid at Iguvium under Augustus 'decurionatus nomine', no. 1325, though the phrasing does not make it certain that this was a fixed charge). A mysterious reference to a series of 4 payments for the decurionate at Concordia in the mid-second century A.D. is found in one of Fronto's letters.\textsuperscript{166} But the epigraphic evidence does not provide any obvious reflection of this practice.

Study of the summae honorariae soon reveals that there was greater diversity in the methods of fulfilling magisterial obligations in Italy than in Africa. In the original practice of Romanised cities in Italy, the statutory obligations of the two ranks of chief magistrates seem to have taken the form of payments for games. Thus mentions are found at some sites of a venatio legitima.\textsuperscript{167} When the payment in respect of a magistracy was devoted to building, it was sometimes expressed as being a commutation for games (for example 'Marti Aug . . . IIIIVir aedil. ex d.d. pro ludis sua pecunia posuit').\textsuperscript{168} Fixed magisterial obligations which took the form of payment for games were still being promulgated as late as the date of the foundation of the Caesarian colony at Urso in Spain (c. 43 B.C.), where each duovir and each aedile had to subscribe HS2,000 towards the cost of public games, with a subvention from public funds of HS2,000 per man in the case of the duoviri and HS1,000 per man in the case of the aediles.\textsuperscript{169} In some Italian cities, the practice had already been broadened by this date: a Pompeian inscription of the Sullan period refers to the 'pequonia quod (sic) eos (sic. IIIIViri iure dicundo) e lege in ludos aut in monumento consumere oportuit'.\textsuperscript{170} The founder of the colony at Pompeii was Sulla,\textsuperscript{171} and this prescription was presumably included in the leges of Sulla's other colonies in Italy.

The predominant practice in regard to payments for public office that is indicated by the inscriptions (which are mainly imperial in date) is expenditure upon public monuments, not upon games, though, as has been noticed, the qualification 'pro ludis' still occasionally persisted. The apparently greater emphasis upon monuments than upon games may be fortuitous, resulting from the fact that no epigraphic commemoration was provided when a magistrate spent his obligatory payment on games, whereas a monument by its nature tended to leave an inscription

\textsuperscript{165} Liebenam, p. 56, n. 4 cites X, 5348 (Interamna Lirenas), XIV, 362, etc. (Ostia), X, 1132 (Abellinum). There are also examples from Volcei, Puteoli, Suessa Aurunca, Pompeii, and Capena (\textit{ILS} 2071; 2748; 6296; 6367; \textit{AE} 1954, 162).

\textsuperscript{166} Fronto, II, 7, 6, ed. van den Hout, 1954, I, p. 182.

\textsuperscript{167} For example, at Alba Fucens, and at Pompeii under Nero (\textit{AE} 1951, 19, \textit{ILS} 5145).

\textsuperscript{168} \textit{AE} 1909, 59 (Ferentiniu Eturiae); \textit{cf. also NS} 1948, p. 258 (Tarrquinii) and \textit{ILS} 5653\textsuperscript{a}-5653\textsuperscript{a} (Pompeii).

\textsuperscript{169} \textit{FIRA} I, no. 21, 70-71. There were evidently two separate series of games, since the duoviri were charged with giving a four-day munus, whereas the aediles were to give a three-day munus, followed by one day's entertainment in the circus or the forum. The practice about charges for office appears to have been the same at the Julian colony at Cnosseus: 'In hoc munere (HS2,000) sunt, quos e lege coloniae pro ludis dare debuit', \textit{ILS} 7210; \textit{cf. Ruggiero II, 1274, 2.}

\textsuperscript{170} \textit{ILS} 5706=X, 829. The requirements for public functionaries lower down the scale at Pompeii were evidently more restricted: 'L. Statius Faustus pro signo quod e lege Fortunae Augustae minist(ri)orum ponere debeat, referente Q. Pompeio Amethysto quaestore basis (sic) duas marmorias (sic) decrever(u)nt pro signo poniret (sic)' (A.D. 45, \textit{ILS} 6385).

\textsuperscript{171} X, p. 89.
to posterity. A third practice is also evidenced at Pompeii: the payment of the sum asked for a magistracy directly to the city in cash (no. 1310; the duovir concerned there also celebrated each of his three tenures of the office with lavish games). Thus there was evidently considerable flexibility in the system of payments for public office at Italian cities.

Africa, by contrast, seems to have left no evidence whatever for the celebration of games as a statutory obligation of civic magistrates, though this area is by far the most copious source of information about summae honorariae in the West. The general rule there was cash payments of fixed amount made directly to the city, or occasionally applied directly to a monument built by the magistrate, priest or decurion concerned.\(^\text{172}\) This restriction of civic practice in Africa may be a manifestation of the official conservatism about the arrangements permitted in that area which is also reflected in the very small number of trade guilds and bodies of Augustales found in the African provinces.\(^\text{173}\)

Returning to Italy, there is no evidence for the payment of a summa honoraria for the municipal quaestorship, the lowest of the magistracies, as Liebenam noticed.\(^\text{174}\) There seems to have been a summa honoraria for the next office in the cursus, the aedileship, though there are no obvious cases in which this took the form of a cash payment to the city. An example of the office’s obligations being carried out in the form of games occurs at a city of the Paeligni,\(^\text{175}\) while instances of monumental building in honour of the aedileship are found at Cremona, Falerii and Lilybaeum (nos. 464a, 475 and 525; cf. nos. 1322, 1324). The minimum sum payable for the aedileship is not explicitly known at any Italian town; but the length of road paved by an aedile at Venusia suggests that the statutory outlay required there may have been the HS2,000 already familiar from the Julian dispensations at Urso and Cnossus.\(^\text{176}\) Two much larger outlays in honour of the aedileship, of HS20,000 ‘in viam’ at Cremona, and of HS29,300 on a portico at Falerii, appear too large to represent probable summae honorariae on the basis of the sparse parallels in Italy (nos. 464a & 475), though it should not be forgotten that fixed charges of these and even higher levels are attested in Africa, at Carthage and Cirta (CSRA, nos. 360, 345, 349, 357, 361). Unfortunately, the categorical language used in some African inscriptions to indicate what proportion of outlays represented the compulsory summa honoraria and how much was spontaneous generosity is largely unknown in the Italian evidence, where such distinctions are almost never made explicit (no. 1311[i] is a rare exception).

In one notable case, we find a cash sum being paid for the duovirate: the figure was HS10,000 (the inscription, which is from Pompeii, is dated to the reign of Augustus, no. 1310).\(^\text{177}\) This is much higher than any other magisterial summa

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\(^\text{172}\) VIII, pars. v, pp. 334, 1-337, 1; for the expenditure of summae honorariae upon monuments in Africa, see CSRA, p. 68, n. 60; cf. also CSRA, no. 21 and ILS 6820.

\(^\text{173}\) For guilds, cf. Haywood, in Frank IV, p. 72; for Augustales, Charles-Picard, Civilization, p. 147 (to which add AE 1958, 144, Hippo Regius, and possibly ILAF 607 and VIII, 21822, mentions of the sevirate at Banasa and Volubilis).

\(^\text{174}\) Liebenam, p. 57.

\(^\text{175}\) IX, 3314 = ILS 5056.

\(^\text{176}\) 100 feet, no. 467i. A normal cost of road-building very close to HS20 per foot is suggested by three Italian inscriptions (nos. 454, 463, 466; cf. no. 456, HS13.33 per foot).

\(^\text{177}\) Although no figures are known, there was also a summa honoraria for the VIIIvirate which was the chief magistracy at a few Italian cities, IX, 4899, etc. (cf. RE s.v. octoviri [Rudolph]).
honoraria belonging to the main municipal cursus of those attested in Italy. There is little or no comparative material to indicate whether this amount was representative of the general level of payments for the duovirate in Italy. Other payments for the duovirate took the form of a statue of (the genius?) of Beneventum, two towers built by two duoviri conjointly at Telesia, and a sphaeristerium or tennis court at Centuripe in Sicily. The financial burden of the duovirate was evidently substantial at a town in the region of Tegianum in Lucania, where a late second or early third century inscription devotes a sentence of its eulogy of a local knight to his selflessness in undertaking the office despite his exemption from it: 'ád honorem quóque duumviratus ád cumulandá munera patriae suae libenter accessit'.

No explicit figure for the quinquennalitas survives from Italy, but a statue dedicated to Antoninus Pius at Fagifule in Samnium 'ob honor(em) quinquenn(altatis)' at a cost of HS 4,000 may be an indication of the amount of the summa honoraria for the office at that town (no. 498). HS 4,000 was one of the two most common summae honorariae in Africa, being found at five towns (CSRA, nos. 346 and 353, 352, 355, 358, 371); African figures for the quinquennalitas ranged from HS 38,000 at Carthage to HS 3,000 at Thuburbo Maius. (CSRA, nos. 360–364). Thus although the phrasing of the Fagifule inscription does not make clear that the payment for the statue constituted the fulfilment of a fixed charge, the amount of the payment is possible as a summa honoraria on the basis of both Italian and African parallels. It is probably unlikely that the summa honoraria was any higher than HS 4,000, in view of the silence of the inscription about any other outlay in connection with this office. The incidental of a feast given at rates of HS 8 and HS 3 per head at the dedication of the statue is unlikely to have counted under the heading of an ob honorem payment, since, as far as is known, charges for office could only be commuted for monumental expenditure (nos. 1079d and 1079f). A summa honoraria of roughly the same amount at Ausculum is suggested by the length of road paved by a magistrate 'ob [honorem quinquennalitis]', again under Antoninus Pius (no. 467h). At the usual Italian rate of HS 20 (or slightly more) per longitudinal foot of road, the outlay required for 44 passus (or 220 feet) would have been of the order of HS 4,500. The length of road is both short and curiously irregular, suggesting that it depended directly on the amount of the summa honoraria, which would (to judge from virtually all the parallels in the West) have been a round figure in units of one thousand. The inferred summa honoraria which produces a road-cost closest to the majority of the known rates is HS 3,000, which entails a cost per foot of HS 22.73, against HS 21.79 in the Hadrianic reconstruction of the Beneventum-Aeclanum road, and HS 22.32 and HS 20.75 in other undated instances (nos. 454, 463, 466); HS 4,000 would give a cost per foot of HS 18.17, which is further from the mean of these three parallels.

Two outlays in honour of the quinquennalitas which are of an entirely different order of size are indicated at Aeclanum, where one quinquennalis appears to have spent HS 200,000 in honour of his office (cf. no. 1075), while 3 miles of road were paved in honour of another tenure of the same office, suggesting an outlay in the

178 IX, 1645, 'pro honore I liviratus'.
179 IX, 2235, 'Pr(aetores) duovir(i) pro ludeis turr(e)s duas . . . faciundas coararunt'.
180 X, 7004, 'pro honore II vira[tus]'.
181 X, 3704 = ILS 5054.
region of HS300,000 (no. 467a). Neither case offers any suggestion of the likely size of the regular summa honoraria. These are obvious cases of spontaneous generosity on the grand scale, though much smaller summa honoraria figures no doubt lie concealed within the amounts of the total outlays. The payment of HS50,000 ‘ob honorem sacerdottii’ by a ‘flam(inica) div[ae] Iuliae Piae [A]ug(ustae)’ at Aeclanum almost certainly belongs to the same category (no. 1318).182

Now follow the payments by members of the freedman order, the Augustales, for which there is no corresponding evidence from Africa. The statutory payment of HS2,000 for the sevirate at Asismus is evidenced in an inscription which is probably first century A.D., since it uses the archaic system of numerals (no. 1313). An inscription from some town probably in the region of Neapolis shows the payment of HS2,000 by an Augustalis for re-paving, probably the fulfilment of a fixed charge of the same amount (no. 1314, cf. no. 1315). HS2,000 is also explicitly evidenced as the charge for the sevirate at a town in Baetica (Lacippo?183). The curiositas of the ordo Augustalium at Ostia in the late second century (the number of these officials varied from 8 to 4 per year) cost the holder HS10,000 (no. 1311; there is evidence for the payment of this sum in 182, 193 and 200).184

The highest recognition that an Italian town could normally give to its freedmen was the grant of the bisellium, a special seat in the theatre with room for two.185 There are three instances of cash payments by freedmen made in return for this office: HS50,000 at Ostia and Pisa, and HS25,000 at Formiae (nos. 1319, 1320, 1323). But there is not enough evidence for the grant of the bisellium to suggest that it was a regular institution for which there is likely to have been a statutory charge.186 The scale of the reciprocation in these three cases shows that the social prestige attached to the bisellium must have been considerable, and that the bisellarii were men of substantial means.

The levels of summae honorariae frequently varied from town to town in Africa, with a factor of difference that could be considerable: the decurionate for example cost HS20,000 at Cirta and Ruscade, but only HS1,600 at Muzuc (CSRA, nos. 345, 345a, 347). There is some suggestion of local variants in Italy also, inadequate though the evidence is. If the quinquennalitas at Fagifulae cost HS4,000 (see above), it is unlikely that the payment for the duovirate, an inferior office, can have been any higher (downward modulation is more probable, cf. CSRA, nos. 353, 370). Yet the duovirate at Pompeii cost HS10,000 almost one and a half centuries earlier (no. 1310). Fagifulae was an obscure town of Samnium,187 and it would not be surprising if the level of the summae honorariae was lower there than at Pompeii, a Sullan colony of some size and importance.188 A further slight suggestion of local variations in the levels of the summae honorariae is provided by the Ausculum inscription discussed above (no. 467h), which suggests HS5,000 for the quinquennalitas at that town in contrast to HS4,000 for the same office at Fagifulae (no. 498).

Turning to the spontaneous capital payments to cities, we notice that there is

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182 The Julia referred to was probably the daughter of Titus (JLS 6487, n. 2).
183 II, 1934.
184 Meiggs, p. 218 and XIV, pp. 672–673.
185 Ruggiero I, 1007.
187 CF. IX, p. 237.
188 Beloch ranked Pompeii among the dozen or so largest towns of Roman Italy (J. Beloch, ‘Le città dell’Italia antica’, Atene e Roma, i, 1898, pp. 257–278). Cf. also Meiggs, pp. 12–13.
a series of large public legacies without any specified object from Italy, for which there are no clear parallels in Africa (nos. 1328–1333; possibly also no. 1341). The amounts range from HS400,000 to HS100,000, all substantial amounts. ¹⁸⁹ Four of the six inscriptions are not dated with any precision. Ulpian's statement that Nerva gave the right to inherit to all civitates could be taken as a terminus post quem were it not that obvious examples of inheritance by cities are found in the first century A.D. (for example no. 650 from Atina Latiæ). ¹⁹⁰ Le Bras convincingly explains this by the suggestion that Nerva's dispensation was probably no more than the extension to all cities of rights that certain cities enjoyed already. ¹⁹¹ The 11 Italian bequests of cash distributions in the present sample show an extension of the practice indicated in the legacies of capital sums (nos. 756, 768, 774, 779, 783, 816, 838, 851, 853, 980, 999).

The series of 4 payments by Italian cities towards expenses undertaken by magistrates contain interesting suggestions of the size of municipal budgets (nos. 1335–1338). ¹⁹² The sums, which range from HS62,000 to HS13,000 are all larger than the amount of any summa honoraria known in Italy, though it should be noted that no Italian cities of the first rank have left any indications of their charges for public office, whereas Africa, whose foremost towns have left some evidence, provides instances of charges as high as HS38,000 and HS20,000 (CSRA, nos. 360, 361).

CONCLUSIONS

Considered as a whole, the chronology provided by the costs from Italy is disappointing. Neither dated material, nor costs of a functional type (commodity prices or prices related to standardised objects) are found in sufficient quantities in the present sample to allow useful inferences about inflation to be made. The Italian epigraphic cost evidence ceases to be abundant with the early Severan period (which is probably a significant fact in itself), and consequently there is no possibility of graphic illustration from this source of the more severe stages of inflation. The majority of the Italian costs represent outlays whose level lay at the discretion of the donor, either cash distributions, or perpetual funds with a capital whose size was of his choosing. Decline in the average amount of these costs may nevertheless reflect worsening economic conditions, of which price rises were an important ingredient. ¹⁹³

However, the Italian gift costs provide useful social evidence, because they serve to quantitise the public donations that became a regular feature of municipal life under the early Empire in Italy, as in Africa, Asia Minor, Baetica and Narbonensis. The Italian costs provide a much smaller number of figures for building and statue

¹⁸⁹ Cf. also V, 5278 = ILS 6729, 'qui universam substantiam suam ad rem publī( icam) pertinere voluit' (Comum).
¹⁹⁰ Ulpian XXIV, 28, 'Civitatis omnibus, quae sub imperio populi Romani sunt, legari potest: idque a divo Nerva introductum, postea a senatu auctore Hadriano diligentius constitutum est'. Compare, however, the difficulties encountered under Trajan by an unwary testator who attempted to leave money to Comum without proper knowledge of the legal position (Pliny, Ep. V, 7).
¹⁹¹ Le Bras, p. 34, n. 68.
¹⁹² The archetype of public contributions towards expenses undertaken by magistrates is already seen in the Caesarian Lex Ursionensis, where the city added subventions of its own to the sums paid by magistrates towards the cost of games in fulfilment of their statutory obligations (FIRA I, no. 21, 70–71).
¹⁹³ Some fall in the amount as well as in the frequency of gifts is evident in Italy in the early third century, see pp. 209–210.
outlays than might have been expected on the analogy of the African costs, which
in aggregate they heavily outnumber. The surviving evidence for outlays on public
building works and on tombs nevertheless shows higher maximum levels in Italy
than in Africa; failing detailed correlations of building costs from the two areas
with the relevant archaeological remains, the difference seems to be attributable
mainly to social and not to economic variants. Indications of something approach-
ing a standard cost for road-construction in Italy are provided by inscriptions from
the first and second centuries.

The Italian foundations leave little doubt that their interest-rate varied in
broadly inverse relation to the size of the capital invested in perpetuity: the norm
at most inland towns in Italy was in the region of 5 to 6%, with lower rates occurring
only when the sum invested was outstandingly large. The abundance of founda-
tions in Italy (quite exceptional in the West) seems to imply good opportunities
for investment there, or at least a readiness on the part of towns and other collectiv-
ities to accept endowments. The perpetual foundations and cash bequests to cities
left increasing problems of local financial administration which we see the govern-
ment intervening to control with its appointments of municipal curatores rei publicae
from the time of Trajan onwards. Italy shows a much greater emphasis on public
gifts in liquid cash (seen in the foundations, the legacies to cities and the sportulae)
than Africa, where monumental expenditure was much more dominant. This is
probably to be explained in part by the fact that Italy was to a large extent already
well urbanised on the Roman pattern by the time that public munificence became
widely prevalent there, whereas many African cities still had considerable scope
for further public building development even in the late second century. The
earlier cessation of munificence in Italy (as indicated by its concomitant of cost-
specification) may very well reflect the fact that Italy was less prosperous than Africa
at the end of the second century A.D.; but it is also likely that the adverse inflationary
impact of very large amounts of debased coinage issued from the mint at Rome under
the Severi was sooner felt in Italy than in Africa.

As is usually the case with Roman public munificence under the Empire, the
modalities of the Italian gifts betray a wish for self-commemoration and local
prestige more often than any utilitarian solicitude for the public good. Few gifts
were directly philanthropic, though such as there were (the six private alimentary
foundations) ranged in size from the considerable to the enormous. A larger
group of gifts which can be called utilitarian were the twenty-five foundations for
the upkeep and maintenance of buildings and public works. But these are easily
outnumbered by a group of largely frivolous provisions for annual feasts and cash-
distributions, and by a group of purely self-regarding foundations for the celebration
of rites in memory of the donor. The heavily preferential treatment given to the
privileged classes by the donors of sportulae relieves those responsible from the imput-
tation of having any real interest in the redistribution of wealth, although the
populace did appear in a certain number of the multiple distributions, at a suitably
low rate of benefit.

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195 A project which involves extensive measure-
ment and assessment of archaeological remains.

196 See pp. 196–199.

197 Cf. T. Pekáry, ‘Studien zur römischen
Währungs- und Finanzgeschichte von 161 bis 235
456–457.
AN EPIGRAPHIC SURVEY OF COSTS IN ROMAN ITALY

TABLE

The provenances of the costs in the present survey.

CATEGORIES:

I. Building costs.
II. Statue costs and weights.
III. Sepulchral and burial costs.
IV. Perpetual foundations.
V. *Sportulae: per capita* and collective group-rates.
VI. Games and feasts.
VII-VIII. Commemorative rites; funds for upkeep of monuments.
IX. Subsistence, grain and land costs.
(X. Funds for heating and running baths: no costs not already included under Section IV).
XI. Obligatory and voluntary payments to cities.
XII. Miscellaneous and unclassified costs.
XIII. Collegiate provisions.

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<th>III</th>
<th>IV</th>
<th>V</th>
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<td>Regio V</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Regio VI</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Regio VII</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>53</td>
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<tr>
<td>Regio VIII</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>5</td>
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<td>2</td>
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<td>Regio IX</td>
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<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
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<td>-</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
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<tr>
<td>Regio X</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>74</td>
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<tr>
<td>Regio XI</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>48</td>
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<td>Sicily</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>-</td>
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<tr>
<td>Alpes</td>
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<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maritimae</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>268</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>134</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>875</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

PART II

LIST OF COSTS

Symbols

Numbers thus: 456 indicate that a note on the cost concerned is included at the end of the list.
Numbers thus: v. 456 indicate a cross-reference to another item in the list.
The Roman numeral in capitals after each place-name indicates the regio of Italy to which the town
belonged (AM=Alpes Maritimae).

* Testamentary outlay.
** Public outlay.
*** Private bequest administered by a city.
D Costs given in denarii.
PR Promise fulfilled by heir or descendant.
( ) when enclosing a place-name indicates a site whose ancient name has been lost.
[ ] encloses figures or letters in a text which has been restored.
+ after a figure indicates that some increase in the amount is referred to in the inscription
without being specified.

For abbreviations, see p. 190 above.
## Buildings

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Identification</th>
<th>Price (HS)</th>
<th>Town</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>439. Thermae (Neptuni) [promised by Hadrian, built by Pius]</td>
<td>2 million+</td>
<td>Ostia I</td>
<td>139</td>
<td>XIV 98, cf. p. 481, = ILS 334</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>440.</strong> In hoc opus res p(ublica) ... eroğávit</td>
<td>1 million</td>
<td>Aquileia X</td>
<td>(pre-180)</td>
<td>V 969; cf. Aquileia Nostra VIII, 2–IX, 1, 1937–8, p. 42, fig. 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>442.</strong> In aquam ... testamento dedit</td>
<td>600,000</td>
<td>Verona X</td>
<td>(pre-100)</td>
<td>NS 1893, p. 11; ILS 5757, cf. V 3402; V 3447</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>443. Balineum solo suo ... aedicificavit</td>
<td>352,000</td>
<td>Corfinium IV</td>
<td>122/150</td>
<td>IX 3152 = ILS 5676; cf. IX 3153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>444.</strong> Balnea projected by by Fronto</td>
<td>350,000/300,000</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>140/165</td>
<td>A. Gellius XIX, 10, 2–4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>445.</strong> [T]hermae municipi ...</td>
<td>330,000+/300,000</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>161/170</td>
<td>AE 1926, 143; v. 640</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>446.</strong> Ex qua pecunia templum exstructum et forum stratum est</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>60/69</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>446a.</strong> Reliquit ad balinei fabric(a)m</td>
<td>300,000</td>
<td>Tarracina I</td>
<td>(100/190)</td>
<td>X 6328 = ILS 6278</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>447.</strong> Reliquit ad balinei fabric(a)m</td>
<td>150,000</td>
<td>Tifernum</td>
<td>c. 170</td>
<td>XI 5939 = ILS 5678</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>448.</strong> (fragment of epistylium)</td>
<td>120,000</td>
<td>Pola X</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>V 62; cf. ItI X, i, 93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>449.</strong> [A]qua Virgin ...</td>
<td>100,000</td>
<td>Perusia VII</td>
<td>(pre-100)</td>
<td>XI 1946</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>450.</strong> Balneum Clodianum emptum cum suis aedicificis</td>
<td>60,000</td>
<td>Teanum</td>
<td>(pre-100)</td>
<td>X 4792 = ILS 5677</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>451.</strong> —</td>
<td>50,000</td>
<td>Carusae</td>
<td>(pre-100)</td>
<td>XI 4573</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>452.</strong> —</td>
<td>30,000</td>
<td>Praeneste I</td>
<td>(pre-100)</td>
<td>XIV 3016</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## Roads

| 454. | Imp ... Hadrianus ... viam Appiam per millia passus (15-750) longa vetustate amissam ... fecit | 1,726,100 (HS21-79 per foot) | Beneventum/Aeclanum II | 123 | IX 6075 = ILS 5875; IX 6072; NS 1897, p. 160; AE 1930, 122. Cf. Liebenam, p. 150 |
| **455.** (Via a(b)] mil(iario) LXX[xxv]III ad mil(iarium) CX ... | 600,000 (?)+ | (Interamnia Praetuttiianorum V) | (pre-50 b.c.) | VI 3824 + 31603, cf. NS 1896, p. 87 ff. = ILS 5799 = ILLRP 465 |
AN EPIGRAPHIC SURVEY OF COSTS IN ROMAN ITALY  235

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Identification</th>
<th>Price (HS)</th>
<th>Town</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*456. Et m(ilia) p(assuum) (3) (stravit)</td>
<td>200,000 (HS13-33 per foot)</td>
<td>Tarquinii VII</td>
<td>(pre-100)</td>
<td>XI 3384+ p. 1337</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>**457. [Via gla]rea sternenda a(b) mil[jario] [lxxviii et per Al]p[e]nninum muunien[da per mil. pass.] XX</td>
<td>150,000 (?+) (regiones VIII/VI) (pre-50 b.C.)</td>
<td>v. 455</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>457a. Viam Augustam a porta Cimina usque ad Anniam et viam Sacram a Chalcidico ad lucum Iunonis Curritis vetustate consumptas a novo restituerunt</td>
<td>100,000</td>
<td>Falerii VII (pre-200)</td>
<td>XI 3126 cf. p. 1323, =ILS 5374</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>**458. [Via] faceunda</td>
<td>100,000 (?)</td>
<td>Florentia VII (pre-200)</td>
<td>XI 1601</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>**459. Viae latitudinem(em) adiecer(unt), substruction(es) et erismas fac(iunda) loc(averunt); in id opus ex d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) pec(unia) lud(ornum)</td>
<td>80,000 (?+)</td>
<td>Hispellum VI (pre-100)</td>
<td>XI 5276= ILS 5377</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>**460. P(ecunia) p(ublica) ... ad [forum pecuari[m] viam sternund[am] coer(averunt)</td>
<td>53,608</td>
<td>Atina Latii I (pre-100)</td>
<td>X 5074= ILS 5367= ILLRP 351</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>461. In vias sternendas in publicum dedit</td>
<td>37,000</td>
<td>Asisium VI (pre-100)</td>
<td>XI 5400= ILS 7812; v. 494, 1313, 1341, 1354</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*462. Testamento viam sterni iussit</td>
<td>30,000</td>
<td>Concordia X —</td>
<td>V 1894</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>463. (13) Augustales (se)viri ... viam long(am) p(edum) (1165) ... ob honorem sevivatus sua pecunia silice sternen-(dam) curarunt</td>
<td>(26,000?; cost per foot HS22-32?)</td>
<td>Forum Sempronii VI (pre-200)</td>
<td>Liebenam, p. 150 and XI 6126; cf. 1313</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>**464. Via facta</td>
<td>22,600</td>
<td>(vallis) Ossolae XI 196</td>
<td>ILS 5884, cf. V 6649</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>464a. Aed(ilis), ob honorem, in viam</td>
<td>20,000</td>
<td>Cremona X (pre-100)</td>
<td>V 4097</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(**)465. Viam Mactorinam longa vetustate resciss(am) ... restituit, acceptis ab r.p. in [ve]ctui (stie) silicis HS XIII</td>
<td>14,000+</td>
<td>Velitrae I (pre-200)</td>
<td>AE 1919, 64</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>**466. Viam lapide stern-(nendam) p(edum) (414) ex d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) p(ecunia) p(ublica), pr(eto) (denario rum 5, assium 3)</td>
<td>(8,590.5) at HS20-75</td>
<td>Cereatae Mariana I (pre-100)</td>
<td>1° 2537= ILLRP 466</td>
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<tr>
<td>(**)466. Viam lapide stern-(nendam) p(edum) (414) ex d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) p(ecunia) p(ublica), pr(eto) (denario rum 5, assium 3)</td>
<td>(8,590.5) at HS20-75</td>
<td>Cereatae Mariana I (pre-100)</td>
<td>1° 2537= ILLRP 466</td>
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<tr>
<td>467. Viam plostralem fecit de sua pecunia</td>
<td>6,500</td>
<td>Atina Latii I (pre-100)</td>
<td>AE 1922, 127</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Identification</td>
<td>Price (HS)</td>
<td>Town</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Reference</td>
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<td>--------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
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<td>------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>467a. 3 miles of road, ob honorum (quinquennalitatis)</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Aeclanum II</td>
<td>138/161</td>
<td>IX 1156 =</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ILS 5878</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>467b. Curator viarum sternendarum pedum decem millia viam sua pecunia fecit</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Alliaec I</td>
<td>(pre-200)</td>
<td>IX 2345 =</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[i.e. 2 miles of road]</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>ILS 5881</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>467c. Hic permis us . . . Hadriani Aug. viam per passuum duum milium euntibus in Apulia in travit (2 miles)</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Trivicum II</td>
<td>117/138</td>
<td>IX 1414 =</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>ILS 5877</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>467d. Decuria Q. Arruntii Sura[e] . . . sum(ma) h(ominum) (98), in sing(ulos) hom(ines) op(eris) p(edes) (43), s(umma) p(edum) (4214) [4/5 mile]</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>(Saletto di Montagnana, b.c. near Ateste) X</td>
<td>c. 31/10</td>
<td>AE 1916, 60;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>cf. NS 1915, p. 139 ff.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>467e. D[e]c(uria) Clodiana . . . s(umma) h(ominum) (88), in sing(ulos) h(omines) p(edes) (27), s(umma) . . . p(edum) (2398) [in fact 2976] [c. 4 mile]</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>(Saletto di Montagnana, b.c. near Ateste) X</td>
<td>c. 1/6 mile</td>
<td>AE 1916, 61, cf.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>V 2603</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>467f. Augustales straverunt [pedes] (800) [c. 1/6 mile]</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Aquilonia II</td>
<td>161/180</td>
<td>IX 6258</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>467g. Impensa mea clivom stravi lapide ab imo susum longum pedes (340) latum cum marginibus pedes (9)</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Ficulea I</td>
<td>(pre-200)</td>
<td>XIV 4012, c. EE IX, p. 488,=</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ILS 5387</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>467j. Mag(ister) Aug(ustalis) viam stravit long(um) p(edum) (58)</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>(Frigento)</td>
<td>(pre-200)</td>
<td>IX 1048 =</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>near Aeclanum II</td>
<td></td>
<td>ILS 5879</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Miscellaneous Building Works and Restorations**

<p>| *468. . . [Dedit] ita ut balinea Sergium et Putii[nium] . . referecta in usu mu[nicip(um)] essent | 800,000    | Altinum X      | (post-100) | NS 1928, p. |
|                                                                                               |            |                |            | 283; v. 646, 653 |
| *469. In opus ornament(a) HS CCCC, ded(ucta) (vigesima) p(opuli) R(oman) d(edit)              | 380,000    | Concordia X     | —          | V 1895         |
| *469a. Adiectis in ornament (thermarum) (Pliny the younger)                                   | 300,000    | Comum XI       | 111/113   | V 5262 =       |
|                                                                                               | (?+)       |                |           | ILS 2927       |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Identification</th>
<th>Price (HS)</th>
<th>Town</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*470.</td>
<td>(X +)</td>
<td>Novaria XI</td>
<td>(138/161)</td>
<td>V 6513</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Balineum quod vi consumptum fuerat ampliatis solo et operibus, intra biennium pecunia sua restituit ... in quod opus legata quoque rei p. testamento ... uxoris suae HS CC consensu ordinis amplius erogavit</td>
<td>200,000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>470a.</td>
<td>150,000</td>
<td>Brixia X</td>
<td>(pre-200)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aedem Mi[nervae ex] HS CIL restituit</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*471.</td>
<td>100,000</td>
<td>Tarracina I</td>
<td>(pre-200)</td>
<td>X 6309</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Temple dedicated to Tiberius). Testamento suo ex HS C refici iussit</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>+p. 1015</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*472.</td>
<td>100,000</td>
<td>Luca VII</td>
<td>(50/200)</td>
<td>XI 1527</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hic HS C in opus amphitheatrea ... in annos decem</td>
<td>(??)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*473.</td>
<td>100,000</td>
<td>Mantua X</td>
<td>(50/200)</td>
<td>V 4059=</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Et ad scholam ... exornandum HS C (legavit)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ILS 5012; v. 1328</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*474.</td>
<td>50,000</td>
<td>Salernum I</td>
<td>(pre-180)</td>
<td>X 531, cf.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Legavit ad exornandum aedem Pómnos, ex qua summá factum est fastigium inauratum, podium pavimenta marm(ora), opus</td>
<td>(??)</td>
<td></td>
<td>p. 965=</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tectorium</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ILS 3393</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>475.</td>
<td>29,300</td>
<td>Falerii VII</td>
<td>(100/180)</td>
<td>XI 3123+=</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hic ob honórem aedilitat(is) hanc [po]rticum vetustáte dilápsam [re]fect(um)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>p. 1323=</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ILS 6387</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>476.</td>
<td>20,000</td>
<td>Interamna</td>
<td>(pre-100)</td>
<td>XI 4216</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>477.</td>
<td>20,000</td>
<td>Tibur IV</td>
<td>(pre-100)</td>
<td>XIV 4259=</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ad amphitheatrum dedicationem ... p[ollicitus ?] [e(st)?]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ILS 5630; cf. Ilt IV; i, 202</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>478.</td>
<td>(X +)</td>
<td>Cures IV</td>
<td>(pre-200)</td>
<td>IX 4976=</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B[alineum re]fectum ... p[e[c(union) pu]blica et ex HS ternis mill[i]bus quae contulerunt sevira]les (5??)</td>
<td>15,000</td>
<td></td>
<td>ILS 5670</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(??)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>479.</td>
<td>15,000</td>
<td>Lanuvium I</td>
<td>(pre-200)</td>
<td>XIV 2115=</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In refectionem balinei intulerunt</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ILS 6196</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>480.</td>
<td>8,841-5+</td>
<td>Tegianum III</td>
<td>(pre-100)</td>
<td>X 290=</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Thermas?] reficiundas</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ILLRP 674</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>480a.</td>
<td>(7,500?)</td>
<td>Putcoli I</td>
<td>104 b.c.</td>
<td>X 1781+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lex parici faciendo in area quae est ante aedem Serapi trans viam</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>p. 1099, =</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>**481.</td>
<td>7,000+</td>
<td>Ager Bene-</td>
<td>(pre-100)</td>
<td>IX 2121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ponte[m] d(e) s(enatus) s(ententia) f(acientium) c(uraverunt)</td>
<td></td>
<td>ventanus II</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>482.</td>
<td>6,200</td>
<td>Iguvium VI</td>
<td>27 b.c./14 a.d.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Et dedit ... in aedem Dianae restituendam</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>XI 5820+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>p. 1395=</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ILS 5531; v. 1079, 1325, 1364a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Identification</td>
<td>Price (HS)</td>
<td>Town</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Reference</td>
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<td>----------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
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<td>-----------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PR483. HS VI n. Malloegio f(abrum) quae ... avus eius ... ad exornandam scholam pollicitus erat, dedit</td>
<td>6,000</td>
<td>Ostra VI</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>XI 6191</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>**484. Labrum ... ex p(ecunia) p(ublica) f(aciendum) c(uraverunt)</td>
<td>5,250</td>
<td>Pompeii I</td>
<td>3/4</td>
<td>X 817 + p. 967 = ILS 5726</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>**485. Turrim ex s(enatus) c(onsulto) c(uraverunt)</td>
<td>4,936</td>
<td>Pinna IV</td>
<td>(pre-100)</td>
<td>IX 3354 = ILS 5327</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*486. Porticum testamento ... fieri iussit</td>
<td>4,000</td>
<td>Abellinum I</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>X 1136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>487. Porticus ...</td>
<td>3,600 (?+)</td>
<td>Mediolanium (pre-XI 100)</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>X 1885 = ILS 5882 (IX 664 is a false copy, cf. Epigraphica x, 1948, pp. 15-16)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>488. Ad stratam refic(iendam)</td>
<td>2,000</td>
<td>(prope Neapolim) I</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>NS 1921, p. 70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>**489. 2,000?$+</td>
<td>Cereatae Mariana I (pre-200)</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>X 803 (cf. 804) = ILS 6357</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

** Statue Costs **

| *491. Statuas ... fieri ... iussit | 550,000 (?!) | Patavium X (pre-100) | V 2861, 2862; v. 660 |
| *492. Is ... HS C m. n. legaverit, ex qua summa tensae Minervae ex argentii libris (100) cum parergis suis totis fient | 100,000 | Formiae I (pre-200) | X 6102 = ILS 6282 |
| 493. [Plebs urbana die ab] excessu eius XXXIII beneficiarius (um) eius [memor ex aere co]nlato ... (statuum ?) posuit | 43,000 | Mons Fereter VI | 148 | XI 6481 |
| 494. Hic in statuas ponendas in aedem Herculis dedit | 30,000 | Asisium VI (pre-100) | XI 5400 = ILS 7812; v. 461, 1313, 1341, 1354 |
| *495. [Statuas s]ibi et fil(io) suo Ne[p]oli(ji) ... poni iussit | (30,000) | Tifernum c. 170 | XI 5939 = ILS 5678 |
| 60,000 in all | Tiberinus VI | | | |

II. Status costs and weights
AN EPIGRAPHIC SURVEY OF COSTS IN ROMAN ITALY

**496.** [Municipes e]t
incolae in statuam ... in
comeponendam
censor(unt)

**496a.** C. Sentius C.f. Fab.
Marianus, equo pub.

**497.** (Statuam) Iovi Aug(usto)
... test(amento) poni
iusisset

**498.** (Statue of Pius) ob honor.
quinquent(nalitatis)

**499.** Geminae P.fil. Maxima
statua odoramenta (sic)

**500.** [Mentel Bo]næ

**501.** Genio dom(i)norum,
Cereri ... imagines
argent. (2)

**502.** Iovi Feluenni

**503.** Signum Proserpinae
reficiendum statuendumque
arasque reficiundas ... 
curarunt

**504.** (Statuam?), acceptus ex
arca (HS500), reliqu(u)a
sua pec(uni)ata f(ec(it)

---

**Price (HS)**

**25,000**

**Town**

**Perusia VII**

**Date**

(pre-100)

**Reference**

XI 1946

**Price (HS)**

**20,000**

**Town**

**Brixia X**

**Date**

(pre-180)

**Reference**

V 4472

**Price (HS)**

**10,000**

**Town**

**Augusta Taurinorum XI**

**Date**

(pre-200)

**Reference**

V 6955

**Price (HS)**

**4,000**

**Town**

**Fagifule I**

**Date**

140

**Reference**

IX 2553; v. 1079d, 1079f, 1079h

**Price (HS)**

**4,000**

**Town**

**Parma VIII**

**Date**

(pre-100)

**Reference**

X1 1088

**Price (HS)**

**3,055 (?+)**

**Town**

**Cora I**

**Date**

pre-1 b.c.

**Reference**

X 6514 =

**Price (HS)**

**2,000**

**Town**

**Patavium X**

**Date**

(pre-100)

**Reference**

V 2795 =

**Price (HS)**

**800**

**Town**

**Pagus Arusnatum X**

**Date**

(pre-200)

**Reference**

V 3904 =

**Price (HS)**

**770**

**Town**

**Vibo III**

**Date**

(pre-100)

**Reference**

X 39 =

**Price (HS)**

**500+**

**Town**

**Volsinii VII**

**Date**

(pre-150)

**Reference**

XI 7302; v. 1048

---

**Statue Weights (Precious Metals)** (weights are given in the Roman pound which equalled approx. 327-45 gms., or 72% of the pound avoirdupois)

A. Gold

**505.** Mercurio ... ex voto
don(o) ded(it) dracones
aureos ... adiectis
ornament. [e]t cortina

**506.** Imp ... Hadrianus ...
I(unoni) S(ospitii)
M(atris) R(eginae)
statuam ex donis aureis
et arg(entea) vetustate
corruptis fieri et
consacrari iussit

**507.** Imago

**508.** Dracon(em) ... Deae
don(o) posuit

**509.** Genius decurionum et
populi

**509a.** Fortunae Primig(eniae)
corona aurea

**510.** Luna, voto suscepto

**511.** Cor(ona) aur(ea)

---

**5 pounds of gold**

**Mediolanum**

(pre-200)

**Reference**

ILS 3192

**3-08 pounds of gold;**

**206-17 pounds of silver**

(bullion
value about
HS110,000)

**Lanuvium I**

136

**Reference**

XIV 2088 =

**ILS 316**

**2 pounds of gold**

**Ariminum**

—

**Reference**

XI 364 =

**ILS 5471a**

**1 pound of gold**

**Augusta Taurinorum XI**

—

**Reference**

IX 32

**1 pound of gold**

**Brundisium II**

(pre-200)

**Reference**

XIV 3015, cf.

**ILS 6256**

**1 pound of gold**

**Praeneste I**

(pre-100)

**Reference**

AE 1931, 94

**1/2 pound of gold**

**Luna VII**

—

**Reference**

XIV 21 + p. 481

= ILS 4373

---
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Identification</th>
<th>Price (HS)</th>
<th>Town</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*512. (Liber Pater) cum</td>
<td>0-01 of a</td>
<td>Ariminum VIII—</td>
<td></td>
<td>XI 358 =</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>redimiculo aur eo)</td>
<td>pound of</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ILS 3363</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>gold</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. Silver (see also no. 506)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*513. Opus quadrigae cum</td>
<td>1567-17</td>
<td>Beneventum</td>
<td>120/138</td>
<td>IX 1619 =</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>effigie Imp. Hadriani</td>
<td>pounds of</td>
<td>II</td>
<td></td>
<td>ILS 5502</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aug.</td>
<td>silver</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(HS730,000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bullion</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>value)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*513a. Scyphos</td>
<td>[150.37(?)</td>
<td>Neapolis I</td>
<td>(96/130)</td>
<td>IGRG 1 432</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pounds of</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>silver</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*514. Aesculapius</td>
<td>100 pounds</td>
<td>Ager Ami-</td>
<td>153/179</td>
<td>IX 4512</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>of silver</td>
<td>ternus IV</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>515. Clipeo posito in curia</td>
<td>100 pounds</td>
<td>Mons</td>
<td>c. 120/</td>
<td>XI 6481</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>of silver</td>
<td>Fereter VI</td>
<td>148</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*516. I(uppiter) O(ptimus)</td>
<td>30-52 pounds</td>
<td>(Ferrara) X</td>
<td>(pre-</td>
<td>V 2381</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M(aximus)</td>
<td>(of silver?)</td>
<td></td>
<td>200)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>517. Deus Patrius</td>
<td>15-03</td>
<td>Ostia I</td>
<td>(pre-</td>
<td>XIV 3 =</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pounds of</td>
<td></td>
<td>200)</td>
<td>ILS 3299</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>silver</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>518. Fortuna Primigenia</td>
<td>11-06 pounds</td>
<td>Praeneste I</td>
<td>54/69</td>
<td>XIV 2861</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>of silver</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>**519. Fortuna Redux</td>
<td>10-42 pounds</td>
<td>Cures IV</td>
<td>128/138</td>
<td>IX 4952 =</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>of silver</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ILS 3702</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>520. 'Tunni Iovis'</td>
<td>10 pounds</td>
<td>Florentia VII</td>
<td></td>
<td>XI 1593</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>of silver</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>521. Genius coloniae</td>
<td>10 pounds</td>
<td>Ostia I</td>
<td>141</td>
<td>XIV 8 =</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ostiensium</td>
<td>of silver</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ILS 6154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>522. Tiberius</td>
<td>10 pounds</td>
<td>Teate</td>
<td>36/37</td>
<td>AE 1941, 105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>of silver</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>523. Fortuna Primigenia</td>
<td>6-16 pounds</td>
<td>Praeneste I</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>XIV 2869</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>of silver</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>524. Imago Gen(ii)i</td>
<td>6 pounds</td>
<td>Forum</td>
<td>165</td>
<td>XI 7556 =</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>praef(ecturae) Claudiae</td>
<td>of silver</td>
<td>Clodii VII</td>
<td></td>
<td>ILS 6584</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>525. Imago Genii munici(i)i</td>
<td>5 pounds</td>
<td>Lifybaemum</td>
<td>(pre-</td>
<td>X 7223 =</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lilybitanorum</td>
<td>of silver</td>
<td></td>
<td>193)</td>
<td>ILS 6768</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>526. I(uppiter) . . .</td>
<td>4⅔ pounds</td>
<td>Puteoli I</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>X 1577</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dol(ichenus)</td>
<td>of silver</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>527. —</td>
<td>3 pounds</td>
<td>Ostia I</td>
<td>196</td>
<td>XIV 71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>of silver</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>528. [Im]ag(o) Crispinae</td>
<td>3 pounds</td>
<td>Ostia I</td>
<td>177/188?</td>
<td>AE 1948, 24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>of silver</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*529. Trulla argentea</td>
<td>2-92 pounds</td>
<td>Regium</td>
<td>(pre-</td>
<td>X 6 =</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anaglypta</td>
<td>of silver</td>
<td></td>
<td>200)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*530. Lares argentei (7)</td>
<td>2-66 pounds</td>
<td>Regium</td>
<td>(pre-</td>
<td>X 6 =</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>of silver</td>
<td></td>
<td>200)</td>
<td>ILS 5471</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*531. Liber Pater</td>
<td>2⅔ pounds</td>
<td>Ariminum</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>XI 358 =</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>of silver</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ILS 3363</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>532. [Im]ag(o)</td>
<td>2⅔ pounds</td>
<td>Ostia I</td>
<td>166</td>
<td>XIV 4554</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>of silver</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>533. [Imago ?]</td>
<td>2⅔ pounds</td>
<td>Ostia I</td>
<td>169/176</td>
<td>XIV 4556</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>of silver</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>533a. Spei Aug. gabatha (sic)</td>
<td>2-01 pounds</td>
<td>Concordia X</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>ILS 3774</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>of silver</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>534. Typus Matris deum</td>
<td>2 pounds</td>
<td>Ostia I</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>XIV 36 =</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>of silver</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ILS 4113</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Identification</td>
<td>Price (HS)</td>
<td>Town</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Reference</td>
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<td>--------------------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>535. Virtus dendrop-</td>
<td>2 pounds</td>
<td>Ostia I</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>XIV 69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(hororum)</td>
<td>of silver</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>536. Imago Antonini Aug.</td>
<td>2 pounds</td>
<td>Ostia I</td>
<td>143/161</td>
<td>AE 1940, 62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(usta)</td>
<td>of silver</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>537. Minerva Aug</td>
<td>2 pounds</td>
<td>Placentia</td>
<td>(pre-200)</td>
<td>XI 1295 =</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(usta)</td>
<td>of silver</td>
<td>VIII</td>
<td></td>
<td>ILS 3136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>537a. Bonae Deae phiala</td>
<td>1:58 pounds</td>
<td>Aquileia X</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>V 8242 =</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(usta)</td>
<td>of silver</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ILS 3769</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*538. Isis Bubastis Venus</td>
<td>1½ pounds</td>
<td>Ostia I</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>XIV 21 + p. 481 =</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(?;)</td>
<td>of silver</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ILS 4373</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>539. Imago Concordiae</td>
<td>1½ pounds</td>
<td>Ostia I</td>
<td>143/161</td>
<td>AE 1940, 62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Caesar(is))</td>
<td>of silver</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>540. Imago Verissimi</td>
<td>1½ pounds</td>
<td>Ostia I</td>
<td>143/161</td>
<td>AE 1940, 62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caesar (is)</td>
<td>of silver</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>541. Caracalla</td>
<td>1.03 pounds</td>
<td>Ostia I</td>
<td>212</td>
<td>XIV 119 +</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>of silver</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>p. 481</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>542. —</td>
<td>1 pound</td>
<td>Florentia VII</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>XI 1586</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>of silver</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>543. Imago Matris deum</td>
<td>1 pound</td>
<td>Ostia I</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>XIV 34 =</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>of silver</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ILS 4111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>544. Imago Attis</td>
<td>1 pound</td>
<td>Ostia I</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>XIV 35 =</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>of silver</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ILS 4112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>545. Imago . . . Antonini Aug.</td>
<td>1 pound</td>
<td>Ostia I</td>
<td>143/161</td>
<td>AE 1940, 62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>of silver</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>546. Imago Ael(i)i Caesaris</td>
<td>1 pound</td>
<td>Ostia I</td>
<td>143/161</td>
<td>AE 1940, 62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>547. Imag(o) . . . Antonini Aug.</td>
<td>1 pound</td>
<td>Ostia I</td>
<td>143/161</td>
<td>AE 1940, 62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Caesar(is))</td>
<td>of silver</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>548. Imag(o) . . . Verissimi Caes(aris)</td>
<td>1 pound</td>
<td>Ostia I</td>
<td>143/161</td>
<td>AE 1940, 62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>of silver</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>549. [Man]telum arg(enteum)</td>
<td>0:25 pounds</td>
<td>Puteoli I</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>X 1598</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>of silver</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>549a. Luna argentea</td>
<td>0:17 pounds</td>
<td>Corfinium IV</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>IX 3146 =</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>of silver</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ILS 4107</td>
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### III. Sepulchral and burial costs

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Date</th>
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<tr>
<td>550. . . . st. Popillius Theo . . .</td>
<td>500,000</td>
<td>Fabrateria</td>
<td>(pre-100)</td>
<td>X 5624</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(?;+)</td>
<td>Nova I</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>551. Valerius Januarius, [ex</td>
<td>500 [pounds</td>
<td>Verona X</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>V 3801</td>
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<tr>
<td>libris argen?]i D</td>
<td>of silver?]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>552. [A?]usonia Mu.f(ilia) . . .</td>
<td>100,100</td>
<td>Praenest I</td>
<td>(pre-100)</td>
<td>XIV 3399</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(?;+)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>553. . . . alvi . . .</td>
<td>100,000</td>
<td>Ameria VI</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>XI 4518</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(?;+)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>554. L. Polem . . .</td>
<td>100,000</td>
<td>Brixia X</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>V 4677</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(?;+)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>555. C. Apidius P.f. Qui.</td>
<td>100,000</td>
<td>(Lunghezza)</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>XIV 3906 =</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bassus, prim(ipilaris)</td>
<td></td>
<td>I</td>
<td></td>
<td>ILS 6544</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(octo)vir Amierni</td>
<td>(not including cost</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>of site)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>556. C. Asinius C.f. Ani.</td>
<td>100,000</td>
<td>Mediolanum</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>V 5820</td>
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<tr>
<td>Severus, p(rimi)p(ilaris)</td>
<td></td>
<td>XI</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>557. L. Numiusius L. lib.</td>
<td>100,000</td>
<td>Ostia I</td>
<td>(pre-200)</td>
<td>XIV 397</td>
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<tr>
<td>Agathemerus, sevir</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Augustalis, negotiator ex</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Hispania citeriore</td>
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<tr>
<td>Identification</td>
<td>Price (HS)</td>
<td>Town</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Reference</td>
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<td>----------------</td>
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<td>---------------</td>
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<tr>
<td>Corellia C.f. Galla Papiana, uxor C. Corelli N.f. Fab.</td>
<td>100,000</td>
<td>(San Cesar- eo), near Praeneste I</td>
<td>(pre-100)</td>
<td>XIV 2827 = X, p. 979 (LXIII) = ILS 6294; v. 665, 666</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>. . . Nonius L.f. Ter. L . . .</td>
<td>100,000?</td>
<td>Venafrum I</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>X 4967</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M. Doius M.[f]. Ro[m]. Clemens, decur. adl(ectus), quaest(or) (bis), flamen . . Augustalis</td>
<td>76,000</td>
<td>Ateste X</td>
<td>(pre-200)</td>
<td>V 2524</td>
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<tr>
<td>P. Manlius Ti.f. Pal. Ligir</td>
<td>60,000</td>
<td>(Ausonia), I</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>X 5377</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—</td>
<td>50,000</td>
<td>Formiae I</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>X 6210</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Socrates Astomachi, natus in egregris Trallibus ex Asia</td>
<td>50,000</td>
<td>Ostia I</td>
<td>(pre-200)</td>
<td>XIV 480</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>. . . T.f. Libo, praef. equit . . .</td>
<td>50,000</td>
<td>Spoletium VI</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>AE 1954, 47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>. . . inius . . .</td>
<td>50,000</td>
<td>Trea V</td>
<td>(pre-100)</td>
<td>IX 5675</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aurelius Flavinus, optio Leg. XI Claudiae</td>
<td>40,000</td>
<td>Aquileia X</td>
<td>(post-200)</td>
<td>V 895; cf. Aquileia Nostra IV, 2-V, I, 1933-4, p. 30, fig. 4</td>
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<tr>
<td>. . . N.l. Philomusus</td>
<td>30,000</td>
<td>Suessa</td>
<td>(pre-100)</td>
<td>EE VIII, p. 143, no. 569</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L. Casienus A.f. Cla.</td>
<td>20,000</td>
<td>Aequiculi IV</td>
<td>(pre-100)</td>
<td>IX 4142</td>
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<tr>
<td>. . . s Serviliae l. Pylad[es], . . . Aug(ustalitate) Allif(ensibus) honorat(us)</td>
<td>20,000</td>
<td>Allifae I</td>
<td>(pre-100)</td>
<td>IX 2365</td>
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<tr>
<td>L. Valerius Firma f. St[e]l. Firmius[s], (se)yir Aug(ustalitis)</td>
<td>20,000</td>
<td>Augusta Taurinorum XI</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>V 7036</td>
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<tr>
<td>L. Vibius Varus</td>
<td>20,000</td>
<td>Capena VII</td>
<td>(post-50)</td>
<td>XI 4009</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—</td>
<td>20,000</td>
<td>Carsioli IV</td>
<td>(pre-100)</td>
<td>IX 4102</td>
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<tr>
<td>M. Attius</td>
<td>20,000</td>
<td>Corfinium IV</td>
<td>(pre-100)</td>
<td>Epigraphica xx, 1958, p. 17 (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—</td>
<td>20,000</td>
<td>Forum Novum IV</td>
<td>(pre-100)</td>
<td>IX 6358 = 4844</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q. Veturius Q.f. Pom. Pexsus, trib. mil. (bis), praefectus fabrum</td>
<td>20,000</td>
<td>Nepet VII</td>
<td>(pre-100)</td>
<td>XI 3205 cf. ILS 4948</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P. Fabius P.l. Menodotus</td>
<td>20,000</td>
<td>Puteoli I</td>
<td>(pre-100)</td>
<td>X 2402</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pompeia Axiythea</td>
<td>20,000</td>
<td>Reate IV</td>
<td>(pre-200)</td>
<td>IX 4731 +</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>. . . Nasica quinqu(tennalisis)</td>
<td>20,000</td>
<td>Teanum Sidicinum I</td>
<td>(pre-100)</td>
<td>X 4795</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. Vibius Valens</td>
<td>20,000</td>
<td>Tergeste X</td>
<td>(post-100)</td>
<td>V 560; cf. III X 4, no. 74 &amp; fig.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. Marcius Volson f. Serg. Maximus, tr(ierarchus)</td>
<td>18,300</td>
<td>Misenum I</td>
<td>(pre-100)</td>
<td>X 3361 = ILS 2844</td>
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<td>Identification</td>
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<tr>
<td>581. M. Staius M. et C. lib. Lygdamus... Aug(ustalis)</td>
<td>15,000</td>
<td>Luceria II</td>
<td>(pre-200)</td>
<td>IX 816 = ILS 6479</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>582. Fadius Dexter (dendrophorus)</td>
<td>15,000+</td>
<td>(vallis Silaris superior)</td>
<td>III</td>
<td>X 445</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>583. ... Sallustius T.f. Pup. Virgula, scrib(a) aed(iis)</td>
<td>15,000</td>
<td>Ameria VI</td>
<td>(pre-100)</td>
<td>XI 4358</td>
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<tr>
<td>584.</td>
<td>15,000</td>
<td>Blera VII</td>
<td>(pre-100)</td>
<td>XI 3352</td>
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<tr>
<td>585. L. Papius L.f. Fal.</td>
<td>12,000</td>
<td>Ager Falernus</td>
<td>(pre-100)</td>
<td>X 4727 = ILS 6297 = ILLRP 667</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>586. ... M. f. Fal. ...</td>
<td>11,000</td>
<td>Capua I</td>
<td>(pre-100)</td>
<td>X 3888</td>
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<tr>
<td>587. P. Publilius Anthus, (se)vir Augustalis</td>
<td>(X +)</td>
<td>Cures IV</td>
<td>54/68</td>
<td>IX 4977 = ILS 6558</td>
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<tr>
<td>587a. [P]et[r]ionius P.f. Fa[l]. Plac[cus]</td>
<td>10,000</td>
<td>Atella I</td>
<td>(pre-100)</td>
<td>X 3749</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>588. ... [leg(atus) leg(ionis)] I Adiutricis, quaest(or), [tri]bunus mill[i[t]. legionis X Geminae, in omnibus honoribus candidatus Caesarum</td>
<td>10,000</td>
<td>Atina Lucaniae</td>
<td>(pre-100)</td>
<td>X 336</td>
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<tr>
<td>589. ... et Pollentiae Iphidi et lib. libertabusoq. suis</td>
<td>10,000</td>
<td>(Chioggia) X</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>V 2309</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>590. L. Aemilius L.f. Volt. Proculus, (centurio) veteranus, pr(aetor) Cumis</td>
<td>10,000</td>
<td>Cumae I</td>
<td>(pre-100)</td>
<td>ILS 8269</td>
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<tr>
<td>592. P. Aufidius L.f. (quattuor)vir, (duo)vir, tr(ibunus) mil(itum), praef(ectus) fab(rum)</td>
<td>10,000</td>
<td>Placentia VIII</td>
<td>(pre-100)</td>
<td>XI 1217</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>593. ... lius C.I. Philomus(us), mag(ister) pægi Felicis suburbani</td>
<td>10,000</td>
<td>Pompeii I</td>
<td>(pre-79)</td>
<td>ILS 6377</td>
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<tr>
<td>594.</td>
<td>(X +)</td>
<td>(Chioggia) X</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>V 2309</td>
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<tr>
<td>595. M. Seppius M.L. Philoxenus</td>
<td>10,000</td>
<td>Teanum Sidicinum I</td>
<td>(pre-100)</td>
<td>X 4815</td>
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<td>596. L. Vilius C.f.</td>
<td>8,000</td>
<td>Spoletium VI</td>
<td>(pre-100)</td>
<td>XI 4938</td>
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<tr>
<td>597. L. Vedius Q.f. Clu</td>
<td>8,000</td>
<td>Tuder VI</td>
<td>(pre-100)</td>
<td>XI 4721</td>
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<tr>
<td>598. [V]etilia L.f.</td>
<td>6,000</td>
<td>Asculum Picenum V</td>
<td>(pre-100)</td>
<td>NS 1958, p. 76, I9X</td>
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<tr>
<td>599. C. Iulius Her[a]cles, tr(ierarchus)</td>
<td>6,000</td>
<td>Misenum I</td>
<td>(post-50)</td>
<td>X 3359</td>
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<td>600.</td>
<td>[6],000</td>
<td>Ostia I</td>
<td>(pre-100)</td>
<td>XIV 1307</td>
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<td>601. ... C.I. Priamus</td>
<td>6,000</td>
<td>Ameria VI</td>
<td>(pre-100)</td>
<td>XI 4504</td>
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<td>602.</td>
<td>5,000</td>
<td>Abellinum I</td>
<td>(50/100)</td>
<td>X 1166</td>
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<tr>
<td>603. —</td>
<td>5,000</td>
<td>Capua I</td>
<td>(pre-100)</td>
<td>X 4450</td>
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<tr>
<td>604. ...nus Alpinus, miles coh(ortis) VIII [p]r(aetoriae) speculat(urum)</td>
<td>5,000</td>
<td>Ager Novariensis XI</td>
<td>(pre-200)</td>
<td>V 6597</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>605. (Son of praef. fab., tribunus mil.) Huic decurion(es) locum sepulturae et in funere HS (5,000) decr(everunt)</td>
<td>5,000</td>
<td>Surrentum I (pre-100)</td>
<td></td>
<td>X 680</td>
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<tr>
<td>606. L. Cornelius L.f. Men. M ... flam. Romae Ti. C[aes. Aug.], augur, aed., IIvir qu[inq.], praef. fabr. bis. Huic decurion. publice locum [sepulturae et in] funer(e) HS (5,000) ... [decreverunt]</td>
<td>5,000</td>
<td>Surrentum I (pre-100)</td>
<td></td>
<td>X 688</td>
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<tr>
<td>607. C. Arrius</td>
<td>5,000</td>
<td>Teanum Apulum II (pre-100)</td>
<td></td>
<td>IX 707</td>
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<tr>
<td>608. ...Aquillius ... [Se?]undus, IIIvir</td>
<td>(X +)</td>
<td>Vercellae XI (pre-100)</td>
<td></td>
<td>V 6661</td>
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<tr>
<td>608a. —</td>
<td>5,000</td>
<td>Capua I (pre-100)</td>
<td></td>
<td>X 4444</td>
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<tr>
<td>609. L. Gallius Silvester mil(es) c(o)hort. II pr(aetoriae), sibi et parentibus</td>
<td>4,000</td>
<td>Piquentum X (post-50)</td>
<td></td>
<td>V 430; cf. IIt X, iii, 124</td>
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<tr>
<td>610. P. Sextilius P.f. Fal. Rufus, aed(ils) iterum, IIvir quinq. Pompeis, decurio adlectus ex veterib(us) Nola(nis)</td>
<td>4,000</td>
<td>Nola I (pre-79)</td>
<td></td>
<td>X 1273 = ILS 6344</td>
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<td>612. ... T.l. Licinus</td>
<td>3,000</td>
<td>Amiternum IV (pre-100)</td>
<td></td>
<td>IX 4269</td>
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<tr>
<td>613. Tittia L.l. Daphne</td>
<td>3,000</td>
<td>Formiae I (pre-100)</td>
<td></td>
<td>X 6186</td>
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<tr>
<td>614. A. Sempronius A.l. Lucrio Gallus</td>
<td>3,000</td>
<td>Nola I (pre-100)</td>
<td></td>
<td>X 1327</td>
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<tr>
<td>615. P. Aemilius P.f. Vopiscus, sevir</td>
<td>3,000</td>
<td>Perusia VII (pre-100)</td>
<td></td>
<td>XI 1939</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>616. M. Tadius L.f. Rom.</td>
<td>3,000</td>
<td>Sora VII (pre-100)</td>
<td></td>
<td>X 5753</td>
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<tr>
<td>617. Sex. Turuenus C.f. Ouf.</td>
<td>2,000</td>
<td>Aquinum I (pre-100)</td>
<td></td>
<td>X 5530</td>
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<tr>
<td>618. Q. Gracchus Rufus, miles coh(ortis) II pr(aetoriae)</td>
<td>2,000</td>
<td>(Bagnacavallo) VIII</td>
<td>(post-50)</td>
<td>NS 1961, pp. 13–15</td>
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<tr>
<td>618a. C. Prosius M.f. Fal. Rufus</td>
<td>2,000</td>
<td>Capua I (pre-100)</td>
<td></td>
<td>X 4306</td>
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<tr>
<td>619. C. Iulius Postumus, miles ex class(e) pr(aetoria) Miseniens(e)</td>
<td>2,000</td>
<td>Misenum I (post-180)</td>
<td></td>
<td>X 3360</td>
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<td>Town</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Reference</td>
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<tr>
<td>620. T. Terentius T.f. Men. Félix Maiór, aedil(is). Huic publice locus datus et HS (2,000)</td>
<td>2,000 (?)</td>
<td>Pompeii I</td>
<td>pre-79</td>
<td>X 1019 + p. 967</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>621. A. Umbricius A.f. Men. Scaurus, (duo) vir i(ure) d(icundo). Huic decuriones locum monum(entii) et HS (2,000) in funere . . . censuerunt</td>
<td>2,000 (?)</td>
<td>Pompeii I</td>
<td>pre-79</td>
<td>X 1024 + p. 967 = ILS 6366</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>622. C. Vestorius Priscus, aedil(is) . . . locus sepulturae datus et in funere HS (2,000), d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)</td>
<td>2,000</td>
<td>Pompeii I</td>
<td>pre-79</td>
<td>AE 1911, 72 = AE 1913, 70</td>
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<tr>
<td>623. Septumia Lf. D(ecreto) d(ecurionum) locus sepulturae publice datus et in funere HS (2,000)</td>
<td>2,000</td>
<td>Pompeii I</td>
<td>pre-79</td>
<td>AE 1913, 71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>624. C. Lucilius C.f. Vel. Vindex, miles c(o)hor(tis) VI praet(oriae) . . . , principalis beneficiarius tribuni, deinde optio in centuria</td>
<td>2,000</td>
<td>Potentia V (pre-100)</td>
<td></td>
<td>IX 5809 = ILS 2078</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>625. C. Surenus T.f. Ani. Seneca, Arimini, mil(es) coh(ortis) VII [c(ivium)] R(omanorum) volunt[ar(iorum)] . . . Hic reliquit Sodalib(us) Martensibus in ossa sua tuenda HS (2,000). Collegius (sic) iumentariorum huic cippo locum dedit.</td>
<td>2,000</td>
<td>Vicus Martis Tudertium VI</td>
<td></td>
<td>XI 4749</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>626. D. Haterius Priscus</td>
<td>1,500</td>
<td>Ager Atinas III</td>
<td>post-180</td>
<td>X 380</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>627. Memmia Fortunata, n(atione) Picenesis, . . . c(onius) manuplarii n(atione) Alexandrini</td>
<td>1,200</td>
<td>Misenum I</td>
<td>post-120</td>
<td>X 3608 = ILS 2903</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>628. . . . Calvina</td>
<td>1,000</td>
<td>Alba Fucens IV</td>
<td></td>
<td>EE VIII, p. 46, no. 188</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>629. Ter. Valerius Ter.L. Felix</td>
<td>1,000 (?)</td>
<td>Ameria VI</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>XI 4532</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>631. L. Volcacius Optatus</td>
<td>800</td>
<td>Telesia I</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>IX 2309</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>632. —</td>
<td>700 (?)</td>
<td>Aquileia X</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>V 8345 + Pais no. 127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>633. L. Berinius L.f.</td>
<td>600</td>
<td>Venafrum I</td>
<td>pre-100</td>
<td>X 4929</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D34. Teiedia Fortunata et L. Cornelius Firmus</td>
<td>480</td>
<td>Beneventum (post-120)</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>IX 1986</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>634a. L. Petronius C.f. Fab.</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>Alba Fucens IV</td>
<td>pre-100</td>
<td>IX 4017</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>635. Sex. Ninnius M.f. Buticus</td>
<td>260 (?)</td>
<td>Ortona IV</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>IX 6315</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
THE BRITISH SCHOOL AT ROME

Identifications

**637.** Et (Matidia iunior)
Varianis alumnis
masculis feminisque
sestertium deciens
singulis reliquit usurarium
propius quam propri(um):
nam quinquagena annua
ab Augusta singulis
dari iussit.

*638. [In alimenta] libertor(um)
suor(um) homin(um)
(100) . . . rei [p.
legavit; quorum in] crement(a)
poteca ad epulum [pl]eb.
erban. voluit pertin[ere].
(Pliny the younger)

*639. Trib. mil (legionum)
(2) . . . Hic legavit . . .
municipibus suis . . . ut
ex reditu . . . quotannis
. . . natale (sic) suo
municipibus aepulum
et crust(ulum) et mulsum
daretur

639a. Government alimentary
foundation for the
support of 264 boys
and 36 girls; the capital
loaned on security of
estates valued at HS
13,039,095; boys to
receive HS16, girls HS12,
per month (HS12 & HS10
if illegitimate)

*640. Ex reditu . . legato
a Clod(i)is . . . viae
tutela praestatur

*641. [Ut ex . . ] usu[r]
p[iuellae [alimen]tar[iae]
(100) alerentur[r e]t . . .
quodannus ludi eder-
[entur in] memor[iam]
. . . [matris?] suae, [et
ten] in ann[o] decurio[nes
c]enar[ent]

IV. Foundations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reference</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>V 4100 =</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ILS 2795</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fronto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ad Amicos I, 14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(van den Hout</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I, p. 173)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V 5262 =</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ILS 2927; cf.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AE 1947, 65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XI 4789</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XI 1147, cf.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ILS 6675</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X 3851 =</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ILS 5890;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v. 446</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XIV 4450, cf.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>350 &amp; p. 820</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Identification</td>
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<tr>
<td>----------------</td>
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<tr>
<td>*642.</td>
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<td>*643.</td>
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<td>*644.</td>
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<td>*D645.</td>
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<td>*645a.</td>
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<td>*646.</td>
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<td>*647.</td>
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<td>Identification</td>
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<tr>
<td>652. (Ut) decuriones in publico cenarent et municipes praesentes acciperent aeris octonos [on 1 day per year]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*653. [In perp(etaum)] tutelam (balineorum Sergii et Putilii)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*654. Ut... natali ipsius et... natali... ma[tris] suae(et)... natali... patris sui decurio[nes, Aug(ustales) et severi sportulas acci[perent]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*655. [Et...] in tutela[m] thermarum... (Pliny the younger)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*656. [Ad divis]ionem epularum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*657. Ex cuius reditu... die natalis sui [distributio fiat]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*658. In epulum quod XVII K. Germanicas dareetur... legavit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>659. Item dedit (se)viris Aug(ustalibus) et compit(alibus) Larum Aug. et mag(istris) vicorum... ut... codem die in publico vescerentur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*660. In (t)uit(ionem) (statuarum)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>661. In tutelam byblia[thecae] (Pliny the younger)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*662. Ut... [natali] patris... decurio[nibus singulis HS X[X?]III et [una vescentibus?] sex[sus femin]ci) singuli[s] HS IIII n. [darentur; item na]tal[i] matris suae... decurio[nibus]...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*663. Divisio mula[rum et crustulorum suff]icientium</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*664. Ut ex usuris semissibus... die natalis mei... distributio fiat decurionibus epul[antibus] (HS1200), deducto ex his sumptu strationis; reliqui inter eos qui praesentes ea hora erunt dividantur; item Augustalibus eadem condicione (HS600)... et municipibus... utriusque sex[sus ex more loci (HS4)]... item in cena parentalicia (HS200)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Identification</td>
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<tr>
<td>665.</td>
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<td>666.</td>
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</table>

667. Promisit HS LXXX n. ut ex re dito... die natalis fili sui... viscerationis nomine dividatur decur. sing. HS (20), Augustalibus HS (12), Mercurialibus. HS (10), item populo viritim HS (8).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Identification</th>
<th>Price (HS)</th>
<th>Town</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>80,000</td>
<td>Rudiae II</td>
<td>117/138</td>
<td>IX 23 = ILS 6472</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

668. Colleg(io) (fabrum centonariorum) de[dit]...ex c]uius summae red[itu magistri coll(egii) ...] die natal. eius ... sportul[as] ex (HS800) in[ter praesentes arbit]r(atu) suo divid(ant), oleum et propinatio(nem) ex (HS3,000) praebeant; item lectisternium tempore parentalior(um) ex (HS800)...quodannis ponatur et parentetur; item corona(e) ...ex (HS200) profundantur.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>72,000</td>
<td>Comum XI</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>V 5272; v. 677</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

669. Hic...fundos (4)...ab r(e)p(ublica) redem(it) HSLXX m. n. et in avit(um) r(ei) p(ublicae) reddid(it), ex quor(um) reditu de HSIV m. CC...die natal. suo... daretur praesent. muniципib. et incol. et mulierib. nuptis (refreshments & sportulae at several rates).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Price (HS)</th>
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<th>Reference</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>70,000</td>
<td>Ferentum Latit I</td>
<td>(post-100)</td>
<td>X 5853 cf. p. 1013 = ILS 6271; v. 798, 1106, 1107</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

670. In memoriam (mariti et filii) et sui coll(egio) n(autarum) B(rixianorum) ad rosas et profusiones q(uot)a-(nnis) fac(ientes) ... dedit.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Identification</th>
<th>Price (HS)</th>
<th>Town</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Reference</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>60,000</td>
<td>(Riva) X</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>V 4990</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Identification</td>
<td>Price (HS)</td>
<td>Town</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Reference</td>
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<tr>
<td>671. HS (50,000) et fundum ... [et praedie duo] ... ex quo(rum) reditu quo[annis ... ] daretur, hostiaque ... inmol(etur)</td>
<td>50,000+</td>
<td>Auximum V</td>
<td>(pre-100)</td>
<td>IX 5845 + p. 689 = ILS 3775</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>672. Dedit, ex quorum usiris quincuncibus quo[annis ... die natali eius dec(urionibus si)ngulis (HS20) dentur et decurio-alibus scribis c[e]raris (HS150), libraris (HS50), lic[tor]ibus (HS100)</td>
<td>50,000 at 5%</td>
<td>Ostia I</td>
<td>(160/200)</td>
<td>XIV 353 = ILS 6148, + XIV 4642</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>673. Obtulit decurionibus et universo populo HS (50,000) quae Mammiana vocentur, ex cuius summae usiris die natalis eius ... divisionem pericperere possint</td>
<td>50,000</td>
<td>Corfinium IV</td>
<td>(post-180)</td>
<td>IX 3160 = ILS 6530; cf. IX 3180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>674. Arcae (ordinis Augustalium) [intulit] excepta stipulacione ut ex usiris M. II (?) ... quodannis ... natali suo in [c]onventu inter praesentes hora II usque ad asse(m) dividatur, deducta ornamentatione statuae HS (100)</td>
<td>50,000</td>
<td>Ostia I c. 230/240</td>
<td>XIX 431 + p. 482</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>675. Quod arcae (ordinis Augustalium) ... dederit ... excepta stipulacione (ut) ex usiris semisibus et M. II (?) ... quodannis ... natali suo inter praesentes hora II usque ad asse(m) dividiatur (sic), deducta ornamentatione statua(s)e et familiae Augustal(ium) HS (100)</td>
<td>40,000 (at 6%?)</td>
<td>Ostia I 182</td>
<td>XIX 367 = ILS 6164</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>676. Ex ... reditu quotannis per Neptunalia oleum in campo et in thermis et balineis omnibus quae sunt Comi populo praebetur</td>
<td>40,000</td>
<td>Comum XI</td>
<td>(pre-100)</td>
<td>V 5279 = ILS 6728</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>677. Ex ... reditu ... die ... natalis eius ante statuae Lection(is)ium ex (HS1,000) ponant, sport(ulas) (HS1,000) inter praesent(es) sibi divid(ant), oleum et propin(ationem) per rosam praebeant</td>
<td>30,000 yielding 2,000</td>
<td>Comum XI —</td>
<td>V 5272; v. 668</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Identification</td>
<td>Price (HS)</td>
<td>Town</td>
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<tr>
<td>678. Ex quor(um) reeditu quodannis decurionib(us) coll(egii) fabr(um) ... die Neptunaliorum praeuentibus sport(ulae) (HS6) dividerentur; et dec(uriae) XXVIII suae (HS600) quodannis darentur ut ... arca(s duas) ... rosis exornent de (HS100), sacrificiuntque ex (HS50) et de reliq(uis) ibi epulentur</td>
<td>30,000</td>
<td>Ravenna VIII</td>
<td>(post-120)</td>
<td>XI 126, cf. 127, + p. 1228</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>679. Ord(ini) dec(urionum) et populo donavit ut diae (sic) natalis eius ... sportulae dividantur</td>
<td>25,000</td>
<td>Fabrateria Vetus I</td>
<td>(post-200)</td>
<td>X 5654</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>680. [Con]f[ero vobis HS (20,000) ... [cu]m usuuris centesim[i]s ... sportulis vestr ... [d]ie natalis mi ...</td>
<td>20,000 at 12%</td>
<td>Opitergium X</td>
<td>(post-120)</td>
<td>V 1978, cf. ILS 6690</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>681. Singulis vicis ... ad emptionem possessionis cuius de reeditu die natalis sui sportular(um) diviso semper celebretur largitus sit</td>
<td>7 foundations of 20,000 each</td>
<td>Ariminum VIII</td>
<td>(post-200)</td>
<td>XI 379 = ILS 6664</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>682. In tutelam statuae</td>
<td>20,000</td>
<td>Pisauro VI</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>XI 6371</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>683. Arcae Augustalium se vivo ... dedit ut ... die natalis ... praesentes vescentur</td>
<td>20,000</td>
<td>Reate IV</td>
<td>(post-100)</td>
<td>IX 4691</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*684. In tutelam (templi Suasae Felicis quod testamento suo fieri iussit)</td>
<td>20,000</td>
<td>Suasa VI</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>XI 6173</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>685. [D]aturum es ... HS(1[6],000) usum, die [natali]s Dianae ... HS(400) et die natalis Antinol ... HS(400)</td>
<td>1[6],000 with 800 income (5%)</td>
<td>Lanuvium I</td>
<td>136</td>
<td>XIV 2112 = ILS 7212; v. 1389–1398</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>686. Ut ... rosal(ia) et parent(alia) ... in perpetuum procur[entur]</td>
<td>12,000</td>
<td>Arilica X</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>V 4016 = ILS 8373</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>687. Quo[ius (sic) ex reeditu ... natali suo (seviri Augustales) vescentur</td>
<td>10,000</td>
<td>Aletrium I</td>
<td>(pre-100)</td>
<td>X 5809</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*688. Iubeo SS. X[... dari col(oniae) Benevent(ent.)]</td>
<td>10,000</td>
<td>Beneventum II</td>
<td>(post-200)</td>
<td>IX 1670</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*D689. In perpetuum ... die natale (sic) ... epulantib(us) hic paganis annuos (HS500) dari iusserrunt</td>
<td>(10,000 if 5%; 8,333 if 6%)</td>
<td>Beneventum II</td>
<td>(post-120)</td>
<td>IX 1618 = ILS 6507</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>690. Agellium ...HS600 for various rites commemorating the donor</td>
<td>(10,000 if 6%)</td>
<td>Brixia X</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>V 4489 = ILS 8370</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<tr>
<td>691. Ut... natale (sic) filiae meae (decuriones) epulantes confrequentetis HS(400) et in pro-fusionibus HS(200)</td>
<td>10,000</td>
<td>Croto III</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>X 107 = ILS 6466</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>692. Ut... die natalis... filiae suae decur(iones) et (se)vir(i) Aug(ustales) publice in triclinis suis epulentur</td>
<td>10,000</td>
<td>Gabii I</td>
<td>168</td>
<td>XIV 2793 = ILS 5449</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>693. Ut... die natale (sic) Domitiae praesentibus decurionibus(us) et sevir(is) discumbentibus in publico aequis portionibus fieret divisio</td>
<td>10,000</td>
<td>Gabii I</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>XIV 2795 + p. 493 = ILS 272</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*694. Fund given to city, whose income was to be applied to improving the amenities of the Augustales</td>
<td>10,000 at 6%</td>
<td>Petelia III</td>
<td>138/161</td>
<td>X 114 = ILS 6469</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>695. Ex... redit(u) ... die natalis sui (coll. fabr. tig.) epulentur</td>
<td>10,000</td>
<td>Tolentinum V</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>IX 5568 = ILS 7256</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>696. Ut... natali eius ... (dendrophori) con-frequentent</td>
<td>8,000</td>
<td>Eburum III</td>
<td>(post-100)</td>
<td>X 451</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>697. Dotem cis dedit ... ex cuius usuris ... natali eius Aug(ustales) et plebs urb(ana) confreq(uentatione) et spor(tulatione) [jur]ungan[tur]</td>
<td>8,000</td>
<td>Saturnia VII</td>
<td>234</td>
<td>XI 2650</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>698. (2 identical funds for feasts for sodality on donors' birthdays)</td>
<td>6,000 yielding (HS720) (12% interest)</td>
<td>Ostia I</td>
<td>c. 190/200</td>
<td>XIV 326 + p. 615</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*699. (3 identical gifts, to colleges of dendrophori, fabri &amp; centonarii respectively) Ut... die natalis mei oleum singulis vobis (ex reditu HS4,000) dividatur, e[t] ex reditu HS(2,000) manes meoscola[t]is</td>
<td>3 foundations of 6,000</td>
<td>Sassina VI</td>
<td>post-112</td>
<td>XI 6520 = ILS 6647</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>700. Arkae (collegii centonariorum) intul(it) ... ut die natalis sui ... epulantes imperpetuum divider(entur)</td>
<td>5,000</td>
<td>Ameria VI</td>
<td>(post-180)</td>
<td>XI 4391</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>701. Ut... die natalis sui ... decurionibus et August(alibus) et vicani dividatur praesentibus et ex ea divisione iubeo statuae meae coronas emi (HS12)</td>
<td>5,000 with 300 income (i.e. 6% interest)</td>
<td>Capena VII</td>
<td>(post-120)</td>
<td>AE 1954, 168</td>
</tr>
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<td>Reference</td>
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<tr>
<td>702. Amplius in tutela et ornationibus templi</td>
<td>5,000</td>
<td>Gabii I</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>XIV 2795 + p. 493 = ILS 272</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*703. Inzendi volo in ornationem sepulchri et sacrific(i)is die parentaliorum HS(100), violae HS(100), rosae HS(100)</td>
<td>(5,000 if 6%; 6,000 if 5% interest)</td>
<td>Ostia I</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>AE 1940, 94</td>
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<td>704. In annonam perpetuo dedit</td>
<td>5,000</td>
<td>Ager</td>
<td>(post-180)</td>
<td>XI 3009 + p. 1313 = ILS 6595</td>
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<td>D705. Item *TEL (dedit) ut... die natal(i)... sacrificium facerent ansere et libo et in templo... epularentur et rosas suo tempore deducerent et statum tergerent et coronarent</td>
<td>4,200 (?)</td>
<td>Cemenelum AM</td>
<td>(post-120)</td>
<td>V 7906 = ILS 8374</td>
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<td>706. Annuis II(200) (for feast on donor's birthday)</td>
<td>(4,000 if 5%)</td>
<td>Truentum? V</td>
<td>98/102</td>
<td>ILS 7215</td>
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<td>707. Dederunt coll(egio) iun(autarum) V(eronium) A(riilae) consist(entium)... ut... rosas eis deducant... et cibos pon(ant) secus veterem consuetudinem</td>
<td>4,000</td>
<td>Arilice X</td>
<td>(post-50)</td>
<td>V 4017 = ILS 8372</td>
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<td>708. Ut... natale (sic) eius sportul(a)c dividantur</td>
<td>4,000</td>
<td>Fabrateria Vetus I</td>
<td>(post-200)</td>
<td>X 5654; v. 828</td>
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<td>709. 5 funds given to colleges; purpose unknown</td>
<td>5 foundations</td>
<td>Mediolanum XI</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>V 5840</td>
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<td>710. Uti... (natali eius) dec(uriones ordinis corporatorum?) omnibus annis epulentur</td>
<td>4,000</td>
<td>Ostia I</td>
<td>(140/180)</td>
<td>XIV 246 + p. 482</td>
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<td>711. Coll(egio) fabr(um) naval(ium) Pis(anorum)... ex cius reditu parental(i)a et rosar(i)a quotann(i)s at sepulchrum suum celebrent</td>
<td>4,000</td>
<td>Pisa VII</td>
<td>(post-50)</td>
<td>XI 1436 = ILS 7258</td>
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<td>712. Item... amplius... ex quorum reditu (trestastyrum)... si quando [necessa est] reficeretur</td>
<td>4,000</td>
<td>Pitinium Mergens VI</td>
<td>(post-180)</td>
<td>XI 5963</td>
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<tr>
<td>713. Quam summam ita donata(m)4,000 habebit per annis sing(ulis) die natali... sportulas pr(a)esentib(us) dividant</td>
<td>4,000</td>
<td>Setia I</td>
<td>(post-200)</td>
<td>X 6465</td>
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<td>714.</td>
<td>3,500 if 6%</td>
<td>Aquileia X</td>
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<td>Pais no. 181</td>
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<td>715.</td>
<td>3,000 yielding (HS360) (i.e. 12% interest)</td>
<td>Ostia I</td>
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<td>716.</td>
<td>2,000</td>
<td>Arilica X</td>
<td>(post-200)</td>
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<td>2,000</td>
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<td>718.</td>
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<td>Concordia X</td>
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<td>V 8655, cf. 8654</td>
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<td>2,000+</td>
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<td>720.</td>
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<td>Comum XI</td>
<td>(pre-180)</td>
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<td>*D730.</td>
<td>(2,000 if 5%)</td>
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<td>731. Donavi(t) Ciarn(e) (nsibus?) . . . ut facterent . . . na(tali) tuc(eto) vin(o)</td>
<td>1,600</td>
<td>Feltria X</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>V 2072</td>
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<td>732. Quodann(is) . . . rosae coronas ternas ponenter et profus(iones)</td>
<td>1,600</td>
<td>Mediolanum XI (post-120)</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>V 5907</td>
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<td>733. In tut(elam) . . . ex quorum usur(is) die . . . sacri(ficium) exitis celebretur</td>
<td>1,000</td>
<td>Brixia X</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>V 4203 = ILS 6718</td>
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<td>734. Coll(egio) (se)vir(um) soccor. (sic) . . . ut . . . profus(iones) aei tan parent(alia) tan ros(aria) . . . celebrent(ur)</td>
<td>1,000</td>
<td>Brixia X (post-50)</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>V 4410 = ILS 6719</td>
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<td>735. Coll(egio) dendr-. (ophorum) . . . et in tutelam dedit . . .</td>
<td>1,000</td>
<td>Brixia X</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>V 4418</td>
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<td>736. 2 funds for sacrificium, 1 for profusio</td>
<td>3 foundations of 1,000 each</td>
<td>Brixia X (post-100)</td>
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<td>V 4449</td>
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<td>737. In cuius tutel(am) dederunt</td>
<td>1,000</td>
<td>Comum XI</td>
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<td>738. In tutelam (statuae) dedit</td>
<td>1,000</td>
<td>Comum XI</td>
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<td>AE 1951, 94</td>
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<td>739. In tutel(am) ded(it)</td>
<td>1,000</td>
<td>Ager Comensis XI</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>V 5447 = ILS 7253</td>
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<td>740. Collegio fabr(um) Laud(is) in utrumq(ue) florem perpetuo sibi deducend(um)</td>
<td>1,000</td>
<td>Laus Pompeia XI (post-50)</td>
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<td>V 6363</td>
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<td>*741. Collegio suo centonariorum legavit . . . ex cuius reditu quodannis die parentaliorum ne minus homines (12) ad rogum suum vescerentur</td>
<td>1,000</td>
<td>Mevania VI (pre-200)</td>
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<td>XI 5047 + p. 1380</td>
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<td>742. Ut . . . rosas ad monumentum ei spargant et ibi (decuria VII collegii fabrum) epulentur</td>
<td>1,000</td>
<td>Ravenna VIII</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>XI 132 + p. 1228 = ILS 7235</td>
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<td>743. At least HS16 on rosa(e), residue on escas rosales et vindemiales</td>
<td>800</td>
<td>Acelum X (post-50)</td>
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<td>V 2090 + p. 1068 = ILS 8371</td>
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<td>744. Ut monumentum remund(etur)</td>
<td>600</td>
<td>Arilica X</td>
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<td>745. Ut . . . rosal(ia) et parent(alia) . . . procurent</td>
<td>600</td>
<td>(Toscolano ad lacum Benacum) X (post-50)</td>
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<td>V 4871 = ILS 6710</td>
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<td>746. In tut(elam) (statuae)</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>Brixia X</td>
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<td>747. Ad rosas et escas ducendas</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>Atria X (post-50)</td>
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<td>V 2315</td>
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<td>748. In tutel(am) . . . ded(it) coll(egio) iument-. (ariorum) (statue or altar dedicated to Vulcan)</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>Brixia X</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>V 4294, cf. 4288</td>
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THE BRITISH SCHOOL AT ROME

Identification | Price (HS) | Town | Date | Reference
---|---|---|---|---
749. Donavit... ut facerent mul(ieres) rosas | 400 | Feltria X | — | V 2072
750. Donavi(t)... (ut facerent) Her(clanenses) par(entalia) | 400 | Feltria X | — | V 2072
*751. In herm(am) tuend(um) et rosa quodannis ornandam (sic) | 400 | Mediolanum XI | — | V 5878 = ILS 6735
752. Ut... rosam ponant parentibus et sibi | 400 | Vardagate IX (Riva) X | 189/200 (post-50) | V 7450
753. In tutela (tegurii) | 200 (annually?) | | | V 5005 = ILS 3761, cf. V 4339, 4318
*D754. Dedit (HS80) et profundi de usuris (HS12) | 80 yielding 12 (i.e. 15% interest) | Bergomum XI | (post-120) | V 5134; Billeter, p. 227
D755. Ut... die n(osstro) festo sollemne oleum in lucerna quem dedi d(e?) p(roprio?) ex usuris praestetur D eo) I(nvicto) M(ithrae) | 32 (?+) (Montalci-no) VII | (post-120) | XI 2596 = ILS 8368

V. Sportulae

MULTIPLE DISTRIBUTIONS

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Town | Date | Reference
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*756. Mons Fereter VI | 148 | XI 6481
757. Puteoli I | (pre-180) | X 1839
758. Forum Clodii VII | 165 | XI 7556 = ILS 6584
D759. Bovillae I | 169 | XIV 2408 = ILS 5196
760. Pisaurum VI | (100/180) | XI 6360
D761. Asculum Picenum V | (120-200) | IX 5189
762. Volcei III | (100-200) | X 415
763. Corfinium IV | (post-180) | IX 3160 = ILS 6530
764. Forum Sernproni V | (100-150) | XI 6117 + p. 1397
765. Firmum Picenum V | — | IX 5376; v. 662
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<td>180/192</td>
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<td>IX 23 = ILS 6472</td>
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<td>c. 170</td>
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<td>X 451</td>
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<td>c. 230/240</td>
<td>XIV 431</td>
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<td>773. Interamnia Pracetutianorum V</td>
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<td>D776. Pissarum VI</td>
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### Multiple Distributions

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<td>X 109; Kahrstedt, p. 78</td>
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## Multiple Distributions

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### Sportula Rates

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<td>830. Singulis (collegii fabrum) ... adiecto pane et vin(o)</td>
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<td>(post-120)</td>
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<td>(post-100)</td>
<td>v. 773</td>
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<td>*D870. Dec(urionibus)</td>
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... adieicto pane et vino

*D875. Decurionibus singulis | 16 | Ager Sorrien- | (post-120) | v. 783
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883. [O]b [d]edica[t]ionem... | 12 | Attidium | — | XI 5678a

884. Singulius decurionibus | 12 | Auximium | 159 | v. 791

D883. Decurionibus | 12 | Auximium | 169/190 | v. 792

D886. Sportulae... Augustalis(ibus) singulis | 12 | Bovillae | 169 | v. 759

887. Iuvenibus(ibus) singulis... decurionibus... | 12 | Carsulae | (post-180) | v. 786

888. Augustalibus | 12 | Eburum | (post-100) | v. 771

889. Sexviris et Augustalibus | 12 | Forum | (100/150) | v. 764

D890. Divisi... (se)vir(is) Aug(ustalis) | 12 | Gabii | 168 | v. 770

D891. Decurionibus | 12 | Lupiae? | (post-100) | v. 795

D892. Dec(urionibus) | 12 | Minturnae | 249 | X 6012 =
... I

D893. Decurionibus | 12 | Ostia | 251 | XIV 352 =

D894. Decurionibus | 12 | Ostia | c. 230/240 | v. 772

D895. — | 12 (?+) | Ostia | 194 | XIV p. 614, 2,

D896. Singulis | 12 | Ostia | 129 | cf. XIV 325

897. Plebei... adieicto pane et vino | 12 | Pisaurem | (100/180) | v. 760

898. Decurionibus | 12 | Pitium | (post-100) | XI 5965

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... HS XII... et epulum... item... die pervigilii Dei Patris alterum tantum dedit (i.e. 2 identical distributions)
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<tr>
<td>972. —</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Alba</td>
<td>168</td>
<td>IX 3950</td>
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<tr>
<td>*D973. Popul(o)... et epul(um) suff(iciens)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Fucens IV</td>
<td>Anagnia I</td>
<td>180/195</td>
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<td>D974. Popul(o) ... et epulum sufficiens omnib(us)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Anagnia I</td>
<td>180/195</td>
<td>v. 775</td>
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<td>D975. Populo</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Anagnia I</td>
<td>(post-120)</td>
<td>v. 789</td>
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<td>976. Plebi urbaneae aepul-(antibus) sing(ulis)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Antinum Marsorum IV</td>
<td>(post-150)</td>
<td>v. 787</td>
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<tr>
<td>977. Vicanis (vicorum VII)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Ariminum VIII</td>
<td>(post-200)</td>
<td>XI 379 = ILS 6664; v. 681</td>
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<td>978. Sing(ulis) (collegii fabrum)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Ariminum VIII</td>
<td>169</td>
<td>XI 405</td>
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<tr>
<td>979. Colonis sing(ulis)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Auximum V</td>
<td>(161/169)</td>
<td>v. 803</td>
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<tr>
<td>*D980. Viritim populo</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Beneventum II</td>
<td>120/138</td>
<td>IX 1619 = ILS 5502; v. 513</td>
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<td>D981. Sportulae... mulier(ibus) honorat(orum) et populo sing(ulis)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Bovillae I</td>
<td>169</td>
<td>v. 759</td>
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<tr>
<td>D982. Dec(urioniibus) et Aug(ustalibus)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Bovillae I</td>
<td>138/175</td>
<td>XIV 2416</td>
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<td>983. Scrib(is) liber(isq ue) eorum... Aug(ustalibus) vic(toriato) n. II — annually...</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Cales I</td>
<td>—</td>
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<td>D984. Decurionibus... populo</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Carsulae</td>
<td>(post-VI120)</td>
<td>v. 802 + 801</td>
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<td>D985. Augustalibus... adiecto pane et vino</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Carsulae</td>
<td>(post-VI120)</td>
<td>v. 801</td>
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<td>986. (Se)viris [?]</td>
<td>[4?]</td>
<td>Carsulae</td>
<td>(post-VI180)</td>
<td>v. 786</td>
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<tr>
<td>D987. Dendrophoris... [c]t vinum passim</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Cemenelum AM</td>
<td>(120-180)</td>
<td>V 7904</td>
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<tr>
<td>D988. Collegiis</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Cemenelum AM</td>
<td>(post-120)</td>
<td>v. 804</td>
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<tr>
<td>D989. [Popul]o viriti[m]</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Compsa II</td>
<td>(120/200)</td>
<td>IX 976 + NS 1938, p. 103</td>
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<tr>
<td>D990. Populo intra murum morantibus</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Compsa II</td>
<td>(post-120)</td>
<td>v. 782</td>
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<tr>
<td>D991. Populo utriusq ue [sexus] [sexus (at the dedication of a statue financed by the plebs urbana)]</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Compsa II</td>
<td>(post-120)</td>
<td>IX 977</td>
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<tr>
<td>D991a. Populo utriusq ue sexus</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Compsa II</td>
<td>(post-120)</td>
<td>IX 981</td>
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<td>992. Decurionibus... ut natale (sic) filiae meae epulantes con frequentetis HS (400)</td>
<td>(4)?</td>
<td>Croti III</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>v. 691</td>
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<tr>
<td>993. Populo viritim</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Croti III</td>
<td>(pre-200)</td>
<td>v. 799</td>
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<td>994. Ep...</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Cupra Montana V</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>IX 5708</td>
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<tr>
<td>995. Sexus femin. singuli[s] (annually)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Firmum Picenum V</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>v. 662</td>
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<tr>
<td>996. Municipibus</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Forum Flaminiae Fulginiæ VI</td>
<td>(post-200)</td>
<td>v. 781</td>
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<tr>
<td>997. Plebi sing(ulis)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Forum Sempronii VI</td>
<td>(100/150)</td>
<td>v. 764</td>
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<td>D998. Item tabernar(i)is intra murum negotiantibus</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Gabii I</td>
<td>168</td>
<td>v. 770</td>
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<td>*999. Municipibus singulis</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Herculaneum I</td>
<td>48/49</td>
<td>X 1416</td>
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<td>1000. Epul. sing(ulis) ... plebei</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Interamnia Praetutianorum V</td>
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<td>1001. Municipibus et incolis sing(ulis)</td>
<td>[4]</td>
<td>Lupiae? II</td>
<td>(pre-200)</td>
<td>v. 805</td>
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<td>1002. Municipibus et incolis</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Lupiae? II</td>
<td>(post-100)</td>
<td>v. 795</td>
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<td>D1003. [Den]arios divisit</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Messina SICILY</td>
<td>(120/200)</td>
<td>NS 1920, p. 340</td>
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<td>D1004. Populó</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Nuceria Alfaterna I</td>
<td>(pre-63)</td>
<td>X 1081 = ILS 6446; cf. X p. 124, 2</td>
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<td>D1005. (Sportulae?)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Opitergium X</td>
<td>(post-120)</td>
<td>v. 680</td>
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<td>1006. Viritim (to members of a college)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Ostia I</td>
<td>143/161</td>
<td>AE 1940, 62</td>
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<td>D1007. Viritim</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Ostia I</td>
<td>141</td>
<td>XIV 8 = ILS 6154</td>
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<td>D1008. (Kannophoris) pan(em), vin(um) et (HS4)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Ostia I</td>
<td>212</td>
<td>XIV 119 + p. 481</td>
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<td>D1009. Virit(im corpori trajectus Rusticeli)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Ostia I</td>
<td>169/176</td>
<td>XIV 4556</td>
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<td>1010. Viritim (to members of a college)</td>
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<td>Ostia I</td>
<td>143/161</td>
<td>AE 1940, 62</td>
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<td>D1011. Dend(orphoris)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Ostia I</td>
<td>177/188?</td>
<td>AE 1948, 24</td>
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<td>D1012. Plebi</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Perusia VII</td>
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<td>*1013. Decurionib(us)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Perusia VII</td>
<td>166</td>
<td>v. 816</td>
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<td>*D1014. Municipibus Petelinis utriusque sexus ex more loci ... omnibus annis</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Petelia III</td>
<td>138/161</td>
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<td>1015. Dec(unionibus)</td>
<td>4</td>
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<tr>
<td>D1016. Plebi</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Pisaurum VI</td>
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<td>1017. Colón(is) ... [femini?]s ... (HS 4 to both)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Puteoli I</td>
<td>(pre-180)</td>
<td>v. 757</td>
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<td>1018. Municipibus (on 2 occasions)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Puteoli I</td>
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<td>D1018a. [Un]iversæ plebei</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Reate IV</td>
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<td>IX 4686</td>
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<td>1019. Augustalib(us)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Saepinum IV</td>
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<td>1020. Colonis sing(ulis)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Salernum I</td>
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<td>X 514</td>
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<td>D1021. [Po]pulo sportulae</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Saturnia VII</td>
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<td>XI 2650; v. 697</td>
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<td>1022. (Singulis collegii incerti)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Sestinum VI</td>
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<td>*D1023. Liberis (plebis intra murum habitantium) ... dimidium</td>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>Ager (post-120)</td>
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<td>v. 783</td>
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<td>D1024. Ple[bis]</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Thermae (post-120)</td>
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<td>1025. Populo</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Trebula Balliensis I (pre-200)</td>
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<td>v. 808</td>
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<td>1026. Municipibus et incolis utriusquinque sexus epulum et HS (4)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Tuficum VI</td>
<td>141</td>
<td>XI 5693 = ILS 2666; cf. ILS 2666a</td>
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<td>1027. Ceteris utriusque sexus (sc. plebis)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Tuficum VI</td>
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<td>1028. Plebeis utriusque xenustic(sic) sing(ulis)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Tuficum VI</td>
<td>(post-200)</td>
<td>v. 813</td>
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<td>D1029. (Sportulae ?)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Tusculum I (post-120)</td>
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<td>1030. Populo</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Verulam I</td>
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<td>1031. Populo viritim</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Vibo III</td>
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<td>v. 800</td>
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<td>1032. Pop(ulo)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Volcei III</td>
<td>161/180</td>
<td>v. 790</td>
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<td>1033. Uxoribus ... vicanorum</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Volcei III</td>
<td>(100/200)</td>
<td>v. 762</td>
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<td>1036. Plebi epul. sing(ulis)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Antinum (post-150)</td>
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<td>v. 778</td>
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<td>1037. Munic[ipibus] vici(toriatum) n. I (annually)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Cales I</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>v. 811</td>
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<td>1039. [Fe]minis</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Croto III (pre-200)</td>
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<td>v. 799</td>
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<td>1040. (Iuvenibus Herculanis) si[n]g(ulis) discunbent(ibus)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Fabrateria (post-200)</td>
<td></td>
<td>X 5657 = ILS 6287; v. 721</td>
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<td>*1042. Plebi</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Perusia VII</td>
<td>166</td>
<td>v. 816</td>
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<td>1043. Aug(ustalibus)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Petelia III</td>
<td>102/113</td>
<td>v. 815</td>
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<td>D1044. (Cultoribus Iovis Latii) pane(m) et vinu(m) et (HS2); (at least 38 recipients)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Pisaurum (post-120)</td>
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<td>XI 6310 = ILS 3082</td>
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<td>D1045. Populo</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Praeneste I</td>
<td>195(?)</td>
<td>XIV 3005</td>
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<td>1046. Plebi viritim</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Sacpinum IV</td>
<td>(pre-200)</td>
<td>v. 812</td>
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<td>1047. Ut ... municipes praeentes acciperent aeris octonos (annually)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Spoletium VI</td>
<td>(post-100)</td>
<td>v. 652</td>
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<td>1048. Univer(so) numero (collegii) sing(ulis)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Volsinii (pre-VII 150)</td>
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<td>XI 7302; v. 504</td>
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<td>1049. Populo vir(it)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Petelia III</td>
<td>102/113</td>
<td>v. 815</td>
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<td>1050. Popul[o]</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Potentia III</td>
<td>(post-100)</td>
<td>v. 796</td>
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<tr>
<td>1051. [Femminis singu]los nummos</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Tuder VI</td>
<td>—</td>
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<td><strong>GROUP SPORTULAE WHOSE RATE IS NOT STATED</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>1052. Ob promiss(amin) venat(inem) ph(r)etris divisit quina mil(ia) num.</td>
<td>5,000 per phretria</td>
<td>Neapolis I</td>
<td>(post-100)</td>
<td>X 1491 = ILS 6456; cf. SDHI, v, 1939, p. 543 no. 15 = 654</td>
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<tr>
<td>1053. HS200,000 for 3 annual distributions of sportulae to decuriones &amp; Augustales &amp; seviri</td>
<td>(3,333 per occasion if 5%)</td>
<td>Altinum X</td>
<td>(post-100)</td>
<td>= 674</td>
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<tr>
<td>1054. HS50,000 for annual divisio (decurionibus et universo populo)</td>
<td>(3,000 if 6%)</td>
<td>Corfinium IV</td>
<td>(post-180)</td>
<td>= 673</td>
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<tr>
<td>1055. HS50,000 for annual distribution 'inter (Augustales) praesentes'</td>
<td>(3,000 if 6%)</td>
<td>Ostia I</td>
<td>c. 230/240</td>
<td>= 674</td>
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<td>1056. HS20,000 at 12% for sportulae</td>
<td>2,400 p.a.</td>
<td>Opitergium X</td>
<td>(post-100)</td>
<td>= 680</td>
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<td>1057. HS40,000 for annual distribution to Augustales, less HS100 per year</td>
<td>(2,300 if 6%)</td>
<td>Ostia I</td>
<td>182</td>
<td>= 675</td>
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<tr>
<td>1058. HS25,000 for annual sportulae for decuriones and people</td>
<td>(1,500 if 6%)</td>
<td>Fabrateria Vetus I</td>
<td>(post-200)</td>
<td>= 679</td>
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<tr>
<td>1059. HS20,000 to each of 7 vici for purchase of possessio whose income will provide annual sportulae for the vicari</td>
<td>(1,200 in each case, if 6%)</td>
<td>Ariminum VIII</td>
<td>(post-200)</td>
<td>= 681</td>
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<td>1060. Annual HS1200 for 'distributio . . . decurionibus epulantibus . . . deduto . . . sumptu strationis'</td>
<td>(1200-x)</td>
<td>Petelia III</td>
<td>138/161</td>
<td>= 664</td>
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<td>1061. Sportulae . . . inter praesent(es)—annually</td>
<td>1,000 p.a.</td>
<td>Comum XI</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>= 677</td>
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<tr>
<td>1062. Coll(egis) dend[r]ophor-(orum) et fab(rum) sing(ulis)</td>
<td>1,000 each</td>
<td>Eburum III</td>
<td>(post-100)</td>
<td>X 451, cf. nos. 696 and 771 above</td>
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<td>1063. Sportulae . . . in[ter praesentes]—annually for collegium fabrum centoniariorum</td>
<td>800 p.a.</td>
<td>Comum XI</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>= 668</td>
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<td>1064. Ut . . . praesentibus decurionibus et seviris (is) discumbentibus in publico acquis portionibus fieret divisio —annually</td>
<td>(600 if 6%; income of 10,000)</td>
<td>Gabii I</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>= 693</td>
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<tr>
<td>1065. Annual distribution and feast for Augustales</td>
<td>(600-x) annually</td>
<td>Petelia III</td>
<td>138/161</td>
<td>= 664</td>
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<tr>
<td>1066. HS8,000 for annual confrequentatio and sportulatio for Augustales and plebs urbana</td>
<td>(480 if 6%)</td>
<td>Saturnia VII</td>
<td>234</td>
<td>= 697</td>
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<tr>
<td>1067. HS5,000 for annual divisio to members of collegium centoniariorum 'epulantes'</td>
<td>(300 if 6%)</td>
<td>Ameria VI</td>
<td>(post-180)</td>
<td>= 700</td>
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### Identification

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<td>1068. Ut ... decurionibus et August(alibus) et vicianis dividatur praestentibus</td>
<td>300 annually</td>
<td>Capena VII</td>
<td>(post-100)</td>
<td>= 701</td>
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<tr>
<td>1069. HS4,000 for annual sportulae for cultores antistites deae Cereris</td>
<td>240 if 6%</td>
<td>Fabrateria Vetus I</td>
<td>(post-200)</td>
<td>= 708</td>
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<tr>
<td>1070. HS4,000 for annual sportulae for praeentes</td>
<td>240 if 6%</td>
<td>Setia I</td>
<td>(post-200)</td>
<td>= 713</td>
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<td>1071. Annual distribution to decuriae scribae cerarii</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>Ostia I</td>
<td>(160/200)</td>
<td>= 672</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1072. HS2,000 for annual sportulae for iuvenses Herculani</td>
<td>120 if 6%</td>
<td>Fabrateria Vetus I</td>
<td>(post-200)</td>
<td>= 721</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1073. Annual distribution to lictores</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>Ostia I</td>
<td>(160/200)</td>
<td>= 672</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D1073a. Ma[tr]onis collegii fabrum—annually</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>Aquileia X</td>
<td>(post-120)</td>
<td>= 714</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D1073b. Decuriae meae (collegii fabrum)—annually</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>Aquileia X</td>
<td>(post-120)</td>
<td>= 714</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1074. Annual distribution to librarii</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>Ostia I</td>
<td>(160/200)</td>
<td>= 672</td>
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### Games

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<tr>
<th>Games</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Price (HS)</th>
<th>Town</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Reference</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1074a. HS600,000 ‘(ut) quinto quoque anno munus gladiatorium ederetur’ —i.e. quinquennially</td>
<td>150,000 if 5%</td>
<td>Pisaurum VI</td>
<td>(post-100)</td>
<td>= 643</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1075. Cum ex HS(100,000) bidui [munus populo promississet, impendio] suo alis HS(100,000) tertium [siem ediderit et viam . . .] straverit per milia pass[uum . . .] —Mommens’s restorations</td>
<td>150,000 [?+] or 50,000 per day</td>
<td>Aeclanum II</td>
<td>(161/169)</td>
<td>IX 1175</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*1076. [Test]amento . . . colonis . . . ad ludos . . . [legavit?]</td>
<td>50,000</td>
<td>Ostia I</td>
<td>(pre-100)</td>
<td>XIV 4693</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1077. Munus</td>
<td>50,000</td>
<td>Formiae I</td>
<td>(post-120)</td>
<td>AE 1927, 124; v. 858</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*1078. Ludos . . . per dies (5) fieri iussit</td>
<td>40,000 (?)</td>
<td>Praeneste I</td>
<td>(pre-100)</td>
<td>XIV 3015, cf. ILS 6256</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1079. In ludos victoriae Caesaris August(I)</td>
<td>7,750</td>
<td>Iguvium VI</td>
<td>27 B.C./A.D. 14</td>
<td>XI 5820 + p. 1395, = ILS 5531; v. 482, 1325, 1364a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1079a. Ludi (annually)</td>
<td>(part of income of 300,000)</td>
<td>Concordia X</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>v. 651</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
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## AN EPIGRAPHIC SURVEY OF COSTS IN ROMAN ITALY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Price (HS)</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Feasts, Refreshments and Oil-Distributions</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>A. At specified rate per head</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D1079b. Epulum decurionibus sing(ulis)</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Asisium VI</td>
<td>(120/200)</td>
<td>XI 5372 + p. 1388 = ILS 3398</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D1079c. Epulum ... sexvir(is)</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>Asisium VI</td>
<td>(120/200)</td>
<td>XI 5372 = p. 1388 = ILS 3398</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1079d. Epulum dedit decur(ionibus) et Augustal(ibus) sing(ulis)</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Fagifulae IV</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>IX 2553; v. 498</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D 1079c. Epulum ... plebei</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Asisium VI</td>
<td>(120/200)</td>
<td>v. 1079b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1079f. Epulum dedit ... Mart(ialibus)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Fagifulae IV</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>v. 1079d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D1079g. Epul(um) dedit mulierib(us) sing(ulis)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Corfinium IV</td>
<td>(post-120)</td>
<td>IX 3171</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1079h. Epulum dedit ... plebei</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Fagifulae IV</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>v. 1079d</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<p>| <strong>B. Group costs</strong> |           |               |            |           |
| 1079j. ... postea ad epulum [pl]eb(is) urban(ae) | (84,000 p.a. if 44%) | Comum XI | 111/113    | v. 638 and note |
| 1080. (Annual) 'aepulum et crustulum et mulsum' for 'municipes' | (75,000 p.a. if 5%) | Spoletium VI | —         | v. 639     |
| 1081. Epulum populo (annually) | (20,000 p.a. if 5%) | Pisaurum (post-100) | Mons | 148        | v. 656     |
| 1082. [Ad divis]onem epularum | (10,000 p.a. if 5%) | Feret VI Sentinium VI | 84/96 | v. 658     |
| 1083. Epulum municipibus | (6,000 p.a. if 5%) | Spoletium VI (post-100) | v. 659     |
| 1084. (Ut) (se)vir Aug(ustales) et compit(ales) Larum Aug. et mag(istr) vicorum ... in publico vescerentur | (7,200 p.a. if 6%) |  |             |           |
| 1085. Divisio multis[rum et crustulum? suff]iciement | (6,000 p.a. if 6%) | Mons Feret VI | 148 | v. 663     |
| 1086. HS100,000 for annual giving of crustulum et mulsum | (6,000 if 6%) | (Casinum I) | (pre-100) | = 666     |
| 1087. HS100,000 for annual giving of crustulum et mulsum | (6,000 if 6%) | (Minturnae I) | (pre-100) | = 665     |
| 1088. (Ut) per Neptunalia oleum in campo et in thermis et balineis omnibus quae sunt Comi populo praebetur (from HS40,000) | (2,400 if 6%) | Comum XI (pre-100) | = 676     |
| 1089. HS200,000, 'ut ... natali suo ... (Augustales) praesentes vescerentur' | (1,200 if 6%) | Reate IV (post-100) | = 683     |
| 1090. HS6,000 (Fund for annual feast for sodality on donor's birthday) | 720 per year (i.e. 12%) | Ostia I | c. 190/200 | = 698     |</p>
<table>
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<tr>
<td>1091. HS10,000 'quouis (sic) ex red[itu] ... natali suau ... (seviri Augustales) vescerentur'</td>
<td>(600 if 6%)</td>
<td>Aletrium I</td>
<td>(pre-100)</td>
<td>= 687</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1092. HS10,000 'ut decur(jones) et (se)vir(i) Aug(ustales) publice in triclinis suis epulentur'</td>
<td>(600 if 6%)</td>
<td>Gabii I</td>
<td>168</td>
<td>= 692</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1093. Ex ... redit(u) (coll. fab. tig.) epulentur</td>
<td>(600 p.a. if 6%)</td>
<td>Tolentinum V</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>v. 695</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1094. Ut ... pagum lustrent et sequentibus diebus ex consuetudine sua cenent, item ... die natale ... epulentur</td>
<td>500 annually</td>
<td>Beneventum II</td>
<td>(post-100)</td>
<td>= 689</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1095. Ut (decuria XXVIII sua) ... (in aede Neptuni) epulentur (collegium fabrum)</td>
<td>450 annually</td>
<td>Ravenna VIII</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>= 678</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1096. 2 annual feasts for cultores Dianae et Antinoi</td>
<td>400 on each occasion</td>
<td>Lanuvium I</td>
<td>133</td>
<td>= 685</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1097. (Fund for annual feast for sodality on donor's birthday) of HS3,000</td>
<td>360 annually (i.e. 12%)</td>
<td>Ostia I</td>
<td>c. 190/200</td>
<td>= 715</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1098. HS4,000 each to colleges of dendrophori, fabri &amp; centonarii 'ut die natalis mei oleum singulis vobis dividatur'</td>
<td>(240 if 6%, in each case)</td>
<td>Sassina VI</td>
<td>(post-112)</td>
<td>= 699</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1099. 7 funds for annual feasts for sodality on their donor's birthdays, each worth HS2,000</td>
<td>240 each (i.e. 12%)</td>
<td>Ostia I</td>
<td>c. 190/200</td>
<td>= 723–726c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1100. 3 funds of HS2,000 for annual feasts for sodality on their donor's birthdays</td>
<td>(240 each if 12%, as above)</td>
<td>Ostia I</td>
<td>c. 190/200</td>
<td>= 727–728a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1101. HS4,000 'utti ... [collegium inc.] epulentur'</td>
<td>(240 if 6%)</td>
<td>Ostia I</td>
<td>(140/180)</td>
<td>= 710</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1102. Uti (cultores Herculis) ... natale (sic) ... vescerentur</td>
<td>200 (?) annually</td>
<td>Truentum? V</td>
<td>98/102</td>
<td>= 706</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1103. HS1,000,000 to cover 3 cenaes for decurions per year, together with support of 100 girls in perpetuity, and annual games</td>
<td>(part of 50,000 if 5%)</td>
<td>Ostia I</td>
<td>148/180</td>
<td>= 641</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1104. HS300,000 for annual cena 'enae' and epulum, together with ludi</td>
<td>(part of 15,000 if 5%)</td>
<td>Concordia X</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>= 651</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1105. HS 250,000 for annual cena for decurions, together with distribution to municiipes at HS2 per head</td>
<td>(part of 12,500 if 5%)</td>
<td>Spoletium VI</td>
<td>(post-100)</td>
<td>= 652</td>
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</tbody>
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AN EPIGRAPHIC SURVEY OF COSTS IN ROMAN ITALY

Identification

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1106. (Ut) natal(i) suo...</td>
<td>1 pound of pastry</td>
<td>Ferentinum</td>
<td>(post-100)</td>
<td>X 5853, cf. p. 1013 = ILS 6271; cf. nos. 669 &amp; 798 above</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>+ $1 pint of mead per head</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>p(ondo) I, mulsi hemin(a) (annually)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1107. Plebeis sine distinctione libertatis nucum sparsion(em) mod(iorum) XXX (annually)</td>
<td>7.2 bushels of nuts—total distribution</td>
<td>Ferentinum</td>
<td>(post-100)</td>
<td>X 5853, cf. p. 1013 = ILS 6271; cf. nos. 669, 798 &amp; 1106 above</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

VII. Commemorative rites and offerings

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Identification</th>
<th>Price (HS)</th>
<th>Town</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1108. HS60,000 ad rosas et profusiones...</td>
<td>(3,600 if 6%)</td>
<td>(Riva) X</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>= 670</td>
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<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1108a. HS12,000 'ut... rosal(ia) et parent(alia) ...in perpetuum procur[entur]'</td>
<td>(360 if 6%)</td>
<td>Arilica X</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>= 686</td>
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<tr>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1109. HS8,000 'coll(egio) dendrophororum... ut... natali eius... confrquentem'</td>
<td>(480 if 6%)</td>
<td>Eburum</td>
<td>(post-100)</td>
<td>= 696</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1110. HS10,000 *(decurionibus) ut... natale <em>(sic) ...epulantes confrquentes HS CCCC n.</em></td>
<td>400 per year</td>
<td>Crotro III</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>= 691</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1111. Ut sili(a)e... diac natalis (coniugis eius) item... diae natalis sui... ex (HS200)... celebrent; item diebus parentaliorum et rosalior(um)... ex (HS100) [profusione] in p[er]petu(um) [fie]rent (twice-yearly)</td>
<td>300 per year, twice over</td>
<td>Brixia X</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>= 690</td>
</tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1112. HS4,200 'ut... die natal(lici)... sacrificium facerent ansere et libo et in templo... epularentur et rosas suo tempore deducerent et statuam tergerent et coronarent'</td>
<td>(252 if 6%)</td>
<td>Cemenelum</td>
<td>(post-120)</td>
<td>= 705</td>
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<tr>
<td>1113. HS4,000 'ut (collegium nautarum)... rosas eis deducant... et cibos pon(ant) secus veterem consuetudinem'</td>
<td>(240 if 6%)</td>
<td>Arilica X</td>
<td>(post-50)</td>
<td>= 707</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1114. HS4,000 'ex cuius reditu (collegium fabrum navalium) parental(ia) et rosar(ia)... at sepulchrum suum celebrent'</td>
<td>(240 if 6%)</td>
<td>Pisa VII</td>
<td>(post-150)</td>
<td>= 711</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Identification</td>
<td>Price (HS)</td>
<td>Town</td>
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<td>Reference</td>
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<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1115. Et in profusionibus</td>
<td>200 p.a.</td>
<td>Croto III</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>= 691; cf. 1110 above</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1116. In cena parentaliana</td>
<td>200 p.a.</td>
<td>Petelia III</td>
<td>138/161</td>
<td>v. 664</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1117. Ut . . . arcae (2) . . . rosi exornent de (HS100) sacrificientque ex (HS50) — annually</td>
<td>150 p.a.</td>
<td>Ravenna VIII</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>v. 678</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1118. HS2,000 'at sollemnia cibu[...m et rosarum sibi et coniu[...gl]'</td>
<td>(120 p.a. if 6%)</td>
<td>Arilica X</td>
<td>(post-200)</td>
<td>= 716</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1119. HS2,000 'ut no[...is ... ros[...is et parental[...is . . .]'</td>
<td>(120 p.a. if 6%)</td>
<td>Brixia X</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>717</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1120. HS2,000 each to colleges of dendrophori, fabri &amp; centonarii '(tut) ex re...</td>
<td>(120 p.a. if 6%, in each case)</td>
<td>Sassina VI</td>
<td>(post-112)</td>
<td>v. 699; cf. 1098</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1121. Ut de eis sacrifici[m parentaliorum tempore quadannis faciant]</td>
<td>100 p.a.</td>
<td>Carsulae VI</td>
<td>(post-120)</td>
<td>730</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1122. Inpendi volo in ornat[...m sepulchri et sacrific(i)is die parentaliorum]</td>
<td>100 p.a.</td>
<td>Ostia I</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>v. 703</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1123. Violae (annually)</td>
<td>100 p.a.</td>
<td>Ostia I</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>v. 703</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1124. Rosae (annually)</td>
<td>100 p.a.</td>
<td>Ostia I</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>v. 703</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1125. HS1,600 'ut Ciarn[...es?] facerent . . . na(tali) tuc(eto) vin(o)'</td>
<td>(96 p.a. if 6%)</td>
<td>Feltria X</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>731</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1126. HS1,600 'ex quor(um) red[...m tempore parentalior(um) quam et rosae coronas ternas pono...']</td>
<td>(96 p.a. if 6%)</td>
<td>Mediolanum XI</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>732</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1127. HS1,000 'in tutelam . . . ex quor[...m usur(is) . . . sacri(ficium) extis celebretur'</td>
<td>(60 p.a. if 6%)</td>
<td>Brixia X</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>733</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1128. HS1,000 'ut ... profus(iones) aei tan parent(alia) tan ros(aria) ... celebrent(ur)'</td>
<td>(60 p.a. if 6%)</td>
<td>Brixia X</td>
<td>(post-50)</td>
<td>734</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1129. Et in profusione(m)</td>
<td>(60 p.a. if 6%)</td>
<td>Brixia X</td>
<td>(post-100)</td>
<td>v. 736</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1130. HS1,000 'in tutelam . . . ut ... sacrif(icitur)'</td>
<td>(60 p.a. if 6%)</td>
<td>Brixia X</td>
<td>(post-100)</td>
<td>v. 736</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1131. HS1,000 'in tutelam . . . ut ... per officiales sacrif(icitur)'</td>
<td>(60 p.a. if 6%)</td>
<td>Brixia X</td>
<td>(post-100)</td>
<td>v. 736</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1132. HS1,000 'collegio fabr(um) . . . in utrumq(ue) flore perpetuo sibi deducend(um)'</td>
<td>(60 p.a. if 6%)</td>
<td>Laus</td>
<td>(post-50)</td>
<td>740</td>
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Reference: v. = Volume, = 691; cf. 1110 above
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<tr>
<td>113. Collegio suo centonariorum legavit HS(1,000), ex cuius reeditu... die parentaliorum ne minus homines (12) ad rogum suum vescerentur</td>
<td>(60 p.a. if 6%)</td>
<td>Mevania VI</td>
<td>(pre-180)</td>
<td>= 741</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1134. HS1,000 'ut... rosas ad monumentum ei spargant et ibi (decuria VII collegii fabrum) epulentur'</td>
<td>(60 p.a. if 6%)</td>
<td>Ravenna VIII</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>= 742</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1135. Ad parentalia</td>
<td>50 p.a.</td>
<td>Aquileia X</td>
<td>(post-120)</td>
<td>v. 714</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1136. HS800 'ex cuius summ(a)e reeditu rosam ne minus ex HS(16) posuisse vellint et reliquam quot est ex usuris escias rosales et vindemiales... poni... voluit'</td>
<td>(48 p.a. if 6%)</td>
<td>Acelum X (post-50)</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>= 743</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1137. HS600 'ut... rosal(ia) et parent(alia)... procurent'</td>
<td>(36 p.a. if 6%)</td>
<td>(Toscolano ad lacum) Benacum X</td>
<td>(post-50)</td>
<td>= 745</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1138. HS400 'ad rosas et escas duendas'</td>
<td>(24 p.a. if 6%)</td>
<td>Atria X (post-50)</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>= 747</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1139. (HS400) 'ut profusio nobis fiat'</td>
<td>(24 p.a. if 6%)</td>
<td>Brixia X</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>v. 719</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1140. HS400 'ut facerent Her(clanenses) par(entalia)'</td>
<td>(24 p.a. if 6%)</td>
<td>Feltria X</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>= 750</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1141. HS400 'ut facerent mul(ieres) rosas'</td>
<td>(24 p.a. if 6%)</td>
<td>Feltria X</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>= 749</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1142. HS400 'ut rosam ponant parentibus et sibi'</td>
<td>(24 p.a. if 6%)</td>
<td>Vardagite (post-50)</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>= 752</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1142a. Hostiaeque inmol(etur) (annually)</td>
<td>(from part of income of HS50,000 + fundus)</td>
<td>Auximum V</td>
<td>(pre-100)</td>
<td>v. 671</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1143. Et profundi</td>
<td>12 p.a.</td>
<td>Bergomum XI</td>
<td>(post-120)</td>
<td>v. 754</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

VIII. Funds for upkeep and maintenance

1143a. (Ut) ex reeditu... viae tutela praestatur | (50,000 p.a. if 5%) | Capua I | (pre-69) | v. 640 |
| 1143b. In tutela (aqua) | | Pola X | (post-100) | v. 649 |
| 1143c. [In perp(etaum)] tutelam (balineorum Sergii et Putinii) | | Altimum X | (post-100) | v. 653 |
| 1143d. In tutelam [thermarum] | (10,000 p.a. if 5%) | Comum XI | 111/113 | v. 655 |
| 1143e. In [tituli] (tonem) (statarum) | (5,000 p.a. if 5%) | Patavium X | (pre-100) | v. 660 |
| 1143f. In tutelam bylibothecae | (6,000 p.a. if 6%) | Comum XI | 96/108 | v. 661 |
| 1143g. In tutelam (templi) | (1,200 p.a. if 6%) | Suasa VI | (post-100) | v. 684 |
### Funds for Subsistence (cf. XI 1602)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Amount</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1161</td>
<td>Bequest by the younger Matidia for the further well-being of the <em>alumni Variani</em>, divided between the sexes equally</td>
<td>2 million</td>
<td>(Capua?) I</td>
<td>161/170</td>
<td>v. 637</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1162</td>
<td>Bequest by the younger Pliny for the maintenance of 100 of his freedmen</td>
<td>1,866,666</td>
<td>Comum XI</td>
<td>111/113</td>
<td>v. 638</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1163</td>
<td>Bequest for the maintenance of 100 boys and 100 girls, boys until 16, girls until 14</td>
<td>1 million</td>
<td>Tarracina I</td>
<td>(100/190)</td>
<td>v. 642</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1164</td>
<td>Government alimentary foundation for the support of 264 boys and 36 girls</td>
<td>1,044,000</td>
<td>Veleia VIII</td>
<td>98/102 &amp; 103/113</td>
<td>= 639a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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**IX. Subsistence, grain and land costs**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Amount</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1144</td>
<td>In tutelam statuae</td>
<td>(1,200 p.a. if 6%)</td>
<td>Pisaurum VI</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>v. 682</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1145</td>
<td>In tutela et ornationibus templi</td>
<td>(300 p.a. if 6%)</td>
<td>Gabii I</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>v. 702</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1146</td>
<td>Ex [quorum reditu (tetrastylum) . . .] si quando [necessa est] reificeretur</td>
<td>(240 p.a. if 6%)</td>
<td>Pitinum</td>
<td>(post-180)</td>
<td>v. 712</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1147</td>
<td>In . . . tutel(am)</td>
<td>(120 p.a. if 6%)</td>
<td>Comum XI (pre-180)</td>
<td>v. 720</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1148</td>
<td>[In tuitionem] (frontis templi)</td>
<td>(120 p.a. if 6%)</td>
<td>Concordia X</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>v. 718</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1149</td>
<td>In tutelam (statuae)</td>
<td>(120 p.a. if 6%)</td>
<td>Ager</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>v. 722</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1150</td>
<td>(In) tuition(em) (statuae)</td>
<td>(120 p.a. if 6%)</td>
<td>Patavium X (pre-100)</td>
<td>v. 729</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1151</td>
<td>Ornatio statuae</td>
<td>100 p.a.</td>
<td>Ostia I</td>
<td>c. 230/240</td>
<td>v. 674</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1152</td>
<td>In tutelam</td>
<td>(60 p.a. if 6%)</td>
<td>Brixia X</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>v. 735</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1153</td>
<td>HS1,000 ‘in tutel(um)’ (statuae)</td>
<td>(60 if 6%)</td>
<td>Comum XI</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>= 737</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1154</td>
<td>HS1,000 ‘in tutelam (statuae)’</td>
<td>(60 if 6%)</td>
<td>Comum XI</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>= 738</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1155</td>
<td>HS1,000 ‘in tutel(um)’</td>
<td>(60 if 6%)</td>
<td>Ager</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>= 739</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1155a</td>
<td>HS600 ‘ut monumentum remund(etur)’</td>
<td>(36 if 6%)</td>
<td>Arilica X</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>= 744</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1156</td>
<td>HS500 ‘in tut(alam) (statuae)’</td>
<td>(30 if 6%)</td>
<td>Brixia X</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>= 746</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1157</td>
<td>In orn(ationem) statuae (et imag(inum) mear(um)) annually</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Ferentum I (post-100)</td>
<td>v. 669</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1158</td>
<td>HS400 ‘in tutel(um) (arae sive statuae)’</td>
<td>(24 if 6%)</td>
<td>Brixia X</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>= 748</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1159</td>
<td>(HS400) for ‘tutel[a] taber[nar]um’</td>
<td>(24 if 6%)</td>
<td>Brixia X</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>= 719</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1160</td>
<td>HS400 ‘in herm(um) tuend(um) et rosa quodannis ornandam’ (sic)</td>
<td>(24 if 6%)</td>
<td>Mediolanum XI</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>= 751</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### AN EPIGRAPHIC SURVEY OF COSTS IN ROMAN ITALY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Identification</th>
<th>Price (HS)</th>
<th>Town</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1165. Donation by the younger Pliny for the maintenance of <em>pueror(um) et puellar(um) pleb(is) urban(ae)</em></td>
<td>500,000(-+) yielding 30,000</td>
<td>Comum</td>
<td>96/108</td>
<td>= 644</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1166. Bequest for the support of 100 girls</td>
<td>(part of 1,000,000; if 5% and rate as in 1173, less than 500,000 used for this purpose)</td>
<td>Ostia I</td>
<td>148/ c. 180</td>
<td>v. 641</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1167. Government alimentary foundation for the support of (120/110) children</td>
<td>(401,800) at 5%</td>
<td>Ligures</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>= 645a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1168. Bequest to provide <em>frumentum</em> for the liberi <em>Atinatium</em>, and HS1,000 per head as a final cash bonus</td>
<td>400,000</td>
<td>Atina</td>
<td>54/68</td>
<td>= 650</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Subsistence Allowances

| 1169. Bequest for the maintenance of 100 freedmen, of HS1,866,666 | (?70 per head per month if 4½% interest; cf. 1163) | Comum | 111/113 | v. 638 and note |
| D1170. Servus est, quinque modios accipit et quinque denarios | HS20 & 5 modii of grain (per month) | (Italy) | c. 50 | Seneca, Ep. Mor. LXXX, 7 |
| 1171. For the boys in a private alimentary scheme | HS 20 per month | Tarracina I | (100/190) | v. 642; cf. 1163 & 1173 |
| 1172. For the legitimate boys in a government alimentary scheme | 16 per month | Veleia | 98/102 & 103/113 | v. 639a; cf. 1164 |
| 1173. For the girls in a private alimentary scheme | 16 per month | Tarracina I | (100/190) | v. 642; cf. 1163 & 1171 |
| 1174. For the legitimate girls in a government alimentary scheme | 12 per month | Veleia | 98/102 & 103/113 | v. 639a; cf. 1164 |
| 1175. For the illegitimate boys in a government alimentary scheme | 12 per month | Veleia | 98/102 & 103/113 | v. 639a; cf. 1164 |
| 1176. For the illegitimate girls in a government alimentary scheme | 10 per month | Veleia | 98/102 & 103/113 | v. 639a; cf. 1164 |
| 1176a. Familiae cibaria ... conditís per hiemem panis (4 pounds), ubi vineam foderes coeperint panis (5 pounds), usque adeo dum ficos esse coeperint, deinde ad (4 pounds) redito | (120/150 pounds of bread per month) | [regio I] | c. 160 | B.C. Cato, de ag. cult. 56 |
Identification  | Price (HS) | Town  | Date | Reference
--- | --- | --- | --- | ---
1176b. Rate of corn dole  | 5 modii per month | Rome | 73 b.c. | Granius Licinianus 34 F; cf. Sall. Hist., III, 48, 19 Cato, de ag. cult. 56
1176c. Familiae cibaria. Qui opus facient per hiemem tritici modios (4), per aëstatem modios (4½)  | 4/4½ modii of wheat (per month) | [regio I] | c. 160 b.c. | Cato, de ag. cult. 56
1176d. Familiae cibaria . . . vilico vilicae, epistatae, opilioni modios (3)  | 3 modii of wheat (per month) | [regio I] | c. 160 b.c. | Cato, de ag. cult. 56
1176e. [Diverbium viatoris et coponis] Habes vini (sextarium) (1), pane a(ssem) (1), pulmentor. a(sses) (2). Convenit. Puell(am) a(sses) (8). Et hoc convenit. Faenum mulo a(sses) (2).  | HS3-25 for a night's stay at an inn | Aesernia IV | IX 2689 = ILS 7478; cf. Cato, de ag. cult. 56–58

GRAIN, OIL AND THE ANNONA

DI178. Quod annona kara frument. denario modium praestitit  | 4 per modius of frumentum | Forum Sempronii VI (100/150) | XI 6117 + p. 1397

1179. Quod . . . tempore magnis(ratus) sui in karitate olei cibiv(us) suis quattus libr. pr. p. e[t] epulum dedit  | 1(? per pound of oleum | Tuficum VI (post-200) |XI 5717 + p. 1393 = ILS 6643

1180. Quod is primum omnium HS G . . . ad annonaes comparationem . . . dedit  | 100,000 | Reate IV 184 | IX 4686

1181. In subsidium annona frument(i) HS L m.n . . donavit  | 50,000 | Corfinium IV (post-180) | AE 1961, 109

1182. Quod auxerit ex suo ad annonarium pecuniam  | 10,000 | Abella I (post-100) | X 1217 = ILS 5651

1182a. HS5,000 'in annonam perpetuo dedit'  | (300 if 6%) | Ager Sorrinensium Novensium VII (post-150) | = 704

### AN EPIGRAPHIC SURVEY OF COSTS IN ROMAN ITALY

**Identification**

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Identification</th>
<th>Price (HS)</th>
<th>Town</th>
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<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>LAND RENTS AND VALUATIONS</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>A. Rents</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### 1184.
(A normal rate of return on land)

6% per year
(Italy)
c. I/II
A. D.

Ep. VII, 18;
Columella
de re rust. III,
3, 9–10.
Cf. Pliny, NH
XIV, 56;
Cic., ad fam. V,
6, 2; nos. 644,
664, 669, 691,
694, 701;
Digesta XXII, 1,
17, 6; L, 10, 5

#### 1185.
The rental of lands in the region of Tifernum owned by the younger Pliny

400,000+ (Tifernum Tiberinum) VI
98

Ep. X, 8, 5;
Otto, pp. 82–85; Syme,
p. 658

#### D1185a.
Annual rent of the statio Tyrenstium

400,000
Puteoli I
174
see note

#### 1186.
Annual rent of the collis Leucogaeus paid to Neapolis by the fiscus from Augustus onwards

200,000
Neapolis I
27 b.c./ A.D. 14
Pliny, NH XVIII, 114

#### 1188.
The annual revenue of a fundus belonging to the senator Q. Axius, 200 iugera in extent

30,000
Reate IV
pre-37 b.c.
Varro, de re rust. III, 2, 15

#### 1189.
Pro eo agro veltigal Langenses Veituris in poplicum Genuam dent in anos singulos vic(toriatos) n. CCCC

1,200 p.a.
Genua IX
116 b.c.
V 7749 = ILS 5946 = ILLRP 517

#### B. Land prices

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Identification</th>
<th>Price (HS)</th>
<th>Town</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1190. Vineyard of 60 iugera improved by Acilius Sthenelus</td>
<td>6,666 per iugerum</td>
<td>Ager Nomentanus</td>
<td>50/60</td>
<td>Pliny NH XIV, 48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1191. Fundus of 200 iugera belonging to the senator Q. Axius, which brought in HS30,000 per year</td>
<td>(2,500 per iugerum if 6%)</td>
<td>Reate IV</td>
<td>pre-37 b.c.</td>
<td>Varro de re rust. III, 2, 15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1192. Conventional price for unimproved land</td>
<td>1,000 per iugerum</td>
<td>(Italy)</td>
<td>c. 60</td>
<td>Columella de re rust. III, 3, 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1193. Standard land price underlying Augustus’s allocations to his veterans?</td>
<td>(1,000 per iugerum?)</td>
<td>(Italy)</td>
<td>post-31 b.c.</td>
<td>Mommsen in Hermes xix, 1884, p. 398 (Dio LV, 23, 1; Cic. de leg. ag. 2, 28–29; ad Att. 2, 16, 2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Identification</td>
<td>Price (HS)</td>
<td>Town</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Reference</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------</td>
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<td>------</td>
<td>------</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1194. L. Tarius Rufus . .</td>
<td>100 million</td>
<td>[regio V]</td>
<td>(30 B.C./ A.D. 10)</td>
<td>Pliny, NH XVIII, 37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>usque ad detractationem heredis exhaustit agros in Piceno coemendo colendoque in gloriam</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1195. Praedia agris meis vicina . . quanti videantur posse emi: sestertio triciens: non quia non aliquando quinquagiiens fuerint</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3–5 million</td>
<td>(Tifernum Tiberinis) VI</td>
<td>96/108</td>
<td>Ep. III, 19; v.p. 179 sup.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1196. Estate bought less than 10 years before for HS600,000, now purchased for 4 times as much by Seneca, after spectacular improvements by Acilius Sthenelus</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2,400,000</td>
<td>Ager Nomentanus I</td>
<td>50/65</td>
<td>Pliny, NH XIV, 49–51</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1197. Colonii Lucenses . . deductis reliquis colonorum et usuris pecuniae et pret(i)is mancipiorum quae in inempfione eis cesserunt habita ratione etiam vectigalium</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1,600,000</td>
<td>(Veleia) VIII</td>
<td>103/113</td>
<td>XI 1147, oblig. 43</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1198. L. Cornelius Severus/ Cornelia Severa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1,508,150</td>
<td>(Veleia) VIII</td>
<td>98/113</td>
<td>XI 1147, oblig. 31 &amp; 48</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1199. M. Mommeius Persicus</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1,240,600</td>
<td>(Veleia) VIII</td>
<td>98/113</td>
<td>XI 1147, oblig. 13 &amp; 51</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1200. L. Annius Rufinus et C. Annius Verus</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1,014,090</td>
<td>(Veleia) VIII</td>
<td>103/113</td>
<td>XI 1147, oblig. 17</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1200a. Taxable value of a property inherited by Pliny the younger</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>900,000</td>
<td>(Comum) XI</td>
<td>96/108</td>
<td>Ep. VII, 14; cf. 11</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1201. C. Coelius Verus</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>843,879</td>
<td>(Veleia) VIII</td>
<td>103/113</td>
<td>XI 1147, oblig. 16</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1202. C. Vibius Severus</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>703,660</td>
<td>(Veleia) VIII</td>
<td>98/113</td>
<td>XI 1147, oblig. 30 &amp; 49</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1203. Cn. Marcius Rufinus</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>501,000</td>
<td>(Veleia) VIII</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>IX 1455, ii, 29</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1204. Sulpicia Priscilla</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>490,000</td>
<td>(Veleia) VIII</td>
<td>103/113</td>
<td>XI 1147, oblig. 9</td>
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<td>1205. Annius Rufus</td>
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<tr>
<td>451,000</td>
<td>(Veleia) VIII</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>IX 1455, ii, 50</td>
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<td>1206. P. Afranius Apthorus</td>
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<tr>
<td>425,000</td>
<td>(Veleia) VIII</td>
<td>103/113</td>
<td>XI 1147, oblig. 6</td>
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<tr>
<td>1207. L. Maelius Severus</td>
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<tr>
<td>420,110</td>
<td>(Veleia) VIII</td>
<td>103/113</td>
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THE BRITISH SCHOOL AT ROME

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<td>19,000</td>
<td>(Ligures Baebiani) II</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>IX 1455, iii, 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1305. P. Tittius Aiax</td>
<td>14,000</td>
<td>(Ligures Baebiani) II</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>IX 1455, ii, 36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1306. Purchase price of site for tomb of 12-year-old boy</td>
<td>[2]00</td>
<td>Teanum Sิดicus I</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>X 4811</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

X. Funds for heating and running public baths

1307. HS400,000 ‘ut ex redit (balinea Sergium et Putinium) cale[ierent]’
       (20,000 if 5%) Altinum X (post-100) = 646

1308. HS400,000 ‘ut ex redit . . . in perpetuum viri et impuuberes utriusq(ue)
       sexus gratis laventur’
       (20,000 if 5%) Bononia VIII 38/41 = 647

1308a. Balineum . . . mulicbre cum HS (30,000) donavit
       (1,800 if 6%) Corfinium (post-180) = AE 1961, 109

1309. Ad lavacrum balnear(um) publicar(um) ligni duri
       vehes n(umero) CCCC
       entheca nomin in perpetuum obtulit, ita
tamen ut magistratuus
       (sic) quodannis
       successoribus (us) suis tradant
       400 cart-loads of hard wood
       (per year)
       MISenum I post-160 = X 3678 =
       ILS 5689

XI. Obligatory and voluntary payments to cities

1310. In publicum pro
duomviratu (intuit)
       10,000 Pompeii I 2/1 b.c. X 1074 + pp.
       = 967 & 1006 =
       ILS 5053

1311. Is arcae (Augustalium)
       HS(50,000) ded(it),
       ex qua summa
       HS(10,000) ob honorem
       curae/Ob h(onorem)
       c(uae)/Ob h(onorem)
       c(uae)
       10,000 Ostia I 182;
       paid by 3
       men on 3
       different occasions
       = 193;
       200
       X 4560 (bis)

1312. Summa honoraria?
       (*balineum . . . emptum
       . . . ex pecunia
       Augustalium)
       HS(60,000) (6 names)’
       10,000 Teanum Sิดicus V
       (pre-100) = X 4792 =
       ILS 5677;
       cf. 450 above

1313. His pro seviratu in
       rem p. dedit
       2,000 Asisium (pre-
       VI 100)
       = XI 5400 =
       ILS 7812; cf.
       nos. 1314, 1315
       & II 1934

1314. Aug(ustalis) ex d(ecreto)
       d(ecurionum) ad
       stratam reficiendum
       2,000 [prope
       Neapolim] (pre-
       200)
       X 488
       v.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Identification</th>
<th>Price (HS)</th>
<th>Town</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1315. Ob honorem Augustal(itatis) collaborantem pontem pecunia publica restitutum, in cuius restitutionem HS II (sic) contulerat, adiecta pecunia</td>
<td>[2,000?]</td>
<td>Cereatae Marianaec</td>
<td>(pre-200)</td>
<td>v. 489</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1315a. Aed(ilis) viam et crepidin(em) ob honorem stravit(...) p(edes) (100)</td>
<td>(HS2,000?)</td>
<td>Venusia</td>
<td>II</td>
<td>IX 442; cf. nos. 454, 463, 466</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1316. Pro magistratu (collegii cuiusdam ex familia Claudii imperatoris) ex d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)</td>
<td>1,600</td>
<td>Antium I</td>
<td>40; 41; 44</td>
<td>X 6638</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1317. Pro magistratu (collegii cuiusdam ex familia Claudii imperatoris) ex d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)</td>
<td>1,500</td>
<td>Antium I</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>X 6638</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1317a. Property qualification for the decurionate</td>
<td>100,000</td>
<td>(Comum and elsewhere)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ep. I, 19; Petronius, 44; Dio Cass. LXXII, 16, 3; Catullus XXIII, 26-27</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Individual Payments in Honour of Office**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Identification</th>
<th>Price (HS)</th>
<th>Town</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1318. Flam(inica) div[aec] Iuliae Piac [A]ug ... ob honorem sacerd(otii)</td>
<td>50,000</td>
<td>Aeclanum</td>
<td>II</td>
<td>c. 81/96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1319. Decurionatus ornamentis honoratus et bisellarius in primis constitutus inlatis reipublicae sestert(i)is (50,000)</td>
<td>50,000</td>
<td>Ostia I</td>
<td></td>
<td>c. 198</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1320. Ob honore(m) bisell(i)i HS(50,000) rei p. Pisanor. dedit</td>
<td>50,000</td>
<td>Pisa VII</td>
<td>(post-100)</td>
<td>XI 1441 + p. 1264, = ILS 6599; cf. III VII, i, 23 &amp; fig.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1321. Huic [ordo Aug(ustalium) statui]am decravit et in[ter bisellari?]os adlegit, isque hono[re ... accepo] HS(50,000) arcae eorum [intulit]</td>
<td>50,000</td>
<td>Ostia I</td>
<td>c. 230/240</td>
<td>XIV 431 + p. 482; v. 674</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1322. Hic ob honorem aedilis(it)is ... porticum ... [refercit]</td>
<td>29,300</td>
<td>Falerii VII</td>
<td>(pre-180)</td>
<td>v. 475</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1323. Bisell(i)arius cui ordo conscript(orum) ornamenta decur(ionatus) dedit quod is ob honor(em) bisell(i)i HS(25,000) rei p. obtulerit</td>
<td>25,000</td>
<td>Formiae I</td>
<td>(post-120)</td>
<td>AE 1927, 124; cf. nos. 1077 &amp; 858 above</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Identification</td>
<td>Price (HS)</td>
<td>Town</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Reference</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1324. Aed(ilia) ob honorem in viam</td>
<td>20,000</td>
<td>Cremona X</td>
<td>(pre-100)</td>
<td>V 4097</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1325. Decurionatus nomine</td>
<td>6,000</td>
<td>Iguvium VI</td>
<td>27 b.c./14 A.D.</td>
<td>XI 5820 +</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>p. 1395, =</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ILS 5531; v.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>482, 1079,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1364a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1326. Viam... a novo</td>
<td>(50,000</td>
<td>Falerii VII</td>
<td>(pre-200)</td>
<td>XI 3126 cf.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>restituerunt ex HS(100,000)... pater...</td>
<td>per head)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>p. 1323, =</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>et... filius ob honores et</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ILS 5374</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>immunitates omnes in se constitutas</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1327. Pater qui ob honores ei</td>
<td>50,000</td>
<td>Ostia I</td>
<td>(150/200)</td>
<td>XIV 353 =</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>habitos HS(50,000) (rei publicae) dedit</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ILS 6148;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>XIV 4642; v.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>672</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Capital Payments and Legacies to the City**

1328. Hic rei p(ublicae) suae... legavit

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Identification</th>
<th>Price (HS)</th>
<th>Town</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*1328.</td>
<td>400,000</td>
<td>Mantua X</td>
<td>(50/200)</td>
<td>V 4059 =</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ILS 5012; v.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>473</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1329. Caput ex [testamento]nto colonis coloni[ae V]enusin(orum)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Identification</th>
<th>Price (HS)</th>
<th>Town</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*1329.</td>
<td>250,000</td>
<td>Venusia II</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>IX 449</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1330. Legavit colonis coloniae Auximati(um)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Identification</th>
<th>Price (HS)</th>
<th>Town</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*1330.</td>
<td>100,000</td>
<td>Auximum V</td>
<td>(pre-100)</td>
<td>IX 5855; cf. 851</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>above</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1331. Reipublica[e] (legavit)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Identification</th>
<th>Price (HS)</th>
<th>Town</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*1331.</td>
<td>100,000</td>
<td>Capua I</td>
<td>(pre-200)</td>
<td>X 3927; cf. 838 &amp;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>853 above</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1332. In memoriam (uxoris?)... rei p... legavit

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Identification</th>
<th>Price (HS)</th>
<th>Town</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*1332.</td>
<td>100,000</td>
<td>Petelia III</td>
<td>138/161</td>
<td>IX 6470; v. 664,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>694, 1333;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Kahrstedt, p. 83</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1333. In memoriam (matris) rei p(ublicae)... legavit

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Identification</th>
<th>Price (HS)</th>
<th>Town</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*1333.</td>
<td>100,000</td>
<td>Petelia III</td>
<td>138/161</td>
<td>ILS 6471; v. 664,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>694, 1332</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1334. Cum res publica [p]raedia sua venderet ob pol[i]citationem belli navalis... rei p... donavit

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Identification</th>
<th>Price (HS)</th>
<th>Town</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>15,200</td>
<td>Ostia I</td>
<td>38/36 b.c.?</td>
<td>XIV 375 +</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>p. 482, =</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ILS 6147; cf.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Meiggs, Appendix V</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Public Subventions Added to Outlays from Private Sources**

1335. Intra [tempus] anni HSLXII [reprae] sentavit [i.e. the magistrate repaid the sum which the city subscribed towards an entertainment offered by him]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Identification</th>
<th>Price (HS)</th>
<th>Town</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1335.</td>
<td>62,[000]</td>
<td>Aeclanum II</td>
<td>(post-100)</td>
<td>IX 1178, cf.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>IX 1156</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### AN EPIGRAPHIC SURVEY OF COSTS IN ROMAN ITALY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Identification</th>
<th>Price (HS)</th>
<th>Town</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1336. Quod is ob honor(em) bisell(i): HS(25,000) recip. obtulerit ex quib(us) familia gladi(atorium) ex postulatu universor(um) per ipsum edita est; ad cuius impensa insuper universa plebs ad ampliandam munieris eius famam HS(25,000) obtulit</td>
<td>25,000</td>
<td>Formiae I</td>
<td>(post-120)</td>
<td><em>AE</em> 1927, 124; <em>cf.</em> 858, 1077 &amp; 1323 above</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1337. Viam . . . restituit, acceptis ab r.p. in [ve]ctui (sic) silicis HS(14,000)</td>
<td>14,000</td>
<td>Velitrae I</td>
<td>(pre-200)</td>
<td><em>AE</em> 1919, 64; v. 465 and note</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1338. Duumviratuo suo, acceptis a re p. (HS13,000), venation(es) plenias et gladiatorum paria (21) dedit</td>
<td>13,000</td>
<td>Alliae I</td>
<td>(post-100)</td>
<td><em>IX</em> 2350 = <em>ILS</em> 5059; <em>IX</em> 2351</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### XII. Miscellaneous and unclassified costs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Identification</th>
<th>Price (HS)</th>
<th>Town</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1339. In (quattuor)vi[ratu . . . de]dit idem [...] . . . ['effossus inter ruinas splendidid aedificii Romani']</td>
<td>1,051,000</td>
<td>Patavium X</td>
<td>—</td>
<td><em>V</em> 2878</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1340. 4 sums of money (Huslen doubts their genuineness)</td>
<td>1,050,000; 10[000]; 1,000; 1,000</td>
<td>Ameria VI</td>
<td>—</td>
<td><em>XI</em> 4418 + p. 1368 n. 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*1341. Hic pridie quam mortuus est reliquit patrimonii HSQ . . .</td>
<td>[800,000?]</td>
<td>Asisium</td>
<td>(pre-100)</td>
<td><em>XI</em> 5400 = <em>ILS</em> 7812; v. 461, 494, 1313, 1354</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*1341a. Net sum inherited from Saturninus by Pliny the younger</td>
<td>c. 700,000</td>
<td>Comum XI</td>
<td>96/108</td>
<td><em>Ep.</em> V, 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*1342. . . . or . . . cavit</td>
<td>500,000 (?)</td>
<td>(Pedemontane incertae) XI</td>
<td>—</td>
<td><em>V</em> 7173</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*1343. [Ex HJS Q t(estamento) f(ieri) i(ussit)]</td>
<td>500,000</td>
<td>Verona X</td>
<td>—</td>
<td><em>V</em> 3867; v. 442</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*1343a. Saturninus' bequest to Comum</td>
<td>400,000</td>
<td>Comum XI</td>
<td>96/108</td>
<td><em>Ep.</em> V, 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1344. —</td>
<td>304,000</td>
<td>Vercellae XI</td>
<td>—</td>
<td><em>V</em> 6667</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1345. —</td>
<td>300,000</td>
<td>Catina SICILY</td>
<td>c. 164</td>
<td><em>AE</em> 1960, 202; <em>cf.</em> X 7024 &amp; Manganaro in <em>Kokalos v.</em>, 1959, pp. 145–158</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1345a. Gift by Pliny to Romatius Firmus</td>
<td>300,000</td>
<td>Comum XI</td>
<td>96/108</td>
<td><em>Ep.</em> I, 19, 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1346. Decuriones . . . [de]crevissent ut [. . .] proque ea re [. . .]</td>
<td>250,000</td>
<td>Aeclanum II</td>
<td>(pre-100)</td>
<td><em>IX</em> 1146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Identification</td>
<td>Price (HS)</td>
<td>Town</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Reference</td>
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<td>---------------</td>
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<td>------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1347. Summis[...]</td>
<td>250,000</td>
<td>Catina SICILY</td>
<td>e. 164</td>
<td>v. 1345</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1348. In ... pu[bl]lica consum[ere]</td>
<td>250,000</td>
<td>Puteoli I</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>X 1788</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1349. [P]raef(ectus) co[h(ortis) ...]</td>
<td>200,000</td>
<td>Iguvium VI</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>XI 5810</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1350. —</td>
<td>100,000</td>
<td>Catina SICILY</td>
<td>e. 164</td>
<td>v. 1345</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1350a. Dowry given by Pliny to Calvina</td>
<td>100,000</td>
<td>Fabrateria Nova I (Comum XI)</td>
<td>96/108</td>
<td>Ep. II, 4, 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1351. —</td>
<td>100,000</td>
<td>Mediolanium XI</td>
<td>(pre-100)</td>
<td>X 5644</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1352. [E]q(ues) R(omanus) eq(uo) p(publico) [... largit(us) est [... A]jug. c(reatus) d(ecreto) d(ecurionum?)</td>
<td>100,000</td>
<td>Aeclanum II</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>IX 1177; v. 779, 1362</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1353. ... st ... lega[vit]</td>
<td>50,000</td>
<td>Asisium VI</td>
<td>(pre-100)</td>
<td>XI 5400 = ILS 7812; v. 461, 494, 1313, 1341</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1354. Hic pro libertate dedit</td>
<td>50,000</td>
<td>(Comum XI)</td>
<td>96/108</td>
<td>Ep. VI, 32, 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*1355. [T]e]st(amento)</td>
<td>50,000</td>
<td>Spoletium VI</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>XI 4801</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1356. —</td>
<td>42,500 (?+)</td>
<td>Ameria VI</td>
<td>(pre-100)</td>
<td>XI 4417</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1356a. Gift by Pliny to Metilius Crispus</td>
<td>40,000</td>
<td>Comum VI (Comum XI)</td>
<td>96/108</td>
<td>Ep. VI, 25, 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1357. Lacum purgatum operis [s. laboribus] paganorum n(ostrorum). O(pus) c(onstat) ...</td>
<td>15,000</td>
<td>Usosium IV</td>
<td>139</td>
<td>IX 2828</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1358. Qui ad roburandum consensum amatorum suorum donavit eis</td>
<td>10,000</td>
<td>Ocricum VI</td>
<td>247/248</td>
<td>XI 7805 = ILS 7365; cf. no. 841</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1358a. Arcae (collegii fabrum)</td>
<td>10,000</td>
<td>Pisauro VI</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>XI 6371</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D1359. 3 figures belonging to a statue or building work</td>
<td>9,814.5</td>
<td>Regium Lepidum VIII</td>
<td>(post-120)</td>
<td>XI 978</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1360. —</td>
<td>8,800</td>
<td>1,050.5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1360. —</td>
<td>7,000 (?+)</td>
<td>Thermae Himeraeae SICILY</td>
<td>(pre-100)</td>
<td>X 7361</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1362. Dis[tribuit?]</td>
<td>4,000</td>
<td>Aeclanum II</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>IX 1177; v. 779, 1333</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D1363. Don(avit) c(ollegio) f(abrum), se vivus</td>
<td>4,000</td>
<td>Aquileia X</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Pais no. 194</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1364. 12 or more payments of the same amount by different persons</td>
<td>4,000</td>
<td>Ostia I</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>XIV 276</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1364a. In commenatum legionibus</td>
<td>3,450</td>
<td>Iguvium VI</td>
<td>27 B.C./14 A.D.</td>
<td>XI 5820 = ILS 5531; v. 482, 1079, 1325</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Identification

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ID</th>
<th>Price (HS)</th>
<th>Town</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1365</td>
<td>3,000</td>
<td>Pompeii I</td>
<td>c. 1/2 b.c.</td>
<td>X 787 + p. 967, = <em>ILS</em> 5915</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1366</td>
<td>2,000</td>
<td>Aquileia X</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>V 1019</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1367</td>
<td>1,330; 700?; 1,150?; 140</td>
<td>Placentia VIII</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>XI 1233</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1368</td>
<td>1,000 (?+)</td>
<td>Amiternum IV</td>
<td>(post-200)</td>
<td>IX 4305</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1369</td>
<td>1,000 (?+)</td>
<td>Peltuinum IV</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>IX 3428</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>1370</em></td>
<td>330</td>
<td>Spoletium VI</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>XI 7873</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1371</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>(Ripa lacus Benaci ad orientem) X</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>V 4006</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### D1372. M.f. *III *VIII [on lower part of funerary text]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Price</th>
<th>Town</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>48?</td>
<td>Aesernia IV</td>
<td>(post-120)</td>
<td>IX 2749</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### D1373. Et ex ea divisione iubo statuae meae coronas emi *III

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Price</th>
<th>Town</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>12 annually</td>
<td>Capena VII</td>
<td>(post-120)</td>
<td>v. 701</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 1374. [Argen]ti libr(ae) C

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Price</th>
<th>Town</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>100 pounds of silver</td>
<td>Acclanum II</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>IX 1150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100? pounds (of silver?)</td>
<td>Ameria VI</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>XI 4417; cf. 515</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### *1376. Speculum arg(enti)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Price</th>
<th>Town</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0.83 pounds</td>
<td>Sentinum VI</td>
<td>—</td>
<td><em>AE</em> 1941, 96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0.25 pounds</td>
<td>Puteoli I</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>X 1598</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### XIII. Collegiate provisions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ID</th>
<th>Price</th>
<th>Town</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1377</td>
<td>560</td>
<td>Trebula Mutuesca IV</td>
<td>c. 60</td>
<td><em>AE</em> 1929, 161, ll. 16–17; cf. NS 1928, tav. V, p. 396</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1378</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>Trebula Mutuesca IV</td>
<td>c. 60</td>
<td><em>AE</em> 1929, 161, ll. 3–5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1379</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>Trebula Mutuesca IV</td>
<td>c. 60</td>
<td><em>AE</em> 1929, 161, 1.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### A. Lex familiaris Siloani

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ID</th>
<th>Price</th>
<th>Town</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1377</td>
<td>Item qui ex eo corpore decesserit sequi eum debeat aut heredem eius</td>
<td>560</td>
<td>Trebula Mutuesca IV</td>
<td>c. 60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1378</td>
<td>Ad sacrum faciendum</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>Trebula Mutuesca IV</td>
<td>c. 60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1379</td>
<td>If a magister fails to contribute towards the sum needed ad sacrum faciendum, he must pay a fine</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>Trebula Mutuesca IV</td>
<td>c. 60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Identification</td>
<td>Price (HS)</td>
<td>Town</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Reference</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1380. The magisterial contribution <em>ad sacrum faciendum</em></td>
<td>200</td>
<td>Trebula Mutuesca IV</td>
<td>c. 60</td>
<td><em>AE</em> 1929, 161, ll. 4–5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1381. [The sum payable by the <em>arca ad sacrum faciendum</em>]</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>Trebula Mutuesca IV</td>
<td>c. 60</td>
<td><em>AE</em> 1929, 161, ll. 2–4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1382. <em>Et locus eius (qui ex co corpore decesserit) HS C (veneant), si tamen testamento suo nominarit; si minus caducum erit</em></td>
<td>100</td>
<td>Trebula Mutuesca IV</td>
<td>c. 60</td>
<td><em>AE</em> 1929, 161, ll. 17–19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1383. <em>Hoc amplius dare legare debeat familiae [Paribeni suggests that this payment was a condition of receiving funerary benefits in full]</em></td>
<td>50</td>
<td>Trebula Mutuesca IV</td>
<td>c. 60</td>
<td><em>AE</em> 1929, 161, ll. 19–20; cf. <em>NS</em> 1928, p. 396</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1384. <em>Cum ad sacrum ventum erit ne quis litiget neve rixam faciat neve extraneum invitet ea die; si ita fecerit d(are) d(ebeit)</em></td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Trebula Mutuesca IV</td>
<td>c. 60</td>
<td><em>AE</em> 1929, 161, ll. 6–9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1385. [The fine for not paying the contribution to the funeral expenses of another member within 3 days; or for failing to attend the funeral without good cause]</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Trebula Mutuesca IV</td>
<td>c. 60</td>
<td><em>AE</em> 1929, 161, ll. 11–14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1386. [If a member of a <em>decuria</em> of the <em>familia dies</em>, it shall be the responsibility of the members of that <em>decuria</em> to bury him (<em>tolle</em>); if they fail to do so, there will be a (<em>per capita</em>) fine]</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>Trebula Mutuesca IV</td>
<td>c. 60</td>
<td><em>AE</em> 1929, 161, 11. 14–15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1387. <em>Qui ex ea familia decesserit, ut ei conferant singuli</em></td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Trebula Mutuesca IV</td>
<td>c. 60</td>
<td><em>AE</em> 1929, 161, ll. 10–11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1388. <em>Quisquis decuriae suae (mortem decurialis alicuius) non denuntiarit d(are) d(ebeit) HS(5) in singulos homin(es)</em></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Trebula Mutuesca IV</td>
<td>c. 60</td>
<td><em>AE</em> 1929, 161, 11. 21–22</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Lex colleg(i) cultorum Dianae et Antinot*

<p>| 1389. [For embezzling the sum allowed for burial of a member who died more than 20 miles away (HS300), the 3 individuals responsible are liable to a 4-fold fine (quadriplum)] | 1,200 | Lanuvium I | 133 | XIV 2112 = <em>ILS</em> 7212 p. I, l. 25 ff. |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Identification</th>
<th>Price (HS)</th>
<th>Town</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1390. [When a member of this corpus dies fully paid up], eum sequentur ex arca HS(300); ex qua summa decedent exequiar nomine HS(50), qui ad rogus dividentur; exequiae autem pedibus fungentur. [Those who die not having paid their subscription for 6 months will not get their funerary expenses paid]</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>Lanuvium I</td>
<td>133</td>
<td>XIV 2112 = ILS 7212, p. I, l. 23 ff</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1391. Ut quosquis in hoc collegium intrare voluerit, dabit capitolari nomine HS(100) et v[ini] boni amphoram; item in mensae a(esse) (5)</td>
<td>HS100+1 amphora of good wine; HS1</td>
<td>Lanuvium I</td>
<td>133</td>
<td>XIV 2112 = ILS 7212, p. I, l. 20 ff.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1392. [Fine for a magister cenarum (there were 4 at a time) who fails to contribute to a feast for which he has responsibility]</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Lanuvium I</td>
<td>133</td>
<td>XIV 2112 = ILS 7212, p. II, ll. 8-9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1393. [Vitaeicum payable to each of the 3 members to whom the task of burying a member who has died beyond the 20th milestone is delegated]</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Lanuvium I</td>
<td>133</td>
<td>XIV 2112 = ILS 7212, p. I, l. 29 ff.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1394. Si quis quinquennali inter epul[as] obprobrium aut quid contumeliose dixerit, ei multa esto</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Lanuvium I</td>
<td>133</td>
<td>XIV 2112 = ILS 7212, p. II, ll. 27-28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1395. Si quis autem in obprobrium alter alterius dixerit, aut tu[m]tuatus fuerit, ei multa esto</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>Lanuvium I</td>
<td>133</td>
<td>XIV 2112 = ILS 7212, p. II, ll. 26-27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1396. Placuit, ut quisquis seditionis causa de loco in alium locum transierit, ei multa esto</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Lanuvium I</td>
<td>133</td>
<td>XIV 2112 = ILS 7212, p. II, ll. 25-26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1398. Placuit ut quisquis servus ex hoc collegio liber factus fuerit, is dare deebit vini [bo]ni amphoram</td>
<td>1 amphora of good wine</td>
<td>Lanuvium I</td>
<td>133</td>
<td>XIV 2112 = ILS 7212, p. II, ll. 7-8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
NOTES ON LIST OF COSTS

No. 439. For an archaeological account of the remains of these baths, see Meiggs, pp. 409–412, with fig. 28. Brick-stamps seem to indicate that the foundations of the building were laid in the last years of Hadrian. For other imperial outlays, see nos. 454, 506, 639a, 645a; and in general, R. Macmullen, ‘Roman Imperial Building in the Provinces’, Harvard Studies in Classical Philology, lxiv, 1959, pp. 207–235.

No. 440. Half of this outlay was made by the city from its own resources, and the remaining HS500,000 bequeathed by M. Antistius Nereus. There is enough building cost evidence from Africa to suggest that a million sesterces would have built something of very considerable size, if the purchasing power of money was roughly similar in Italy and Africa (cf. CSRA, nos. 1–28 and notes).

No. 441. The price of Pliny’s library was inferred by Mommsen by subtracting the cost of Pliny’s infantile alimenta (HS500,000, no. 644) and the cost of the upkeep of the library (HS100,000, no. 661) from the amount that Pliny stated that he had spent on lifetime gifts to Comum (HS1,600,000, Ep. V, 7, 3; Mommsen, p. 434 and n. 6). The dating used here for Pliny’s gifts follows Syme, p. 660: ‘None of the letters [in books I–IX] can be proved earlier than Nerva’s accession or later than the end of 106’; Syme dated Pliny’s death to 111/113 (Syme, pp. 81 and 659).

No. 443. The first lines of the text state that the balineum was built and roofed from his own resources by Ser. Cornelius Ser. f. Dolabella Metilianus (consul in 113, PIR² C 1350). It is then stated that two more consuls, M. Attilius (Metilius) Bradua (consul in 108, PIR² A 1302) and M. Acilius Aviola (who was consul in 122, PIR² A 50), who were the ‘bonor(um) possessor(es)’ Dolabellae Metilianii, each gave HS100,000 to its construction. The building was then completed with a subvention of HS152,000 from the ‘res p(ublica) et populus Corfiniensis’. It is therefore clear that despite the opening of the text, the baths were in fact financed and built after Metilianus’ death. The phrase bonorum possessores suggests that Metilianus died intestate and that the two individuals named were effective heirs (cf. Buckland, pp. 381–398). Adding to this the highly unusual wording, which avoids both of the common locutions ‘testamento suo dedit’ and ‘quod politicis erat’, it would appear that Metilianus’ executors acted here on the basis of a known wish on his part which had not been drafted in one of the usual legal forms at the time of his death. Another Corfinium inscription shows that Metilianus was patron of the town (IX, 3154).

No. 444. It is not clear whether the baths referred to were intended as a public gift. Though Fronto was a native of Cirta in Numidia (PIR² C 1364), his affiliations with Italy were evidently close, and the son-in-law who carried on his line, C. Aufidius Victorinus, came from Pisaurum in Umbria (PIR² A 1393, cf. A 1386).

No. 445. Money for these baths was bequeathed by P. Tullius Varro, consul in a.d. 127 (Degrassi, p. 37). They were built from the bequest together with additional funds, by L. Dasumius Tullius Tuscus, consul in a.d. 152, probably after his co-option as sodalis Antoninianus in a.d. 161 (PIR² D 16, cf. Bormann ad XI, 3366, 3368). The amount of the bequest is given in the inscription as ‘[s]estertio ter et tr…’. Bormann suggested ‘tr[cies]’ as the completion of the phrase, which would give a total of HS3,300,000, a sum unparalleled for private building gifts in the West. The restoration is also unsatisfactory in putting the smaller figure before the larger. A better restoration (suggested to me by Professor Jones) is ‘tr[icenis]’, which makes the amount of the bequest HS330,000; there are several parallels for bath costs in this region (CSRA no. 29; nos. 443, 444; cf. no. 470). The testator is apparently named in the celebrated will of Dasumius of a.d. 108 (VI, 10229, 1.22, cf. PIR² T 284). From his names, the consul who carried out the promise would appear to have been Varro’s natural son, whom Dasumius had adopted as his heir (Mommsen, CIL VI, p. 1349, 1).

No. 446. This legacy was made jointly by two brothers, both senators, who also bequeathed a fund of HS1 million to Capua for the upkeep of roads (no. 640). They were C. Clodius C.f. Quir. Adiutor and [.Clodius Cap.]ito, both of whom reached the praetorship (PIR² C 1158 and 1156; Groag dates their careers to ‘prioribus principatus temporibus’).

No. 446a. The building worth HS300,000 from which this inscription comes has not been identified. The donor, Caelsia Macrina, also left HS1 million for the support of 200 children (no. 642). The typology of the latter gift suggests a mid-second century date. Borghesi’s argument that since the ages stipulated for the beneficiaries of Macrina’s alimenta do not conform to those laid down by Hadrian (Digesta XXXIV, 1, 14, 1), her gift must be pre-Hadrianic, has little force, because the Sicca alimentary gift of the reign of Marcus Aurelius also stipulates ages which differ from the Hadrianic scale (CSRA, no. 248). Borghesi also pointed out that Callii were already prominent at Tarquinia in Cicero’s day (pro Rosc. Amer. 23, 64; Val. Max. 8, 1, 13; commentary to X, 6328).
No. 447. The sum bequeathed here was only paid to the city by the heirs of the donor (who was apparently Arruntius Granianus) after successive hearings before ‘Aemilius Fronto cl(arissimus) vir’ and ‘Arrius Antoninus cl(arissimus) vir’, in the reign of Marcus (PIR² A 349 and A 1088, where their rôle is interpreted as being either that of iuridicus or that of curator civilitas). The donor also bequeathed money for statues (no. 495 below) and for multiple sportuales to be distributed at their dedication (no. 768 below).

No. 454. The financing of this road project was as follows: HS569,100 was subscribed by the ‘possessores agrorum’ of the district through which the road ran, and the residue of HS1,147,000 was made up by the emperor. The version of the length of road given in Frank V, p. 96, is not accurate. The statement made by Forbes to the effect that ‘Hadrian’ entirely rebuilt (the via Appia) from Beneventum to Acclinium (sic) (20 miles) at the cost of £18,000 per mile including the price of the land’ is evidently loosely based on the inscriptions cited here; its inaccuracies are too patent to need further comment (R. J. Forbes, Studies in ancient technology II, 1955, p. 152).

No. 455. T. Vibiui Temudinius, the q(uestor) urb(is) named in this inscription as cur(ator) viar(um), is dated to the Sullan period by Huelsen (cited ad locum by Dessau), and by Broughton (T. R. S. Broughton, Magistrates of the Roman Republic II, 1952, p. 477).

No. 456. Liebenam expands the length given here as ‘m(ilia) p(edum)’ (Liebenam, p. 151, n. 5), but ‘M P’ normally indicates ‘milia passuum’, which is the interpretation followed here (cf. ILS III, p. 778, l).


No. 458. The donor, a praef(ectus) fab(rum), duovir and augur, who belonged both to the equites and to the quinque decuriae, also gave sportulae of HS100 to the decurions (no. 825).

No. 459. Part of the figure is missing. The highest cost allowed by the notation is approximately HS95,000.

No. 461. The donor, P. Decimus P.L. Eros Merula, ‘medicus, clinicus, chirurgus, ocularius, (se)vir’ gave HS50,000 pro libertate (no. 1354); HS2,000 pro sevirate in rem p(ublicam) (no. 1313, a summa honoraria); HS30,000 for statues in the temple of Hercules (no. 494); HS37,000 in vias sternendas in publicum (no. 461); and bequeathed HS[800,000?] the day before his death, perhaps to the city, since the inscription as it survives is mainly a list of benefactions (no. 1341). For capital bequests to cities, see nos. 1328–1333. The numerals being the earlier type, these gifts are probably to be dated to the first century A.D.

No. 462. The size of the gift is exaggerated by a factor of 10 by A. Lussana, Epigraphica, xii, 1950, p. 122.

No. 463. Liebenam very plausibly conjectured that the 13 Augustales who paved 1165 feet of road ‘ob honorem sevitate’ were each discharging fixed obligations of HS2,000 for the sevirate (cf. nos. 1313–1315 and II, 1934), thus indicating a cost per longitudinal foot of road of HS22·32. The conjecture is adopted without acknowledgement by Frank V, p. 96. Forbes’s statement that ‘the town-council of Nuceria had 1165 feet of street paved at the cost of 22½ sesterces per foot, the money of which was obtained from tolls’ is evidently based on a garbled conflation of the present inscription from Forum Sempronii, which Forbes does not cite, with X, 6954, which refers to the road from Nuceria to Salernum (R. J. Forbes, Studies in ancient technology II, 1955, p. 165).

No. 465. Rostovtseff claims that this inscription ‘shows how heavy was the cost of land transport in Italy’ (SEHRE³, pp. 598–599). No such inference can safely be made, seeing that the sum spent by the donor on actually laying the road is not stated, and neither the distance over which the stone had to be transported nor the length of road are known.

No. 466. Pignani suggests that pr. should be read as pr(aestant) instead of Mancini’s pr(etio). This would lead to a road cost of HS0.05 per foot, compared with Mancini’s HS20·75, and is quite implausible when the other surviving road costs are taken into account (HS21·79, HS13·33 and HS22·32, nos. 454, 456, 463). (A. Pignani, Les documents cadastraux de la colonie romaine d’Orange, xvi* supp. à Gallia, 1962, p. 59, n.).

No. 468. The donor, whose name is missing, bequeathed altogether HS1,600,000 to Altinum. HS800,000 was assigned to the restoration of two public baths apparently given at an earlier date by other private individuals (‘balinea Sergium et Puti[nium]’, no. 468). HS400,000 was to provide a perpetual fund for the heating of these baths (no. 646); HS200,000 was to provide a perpetual fund for their upkeep (no. 653); and finally HS200,000 was to provide income for three annual distributions on the birthdays of the donor, his father and his mother (no. 654). Although this
appears to be the largest public gift (after Pliny’s donations to Comum) of those whose size is known in Italy (excluding Matidia’s bequest, no. 647), the names of the donor’s family do not readily suggest senatorial connections: his parents were called Petronia Magna and L. Fabius St[ellat.] Amminianus. For munificence on the largest scale by members of the purely municipal class, cf. nos. 642, 643-648, 645, 647, and CSRA nos. 1, 27, 77 (all gifts in the range from HS400,000 to HS1 million whose donors did not belong to the senatorial or equestrian orders).

No. 470. The donor, C. Valerius C.f. Claud. Pansa, proc. Aug. provinc. Britanniae, is dated by Pflaum to before the death of Pius, because he is described as ‘flamen divorum Vespasiani, Traiani, Hadriani’ (Pflaum, p. 314; cf. PIR III 102). The procuratorship was ducenarian (Pflaum, loc. cit.).

No. 472. The donor appears to have belonged to the quinque decuriae, and to have served at least one of the equestrian militiae. The inscription (which is incomplete) is eclectically phrased, and no obvious parallels present themselves. Offered a choice between inferring a payment of HS100,000 per year for ten years, and HS100,000 spread over ten years, the more conservative possibility has been preferred here, though without any great confidence that it is correct. It might be argued, on the basis of general practice elsewhere, that if the gift had consisted of the larger amount, the figure would have been stated in full (as ‘decies’ or [X]), instead of being left as a function implied by two co-ordinates.

No. 473. See note on no. 1328.

No. 477. M. Tullius Rufus made the present payment in fulfilment of a promise by his father M. Tullius Blaesus. An M. Tullius Blaesus appears in a Tiburtine inscription of the period of Pius (ILS 1061) and Dessau (ad ILS 5630) identifies him with the deceased father of the present donor. This identification appears unlikely, because of the archaic numerals of the present inscription, which strongly suggest that it is not later than the end of the first century a.D. For perplexing homonyms in municipal epigraphy, compare Meiggs, pp. 493-502.

No. 480. This inscription is an incomplete subscription list, showing 17 monetary contributions of amounts ranging from HS1,587 to HS250, with 8 instances of the last figure. Half of the eight surviving names lack cognomina, and the numerals are stated as ‘N CCL’, instead of the more usual ‘HSCCL N’. Degliatti included the text in his collection of Republican inscriptions.

No. 480a. This text describes, with a degree of detail that is possibly unique in Latin epigraphy, the procedure laid down by the town council of Puteoli for building a wall on a town site at the end of the second century B.C., 90 years after the deduction of the Roman colony there. The exact dimensions of the wall (cf. Boetticher’s plan ad X, p. 1009) and the site are minutely described. The account of the financing reads: ‘Dies pequin(iac): pars dimidia dabitur, ubi praedia satis subsignata erunt; aliter pars dimidia solvetur opere effecto probatique. C. Blossius Q.f. HS(1,500), idem praes;’ four more names follow. The five persons named had evidently each underwritten the outlay with praedia of their own, whose value was either HS1,500 in each case, or HS1,500 in all. The first possibility has been judged the more likely. The sum underwritten was presumably the total cost of the wall, not merely that of the first half of the cost that was payable in the first instance.

No. 482. The donor gave the following sums, in addition to other generosities whose amount is not specified: HS6,000 ‘decurionatus nomine’ (no. 1325); HS3,450 ‘in commenatum legionibus’ (no. 1364a); HS6,200 ‘in aedem Dianae restituentam’ (no. 482); and HS7,750 ‘in ludos Victioriae Caesaris August(1)’ (no. 1079). His only recorded office was the quattuorvirate at Iguvium. The numerals used are those of the archaic system, and the inscription is dated to the reign of Augustus.

No. 489. This figure comes from a text now lost; Mancini (ad loc.) is doubtful of the reading, which was made by Giovanni. But the text appears to be basically sound, with some possible interpolations. The figure is apparently that of a fixed charge, since the phrasing states a figure for the amount contributed to the financing by the donor in honour of his Augustalitas, and mentions that he added a further sum whose amount is not specified, implying that the first contribution represented a fixed charge, and the second a spontaneous generosity. No parallel can be found for Giovanni’s HS II (or HS49,000) as a fixed charge: this is almost certainly a mis-reading of HS II or 2,000, which is known as the summa honoraria for the sevirate at Asisium and Lacippe (no. 1313 and II, 1934).

No. 491. For large-scale outlays on statues cf. no. 513 and CSRA nos. 77 and 82, together with II, 5523 (Corduba) ‘statuas quas ob honores coniunctos promiserat ex HS (400,000) posuit’. The present donor also bequeathed a fund of more than HS100,000 ‘in [tuit]ionem' (statuarum)’ (no. 660).
No. 493. The posthumous recipient of the present statue (whose name and titles are missing) was clearly a municipal figure, not a senator, to judge from the degree of local involvement implied in the range and type of his gifts. He gave the following numerate gifts, in addition to several building outlays whose cost has not survived (the left-hand part of the inscription is missing): a silver clipes in the curia weighing 100 pounds (no. 515, given during his lifetime); HS200,000 to provide income for annual epulae (no. 656); HS100,000 to provide income for annual distributions of meat and pastry (no. 665; cf. nos. 665 and 666); and per capita bequests to those not named in person in his will at the rates of HS400 to the decurions, HS300 to the Augustales, and HS200 to the plebs (no. 756). In return for this remarkable display of generosity, its author was commemorated by a monument (which is almost bound to have been a statue, to judge from the speed of its construction), worth HS43,000 erected by public subscription 33 days after his death. (This account follows the extensive, but almost always convincing, restorations of Bormann and Mommsen in CIL.) For per capita cash bequests, elsewhere nearly always on a smaller scale, cf. nos. 838, 853, 779, 774, 851, 768, 783, 980, 999 and 816. A possible prototype can be seen in Caesar’s bequest to the plebs of Rome of HS300 per head (RE X, 280). A parallel roughly contemporary with the present gift (made in A.D. 148) can be seen in the bequest by Tib. Claudius Atticus Herodes in A.D. 134/138, leaving an annual income of a mina per head to every citizen of Athens (Laun, I, p. 143; II, p. 16, no. 18; P. Graëndor, Un Milliardaire antique: Hérode Atticus et sa famille, 1930, pp. 71 ff.). Cf. also XII, 1115, a bequest of HS300 per head to the decurions.

No. 498. An epulum at rates of HS8, HS3 and HS2 was given at the dedication of this statue (nos. 1079d, 1079f, 1079h).

No. 504. This monument was erected by the decurio of the 9th decuria of an unidentified college, who gave sportulae of HS2 to all the members at its dedication (no. 1048).

No. 506. The munificence of the Emperor in this case lay only in paying the cost of re-working quantities of bullion that already existed into a new statue.

No. 513. The donor held magistracies at Beneventum, followed by the tres militiae and the curatorships of the Aecani and of Canusium under Trajan and Hadrian. Sportulae of HS4 were to be given to the citizens at the dedication of the statue (no. 980).

No. 513a. The figure (whose main element is NS) defeated Kaibel who found the weight huge, presumably reading 50,200 pounds (IG XIV, 721). If the figure is construed according to the rules of Roman numerals, subtracting any smaller digit which is placed first from the amount of a larger figure which succeeds it, the weight becomes 150 pounds, which is more plausible. Such a statement of the figure would be eccentric, but little more so than the writing of Latin in Greek characters that occurs for example in IGRR I, 403, 428 and 463.

No. 514. The donor was the deceased wife of C. Bruttius Praesens (consul c. 121 and cos. ord. in 139) and mother of C. Bruttius Praesens (cos. ord. in 153 and again, after the date of this gift, in 180) (PIR B 164 and 165).

No. 512. The dedication of this statuette, made by a curat(or) Augustal(ium) was marked by the virtilim distribution (to the Augustales) of HS4 per head (no. 1007).

No. 522. This statuette, bequeathed by a centurion, was dedicated by C. Herennius Capito, a reputedly rapacious procurator of Tiberius (RE VIII, 666; PIR H 103).

No. 526. The inscription, which derives from a single manuscript source, and was evidently corruptly transmitted, appears to indicate that four persons contributed silver for this statuette.

No. 528. Bruttia Crispina married Commodus in 178 and appears to have lived at least until 187 (PIR B 170). Sportulae of HS4 were distributed to the dedicant of the statue and the dendraophori at the dedication (no. 1011).

No. 533. Sportulae of HS4 per head were distributed to the members of the corpus traiectus Rusticelli (a private ferry guild, Meiggs, p. 195) at the dedication (no. 1009).

No. 541. Sportulae of HS4 together with bread and wine were distributed to the kannophori at the dedication (no. 1008).

No. 550. The stone on which the text is inscribed is curved, indicating that it belonged to a circular mausoleum. For the numeral Q and its interpretation, see Mommsen ad V, 3402, 3447 and 3867.

No. 551. The inscription appears to be not earlier than the second century A.D. If it is dated before Marcus Aurelius, the bullion value is about HS226,000; if it is dated between Marcus and Septimius, about HS265,000.
No. 563. This is the only instance of a price incorporated in a Latin metrical epitaph, as far as I can find. The relevant lines read: 'cuius honorificae vitae non immemor heres / quinquaginta meis millibus, ut volui, / hanc aedem posuit struxidque novissima templ / manibus et cineri posterisque meis'.

No. 582. The college of dendrophori made a further contribution to the cost of this tomb (whose main expense was borne by the wife of the deceased), the amount of which has perished.

No. 598. P. Bonvicini comments (ad loc.) 'notevole ... anche l’ indicazione dei sesterzi in numeri unciali: forse 5,400’. The symbols are be; in fact they clearly indicate 6,000 (cf. Friedlein, table opposite p. 164).

No. 635. Six men, all having the tria nomina, subscribed to this burial amounts varying from HS80 to HS20. The abbreviation for sesterii here is the unusual 'SE'.

No. 637. Seven of the nine alimentary foundations from the West the status of whose donor is known were given by persons of senatorial standing (nos. 637, 638, 641, 644, 650; II, 1174; VIII, 22721). It would thus be plausible if the Varia whom the Variani alunni whose benefits were augmented by Matidia's enormous bequest was of senatorial family. The only senatorial Vario whom I can trace in the mid-Antonine period is L. Varius Ambibillus, consul in 132 or 133 (Degrassi, p. 38; PIR V 183); his town was apparently Capua, since his freedmen buried their families there (X, 3864; 4390; cf. 4391-4392). Matidia also had strong Campanian connections (she donated a library to Sessa Aurunca, which has left record of four statues of her, X, 4744-4747). It seems not impossible that the ‘Variani alunni’ were the beneficiaries of a gift made by a female member of Ambibulli's family to the town of Capua, which Matidia augmented in her will. Matidia's gift shows an unwillingness to confide a capital sum outright to the city similar to that seen in the donation of other perpetual foundations (nos. 645, 669, 685, 689; Digesta L, 12, 10 [a foundation of HS120,000 for quadrennial games from the East omitted by Laum]; CSRA no. 254; Pliny, Ep. VII, 16, where the practice is justified and explained).

No. 638. The rate of interest of the foundation of HS1,866,666 which Pliny bequeathed for the support of 100 of his freedmen is not stated, but all the comparative evidence that is available points to the likelihood that with so large a capital, the interest-rate would have been 5% or less (see pp. 203-205 above). The only interest-rate which leads to a rate of support per month in units of 10 is 4¾%, which produces HS70 per man per month. It is likely that a round figure ultimately underlay the terms of this gift, though Pliny was idiosyncratic enough to bequeath a capital sum whose irregularity finds no parallel in other Italian gifts. The elaborate procedure to protect the security of his lifetime alimentary foundation described by Pliny in Ep. VII, 18, would hardly have been possible in his testamentary foundations, the largest of which would almost certainly therefore have been safeguarded by the inclusion of a stipulated low interest-rate. The effective interest-rate of the infantile alimentary gift of HS500,000 that Pliny describes in detail was in fact considerably lower than the nominal rate of 6% (Ep. VII, 18, 3-4). An irregular interest-rate is explicitly paralleled in another very large western foundation: 44% (HS 1 million, no. 642).

No. 639. The figure, which is given as [ XV ] C, is read here as quindecies centenaria milia, or 1,500,000, not as sexages or 1,600,000, the usual notation for which would be [ XVI ] (cf. 'decies centena millia' in nos. 643+646, and [ XVI : in nos. 646+646+653+654]. Laum misinterprets the figure by a factor of 100 (‘quindecim millia’, Laum II, p. 177, no. 48). The donor, whose name is missing, was tribunus militum in two legions. The inscription is recorded only in the copy of Cyriacus.

If the total of 5,250 for the number of recipients of a sportula foundation at the same town (Spoletium) has any validity (see p. 213), an outlay per head of the order of HS14 may be indicated here (interest would not have been more than 5% in a gift of this size, cf. p. 204).


No. 640. See note on no. 446. Laum mistakes the figure by a factor of 100 (Laum II, p. 170, no. 20).

No. 641. The donor was a daughter of C. Fabius Agrippinus, consul in A.D. 148 (PIR F 20). The alimentary provision may well have been made in imitation of the governmental puellae Faustinianae, an alimentary foundation for girls set up by Antoninus Pius in memory of the elder Faustina, who died between 10 Dec. 140 and 9 July. 141 (RE I, 2312).

No. 643. This gift was composed of two large foundations, one of HS600,000 for a quinquennial gladiatorial munus (no. 643), the other of HS400,000 for an annual epitum for the people (no. 648). The donor, C. Titius C.f. Cam. Valentinus, held nothing more than magistracies at his native town, despite his enormous bequest, whose larger component led to the creation at Pisaurom of a special curator calendar-pecuniae Valentinii n(umnum) HS DC (XI, 6369). For another foundation with a quinquennial yield, see CSRA no. 264.

No. 644. Pliny explains that in setting up this foundation he took pains to see that only the income and not the capital of the fund was given to the city to administer, because it was an unreliable trustee. See note to no. 637. The numbers were perhaps 100 boys and 75 girls (Historia, xiii, 1964, p. 206).

No. 645. A series of smaller foundations bequeathed at a somewhat later date suggest a membership for the 'vicani vicorum septem' of 2,100 or 300 per vicus (Historia, xiii, 1964, p. 204; no. 681). If the present gift, intended to provide for the distribution of HS12 per head to the vicani annually, applied to the same number (the decurions were evidently officials of the vici, not of the town, since they received the same rate as the vicani), the income required would be HS25,200. A capital of several hundred thousand is thus implied, whose interest is unlikely to have exceeded 5% (see p. 204). At this rate, the capital would have amounted to HS504,000. The donor of the present gift was a servit Augustalis. There appears to be an engraver's error in the figure for the proportion of the legacy to which the heir of the donor was entitled under the lex Falcidia (this is not considered by Mommsen in CIL or by Dessau in ILS). The inscription gives 'VI' as the figure. A Falcidian sixth would be possible if the party named were heir only to two-thirds of the estate; but there is no indication that this was so here. Hence there seem to be strong reasons for supposing that the engraver inadvertently transposed the symbols, making what should have been a IV into a VI. I can find no evidence for a Falcidian sixth as such (Buckland, p. 342 ff.; Digesta XXXV, 2, 1 ff.).

No. 645a. See note to no. 639a.

No. 646. See note to no. 468.

No. 647. According to the inscription, the baths at Bononia were built by Augustus and restored by Caligula. Under Caligula, a private donor, T. Aviasius Servandus, bequeathed in his son's name the present fund to provide free bathing for both sexes in perpetuity (for which cf. V, 6668 and XI, 6167).

No. 648. See note to no. 643.

No. 649. The donor, L. Menacius L.f. Vel. Priscus, was a holder of the equus publicus, and tribunus militum, and held magistracies at Pola, in addition to being patron of the town.

No. 650. The senatorial donor, [T.] Helvius T.f. Basila, held a praetorship possibly under Tiberius (PIR² H 67), and seems to have pre-deceased Nero (cf. M. Hammond, Mem. Amer. Acad. in Rome, xxi, 1953, pp. 147-151). His donation is the first recorded private alimentary gift (cf. POA, p. 128 and n. 28). Laum mistakes the figure by a factor of 10 (Laum II, p. 170, no. 18a).

No. 652. For possible demographic implications of this foundation, see p. 213 above and n. 91. Its donor, C. Torius C.f. Hor. Severus, who held local office, also gave a smaller foundation of HS120,000 (no. 659). But his largest gift was evidently a set of public baths (XI, 4815, and a reference to 'Turrisii thermae' in Cassiodorus, sar. 4, 24).

No. 653. See note on no. 468.

No. 654. See note on no. 468.

No. 655. See note on no. 441.

No. 656. See note on no. 493.

No. 657. The donor, [A.]etrius L.f. Cam. [De]xter, who was a holder of the equus publicus, bequeathed a foundation of HS130,000 (no. 657); a fund for building a temple to Susa Felix whose figure is missing; and a foundation of HS20,000 for the upkeep of the temple (no. 684). He was probably a connexion of the C. Aetrius C.f. Lem. Naso (also a knight) who bequeathed HS120,000 to the nearby Sentinum under Domitian (no. 658).

No. 658. See note on no. 657.

No. 659. See note on no. 652.

No. 660. See no. 491 above and note.

No. 661. See note on no. 441.
No. 663. See note on no. 493.

No. 664. See Kahrstedt, pp. 83–84. The donor was M. Megonius M. f. M. n. M. pron. Cor. Leo who was patron of Petelia and held magistracies there. The elaborate filiation shows that his citizen ancestry went back at least three generations. His gifts were: a foundation of HS100,000 promised during his lifetime (no. 664), for annual distributions to the decurions, Augustales and citizens of either sex (for the numbers implied see Historia, xiii, 1964, pp. 199–200 and Kahrstedt, p. 84, n. 1); capital sums of HS100,000 each, bequeathed in memory of his wife and his mother (nos. 1332 and 1333); a foundation of HS10,000 to improve the amenities of the Augustales, the capital being confined to the city (no. 694); and a vine and a part of a fundus likewise for the purposes of the Augustales (X, 114=ILS 6469). It is apparent from this last inscription that Leo also had private heirs to whom he bequeathed land. The interest rate is stated in both foundations as being 6% (cf. Billiter, pp. 201–202).

No. 665. The donor, Corellia C.f. Galla Papiana, bequeathed identical foundations of HS100,000 to Minturnae and Casinum to provide annual distributions of mead and pastry on her birthday (nos. 665, 666). These two towns, though close to each other, are more than 100 km. from San Cesareo, which lies between Labici and Pracnesta, where the donor was buried; this implies that she possessed property in the south of Latium as well as in the environs of Rome. Her tomb, which was circular, cost a further HS100,000 (no. 530). Since Corellia’s husband, C. Corellius N.f. Fab., lacks a cognomen, the date of the gifts is probably pre-Trajanic.

No. 666. See note on no. 665.

No. 669. For details of the distribution and refreshments provided by this foundation, see nos. 798, 1106 and 1107. The capital, which was retained by the donor (cf. note on no. 637), was vested in 3 fundi and a pratum or meadow. For the interest-rate, an explicit 6%, cf. Billiter, p. 220 ff.

No. 671. The donor (whose name is missing) held at least two of the tres militiae.

No. 672. As was first pointed out by Vaglieri (NS 1910, p. 12 ff.), a collation of the two texts describing this foundation leads to the inference that there was an ordo of 110 decurions at Ostia at the date of the gift (see also Meiggs, p. 181, who dates the gift to the later second century). The donor was C. Domitius L.f. Pal. Fabius Hermogenes, eques Romanus, scriba aestatis curulis, and holder of the flaminate of Hadrian at Ostia. He was entitled to the ordo there. The foundation was set up ‘ob honores ei habitos’ (cf. nos. 1318–1327). For the interest-rate, a stated 5%, cf. Billiter, p. 220.

No. 673. The donor, P. Mammius Aufidius Priscinus, eq(ues) R(omanus), was curator kalendari(i) and holder of magistracies at Corfinium. The ordo voted him patron, whereupon he gave a lavish public epulum for the decurions and their wives, as well as the people. The ordo and people reciprocated with a statue, to which Priscinus’s reply was the gift of the present foundation of HS50,000. The setting up of the foundation (which was provided with an escape clause, benefiting the nearby town of Sulmo, if its provisions were not properly observed) was celebrated by a distribution of sportulae. The elaboration of the language (‘propter morum gravem patientiam maximamque verecundiam’, etc.) suggests a date not earlier than the third century.

No. 674. This foundation, which is dated prosopographically, appears to be an exact imitation in everything except its size, of a gift made half a century earlier at the same town (no. 675, Ostia). In both cases there was an escape clause by which the whole sum was forfeit to the city of Ostia if the Augustales failed to keep to the terms laid down by the donor. There was a slight difference in the sportulae given in connection with the two foundations: on the earlier occasion, decurions and Augustales both received HS20, on the latter, the decurions received only HS12, though the Augustales again received HS20 (nos. 863, 772; it is possible to suspect an engraver’s error in the latter case, as the reversal of precedence implied in the figures as they stand is almost unparalleled). It is interesting that the amount of the later foundation was higher than that of the earlier one, as this does not correspond with the general tendencies of munificence in Italy in the first half of the third century (HS40,000 in no. 675, A.D. 182, HS50,000 in no. 674, A.D. 230/240). Billiter accepts the interest-rate as being 6%, but cannot explain the phrase ‘M II’ (Billiter, p. 204, n. 2).

No. 675. See note on no. 674. The donor also paid HS10,000 to the arca of the Augustales, apparently fulfilling a fixed charge for the curatorship of his son (no. 1311).

No. 678. See above, p. 116.

No. 679. The donor, [,] Fl(avius) C.f. Proculeianus was cur(ator) kal(endarii) novi at Fabrateria Vetus and cur(ator) Formi(anorum). His gifts were the present foundation of HS25,000 and a smaller one of HS4,000 (no. 708), together with sportulae of HS50 (no. 828). The inscription is dated to the third century by the use of the SS symbol for sesterii.
No. 680. The donor was patron of the college which he benefitted; he also held town magistracies at Opitergium. The text is seriously incomplete. For the interest-rate, 12%, cf. Billeter, p. 226.

No. 681. See note on no. 645. Rostovtseff uses this inscription (which mentions that the donor ‘annonae populi inter c[e]tera beneficia saepe subvenit’) as evidence for a famine in Italy c. A.D. 175 (SEHRE², p. 600). This is dubious, as the donor’s signum, the phraseology ‘optimus et rarissimus civis’ and the use of the SS symbol point to a third century date for the inscription.

No. 682. This fund was given by an augur and patron of the collegium fabrum, who also made a payment of HS10,000, apparently to the collegiate treasury (no. 1358a).

No. 684. See note on no. 658.

No. 685. Eck’s emendation of the figure for the capital of the foundation to XVI in place of the received XV was accepted by Mommsen: the resulting interest-rate is one of 5½% instead of 5½% (Billeter, p. 196 and n. 2). The foundation seems to have been intended to cover only the cost of 2 of the 6 annual feasts that had been included in the calendar of the college of cultores Dianae et Antonii by the time that its laws were codified in A.D. 133 (XIV, 2112, ii, ll. 11–13). The other occasions were presumably paid for by the 4 annually elected magistri cenarum (ii, ll. 14–16). Cf. nos. 1389–1398, and especially no. 1397.

No. 686. This foundation given to the collegium nautarum for the celebration of rites in memory of the donor was accompanied by another foundation of HS600 for the cleaning of the donor’s tomb (no. 744).

No. 687. For a rough inference about the number of Augustales that may be indicated by this foundation, see p. 215 above. A foundation set up at Reate for the same purpose was twice as large as the present gift (no. 683).

No. 689. The donors were M. Nasellius M.f. Pal. Sabinus, who served one of the tres militiae, and his father, who held magistracies, presumably at Beneventum. The foundation had an escape clause in favour of the collegium medicorum if its terms were not properly observed. The foundation was to provide annual commemoration of a portico which the Naselli had built for the pagus Luculi(lanus). Only the income, not the capital, of the foundation was made over to the pagus (see note on no. 637).

No. 690. For lifetime mancipatio of property to provide the basis for a foundation, see also no. 644.

No. 691. For the interest-rate see Billeter, p. 225. Cf. Kahrstedt, p. 78.

No. 692. The donor, A. Plutius Epaphroditus, accensus velatus and silk dealer (negotiatus sericarius) donated a temple with various adornments to Gabii, at whose dedication he gave sportulae at rates of HS20, HS12, and HS4 (no. 770; the lowest category of recipients was the tabernarii intra munera negotiantes). Either on the same occasion, or slightly later, he gave the present foundation of HS10,000 for an annual feast on his daughter’s birthday (with an escape clause in favour of the town of Tusculum if its provisions were not properly observed).

No. 693. The donors, ‘Domitii Polycarpus et Europe’ dedicated their gifts to the memory of ‘Domitia Augusta, Cn. Domitii Corbulonis filia’, wife of the emperor Domitian. They had at some previous date built a temple in her honour at Gabii, and now in A.D. 140 set up a foundation of HS10,000 for the distribution to the decurions and seviri Augustales of equal amounts on the birthday of the deceased Empress. They gave a further fund of HS5,000 for the upkeep of the temple that they had built at an earlier date (no. 702). Dessau suggests (ad XIV, 2795) that the donors were freedmen of the Empress, since they bore her name and were assiduous in cultivating her memory; she apparently died not earlier than A.D. 126 (RE V, 1515). The giving of sportulae at equal rates to decurions and Augustales is unusual (but cf. nos. 784, 802 and 863).

No. 694. See note on no. 664 above.

No. 695. This foundation celebrated the construction of the schola of the collegium fabrum signarius, the land for which had been given by the present donor, T. Furius Primigenius.

No. 696. The donor of this foundation of HS8,000 also gave sportulae of HS20 and HS12 (as well as other rates) at the dedication of a statue of himself (no. 771), together with lump sums of HS1,000 each to the colleges of dentrophi or fabri (no. 1062).

No. 697. This foundation was one of two gifts made by the donor at the dedication of a statue of himself; the other gift was sportulae of HS4 given to the people (no. 1021). Since the confrequentatio
is contrasted with a *sportulatio*, it probably indicates a feast, on the analogy of other Italian commemorative foundations (*Thes. ling. Lat.* s.v. *confreguantatio* does not provide any further relevant information).

**No. 698.** This foundation of HS6,000 belongs to a calendar of funds for feasting bequeathed by different members of the sodality concerned (see also nos. 715, 723–728a). The interest-rate was 12% in all cases where both capital and yield have survived (cf. Billeter, pp. 206–207).

**No. 699.** The donor, Cetrania P.f. Severina, was *sacerdos divae Marciana*; Marciana died in A.D. 112 (Festi Ostienses XXII). Her cult does not appear to have persisted for long (*ILS* 298, 327 are other posthumous references, without mention of a cult). Hence a Trajanic or Hadrianic date is likely for the gifts.

**No. 700.** At the dedication of his statue, the donor, a quattuorvir, gave *sportulae* of HS20 to the *collegium centonariorum* (no. 845), together with the present foundation of HS5,000, which had an escape clause in favour of the *familia publica* if its provisions were not properly carried out.

**No. 701.** This foundation of HS5,000 was offered in gratitude for a statue of himself erected publicly, *by a senior sevir Augustalis*. The level of munificence is rather low, seeing that statues themselves could often cost HS5,000 (cf. CSRA nos. 141–158).

**No. 702.** See note on no. 693.

**No. 704.** The donor gave *sportulae* of HS40 and bread and wine at the dedication of his statue (no. 834), together with the present perpetual foundation of HS5,000 for the *annona populi*.

**No. 705.** The figure reads *†IL*, which Mommsen cautiously transcribes as ‘denarios ... L’. Since the figure makes sense as a larger sum, 1,050 denarii, that reading has been adopted here. The fund would hardly have been less than several thousand sesterces if it provided a feast for the *collegium centonariorum*.

**No. 708.** See note on no. 679.

**No. 709.** The terms of the foundations are missing in all 5 cases. Parallels suggest that the purpose would probably have been commemorative feasts or distributions on the birthday of the donor, Albucia Magiana.

**No. 710.** The inscription describing this foundation is inserted quite inconsequentially in a corner of a face of stone the remainder of which lists the members of the ‘*ordo corporatorum qui pecuniam ad ampliandum templum contulerunt*’. The stone also lists the names of *quinquennales* of the *ordo* running from A.D. 140 to 172.

**No. 715.** See note on no. 698 above.

**No. 721.** The donor, a *curator kalendarii arcae* and holder of all the *munera* at Fabrateria Vetus gave at the dedication of his statue *sportulae* of HS2 per head (no. 1040) to the *iuvenes Herculanii discumbentes*, together with the present foundation of HS2,000 for annual *sportulae* for the same body. The rather meagre level of munificence (cf. note on no. 701 above), the offices of the donor, and the use of the symbol SS for sesterii combine to suggest a third century date for the gift.

**No. 722.** See note on no. 698.

**No. 724.** See note on no. 698.

**No. 725.** See note on no. 698.

**No. 726.** See note on no. 698.

**No. 727.** See note on no. 698.

**No. 728.** See note on no. 698.

**No. 742.** This foundation had an escape clause in favour of the 8th *decuria* of the same college if the 7th *decuria* failed to carry out its provisions.

**No. 742.** See note on no. 686 above.

**No. 749.** See no. 731.

**No. 750.** See no. 731.

**No. 755.** Since the purpose of the foundation evidently amounted to nothing more than making an annual offering of oil to Mithras, it seems very difficult to interpret the figure **‘VIII’** as 8,000 denarii, as does Dessau in his remarks on *ILS* 8368. The object being such a humble one, it is more likely that the superscript bar should be read as indicating a numeral, not as a multiplier (cf. CSRA p. 110, n. 128). For oil at HS1 (?) per pound, see no. 1179. Dessau’s restoration of
the deity as ‘D(is) I(nferis) M(anibus)?’, is less likely than ‘D(eco) I(nvicto) M(ithrae)’, for which there are many clear parallels (see ILS III, p. 545).

No. 818. See note on no. 493.

No. 819. See note on no. 493.

No. 820. See note on no. 493.

No. 823. The arguments advanced against it by Huelsen (XI, p. 1368) do not seem to me to warrant the rejection of this text.

No. 827. The donor, C. Hadius C.f. Clust. Verus, who was a holder of the *equus publicus*, served the *tres militiae*, and held magistracies at Forum Sempronii, of which he was patron, and at Pitum Mergus.

No. 833. The donor of this *sportula* gave it at the dedication of the statue of himself financed by the recipients. His total outlay appears to have been lower than theirs, since distributions of HS40 to 9 men, together with bread, wine and an *epulum* for the same number would hardly have cost more than HS500 in all, whereas statues cost several thousands as a rule (cf. CSRA, nos. 91–212). Dessau states that there are 10 names on the side of the base (ad ILS 7364); CIL gives only 9 names. The donor, T. Caedius T.f. Cam. Atilius Crescens, was a holder of the *equus publicus*, and patron of the city and of various local bodies, having held magistracies at Pisaurum.

No. 838. No. 855 comes from the same will but was not distributed on the same occasion.

No. 843. This text comes from a corrupt manuscript copy, which gives the decurions' *sportula* as XVIII. There is no parallel for *sportulae* of HS19; the figure has therefore been emended to HSXxIII, or 24, which is equally unparalleled, but conforms better to the pattern of the known amounts given at this level, being equal to a whole number of denarii.

No. 863. For the rare practice of giving equal *sportulae* to decurions and Augustales, see also nos. 693, 784 and 802. The text reads CVIVS DEDICATONE DECVRIONIBUS HS XX... [dedit]. There is no justification for Dessau's restoration in ILS 2842 of 'HS XX [m(ilia) n(ummios)]', since per capita *sportulae* in thousands of sesterces are unknown in the West.

No. 952. The figure reads 'V...'; but the lineation seems to indicate that three numerals are missing: hence the restoration 'V[iii]'.

No. 978. Aurelia Calligenia, wife of Titius Sabinianus, *equus Romanus*, gave this *sportula* at the dedication of a statue of herself financed by the *collegium fabrum*.

No. 991a. The relevant part of the text reads in the received version 'DE[dicat(ione)] POPVLO VTRIVS[que] SEXSVS CETER...BIDVO DED...'. Mommsen emends the last phrase to 'C ET E[pu]lum] BIDVO DED[it]' which is plausible at first sight. But it leads to a rate of *sportula* 100 times larger than the normal popular rate of 1 denarius of which there are 3 undoubted instances at the same town (Compa, nos. 989–991). 100 denarii per head is also twice as large as the biggest authenticated popular distribution (no. 820, which was testamentary). Though the text is too garbled for successful restoration as a whole, it seems likely that the rate of distribution should be construed as *e* or '(denarios singulos)', as in the three other popular distributions at Compa.

No. 992. The rate of distribution would have been HS4 per head if there was the normal *ordo* of 100 decurions at Croto (Liebenam, p. 229 ff.). For HS4 as a rate for the decurions of towns in Magna Graecia, cf. no. 1015 (Petelia). Kahrstedt, p. 78.

No. 999. The donor of this *sportula* bequeathed money for a statue of Claudius whose dedication the distribution celebrated.

No. 1026. The donor, Sex. Aetius Sex.f. Outf. Ferox, who was promoted to the centurionate by Antoninus Pius, gave a statue of Pius at the dedication of which this *sportula* was distributed.

No. 1044. See note to no. 1079g.

No. 1045. See note to no. 1079g below. The donor, C. Sulpicius... belonged to the *equus publicus*. The text is garbled and survives only in a copy. *Sportulae* were also given to the decurions, but the rate has not survived.

No. 1052. There were at least 8, and by the death of Hadrian, at least 9, *phretriae* at Neapolis (Kaibel, IG XIV, p. 191, 1). This distribution would thus have cost at least HS40,000–45,000, a very large sum by the standards of ephemeral outlays on *sportulae*.

No. 1077. Cf. nos. 1323 and 1336 below.
No. 1078. Dessau gives the figure as HS40,000 in CIL and as HS20,000 in ILS, without admitting any discrepancy. The CIL version has been followed here. The testamentary gifts of the present donor, a freedman, also included the gift of 'lavatio populo gratis per triennium' (cf. no. 647 and note), 10 pairs of gladiators, and a corona aurea weighing 1 pound dedicated to Fortuna Primigenia (no. 509a).

No. 1079g. The notation of the rate of sportula is *S, which should be read as semissae here and not as s(ingulos), since the tautology 'mulieric(us) sing(ulis) (denarios singulos)' is unlikely. 'S' as a determinant usually means S(emis) or half, as in HS. Where a rate of a single denarius was being described, the notation is usually *S without qualification, or *'P' (see nos. 973–1032 above). For HS6 described as 'IS', see nos. 1079e and 801. The other two instances of *S' have accordingly been read as instances of half a denarius (nos. 1044 and 1045). Dessau was inconsistent about this notation, reading no. 1044 as '(denarios) S(emissae)' and no. 1045 as '(denarios) S(ingulosis)' (ad ILS 3082 and XIV, 3005).

No. 1169. See note on no. 638.

No. 1170. I owe knowledge of this passage to Frank, V, p. 182.

No. 1176e. This funerary text was evidently a burlesque, something extremely rare in formal Latin inscriptions.

No. 1178. The donor, who also gave a multiple distribution of sportulae (no. 764), was L. Maesius L.f. Pol. Rufus, proc(urator) Aug(usti), who served the tres militiae. Pfleum dates his career to A.D. 41/192 (Pfleum, p. 1102, 2); but to judge from the inscription as a whole, a mid-second century date appears likely.

No. 1182. The inscription reproduced in II, VII, i, 22, is undoubtedly a forgery, rejected as such by Bornemann (XI, 194*), but accepted as being based on a genuine original from Pisa by the editor of Inscriptio Italicae. It is in fact modelled on the present text from Abella, which it follows very closely in phraseology, with deliberate changes in the name, the sum of money and the lineation. An authentic Pisan text mentioning the bisellium (no. 1320) probably influenced the choice of model.

No. 1184. Billeter's strictures against the inference made by Mommsen and Rodbertus from the present passage in Columella that 6% was a normal rate of land yield seem needlessly severe (Billeter, p. 184). If Columella's remarks were all the evidence available about either rates of usury or rates of land yield, it would seem applicable to the former rather than the latter. But Columella is rather comparing viticulture with other normal forms of investment than with usury as such, and other evidence independently suggests that 6% was a normal rate of land yield. The bulk of money invested in Italy must in fact have been in land. I do not concur with Billeter in thinking that the interest levied on the Trajanic alimentary loans (5%) necessarily indicates a typical rate of land-yield in Italy at that date (Billeter, p. 193; cf. POA, p. 137 and n. 79).

No. 1185a. Considerable confusion about the amount of the rental is found in the published versions of the inscription, although the stone, which is extant, repeats the figure 4 times. Dubois was confident that the amount was 100,000 denarii, but none of the publications of the inscription which he cites in the first instance openly support this reading (IG XIV, 830, IGR I, 421, OGIS II, 595; Dubois, pp. 89, 91, etc.). Dubois was correct nevertheless, though he does not appear to have been conscious of the discrepancies between the various published versions. An authoritative reading of the figure is provided by Mommsen: *CNI, which he rendered as 'denarium C millium nummum' (Berichte über die Verhandlungen der königlich sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig: Phil-hist. Classe, ii, 1850, pp. 57–59 and fig. opp. p. 57). Franz, who provided a second independent reading of the stone (being unaware of Mommsen's publication of the text three years before), likewise gives the figure as *CNI in his replica of the text; but he fatally misconstrues this in his transcription, rendering it throughout as *CNI (CIG 5853; the versions of Kaibel in IG XIV, 830, Cagnat in IGR I, 421, and Dittenberger in OGIS II, 595 depart still further from the original). There is no doubt that the readings of Mommsen and Franz were correct, and that the rental was in fact 100,000 denarii or HS400,000 per year.

No. 1194. L. Tarius Rufus, one of Augustus's admirals, is also represented as having had great wealth in Seneca de dem. 1, 15, 4. (PIR* T 14). The date of his death is uncertain.

No. 1196. Pliny mentions (loc. cit.) that land was notoriously cheap in the environs of Rome, but that it had fallen especially far at Momentum at the date of Palaemon's purchase. The value of land near Rome rose considerably under Trajan as a direct result of the emperor's ordinance that all candidates for office at Rome should invest one-third of their capital in Italian land (Ep. VI, 19, 1).
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No. 1198. For the declarations of the Cornelli, see POA, p. 141, n. 104.

No. 1203. Mommsen restores this figure as 501,000 in place of the 466,000 given in the text, pointing out an error in addition by the compilers of the Table at this point (IX, p. 127, 2).

No. 1227. De Pachytere's emendation of the figure has been followed here (De Pachytere, table opposite p. 100): he substitutes the arithmetical total of the components of the estate, which give a rate of loan of 8-88%, for the total given in the text, which produces a rate of loan of 11-4%.
(For normal rates of loan at Vellea, see POA, p. 138).

No. 1307. Two per capita costs of using communal baths are known: to use the public baths at Rome cost one-sixteenth of a sestertius (Seneca, Ep. 86, 9); to use the baths mentioned in the lex mellitl Vipassensis cost one-eighth of a sesterctius for men and one-quarter of a sestertius for women (ILS 6891, ll. 22-23). I owe these references to Frank, V, p. 104.

No. 1326. The inscription goes into no details about the offices involved. The donors were the 'duo Publilii Nigrini Martialis pater et Dexter filius'.

No. 1328. The present legacy of HS400,000 without specified purpose, together with a fund of HS100,000 'ad scho/l(arum) exornandum' (no. 473), was bequeathed to Mantua by M. Fabius C.f. Sab. Prasens, sacerdos Caeninensis, equo publ., index ex quinque decur(iis), and holder of local magistracies. Frank describes the donor as 'a rich freedman' of Mutina (Frank, V, p. 116, n. 20).

No. 1358. This fund of HS10,000 was given to the 'amatores Romuliorum' by M. Iulius Ulpius M.f. Velina Cleopater, signo Romuli, patron of the town, patron of the collegium centenariorum and of the amatores themselves, in return for a statue of himself which they had financed. Sportulae of HS30 were given to the amatores discebentes at the dedication (no. 841). Its close resemblance to the present gift, which is dated to 247/248, suggests that no. 833 from Pisaurum, a distribution of HS40 per head may belong to the same period (cf. the texts in ILS 7364 and 7365).

No. 1377. For a commentary on this inscription, together with good photographs of the stone, see R. Paribeni in NS 1928, pp. 387-397, who provides useful elucidation of a number of textual obscurities.

No. 1387. This sentence of the lex states that a contribution towards funeral expenses of HS8 per head was payable by all members on the decease of a colleague. A subsequent sentence (no. 1377) states that the benefit accruing to a member or his heir at his decease was HS560. This sum would be made up if as many as 70 members subscribed HS8 each; the album engraved at about the same time as the lex shows a total membership in Nero's time of either 78 or 80 members, seemingly divided into 4 decuriae of about 20 members (AE 1929, 161, 2).

APPENDIX

Dating criteria

A few of the epigraphic prices from both Italy and Africa are dateable by the most straightforward means, using the names and titles of Emperors, and the names of consuls or governors, where any of these are given. A few more can be dated prosopographically, because an individual mentioned in the inscription is an historical personage (such as the younger Pliny), or because he is a senator or knight the dates of whose career are known from other sources. In one or two cases, general institutional criteria can be applied (for example, mention of the quinque decuriae is unlikely to be post-Septimian, since the last dated mentions of adlection to the decuriae refer to the reign of Marcus Aurelius, Staatsrecht III, p. 539 and n. 1). Changes in the juridical status of cities provide occasional termini of date, especially in Africa, where sequences of municipal promotion are more often dateable than they are in Italy (see for example nos. 253 and 265). In two instances archaeological criteria have some value for dating (no. 52 & PBSR 1963, p. 177; no. 15 and note).

But despite these varied resources, most of the prices remain without a firm date of any precision. In a large number of cases, the inscription seems to offer no secure feature on which to base a dating of any kind. But quite often some use can be made of termini drawn from internal stylistic features of the inscription, whether formulaic, institutional, nominal, numerical or monetary. Most of these criteria do not seem to have been adequately codified or documented; it is thus necessary to go into detail at certain points.

First, a disclaimer. The use of the word stylistic does not refer to inferences from letter-forms and the way in which inscriptions are engraved. Dating from letter-forms is often of doubtful value, as Thylander concluded (Thylander, p. 48). One illustration will suffice here. A statue-base uncovered at Bulla Regia in 1958 is inscribed on two sides: the earlier of the two texts honours Q. Domitius Marsianus, a procurator who served Marcus Aurelius in the 170's (AE 1962, 183).
The later text, honouring a local magistrate, was engraved with the approval of a senatorial curato rei publicae bearing a nomen (Burreniius) which does not appear in the prosopography of the earlier Empire (PIR²; AE 1962, 184). The second text is dated by Boulouednine to the third century (FA, xiii, 1958, 4404), but the name of the curato and the re-use of an existing base seem to make a Diocletianic or fourth century date quite possible. There is virtually no doubt that the interval between the engraving of the two inscriptions must have been at least a century. Yet if dating by letter-forms were adopted here, the Burreniius text would appear the earlier of the two: its 'lapidary' style, though less elegant than the 'cursive' of the Marsianus text, is certainly more correct (FA, xiii, 1958, pl. XXVI, 78–79).

To turn to positive dating criteria, we may begin with those whose usefulness has been generally recognised. From the surviving dated evidence, the formula in epitaphs ‘D(is) M(anibus)/S(uis)’ seems to have made its first appearance in A.D. 58, in an inscription from Rome (VI 7303 = ILS 7863; see A. Degrassi in Akte des IV. internationalen Kongresses für griechische und lateinische Epigraphik, 1962, 1964, p. 76, n. 15). The usage does not appear to have spread very far during the third quarter of the first century, for none of the tombstones from Pompeii in CIL include it (X, p. 117 ff.). But there are still uncertainties because of the extreme rarity of dated epitaphs; ‘DM(S)’ has therefore been taken as a rough indication that any inscription in which the phrase appears is not earlier than A.D. 50.

There are some local institutional termini. Mentions of a quaestor alimentorum usually post-date the foundation of the government alimenta in Italy in A.D. 96/100 (POA, p. 123 ff.). Mentions of Augustales in Italy almost always post-date the earliest dated mentions of the institutions in Italy, in an inscription of 12 B.C. from Nepet in Etruria (XI 3200, cf. Ruggiero I, 824–877). Professor Taylor observed that the first regular appearance of the Augustales in the inscriptions as recipients of sportula together with the decurions and people belongs to the reign of Trajan, as does the first reliable evidence for the corporate organisation of the Augustales (L. R. Taylor in TAPHA, xlv, 1914, p. 243). This generalisation still appears sound (it was made primarily on the basis of X 112, Petelia and IX 36, Brundisium; XI 3614, Caere, should be added as equally strong supporting evidence). A.D. 100 has therefore been adopted here as a tentative terminus post quem for multiple distributions of regular type involving the Augustales. For regulation of collegiate organisations by Trajan, compare the references to the collegium pistorum at Rome in Vat. fr. 233, Gaius I, 34, Digesta XXVII, 1, 46. Meiggs’ tentative arguments in favour of a possible late Flavian date for the reorganisation of the Augustales on the basis of some controversial archaeological evidence do not appear very convincing (Meiggs, pp. 219–220; it should be noticed that Meiggs’ contention that the Ostian building in question was too small to be the curia is hardly supported by available parallels: the dimensions of 11.7 x 11.7 m indicate an area close to the 120 m² which was the approximate size of the curiae of six African towns, A. Merlin, Notes et Documents [de la Tunisie], vii 1922, pp. 32 and 34, nn. 4–8). Despite a number of studies of the Augustales, no further datum about their constitutional evolution can safely be used for dating purposes. (For a recent bibliography of work on the Augustales, see J. H. Oliver in Historia, vii, 1958, pp. 481–482.) Although there were apparently slight shifts in titulature during the first two centuries, the main forms had appeared before the death of Augustus (Augustales at Formiae, seviri at Asium, seviri Augustales at Veli, X 6104, XI 5424, XI 3782).

The form taken by citizen names provides another dating criterion. The most important feature is the inclusion or omission of the cognomen. Romans of the Republic usually had only praenomen and nomen; under the Empire cognomina soon became almost universal (the later simplification, with the loss of the praenomen, mainly falls outside the period of this survey, though isolated instances can be found as early as the reign of Marcus Aurelius, no. 978 for example). Various views have been put forward about the terminus ante quem indicated by the absence of the cognomen from an inscription (see Thylander, p. 100, citing Schulze, Dean, Parker, and Schober, all of whom take the turning point to be the period of Claudiai/Nero; Claudiai is likewise the choice of K. Kraft, Zur Rekrutierung der Alten und Kohorten an Rhein und Donau, 1951, pp. 75–76, and of A. N. Sherwin-White, Roman Society and Roman Law in the New Testament, 1963, p. 161; L. R. Taylor states that names without cognomina are rare after Augustus, TAPHA, xlv, 1914, p. 246, n. 1; Thylander follows Cagnat in thinking that cognomina were habitual from the time of Sulla onwards, and claims that by the first decades of the first century A.D., the cognomen had become usual for all, Thylander, pp. 100, 130). There can be little doubt that cognomina had begun to be usual throughout Roman society by the death of Augustus, although the rarity of inscriptions from this period does not allow a very full documentation (for cognomina at a fairly humble level of society in Rome in a.d. 9, cf. VI 34004). The date by which names without cognomina had virtually disappeared is less certain. Reliance tends to be placed rather heavily in this connection on military evidence (see for example Thylander, p. 131), because military diplomas are almost always dated when they survive complete,
whereas the typical civil inscription contains no overt dating. But military practice was undoubtedly more standardised and more consciously regulated than the practice of civilian life. For present purposes a somewhat later terminus ante quem for the absence of cognomina seems preferable to the traditional mid-first century date. This conclusion is based on two epigraphic lists. The first is the album of the familia Silivani at Trebula Mutuesca (NS 1928, tav. V). This list from an obscure Italian town engraved in A.D. 60 contains 78 names, each consisting of the tria nomina; taken by itself, it would convincingly suggest that the cognomen had entirely triumphed in Italy by the middle of Nero's reign, since this organisation seems to have been a comparatively humble funerary club (cf. nos. 1377–1388). But the Trajanic alimentary list from Veleia, which gives a cross-section of landowners from another minor Italian town more than a generation later, still shows a few names without cognomina: 4, or about 7.5%, of the 53 names of private individuals which appear among those declaring estates have no cognomen (XI 1147, A.D. 98/115). The difference of practice may be partly attributable to distance: Trebula was only 50 km. from the capital on the Via Salaria, whereas Veleia lay more than 400 km. from Rome, and was situated in remote hill-country (POA, p. 130 and n. 40). Since even the Veleian evidence allows 9 chances out of 10 that a citizen would have had a cognomen in Trajan's time, the absence of a cognomen has been taken here as generally implying a date before A.D. 100.

Another terminus for Italian inscriptions is provided by the use of accents. The accented inscription is common in the epigraphy of Pompeii and the other Campanian towns buried by Vesuvius in A.D. 79 (X, p. 89ff.). Accents are also used throughout the Latin text of the Monumentum Ancyranum. They continue to appear sporadically in Italian texts of the Trajanic/Hadrianic period. The last dated Italian inscriptions with accents that I have found belong to the years A.D. 159 and 172 (nos. 791 and 849; the instance of accents in a text of Gallienus mentioned ad ILS 547 seems to be anachronistic). The year A.D. 180 has therefore been used as a rough terminus ante quem for Italian accented inscriptions.

Lastly, there are some changes in numerical and monetary notation that can be used as dating criteria. The numerical system common in Republican inscriptions differs in its multiples of 1,000 from that characteristic of the Empire, which was the system commonly known as Roman numerals at the present day. (See Friedlein, table opp. p. 164, and cf. inscriptions cited in ILS III, p. 797. For the usual system of Latin numerals, see F. Hultsch, Griechische und römische Metrologie, 1882, pp. 296–297, and ILS III, p. 798). Though the numerals of the Latin text of the Res Gestae of A.D. 14 are those of the later system, the 'Republican' notation is still found in some Italian inscriptions of the first century A.D.: the latest that I have found belong to the reign of Nero (nos. 587 and 650; no. 602, with the phrase 'D(is) M(anibus)', is probably little earlier). But since epigraphic costs firmly dated to the first century are rare even in Italy, a conservative discount has been made in the choice of a terminus ante, and inscriptions using the old notation have been classified as being before A.D. 100 in the absence of other indications. The mass of figures in the two Trajanic alimentary Tables from Veleia and Ligures Baebiani contain no instances of the earlier system (XI 1147 and IX 1455).

The unit of currency in which most of the costs are denoted is the sestertius, ordinarily indicated by the letters HS. In the later second century A.D., the symbol used for this purpose begins to be contracted to IS. Its first dated occurrence in Italy is in a text from Tusculum of the reign of Commodus (no. 809). Another more drastic modification of the sestertius symbol begins to appear in Africa under Septimius, a change to SS (CSRA nos. 23, 98, 165, 200). Though the first dated Italian instances belong to the years 234 and 247/248 (nos. 697, 841 + 1358), there is so little clearly dated Italian evidence from the Severan period, that its first appearance may well have been considerably earlier than 234. The terminus post quem of A.D. 180 for IS, and A.D. 200 for SS in Italian inscriptions have therefore been adopted.

Even before the end of the second century a more elaborate change of style is found in some cost-inscriptions, where the amount is given in denarii, not in sestertii. This is foreshadowed in first century epigraphy by a single bequest made at Nuceria Alfaterna (dated to before A.D. 63) of a denarius per head to the populus (no. 1004). This was apparently a freak instance, as the next example does not occur until A.D. 129 (no. 896, Ostia). Various sportulae of the Antonine period are given in denarii, to some extent independent of whether the rate of distribution was calculated in whole numbers of denarii. Examples of subdivision can be found in nos. 961, 964 and 968 (½ denarius), and in nos. 1079g, 1044 and 1045 (¼ denarius). These rates presumably indicate the use of the silver quinarius (see n. 116 above). A.D. 120 has been adopted as a rough terminus post quem for costs given in denarii in Italy. (This is a purely technical criterion, intended to apply to Italian municipal epigraphy; a large number of mentions of the denarius in literary sources of earlier date also exist, Thes. ling. Lat., s.v. denarius).
Further variants of HS occur in a few inscriptions (in nos. 706, 778, 786–787, 635, 1048, 747, 225); but these are all so rare that they have little value for dating purposes. Occasionally the HS symbol is omitted altogether, and ‘N(ummi)’ is used by itself (nos. 643+648, 803, 1051).

To recapitulate the loose termini that have been employed in the present survey:

- Pre-A.D. 100 when a citizen name has no cognomen
- pre-100 when the old system of numerals is used
- pre-180 for accented Latin inscriptions
- post-50 for D(IS) M(ANIBUS) (SUIS)
- post-100 for multiple distributions involving Augustales
- post-120 for costs in denarii
- post-180 for the symbol HS.
- post-200 for the symbol SS.

In no instance has the converse been used.

ADDENDUM

The bulk of the Italian sportula-rates presented above (nos. 756–1051, discussed on pp. 210–221) are also considered in a recent article by J. Szilágyi (‘Prices and wages in the western provinces of the Roman Empire,’ Acta antiqua academiae scientiarum Hungaricae, xi, 1963, pp. 325–389, esp. pp. 360–370). It is necessary to comment here on Szilágyi’s two main contentions about sportulae.

S. regards the normal sportula as being a cash commutation for a feast, and accordingly interprets the sportula-rates as indications of ‘the normal cost of a [generous] midday meal’ (p. 370). This view is very implausible, because the majority of the sportula distributions either specify cash sums without mentioning feasts (‘ob dedicationem divitium de decurionibus sing(ulis) (denarios) V,’ no. 861, etc.), or they clearly distinguish between the cash-distribution and any accompanying feast or refreshments (‘ob eius dedicationem epulum dedit et viritum HS vicenos,’ no. 859, etc.). The number of cases where there is room for confusion between feast and cash-distribution is small (see p. 210 and n. 80 above).

S. further maintains that since the latest firmly dated instance of a sportula-rate as low as HS1 is Trajanic, whereas (on his findings) the latest firmly dated instance of HS12 belongs to A.D. 249, the cost of living must have risen 12-fold between the beginning of the second and the middle of the third century as far as public meals were concerned (pp. 369–370). Such an inference could be valid only if each of the two costs could be shown to be uniquely representative of its time, and if both referred to meals given to the same social group at the same town. None of this is the case. In fact, relatively high sportula-rates are already found as early as the reign of Hadrian (HS20, no. 867; HS12, nos. 896 and 901) and low rates still persist as late as the Severan period (HS2 in A.D. 195 [?], no. 1045; HS4 in 212 and 234, nos. 1008 and 1021). Thus S.’s sweeping chronological conclusion must be rejected. The sportulae offer a singularly poor basis for direct inferences about changes in living costs, because they stemmed from the chance generosity of private individuals and their purpose was frivolous. The tendency towards increase in the size of sportula outlays in Italy up to the reign of Marcus Aurelius (p. 218 above) almost certainly owed more to competitive spending by donors than to increase in living costs.

Richard Duncan-Jones
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(Eretum, Via Cassia and Via Traiana Nova, Sutri)

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"A book that is shut is but a block"

GOVT. OF INDIA
Department of Archaeology
NEW DELHI.

Please help us to keep the book clean and moving.