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LATIN EPIGRAPHY
LATIN EPIGRAPHY

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF

LATIN INSCRIPTIONS

BY

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WITH FIFTY ILLUSTRATIONS

Cambridge:
at the University Press
1919
Cum maximas per urbem... reliquias undique solo disiectas aspexisset, lapides et ipsi magnarum rerum gestarum maiores longe quam ipsi libri fidem et notitiam praebere videbantur. Quam ob rem et reliqua per orbem diffusa videre atque litteris mandare propoundit (1424).


Inscriptiones Latinae aetatis Romanae per totum orbem terrarum antiquum dispersarum colligi non possunt neque unius hominis opera neque omnino certorum aliquot hominum ad id delectorum. Immo, ut eiusmodi inceptum perficiatur, populi omnes litterarum Latinarum heredes concurrant conscienturque necesse est.

W. Henzen, Praefatio ad Inscriptiones Urbis Romae Latinae, C.I.L., vol. vi (1), Berolini, 1876.

Studia epigraphica hoc praecipuum habent et quasi divinum, ut ex sui quemque cubiculi angustiis in publicum campum eruditos viros evocent, et, dum communis humanitatis nostrae originis admonent, diversarum nationum optimos quoque conscient...  


E tenebris lux facta est, et desperationem successus exceptit (1852—1883).

Id. Praefatio ad C.I.L., vol. ix-x, 1883.
PREFACE

Eight years ago, I had the privilege of editing for the Syndics of the Cambridge University Press a work which was prepared by the loyal co-operation of seven and twenty contributors, under the title of *A Companion to Latin Studies*. On its first appearance, it was well received by classical scholars at home and abroad, and especially in the United States of America; and it was republished, in a partially revised form, only three years later. In editing that work, I had originally hoped that the Chapter on Latin Epigraphy might possibly be written by a recognised expert in the practical study of Roman Inscriptions. As my hope remained unfulfilled, I found it necessary to add this item to the list of my own undertakings as editor. Fortunately, I was already familiar with the general course of the study of the subject in the last five centuries, as unfolded in the second and third volumes of *A History of Classical Scholarship*; and I was easily able to learn more from the published works of the principal modern authorities. The result appeared in the form of a Chapter filling thirty-seven pages, and including twenty-two illustrations.

Early in 1916 I received two letters from a member of the great teaching profession in one of the lands across the seas, a stranger to myself, suggesting that this brief Chapter might serve as a basis for a short and inexpensive ‘Introduction to the study of Latin Inscriptions’, which might be useful to classical students who were interested in Latin literature, but were not necessarily aiming at becoming specialists in Latin epigraphy. Accordingly, after conferring with my friend the Master of Emmanuel, I submitted a proposal for the preparation of such a work, which was promptly accepted by the Syndics.

Hitherto, there has been a kind of consensus as to the topics which ought to be treated in any such Introduction: the principal
divergence has been on points of order and arrangement. Thus, in all the three well-known treatises published in Germany (1886 etc.) and France (1886 etc.), and in the United States (1896 etc.), and respectively bearing the names of the late Professor Hübner of the Berlin Academy, of M. René Cagnat of the French Institute, and of Professor James C. Egbert of Columbia University, now President of the Archaeological Institute of America, an elaborate dissertation on Roman Names fills many pages before the reader is permitted to reach the study of the actual Inscriptions, while, in the second and third of those treatises, there are also long lists of Roman Officials, with disquisitions on the intricacies of the *cursus honorum*, and a great series of Roman Emperors, with tabulated conspectuses of their complicated chronology. Similarly, even in the handy little volume produced at Milan (in 1898) by Dr Serafino Ricci, Director of the Numismatic Museum in the Brera, these three vast subjects, and others of a similar character, are the theme of no less than seventeen excursuses, which present themselves as perhaps unduly distracting episodes in the general course of the student’s progress.

The present work (which is the first introductory manual of Classical Latin Epigraphy to be published in England) begins with a survey of the principal references to, or quotations from, Latin inscriptions in Classical authors. This has not hitherto been attempted in any manual. Had the survey been brought down to the Latin literature of England, it might have included some mention of William of Malmesbury’s quotation of a vanished Latin inscription, *Maris Victoriae*, which he had himself seen when it was part of the Roman work in the walls of Carlisle. This survey of Classical authors is succeeded by a general outline of the modern study of Latin inscriptions, first in Italy, and next in Germany, Switzerland, and France, with some account of modern ‘collections of inscriptions’, whether in published works or in public museums.

As soon as the various forms of the letters of the Alphabet have been sufficiently treated for ordinary practical purposes, the student is introduced to the two great classes of Inscriptions; (I) inscriptions proper, with their subdivisions of sepulchral, dedicatory,
honorary inscriptions; inscriptions on public works, or on portable objects; and (II) documentary inscriptions, such as copies of laws, or legal agreements. Both of these classes are exemplified by means of selected inscriptions, with a few facsimiles of each. This part of the work ends with a chapter on Language and Style, and another on the Restoration and Criticism of Inscriptions.

Roman Names, Roman Officials, and Roman Emperors are reserved for the first three Appendices. The addition of the last of these is mainly due to the fact that a knowledge of the peculiar methods used for recording the 'regnal' years of Roman emperors is absolutely necessary to enable us to determine the date of a very large number of imperial inscriptions.

Next follows an Appendix consisting of Six Historical Inscriptions. This includes the whole of the available Latin text of the Res gestae divi Augusti, by far the most important of the historical inscriptions of the early Roman empire—an authoritative document written by Augustus himself near the close of his life, in the form of a supremely dignified retrospect of his public career. For the purpose of forming a revised recension of the text, I have naturally begun with Mommsen's monumental edition of 1883, which was mainly founded on the copy of this great inscription which is still preserved on the walls of a Roman temple at Ancyra in Galatia, now well known as Angora, in north-central Asia Minor; I have also examined, at first-hand, almost the whole of the widely scattered literature of this subject, which has appeared in the thirty years from 1883 to 1913; and I have ended with the latest and most welcome evidence supplied by the diminutive fragments of the Latin text discovered in June, 1914, by Sir W. M. Ramsay at Antioch in Pisidia. This Appendix also includes an extract from one of the harangues which Hadrian, the greatest traveller of all the Roman emperors, addressed to one of his armies in Northern Africa; and the preamble (and a specimen of one of the schedules) of the celebrated Edict of Diocletian, which aimed at fixing a maximum price for provisions and, indeed, for all articles of commerce, as well as a maximum rate of wages.

As the main difficulty that confronts us in the study of Latin Inscriptions lies in the numerous Abbreviations, Appendix V supplies a classified and graduated series of Sixty Inscriptions with
abbreviated phrases, and Appendix VI an alphabetical List of Abbreviations selected from such as appeared most likely to be of service to students.

The twenty-two ‘illustrations’, which appeared in the Cambridge Companion to Latin Studies, have been reproduced with a single alteration (4), and with certain additions bringing the total number to fifty. I may here repeat, from the preface to the Companion, the statement that seven of the inscriptions had been reproduced on a smaller scale from Ritschl’s Priscae Latinitatis Monuments Epigraphica, and eight from Hübner’s Exempla Scripturae Epigraphica, ‘the two great repertories of facsimiles from the inscriptions of Republican and Imperial Rome’. Two more inscriptions have been borrowed from the former, and six from the latter. Hülsen’s important opinions (1) as to the probable form of the elogia in the Forum of Augustus, and (2) as to the arrangement of the Fasti Consulares, and the Acta Triumphorum, on the outer walls of the Regia which once adorned the Roman Forum, have been made clear by means of a copy of his restoration of the elogium of Appius Claudius Caecus (31), and by two architectural elevations of the Regia (43a and b), which have been drawn for this work by Miss Talbot of Cambridge. Naples and its neighbourhood are represented by an electioneering placard from Pompeii (11), and by a military diploma of Vespasian (49) found at Resina in 1746. The latter was published many years ago in the Museo Borbonico, and again in 1795 by the able Italian epigraphist, Gaëtano Marini, in a work which has also supplied an excellent specimen of a stamped Roman tile (40), which had long formed part of his extensive collection, now incorporated in the Vatican Museum. A resident in Rome, the Rev Father Mackey, of the Collegio Angelico, a life member of the ‘Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies’, has kindly procured on my behalf three important photographs, those of (1) the archaic inscription in the Roman Forum (by Vasari), (2) the celebrated sarcophagus of Scipio in the Vatican (by Alinari), and (3) the famous Arch of Trajan at Beneventum (by Moscioni). Several of the other illustrations (15, 36, 38) are borrowed, by permission, from Daramberg and Saglio’s great Dictionary of Antiquities, which has now happily reached its completion. The British Museum is represented by a
Roman funerary altar (23), by the tombstone of an *eques singularis Augusti* (25), and by a reproduction of the Roman Society's cast of a very fine tablet from the Antonine Wall (37), the original of which was inaccessible owing to the temporary closing of the National Museum of Antiquities in Edinburgh. The exact source of these and all the other 'illustrations' is given on the pages where they appear. For information on some points of detail I am indebted to Mrs Arthur Strong, Assistant Director of the British School of Archaeology in Rome, and Mr Arthur Hamilton Smith, Keeper of Greek and Roman Antiquities in the British Museum, and to their published works.

The *Select Bibliography* is mainly meant for purposes of reference. It includes, among many other details, a concise statement of the contents of each of the forty volumes of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*. This great collection, published at the price of more than £110, or 550 dollars, is hardly accessible to the student except in some of the larger University or College or Departmental Libraries.

The successful study of Latin Epigraphy calls for the highest degree of industry, and affords an excellent training in accuracy. Unlike the conjectural criticism which aims at removing corruptions in the text, or at filling up *lacunae* in Latin literature, it leaves little play for what the author of *The Analogy of Religion* has described as 'that forward, delusive faculty',—the imagination. In restoring an incomplete inscription, Epigraphy almost wholly depends on the exact knowledge of a multitude of nearly invariable precedents and customary conventions. The founder of the modern science of Latin Epigraphy, Bartolommeo Borghesi (1781—1860), living on the isolated rock of the still independent republic of San Marino, carried on a vast correspondence with archaeologists in every part of Italy; he counted among his most famous pupils Mommsen, who was destined to become the great epigraphist of Germany¹; and was ultimately honoured by a complete edition of his collected writings, which was admirably published by France.

¹ *I.R.N.L.* (1852), 'Ascendi Sancti Marini montem Appenninum Tuam domum petiturus, quam artis nostrae quasi quoddam sanctuarium reddidisti' (1845).
That eminent Italian archaeologist laid down in practice some of the leading principles of epigraphical science, which have been formulated in part by one of his French admirers in two rules of permanent importance: one of these is:—rien ne se devine, tout s'explique; and the other:—la même chose s'y écrit toujours de la même façon.1

For the beginner, probably the best course, in pursuing this study, would be to use, together with an introductory manual, some fairly comprehensive collection of select inscriptions, e.g. the two volumes of Wilmanns (1874), or the first two volumes (at least) of Dessau (1892—1916). One or both of these collections ought to be found in any large classical library. A set of facsimiles should also be studied, either the Inscriptiones Latinae of Diehl (1912), or the twenty-eight plates at the end of the fourth edition of M. Cagnat's Cours d'Épigraphie Latine (Paris, 1914). It would be a great boon to purchasers of the earlier editions, and especially to students in many lands, if these plates could be published separately.

In the preparation of this volume, my largest debt has been due to the latest edition of the luminous and masterly work last mentioned; I am fully conscious of the exact value of other manuals, all of which have their merits, but I have mainly depended throughout on a first-hand acquaintance with the general literature of the subject. All obligations are, so far as possible, definitely acknowledged in foot-notes directing the student's attention to the works in question. My revision of the text of the Res gestae of Augustus has been aided, in various ways, by three of my most esteemed colleagues as Fellows of the British Academy,—Sir W. M. Ramsay, now of Edinburgh, Dr J. S. Reid of Cambridge, and Professor Haverfield of Oxford, whose unrivalled knowledge of the Roman Inscriptions of England and of Wales has also enabled me to discriminate between the minor museums, and other accessible collections of inscriptions, and to select those which are mentioned in the first note on p. 33.

1 René de la Blanchère's pamphlet (1887), Histoire de l'épigraphie romaine, p. 49. Cp. René Cagnat, Cours d'épigraphie Latine, ed. 1914, p. xvi, L'épigraphie n'est pas affaire d'intuition, mais bien de science et de pratique; on ne la devine pas, on l'apprend.
Even students who are unable to visit the sites of either of the Roman Walls of Britain may learn much from excellently illustrated works such as Dr George Macdonald's *Roman Wall in Scotland* (MacLehose, 1911), and from the seventh and latest edition of Dr J. Collingwood Bruce's inexpensive *Handbook to the Roman Wall* in England (Longmans, 1914). With the aid of such works, which represent a direct and first-hand knowledge of those memorable monuments, even students across the seas may realise many matters, which cannot adequately be treated within the severely limited compass of the present Introduction. That Introduction is now offered to classical scholars, and to classical students, who belong to the *nomen Anglicum*—who claim English as their mother tongue, whether at home or abroad, including those who are happily bound to the United Kingdom by many strong and (we trust) enduring ties, whether they ordinarily dwell in the United States, or in the United Empire.

J. E. SANDYS.

Cambridge, 19 October, 1918.
És médailles et inscriptions, il y a tant de choses que nous ne savons ce que c'est; si nous les savions, les belles choses que nous découvririons!

Scaligerana, ed. 1667, p. 153.

L'épigraphie n'est pas une science à part, se suffisant à elle-même et sans point de contact avec le faisceau des connaissances qui forment le fond de nos études. Ce n'est, à vrai dire, que l'un des éléments, mais c'est un élément essentiel de la philologie, l'une des sources auxquelles doit puiser quiconque veut connaître la religion, les lois, l'histoire politique, la vie privée et le langage des anciens.

R. Cagnat, Cours d'Épigraphie Latine, Introduction, Douai, 1884; p. xiii f, ed. 4, Paris, 1914.

Aujourd'hui l'épigraphie est loin d'être connue de tous ceux qui devraient la connaître, c'est-à-dire de quiconque s'occupe quelque peu de l'antiquité; néanmoins elle a pénétré partout où elle peut être utile. En dehors des hommes du métier, elle est étudiée par d'autres savants.


Parmi les diverses branches de la philologie ancienne, qui a pour objet de décrire toutes les faces de la vie matérielle, intellectuelle et morale des anciens, il n'en est pas une qui ne trouve dans l'épigraphie des détails nouveaux, et ces détails expliquent les monuments littéraires ou suppléent à leur silence.

J. P. Waltzing, Professeur de Liège, L'Épigraphie Latine depuis 50 Ans, Louvain, 1892, p. 16.
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MODERN TEXTS, (1) Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum (C.I.L.), editum consilio et auctoritate Academiae Regiae Borussicae (Berolini, 1863—1916...).

i. Inschr. Latinae antiquissimae (down to 44 B.C.), also Elogia, Fasti

ii. Spain, ed. Hübner, 1869; Suppl. 1892.

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\(^1\) Cp. Letronne, Inscr. grecques et latines, 1842—48.

\(^2\) Cp. J. C. Bruce (†1892), Lapidarium Septentrionale, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1870—1875; The Roman Wall, ib. 1851; ed. 3, 1867, and Handbook to the R. W., ed. 7, revised by R. Blair, 1914; G. Macdonald, The Roman Wall in Scotland, 1911; Haverfield, British Academy Papers, Roman Britain in 1910—14, esp. 1913—4, published in Proceedings 1912—5 (and the literature there quoted), The Romanization of Roman Britain, 3rd ed. 1915, Roman London, in Journal of Roman Studies, i 141—172, Roman Britain in Cambridge Medieval History, i (1911), Appendix to revised ed. of Mommsen’s Roman Provinces (E.T. 1910), also Illustrated Catalogues of inscriptions, etc., (a) in Durham Cathedral Library (Durham, 1899), (b) in Chester Museum (Chester Society, vol. 7, 1900); and contributions to Victoria County Histories, etc.
LATIN INSCRIPTIONS

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x. In two parts, (1) Bruttii, Lucania, Campania; (2) Sicilia, Sardinia, ed. Mommsen, 1883.


xiii. Tres Galliae et duae Germaniae, in even divisions, part 1, (1) Aquitania et Gallia Lugudunensis, 1890; (2) Belgica, 1904, both by O. Hirschl; part 2 (fasc. 1) = (3) Germ. Superior, ed. Zangemeister, 1905; (fasc. 2) = (4) Germ. Inferior, ed. Domaszewski etc. 1907; part 3 (fasc. 1) = (5) Instrumentum, ed. O. Bohn, 1901; part 3 (fasc. 2) = (6) Id., with Signacula Medicorum, ed. Espérandieu, 1906; part 4 = (7). Addenda to parts 1 and 2, 1916, etc.

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De lapidariae Latinitatis usu recentiore testimonia

Si quis breve dictum, quod in gladii capulo, vel in annuli legatur emblemate: si quis versum lecto, aut cubiculo, si quis insigne aliquod non argento dixerim, sed fictilibus omnino suis desiderat, illico ad Politianum cursitat, omnesque tam parietes a me, quasi a limace vides obitos argumentis variis et titulis.


Of the English epitaph in honour of Sir James Macdonald in the Island of Skye, Dr Johnson said, 'the inscription should have been in Latin, as everything intended to be universal and permanent should be.'


An inscription, to the scholars of those days [1823], was like the sound of a bugle to a war-horse....' It is all very well to say that So-and-so is a good scholar,' said Samuel Parr to Samuel Butler of Shrewsbury, 'but can he write an inscription?'

CHAPTER I

THE STUDY OF LATIN INSCRIPTIONS

Latin Inscriptions in Classical Authors

The science concerned with the classification and interpretation of inscriptions is known by the name of Epigraphy, a term ultimately derived from ἐπιγραφή, the Greek word for an 'inscription.' The name, and the science denoted by it, are comparatively modern. 'The science of epigraphy,' says the Saturday Review for 18 July 1863, 'seems still, as far as Britain is concerned, to be quite in its infancy.' Strictly speaking, Epigraphy is a branch of Palaeography. Latin Epigraphy may be defined as the science concerned with all the remains of the Latin language inscribed on durable materials, such as stone or metal, but inscriptions on coins which, under this definition, form a part of Epigraphy, are generally reserved for the domain of Numismatics. Latin Palaeography is, in practice, confined to that which is written on less durable materials, such as papyrus, parchment or paper. Writings on tablets covered with wax may be treated as belonging to the domain of Epigraphy, but they are more closely connected with that of Palaeography. The province of Epigraphy is, in one respect, wider than that of Palaeography, for, while Palaeography confines itself to the study of the forms of writing found in ancient manuscripts, Epigraphy not only deals with the lettering, but is even apt to concern itself with the subject-matter of ancient inscriptions, thus unduly encroaching on the provinces of History, and of Public and Private Antiquities.

1 Similarly, inscriptions on gems are usually reserved for special treatment in works on Ancient Gems.

S. L. I.
Latin inscriptions supply us with the oldest extant evidence for the orthography and for the ancient forms of the Latin language. This evidence is far earlier than that of our oldest Latin manuscripts, and it sometimes enables us to correct the manuscript text of Latin authors. All the more important documents relating to public life were inscribed on metal or on stone. Inscriptions thus provide us with valuable information on matters of Geography, History, or Chronology, and serve to supplement the records preserved in Latin literature. They also throw light on every department of Public and Private Antiquities, while they have saved from destruction many a detail of passing interest, which formed part of the daily life of the ancient world, but failed to find any notice in the pages of Latin authors. It must also be remembered that the language of many of our extant inscriptions is more closely connected with that of ordinary life than with that of literature.

Inscriptions are the main source of our knowledge of the three following points: (1) the history and chronological development of the Roman name; (2) the Cursus honorum, or sequence of public offices held by senators or equites, the successive titles being carefully recorded either in ascending or in descending order, while both principles may be exemplified in two different inscriptions relating to the same individual; (3) the Names and Titles of the Roman Emperors, and of members of the imperial family. A knowledge of all these points is no necessary part of the approach to the study of inscriptions, but it often enables us to ascertain the date of an inscription, and it is an important aid towards the restoration of lacunae. The details in question fill a large space in some modern manuals; in the present Introduction each of these three subjects will be, either wholly or in part, reserved for comparatively brief treatment in the Appendix.

1 Thus, in Cicero's Orator § 157, the inscription ending with EIDEMQVE PROB[AVIT] on the temple of Iuppiter Capitolinus (Ritschl, tab. lxix, c), suggested to Heerdegen the correction: 'et in templis: EIDEM PROBAVIT.' The Monumentum Ancyranum (printed in Appendix, iv 2) is our best authority for the orthography of the Augustan age.
Latin Inscriptions in Classical Authors.

Classical inscriptions have sometimes been regarded as forming a subordinate department of classical literature; but, in practice, they are most conveniently studied as a special branch of classical archaeology. Latin inscriptions are noticed from time to time by classical authors. The treaties between the rising state of Rome and its immediate neighbours were among the earliest documents drawn up in Latin prose, and several of these treaties are definitely mentioned by Dionysius of Halicarnassus in the age of Augustus. Thus, he informs us that duplicate copies of the agreement between Tullus Hostilius and the Sabines were drawn up on tablets, and deposited in the temples. He incidentally states that Ancus Martius caused the sacrificial ordinances of Numa to be inscribed on tablets of bronze, instead of panels of oak. He also mentions the treaty between Servius Tullius and the Latins, adding that the terms of this treaty (inscribed with letters resembling those formerly used in Greece) were recorded on a bronze tablet which was preserved down to the writer's day in the temple of Diana on the Aventine. The treaty between Tarquinius Superbus and Gabii was inscribed in archaic characters on a shield covered with ox-hide, which was kept in the temple of Iuppiter Sancus. Lastly, Dionysius describes the lex Icilia of 456 B.C. as inscribed on a bronze tablet which was set up in the temple of Diana on the Aventine. Polybius records the 'first treaty' between Rome and Carthage in 509 B.C., and quotes its terms, adding that, in certain passages, the Latin forms were hardly intelligible to the most learned antiquaries. After mentioning two other treaties with Carthage, he implies that the text of all three of them was inscribed on tablets.

1 Antiquitates Romanæ, iii 33, τῶν ὀμολογίων στήλας ἀντιγράφους θέντες ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς.
2 ib. iii 36.
3 ib. iv 26.
4 ib. iv 58, cp. Festus, s.v. Clīpum, p. 48, 19 ed. Lindsay.
5 ib. x 32. In Dionysius we also find ἱερά δέλτοι (i 73); τοῦ παρά τοῖς ἀρχιερεύσι κειμένου πίνακος (i 74); and ἐν ταῖς ἐνιαυτοῖς ἀναγραφαῖς (iv 30).
6 Polybius, iii 22.
of bronze preserved in the archives of the aediles in the temple of Iuppiter Capito-linus.

Livy refers to a treaty with the Latins, in 493 B.C., as inscribed on a bronze column, and Cicero, speaking in 56 B.C., says that it had lately been inscribed on a bronze column behind the rostra. Livy states that the ‘laws of the twelve tables’ (450 B.C.) were ‘incised on bronze’; and he implies that the treaty made with Ardea in 443 was inspected by the annalist, Licinius Macer, who, in connexion with the exploits of C. Cossus, duly examined the libri linteí containing the lists of Roman magistrates in the temple of Iuno Moneta. When Augustus examined in the temple of Iuppiter Feretriorus the spolia opima won by Cossus, and stated, on the authority of the titulus ipse spoliis (in thorace linteo) inscriptus, that Cossus was described as consul (when all the authorities had made him a military tribune at the time of his exploit), Livy professes to leave it as an open question. Livy tells us that (in 200 B.C.) Athens decreed the removal of all statues, and forbade all inscriptions, in honour of the Macedonian king, Philippus. He quotes the inscription on the tablet placed in the temple of Mater Matuta by Ti. Sempronius Gracchus in memory of his conquest of Sardinia, and supplies us with a perfect rendering of the Greek epitaph which the Acarnanians, in the event of their falling in battle, desired the Epirotes to place upon their tomb:—híc siti sunt Acarnanes, qui adversus vim atque

1 Polybius, iii 26, ἐν χαλκῷ μάσι.
2 Livy, ii 33, 9, columna ãënea insculptum. Cicero, pro Balbo, 53, in columna ãënea...incisum et perscriptum, probably ‘not the original foedus, but a copy made in 358, when it was renewed’ (Reid).
3 iii 57, 10; cp. Diodorus, xii 26. Dion. Hal. Ant. Rom. x 57, 7, στῆλας χαλκαῖς. Pomponius, in the Digest, i 2, 2, 4, has ἐβορακα, for which Scaliger suggested ῥοβορακα. The standard critical edition is that of R. Schöll (1866); see also F. D. Allen’s Remnants of Early Latin (1880), 84—92, and A. Ernout’s Recueil de textes latins archaïques (1916), 114—121.
4 iv 7, 12.
5 iv 20, 5—7.
6 l. c. There may have been some confusion between cossus and cos., the abbreviation for consul. It has, indeed, been suggested that the inscription may have belonged to a time when A. Cornelius M. f. Cossus appeared in the form A • CORNELIO • M • F • COSO (O. Hirschfeld, Kleine Schriften, 398 f).
7 xxxi 44, 1 f.
8 xli 28, 8—10. Cp. xl 52, 5, p. 5 n. 4, and p. 6 n. 6 infra.
iniuriam Aetolorum pro patria pugnantes mortem occubuerunt. Apart from the inscription on the above-mentioned tablet of Ti. Sempronius Gracchus, two passages of Livy have found their way into modern collections:—(1) the dedication of the temple of Iuppiter Capitolinus by M. Horatius in 509 B.C., and (2) the inscription his ferme incisa litteris referring to the nine towns captured by T. Quinctius in 380. Lastly, the historian quotes, in an imperfectly preserved form, the inscription on the temple vowed by L. Aemilius Regillus on the occasion of his naval victory over Antiochus in 190 B.C.

Varro, in support of his opinion that meridies was derived from medius dies, states that the word was formerly spelt, not with an R, but with a D, as he had himself seen it inscribed on a sun-dial at Praeneste. He is quoted by Macrobius as mentioning a very ancient law on the intercalary month, 'incisam in columna aerea', in 472 B.C., and by Pliny as stating that public documents were in early times inscribed on sheets of lead, and private ones on linen or wax. But there is no proof that lead was thus employed by the Romans. Its use was apparently confined to maledictory inscriptions such as those mentioned by Tacitus in connexion with the death of Germanicus. Oak is said to have been the material used, not only for recording the ordinances of Numa but also for the sortes Praenestinae.

Cicero quotes the beginning of an inscription in honour of A. Atilius Calatinus, consul in 258 and 254 B.C.:

Hunc unum plurimae consentiunt gentes
populi primarium fuisse virum.

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1 xxvi 25, 14.
2 vii 3, 8.
4 xl 52, 5 f.
5 De lingua Latina, vi 4.
6 Macrobius, Sat. i 13, 21.
7 xiii 69.
8 Ann. ii 69, 'nomen Germanici plumbeis tabulis insculptum.'
9 p. 3 supra.
10 Cicero, De Div. ii 85, 'sortes in robore insculptas priscarum litterarum notis.'
11 The name has suggested the forged inscription, C. I. L. vi (5) 3422*, A. ATILIVS | CALATINVS | COS, quoted by Fabretti 673, 12 from papers in the Chigi library.
He adds 'notum est totum carmen incisum in sepulcro'. In quoting the same words elsewhere, he describes the tomb as placed ad portam, while, in a third passage, he states that it was outside the porta Capena, with the tombs of the Scipios, the Servili, and the Metelli. The epitaph is written in the same Saturnian metre, and partly in the same words, as that in honour of a consul of the year immediately preceding the first consulship of A. Atilius Calatinus, namely L. Cornelius Scipio, son of Barbatus:

Hanc oino ploirume cosentiont, etc.

Saturnian verses, set up ‘in the Capitol’ to commemorate triumphs over Antiochus in 191 B.C., (a) by M. Acilius Glabrio, and (b) by L. Aemilius Regillus, are preserved in the following form by the grammarian, Atilius Fortunatianus:

(a) fundit fugat prostrnit maximas legiones.
(b) duello magno dirimendo, regibus subigendis.

Similar verses are quoted by Atilius (c), and in a spurious treatise ascribed to Censorinus (d):

(c) summas opes qui regum regias refregit.
(d) magnum numerum triumphat hostibus devictis.

In the De Oratore Cicero refers as follows to the origin of the annales maximi: 'res omnes singulorum annorum mandabat litteris pontifex maximus, referebatque in album et proponebat tabulam domi, potestas ut esset populo cognoscendi'. As quaestor in 75 B.C., he discovered the tomb of Archimedes near one of the gates of Syracuse, where it was almost hidden among briars, and even forgotten by the Syracusans themselves. Archimedes had died during the siege of the city by Marcellus in 212 B.C. His tomb was marked by a small column bearing the figure of a sphere inscribed in a cylinder, in commemoration of his discovery that

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1 De Sen. 61.
2 De Finibus ii 116.
3 Tusc. Disp. i 13.
4 See p. 67 infra.
5 Keil, Gr. Lat. vi 265.
6 For (a) cp. the commentators on Livy, xxxvii 46, 1; and for (b) see further in Livy, xl 52, 5.
7 Keil, u. s. 294.
8 Keil, u. s. 615.
9 De Or. ii 53.
the volume of a sphere was equivalent to two-thirds of that of the circumscribing cylinder. There were also several lines of iambic verse, the latter halves of which (as Cicero tells us) had been worn away.

The beginning of the epitaph of Ennius on Scipio Africanus Maior (c. 183 B.C.) is quoted by Cicero:—*Hic est ille situs*, and the rest by Seneca:—*Cvi nemo civis neque hostis | qvivit pro factis reddere opis pretium*. Scipio, who died in retirement at Liternum, is said to have directed that the following words should be placed on his tomb:

**INGRATA PATRIA. NE OSSA QVIDEM MEA HABES.**

The first, second, and fourth lines, and the first half of the third line, of Ennius’ epitaph on himself are quoted by Cicero in the *Tusculan Disputations*; and the whole of the third line in the *De Senectute*.

The complete epitaph is as follows:—

Aspicite, o cives, senis Enni imaginis formam.  
Hic vestrum panxit maxima facta patrum.  
Nemo me lacrumis decoret, neque funera fletu faxit. Cur? volito vivus per ora virum?

Cicero tells us that the name of Scipio Africanus Minor (who died in 129 B.C.) was inscribed in large letters on the pedestal of a statue of Diana at Segesta, which Scipio had restored to Segesta on his conquest of Carthage. He further implies that a statue of the younger Scipio, inscribed with the *elogium cos and cens*, was erroneously copied by Q. Caecilius Metellus Scipio on a statue of his great-grandfather, Scipio Nasica Sarapion, although the latter

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1 *Tusc. Disp.* v 64—66.  
2 *De Legibus* ii 57. He adds (§ 58) that the discovery of a bronze tablet bearing the word *honoris* led to the building of an *Aedes Honoris* outside the Colline gate.  
3 *Ep.* 108 § 33, first combined with the previous quotation by Scaliger.  
4 Valerius Max. v 3, 2. The alleged epitaph was probably suggested by Livy, xxxviii 53, 8.  
5 *Tusc. Disp.* i 34.  
7 *Cp. C. I. L.* vi (5) p. 3* d.*  
8 *Verr.* ii 74.
had never held the office of censor\(^1\). It is from Cicero that we learn that, in a temple at Syracuse, certain silver tables were, according to Greek custom, inscribed BONORVM DEORVM\(^2\). In the prosecution of Verres he informs us that he had seen at Syracuse an inscription describing Verres as not only PATRONVS but also SOTER of Sicily\(^3\); and, in Rome, certain statues inscribed as presented to Verres a COMMVNI SICILIAE\(^4\). In the Philippics we find mention of three statues dedicated to Antonius as PATRONO\(^5\), while Antonius himself placed on the statue of Caesar the inscription PARENTI OPTIME MERITO\(^6\). Laws, or Senatus consulta, are quoted in several of the Philippics, and in the pro Cluentio, and the de Legibus. Lastly, from one of the Letters we learn that Atticus informed Cicero that Clodius had placed on the door of the Senate House a caput legis in the form of an inscription NE REFERRI NEVE DICI LICERET\(^7\).

Asconius, in commenting on Cicero's speech in Pisonem (§ 44), records the fact that Marcellus, the grandson of the conqueror of Syracuse, set up statues of himself and his father and grandfather bearing the simple and modest inscription, III MARCELLI NOVIES coss., the fact being that he had himself been consul thrice, his father once, and his grandfather on five occasions\(^8\).

According to Velleius Paterculus, the hot-springs of mount Tifata and the surrounding lands were a sacred precinct dedicated to Diana by Sulla in memory of the victory there won in 83 B.C.\(^9\)

Seneca tells us that the crown of oak-leaves bore the inscription OB CIVEM SERVATVM\(^10\); he also quotes a line from the epitaph of a comic actor: HOSPES RESISTE ET

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1 Ad Atticum vi 1, 17, with Tyrrell and Purser's excursus in vol. iii\(^3\) 344-6 of The Correspondence of Cicero, where there is a discussion of Mommsen's opinion in C. I. L. i (p. 278\(^1\), 186\(^2\)) that Metellus had placed a statue of the elder Africanus over the elogium of Sarapion (cos) and a statue of Sarapion over the elogium of the elder Africanus (cos. cens).

2 De Nat. Deorum, iii 84.

3 Verr. ii 154.

4 Verr. ii 114, 154, 168.

5 Phil. vi 12, 13, 15.

6 Ad Fam. xii 3.

7 Ad Atticum, iii 15, 6.

8 p. 12, ed. A. C. Clark.

9 ii 25, 4. This is confirmed by local inscriptions; Dessau, Inscriptiones, i 251 and ii 3240.

10 De Clementia, i 26, 5.
SOPHIAM DOSSENNI LEGE, and records the fact that Statilia (Messalina) directed that her epitaph should state that she had attained the age of ninety-nine.

In Petronius we have an imaginary inscription on a kind of trophy of rods and axes and rostra which was presented to Trimalchio, and also an imaginary epitaph purporting to be composed by Trimalchio himself. It runs as follows:


The elder Pliny mentions the custom of recording public ordinances on tablets of bronze:—‘usus aeris ad perpetuitatem monumentorum iam pridem tralatus est tabulis aereis in quibus publicae constitutiones inciduntur.’ He describes the method of manufacturing bronze for this purpose. He also states that Cn. Flavius recorded on a bronze tablet the fact that the temple of Concord, which he had vowed, was built (in 303 B.C.) 204 years after the dedication of the Capitoline temple (in 507). He tells us that the statue of ‘Hercules tunicatus,’ near the Rostra, bore three different inscriptions referring to its origin, its dedication, and its restoration. He mentions a very old oak-tree on the Vatican hill, bearing an inscription ‘aereis litteris Etruscis.’ He quotes the four hexameter lines inscribed on the painted walls of the ancient temple of Iuno at Ardea, adding that they were written antiquis litteris Latinis. He records the inscriptions placed in the temple of Minerva in memory of the victories of Pompey; and cites in full

1 Epp. 89 § 7; see Wilkins on Horace, Epp. ii 1, 173.
2 Epp. 77 § 20.
3 c. 30.
4 c. 71, cp. Mommsen, Ges. Schr. vii 200 f.
5 xxxiv 100.
6 xxxiv 97, aes tabulare.
7 xxxiii 19.
8 xxxiv 33.
9 xvi 237.
10 xxxv 115.
11 He is even interested in inscriptions in other languages than Latin. He knows that, on certain islands of Arabia and Ethiopia, ‘there are tablets inscribed with unknown letters’ (vi 150, 174). See also xxxvi 71.
12 vii 97 f.
the record on the *Tropaeum Alpium* setting forth the names of the Alpine tribes conquered by Augustus, beginning with the words:—'Imperatori Caesari-divi F. Aug., pontifici maximo, imp. xii, tribuniciae potestatis xvii, S. P. Q. R.' He also quotes ten lines of elegiacs placed by Cicero's freedman Tullius Laurea beside the hot-springs of Cicero's villa at Puteoli², mentions monumental inscriptions as 'giving a longer life to men's name and memory', and, elsewhere, incidentally refers to the satirical epitaph, 'illa infelix monumenti inscriptio, turba se medicorum perisse'.

He states that Appius Claudius, 'the consul of 259 A.U.C.' (495 B.C.), was the first to place the images of his ancestors on shields in the temple of Bellona, with the record of their public offices; but it was Appius Claudius Caecus, consul in 307 and 296 B.C., who in his second consulship vowed to erect a temple to Bellona. He adds that the precedent of setting up shields was followed by M. Aemilius Lepidus, in 78 B.C., in the Basilica Aemilia, and in his private house. He has only a vague reference to the *columna rostrata* set up in the Forum in honour of Duilius, while Quintilian definitely draws attention to the frequent appearance of the final *D* in that monument. His report of the speech of Q. Caelius Metellus, in honour of his father; consul in 251 and 249 B.C., has been made the foundation of a modern inscription. Pliny observes that Varro's statement that, in 149 B.C., Scipio Africanus the younger received the *corona obsidionalis*, was also recorded beneath Scipio's statue in the *Forum* of Augustus. Elsewhere he observes that the example set by Athens in erecting statues of public benefactors had been followed throughout the world. 'Statues began to adorn the *Fora* of every municipality; the memory of men was immortalised, and their honours were no longer engraved on their tombstones alone, but were handed down for posterity to read on the pedestals of their statues.'

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1 iii 136; cp. pp. 19, 122 *infra.*
2 xxxi 8.
3 ii 154.
4 xxix 11.
5 xxxv 12.
6 xxxv 13.
7 xxxiv 20.
8 Quint. i 7, 12; cp. p. 95 *infra.*
9 vii 139—141.
10 C. I. L. vi (5) p. 1* f.*
11 xxii 13.
12 xxxiv 17.
The younger Pliny twice records, and severely censures, the epitaph of the upstart Pallas, the wealthy freedman of Claudius:—‘huic senatus ob fidem pietatemque erga patronos ornamenta prætoria decrevit et sestertium centies quinquagies, cuius honoræ contentus fuit’; and, in two of his Letters, he quotes with pride and pleasure the couplet inscribed on the still unfinished monument of Verginius Rufus (15—99 A.D.), the patriotic conqueror of Vindex:—

Hic situs est Rufus, pulso qui Vindice quondam imperium asservit non sibi, sed patriae.

He also describes Titinius Capito as composing verses in honour of famous men, and as possessing in his own house busts of the Bruti, the Cassii, the Catones, and setting up a statue of L. Silanus in the Forum.

Pliny himself proposes to place a statuette of Corinthian bronze in the temple of Iuppiter at Comum, and asks a friend to arrange for preparing a pedestal bearing his own name, and (perhaps) his public offices.

Tacitus relates that the victory of Germanicus over the tribes between the Rhine and the Elbe was celebrated by a trophy ‘superbo cum titleo:—debellatis inter Rhenum Albimque nationibus exercitum Tiberii Caesaris ca monumenta Marti et Iovi et Augusto sacravisse’; and that his death was commemorated by arches in Rome and on the Rhine and on mount Amanus in Syria, ‘cum inscriptione rerum gestarum ac mortem ob rem publicam obisse’. He also tells us that the conspirator Scaevinus inscribed the words IOVI VINDICI on the dagger, with which he had resolved on slaying Nero. Before Vespasian’s entry into Rome, the Senate appointed commissioners to examine and to replace the bronze tablets of the laws, which had fallen down through lapse of time, and to free the Fasti from the additions with which they had been disfigured by the adulation of that age. Tacitus elsewhere implies that Vespasian’s younger son, Domitian, in memory of his preservation amid various perils,

1 Epp. vii 29, 2, and viii 6, 1.
2 Epp. vi 10; ix 19.
3 Epp. i 17.
4 Epp. iii 6, 5.
5 Tacitus, Ann. ii 22.
6 Ann. ii 83.
7 Ann. xv 74.
8 Hist. iv 40.
dedicated a shrine *iovi conservatori*, and a great temple, *iovi cvstodi*¹.

Roman *senatus consulta* are repeatedly translated in the Greek text of Josephus². Frontinus, besides quoting six *senatus consulta*, and several legal documents and imperial edicts, mentions the lengthening by Trajan of the aqueduct called the *Anio novus*, ‘novum auctorem imperatorem caesarem nervam Traianum Augustum praescribente titulo’³.

Suetonius quotes a decree of the Senate and a censorial edict on the *rhetores*⁴. In his *Life of Julius Caesar*⁵, he describes an important *lex* proposed by Marcellus as ‘in aes incisa et in aerarium condita.’ Shortly before the conspiracy against Caesar, the statue of Lucius Brutus, the first consul, was inscribed with the words *vtinam viveres*, and the statue of Caesar with the lines,

**BRVTVS QVIA REGES EIECIT CONSVL PRIMVS FACTVS EST.**
**HIC QVIA CONSVALES EIECIT REX POSTRIMO FACTVS EST**⁶.

After Caesar’s death, the people set up a marble column in the Forum inscribed *parenti patriae*⁷. In the *Life of Augustus*, the inhabitants of Nursia are said to have recorded on a public monument to those who had fallen in the battle of Mutina, *pro libertate eos occubuisse*⁸. The biographer of the Caesars tells us that he once possessed a bronze statuette of the young Augustus, on which his earliest *cognomen*, Thurius, was inscribed in faintly visible letters of iron⁹; that statues of the great generals of the Roman Republic, bearing laudatory inscriptions, were set up by the emperor in the Forum of Augustus¹⁰; that, shortly before the emperor’s death, the first letter of his full name (C) on the

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1 *Hist. iii* 74.
2 Treaty with the Jews in *Antiq.* xii 6, 10; see also decrees in xiii 9, 2; xiv 8, 5, and 10, 9. Cp. Ritschl, *Opusc.* v 111 ff; and L. Mendelssohn, *Acta soc. phil. Lëps.* (1875), 87 ff.
3 *De Aquae Ductibus*, 93.
4 *De Rhetoribus*, § 1.
5 *Caesar*, c. 28.
6 c. 80.
7 c. 85.
8 *Aug.* c. 12.
9 *ib.* c. 7.
pedestal of one of his public statues was struck by lightning\(^1\); and that, on his death, he left behind him (in addition to his will) three 'volumes,' one of which his biographer describes as 'indicem rerum a se gestarum, quam vellet incidi in æneis tabulis'\(^2\). This last is the document of which we possess the completest copy in the *Monumentum Ancyranum*\(^3\). He also tells us that Augustus caused an *elogium*, composed by himself, to be engraved on the tomb of Drusus\(^4\). He quotes the elder Pliny as supporting his own opinion that Caligula was born at a village among the Treveri by appealing to the fact that certain altars near that village bore the inscription *ob Agrippinae puerperium*\(^5\). He states that Caligula, on finding himself urged to give notice of a law relating to certain new taxes, caused it to be published 'et minutissimis litteris et angustissimo loco, uti ne cui describere liceret'\(^6\). He mentions three swords, prepared for the assassination of Caligula, which that emperor 'Martii Vltori, addito elogio, consecravit'. He cites an inscription describing the father of Vitellius as 'pietatis immobilis erga principem'\(^7\), and also mentions a 'lapidem memoriae Othonis inscriptum'\(^8\). Lastly, he relates that Vespasian took in hand the restoration of 3000 bronze tablets\(^9\), which had been destroyed in the recent conflagration of the Capitol\(^10\). Shortly before the death of Commodus in 194 A.D. almost all the public documents in the Palace were destroyed by fire\(^11\).

From the *Imagines* of Varro, Aulus Gellius quotes a Latin rendering of an imaginary epitaph on Homer, ascribed to the inhabitants of Ios.

Capella Homeri candida haec tumulum indicat,  
Quod hac Ietae mortuo faciunt sacra\(^12\).

Gellius also records the fact that Pompey, on dedicating the Aedes Victoriae as a memorial of his third consulship (52 B.C.)

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\(^1\) ib. 97.  
\(^2\) ib. 101.  
\(^3\) Appendix IV (2), *infra*.  
\(^4\) Claud. 1.  
\(^5\) Cal. c. 8.  
\(^6\) ib. c. 41.  
\(^7\) ib. c. 24 ult.  
\(^8\) Vitell. c. 3.  
\(^9\) Vitell. c. 10.  
\(^10\) Vesp. c. 8.  
\(^11\) Tacitus, *Hist.* iii 72.  
\(^12\) Dion Cassius, lxxii 24, τὰ γράμματα τὰ τῆς ἀρχῆς προσήκοντα.  
\(^13\) Gellius, iii 11, 6.
found that experts were divided between the forms *consul tertio* and *consul tertium*, whereupon he consulted Cicero, who persuaded him to adopt the form *consul tert.,* which might answer for either. He also quotes the epitaphs of Naevius (d. 202), Plautus (184) and Pacuvius (130), which he supposes were written by the poets themselves. They run as follows:

(a) Mortalis immortalis flere si foret fas,
Flerent divae Camenae Naevium poetam,
Itaque postquam est Orchi traditus thesauro,
Obliti sunt Romae loquier lingua Latina.

(b) Postquam est mortem aptus Plautus, comoedia luget,
Scaena est deserta, dein Risus, Ludus, Iocusque,
Et Numeri innumeri simul ómnes conlacrimarunt.

(c) Adulescens, tam3 etsi properas; te hoc saxum rogat,
Vt sese4 aspicias, deinde quod scriptum est legas.
Hic sunt poëtae Pacuvii Marci sita

Of these three epitaphs, only that in honour of Pacuvius is entirely in keeping with actual contemporary inscriptions6, the other two having been probably composed in a later age as epigrams on the literary characteristics of the poets in question7. All these may have been derived by Gellius from the works of Varro8.

A literary example of the use of inscriptions as advertisements may be found in the *Rudens* of Plautus (l. 1294), where one of the characters declares he will advertise in letters an ell long, that, if any one has lost a valuable wallet, he is to apply to

1 xiii 25, 14. Pompey is described as *cos. ter* in an inscription of Auximum (Dessau, 877).
2 ‘Inmortales mortales si foret fas flere,’ ed. Hertz.
3 *tamen* MSS.
4 *se* MSS.
5 Gellius, i 24.
6 Cp. ‘adulescens, tametsi properas, hic te saxsolus
rogat ut se aspicias, deinde ut quod scriptust legas.
hic sunt ossa...sita...
hoc ego voleba(m) nescius ni esses. Vale.’
the speaker. Propertius has a poetical advertisement on the loss of his writing tablets, concluding with the couplet:—

I, puer, et citus haec aliqua propone columna;
Et dominum Esquiliis scribe habitare tuum.\(^1\)

Among imaginary literary inscriptions may be mentioned the line in which Virgil describes Aeneas as dedicating the shield of a Greek warrior on the temple-gate at Actium:—

\[\text{Aeneas haec de Danais victoribus arma\(^8\).}\]

An imaginary epitaph\(^9\) is to be found in the last two lines of the \textit{Culex}. The hundred and first poem of Catullus may be regarded as an inscription on his brother’s tomb. Propertius gives us (in addition to an epitaph on himself\(^4\)) two dedicatory inscriptions\(^5\), and an epitaph on Cynthia:—

\[\text{Hic Tiburtina iacet aurea Cynthia terra;}
\text{Accessit ripae laus, Aniene, tuae.}\]

\[\text{Here golden Cynthia lies in Tibur’s ground;}
\text{Thy banks, O Anio; with fresh fame are crowned.}\]

Ovid has an epitaph on Corinna’s favourite parrot:—

\[\text{Colligor ex ipso dominae placuisse sepulcro;}
\text{Ora fuere mihi plus ave docta loqui.}\]

and on Hypermnestra:—

\[\text{Exsul Hypermnestra, pretium pietatis iniquum,}
\text{Quam mortem fratri depulit, ipsa tuli.}\]

Tibullus provides parallels to the customary formulae:—\textit{hie situs est, and sit tibi terr\ae levis}\(^6\). He also writes his own epitaph in an elegiac couplet\(^10\), and is imitated in the epitaphs of the imperial age.

Horace makes Hypermnestra bid Lynceus engrave his regretful lament upon her tomb, ‘nostri memorem sepulcro scalpe querelam’\(^11\). He recalls the primitive custom of inscribing laws

\(^1\) Propertius, iv 23.
\(^2\) \textit{Aen.} iii 288.
\(^3\) \textit{Elogium.}
\(^4\) Propertius iii 4 (5) 35 f.
\(^5\) \textit{ib.} iii 5 (6), 27 f, and v 3, 72, ‘salvo grata puella viro.’
\(^6\) \textit{ib.} v 7, 85.
\(^7\) \textit{Amores,} ii 6, 61 f; \textit{cp.} i 3, 25 ‘adiciam titulum SERVATA NASO CORINNA’.
\(^8\) \textit{Heroides,} xiv 129.
\(^9\) iii 2, 29, and ii 4, 50.
\(^10\) i 3, 55.
\(^11\) \textit{Carm.} iii 11, 51 f.
on tablets of wood\(^1\). He describes the virtues of Augustus as recorded for ever ‘per titulos memoresque fastos’\(^2\); and alludes to the pedestals of the statues of great generals in the Forum of Augustus, as ‘incisa notis marmora publicis’\(^3\). He has more than one mention of the ‘tabula votiva’\(^4\), and also refers to the custom of describing the dimensions of a burial-place, with the proviso that the monument erected thereon was not to pass to the heirs of the property:—

\[
mille pedes in fronte, trecentum cippus in agrum
\]
\[
hic dabat: heredes monumentum ne sequeretur\(^5\).
\]

In allusion to a \textit{locus sacer}, Horace’s imitator, the satirist Persius, quotes parallels to the modern warning, ‘commit no nuisance’\(^6\). Men may be ambitious of fame, in the form of an epitaph, says Juvenal, but even the tombs on which those epitaphs are carved have their destined day of doom\(^7\).

Lucan quotes the epitaph of Pompey:—\textit{Hic sitvs est magnvs}\(^8\), and the language that he ascribes to the wife of Cato, ‘liceat tumulo scripsisse \textit{Catonis Marcia}’\(^9\), has prompted the forging of the epitaph \textit{MARTIA MARCI CATONIS}\(^10\).

Martial incidentally mentions the \textit{inscripta basis} of a statue\(^11\). In allusion to a faithless wife who had buried seven husbands, and had written \textit{Chloë fecit} on each of their tombs, the poet satirically suggests that the verb did not really refer (as usual) to the erection of the monument, but was obviously a candid confession of her guilt:—

\[
\text{Inscripsit tumulis septem scelerata virorum}
\]
\[
\text{se fecisse Chloë. Quid pote simplicius?}
\]

\(^1\) \textit{Ars Poetica}, 399, ‘leges incidere ligno.’
\(^2\) \textit{Carm.} iv 14, 4; cp. iii 17, 4, ‘per memores genus omne fastos’ (see also O. Hirschfeld, \textit{Kleine Schriften}, 352 n.), and 24, 27 ‘si quaeret \textit{pater vrbivm subscribi statuis.’}
\(^3\) \textit{Carm.} iv 8, 13; cp. Suetonius, \textit{Aug.} 31, quoted on p. 12 n. 10 \textit{supra.}
\(^4\) \textit{Carm.} i 5, 14; \textit{Sat.} ii 1, 33; cp. i 5, 65 ‘ex voto,’ and Ovid, \textit{Met.} viii 744 f, ‘memoresque tabellae—voti argumenta potentis.’
\(^5\) \textit{Sat.} i 8, 12 f.
\(^6\) Persius, \textit{Sat.} i 112—114.
\(^7\) Juvenal, x 143—7; cp. Mayor on viii 69.
\(^8\) viii 793.
\(^9\) ii 343.
\(^10\) \textit{C. I. L.} vi (5) p. 2* i.
\(^11\) ix 44.
His epigrams include at least twenty epitaphs. The following admirable tribute to the memory of an actor, who was put to death by Domitian, was not published until three months after the emperor’s decease:

Quisquis Flaminiam teris, viator,
Noli nobile praetereire marmor.
Urbis deliciae salesque Nili,
Ars et gratia, lusus et voluptas,
Romani decus et decor theatri
Atque onnes Veneres Cyidinesque
Hoc sunt condita, quo Paris, sepulcro.

In the *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* we have several epitaphs on emperors and their connexions, for example in honour of the father-in-law of Gordian III.

Timesitheo, eminenti viro, parenti principum, praefecto praetorii [totius urbis], tutori rei publicae, senatus populusque reipublicae vicem reddidit.

The epitaph of Gordian himself was inscribed in Greek, Persian, Hebrew, and Egyptian, as well as in Latin, as follows:

Divo Gordiano, victori Persarum, victori Gothorum, victori Sarmatarum, depulsori Romanarum seditionum, victori Germanorum, sed non victori Philipporum.

Valerian the younger, who received from his father, the emperor Valerian, the title of Caesar, and from his elder half-brother, Gallienus, that of Augustus, was slain with Gallienus at Milan in 268 A.D. and was there buried in a tomb inscribed, by the orders of Claudius II, with the misleading title ‘Valerianus imperator’.

Saloninus, son of Gallienus, was honoured with a statue in Rome, in which the words ‘Gallieno iuniori’ were followed by

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1 xi 13; for other epitaphs, see i 88, 93, 101, 116; iv 63; v 34, 74; vi 28, 29, 52, 76; vii 40, 96; x 61, 71; xi 41, 69, 91; xii 52.

2 This is the true form of the name, which is found in an inscription (Dessau, 1330). A name of exactly the opposite meaning is here given in the MSS, and in Gruter’s inscription, 439, 4, which is probably a forgery founded on the corrupt text, which has Mithiæus. Cp. *C. I. L.* vi (5) p. 2* r, also H. Stuart-Jones, *Companion to Roman History*, pp. 394, 398.

3 Gordiani tres, c. 27, 10.


Of Censorinus, the last of the 'thirty tyrants' (269 A.D.), we are told: 'extat eius sepulcrum circa Bononiam, in quo grandibus litteris incisi sunt omnes eius honores; ultimo tamen versu adseri (adscribi?) potest: *felic omnia, infelissimus imperator*; but no such inscription has been discovered, and the concluding words are clearly due to the biographer. The emperor Probus (276—282 A.D.), who rose to distinction by his military abilities, is said to have been commemorated in the following terms:

HIC PROBVS IMPERATOR ET VERE PROBVS SITVS EST, VICTOR OMNIVM GENTIVM BARBARARVM, VICTOR ETIAM TYRANNORVM.

A statue of the emperor Numerianus (283), placed in the Bibliotheca Ulpia, bore the words:

NUMERIANO CAESARI ORATORI TEMPORIBVS SVIS POTENTISSIMO.

A large part of an edict of Firmus (*ob. 273*), which was publicly set up in Rome, is quoted by Vopiscus, and about thirteen other edicts are cited by the *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*, but we cannot be certain that all of them were actually inscribed in marble or bronze, and, in any case, literary quotations of legal documents lie beyond the limits of the present survey.

After the close of the *Historia Augusta* we find Ausonius, in the course of the fourth century, moralising over a mutilated epitaph, which has ceased to record the exact name of the person whom it professes to commemorate:

Vna quidem, geminis fulget set dissita punctis
Littera, praenomen sic <·L> nota sola facit.
Post ·Λ· incisum est, puto sic <·Λ·> non tota videtur:
Dissiluit saxi fragmine laesus apex,
Nec quisquam, MARIVS seu MARCVS anne ΛETELLVS
Hic iaceat, certis noverit indicis.

2 Trebellius Pollio, *Tyranni Triginta*, c. 33, 2. (*Hist. Aug.* ii 122 Peter.)
4 Vopiscus, *Carus* etc. c. 11 (*Hist. Aug.* ii 221).
5 'non credam singula haec monumenta in marmore, aut aere exarata fuisse,' Maffei, *Ars Critica Lapidaria*, col. 50.
6 Livy, i 26, quotes from a *lex horrendi carminis*; and many laws are cited by Cicero, and in the *controversiae* of the Elder Seneca.
Truncatis confusa iacent elementa figuris,
Omnia confusis interiere notis.
Miremur periisse homines? monumenta fatiscunt;
Mors etiam saxis nominibusque venit.1

In the above survey we have found that, in Latin literature, inscriptions are alluded to in about 50 passages, and are actually quoted in about 30 others. Omitting imaginary epitaphs in Virgil, Propertius, and Ovid, and the literary epitaphs on Naevius and Plautus, we have only the following inscriptions, which merit special mention in the present place by reason of their being recorded in Latin literature:—The epitaphs of Ennius and Pacuvius;2 those on A. Atilius Calatinus, and Scipio Africanus Maior3; the dedications of M. Acilius Glabrio, and L. Aemilius Regillus; the inscription on the Marcelli; and those on Pompey (in the temple of Minerva);4 the record of the victories of Augustus and of Germanicus;5 the epitaphs of Pallas, and of Verginius Rufus; the inscriptions on Agrippina, Otho, and the father of Vitellius;6 and that on Trajan’s restoration of the Anio novus7; and, lastly, six epitaphs of emperors in the Historia Augusta.8 Of these inscriptions the only one even partially preserved to our own day is that on the Tropaea Augusti, and of this only a few letters are now discernible.9

1 Ausonius, Epitaphia xxxii = Epigrammata, 35.
2 pp. 7, 14 supra.
3 pp. 5, 7.
4 p. 6.
5 p. 8.
6 p. 9.
7 p. 10.
8 p. 11.
9 p. 11.
10 p. 13.
11 p. 12.
12 p. 17 f.
13 pp. 10, and 122 infra.

Maffei, in his Ars Critica Lapidaria (posthumously published in Donati’s Supplementum (1765) to Muratori’s Novus Thesaurus Inscriptionum), has a chapter ‘de inscriptionibus, quae in veterum Latinorum libris referuntur’ (II 2 col. 33—50). The absence of any complete collection of the inscriptions quoted in Latin literature has been noticed in Hübner’s Römische Epigraphik in Iwan Müller’s Handbuch, i 478 (ed. 1886), 628 (ed. 1892). The present chapter is an attempt to supply this want.
CHAPTER II

MODERN COLLECTIONS OF LATIN INSCRIPTIONS

Modern collections of Latin inscriptions begin with the age of Charles the Great. About 800 A.D. a pilgrim from the North made a journey to Rome, where he collected seventy-five inscriptions of a public and official character, adding five more from Pavia in the course of his return. A fragment of his collection was discovered by Poggio about 1417, and a tenth-century copy of the whole was found at Einsiedeln by Mabillon, who, in 1685, published it in the fourth volume of his Analecta. The author is called the Anonymus Einsiedensis. It is probable, however, that the unknown pilgrim, whose work was found at Einsiedeln, was really a monk of Reichenau, the island in the Untersee below the Lake of Constance.

At Bologna, in the thirteenth century, it is in a tone of regretful admiration that the Florentine grammarian Buoncompagno refers to the splendidly sculptured forms of the old Latin inscriptions:—‘olim siebant sculpturae mirabiles in marmoribus electissimis, quas hodie plenarie legere vel intelligere non valemus’.

There were certain minor collections, mainly concerned with Christian epitaphs. After a long interval, these were followed by collections made by humanists and others during the Revival of Learning. In the language of Gibbon, it was in that age that Rienzi, the friend of Petrarch, ‘perused

1 Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum, vi (1), p. ix f, nos. i—80; De Rossi, Inscr. Christianae urbis Romae, 11 i (1888), 9 f—33, 338—342; Ziebarth in Ephemeris Epigraphica ix (1905), 248 f; Mommsen, Ges. Schriften, viii 64—100.
with indefatigable diligence the manuscripts and marbles of antiquity, devoting himself to deciphering the ancient inscriptions on the Roman walls, and on coins and gems, and composing, about 1344, the first ‘description of the city of Rome’. In the church of St John Lateran he discovered the bronze tablet recording the decree of the Senate, which granted the most ample privileges to the emperor Vespasian. This long-forgotten inscription, which had been concealed in the structure of an altar by pope Boniface VIII, he disclosed to view, making it the text of an eloquent discourse on the rights which had been lost by the Senate and People of Rome.

Rienzi assumed the title of tribune in 1347, and, after his cruel death in 1354, was long remembered as ‘the last of the Roman patriots’. His collection of inscriptions was overlooked for a time, but it was not wholly lost; for it was brought to light again, in the time of Martin V (1417–31), by Nicola Signorili, the Secretary of the Roman Senate.

The same branch of classical archaeology attracted the attention of another friend of Petrarch, Giovanni Dondi, who visited Rome in 1375, and, besides measuring the Pantheon, the Colosseum, and the Column of Trajan, copied the inscriptions on the triumphal arches and on other ancient Roman buildings.

The inscriptions of Rome were also collected by Poggio of Florence (1380–1459), who made note of many of them during his earliest residence in the eternal city (1403–14). He had been partly prompted by the Florentine

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1 *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, c. lxx. Cp. Hülsen’s *Roman Forum*, p. 34.
2 The *lex de imperio Vespasiani*, now in the Capitoline Museum; Rushforth, *Latin Historical Inscriptions*, no. 70; Dessau, i 244, and Appendix IV (4), infra.
3 Rienzi’s Letter to the archbishop of Prague (1350), ‘in odium imperii occultavit et de ea re quoddam altare construxit, a tergo litteris occultatis’ (de la Blanchère, l. c., p. 7). The tablet had been turned inwards, so as to conceal the inscription.
4 Gibbon, l. c., vii 261 Bury (ed. 1900).
6 De Rossi, p. 329 f; Voigt, l. c. i 3 267. *C. I. L.* vi (1) p. xxvii.
chancellor, Coluccio Salutati, who enthusiastically declared that, if Poggio persevered in his quest, he would soon have transcribed all the inscriptions of Rome. In one of his excursions from Constance (c. 1417) Poggio discovered in the neglected library of an unnamed monastery the first four pages of a copy of the collection of inscriptions already ascribed to a pilgrim from Reichenau. In these pages Poggio identified those of the inscriptions which were no longer to be found in Rome, and incorporated them with his own collection, which he completed in 1429. This collection, with that of Signorili, formed the basis for the later collections of Ciriaco Pizzicollì, Giovanni Marcanova, and Fra Giocondo of Verona.

Ciriaco, the merchant, traveller, and amateur archaeologist of Ancona (c. 1391—c. 1450), began his antiquarian career by copying at his birth-place the Latin inscription that is still visible on the triumphal arch of Trajan. He continued that career in Rome (1424), where he first became conscious of the historic value of the evidence from inscriptions, as compared with that derived from ordinary literature. He also explored the archaeological remains of Italy, and of the distant East, and, during his later visits to Rome (1431—34), he collected inscriptions at Tivoli and Ostia. He was an indefatigable archaeologist, but he is now remembered mainly as an industrious and trustworthy recorder of ancient inscriptions, which were originally comprised in three vast volumes, only fragmentary remains of which have survived. The doubts once thrown on the accuracy of his transcripts have been triumphantly dispelled.

One of the pleasantest pages in the early history of the study of Latin inscriptions in Italy is to be found in the jubilant memorial

1 p. 20 supra.
2 E. Walser, Poggius Florentinus (1914), pp. 28, 60, 144–6, 488; C. I. L. vi (1) p. xxviii—xl (nos. 1–86); and Ziebarth in Ephemeris Epigraphica, ix (1905) 248 f. 3 Dessau, i 298; p. 125 f infra.
4 'maiores longe quam ipsi libri fidem et notitiam praestare videbant'; cp. Voigt, l. c. 272 n. 1.
of an antiquarian excursion on the Lago di Garda in the autumn of 1464. The writer, Felix Felicianus of Verona, tells us that, at that time, a merry company from Verona, Padua and Mantua met on the western shore of the lake. They crowned themselves with ivy and myrtle, and, after visiting the ruins of the temple of Diana, made copies of all the inscriptions they could discover. When they left the shore for the islands, their barque was dressed with laurel, and the notes of the lyre floated over the waters as they sailed southward for Sirmione, where they finally entered the little church of San Pietro to give thanks for a happy and successful day. Two and twenty inscriptions had been copied by this joyous and grateful company, all of whom were members of an antiquarian confraternity. One of these, Giovanni Marcanova of Venice, a physician and philosopher of Padua and Bologna (d. 1467), was the first to follow the example of Ciriaco as a collector of inscriptions. More was accomplished by Felix Felicianus, the poet, printer, publisher, and antiquarian, whose collection of inscriptions was dedicated to Mantegna. Mantegna himself (1431—1506), the most antiquarian of artists, introduced into his pictures careful copies of inscriptions, and the two that he has placed on the arches among the frescoes of the life of St James in the Eremitani Chapel at Padua, have, mainly on the authority of Mantegna, been included in the Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum. Inscriptions are also to be found in the sketch-book of Mantegna’s father-in-law, Jacopo Bellini, and in the manuscript collection formed by the accomplished architect, Fra Giovanni del Giocondo (d. after 1520).

1 Felix Felicianus, Jubilatio; complete text first published in Kristeller’s Andrea Mantegna, Engl. ed. (1901), p. 472.
2 C. I. L. ii p. v; iii p. xxix; v (2) p. xx; vi (1) p. xlii; ix–x, p. li.
3 C. I. L. iii p. xxiv; v (2) p. xvii; vi (1) p. xlii; ix–x p. xxxix. His collection accidentally included some forgeries.
4 C. I. L. v (1) nos. 2528, 2989, (2) pp. 1072 ff.
5 v (1) nos. 2428, 2542, 2553, 2623, 2669, 3464, and 4653.
There are many other names of minor interest among the early collectors of inscriptions in Italy. Among those of wider fame, Pomponius Laetus, the founder of the Roman Academy (1425–1498), formed a collection of inscriptions within the walls of his own house, and the autograph of a small part of his transcripts has been discovered in the Vatican. It includes the earliest modern copy of the monument set up by the magistri vicorum urbis in honour of Hadrian. As early as 1488, Pomponius Laetus was familiar with a large and important fragment of the Fasti Consulares.

About 1513, Battista Brunelleschi of Florence made some fine drawings of the ruins of Rome, including careful copies of certain inscriptions, the originals of some of which are now lost. Later in the same century, Onophrius Panvinius (1529–1568) and Fulvius Ursinus (1529–1600) were among the Roman correspondents of Antonius Augustinus of Saragossa, ultimately archbishop of Tarragona (1517–1586), who, in his work De legibus et senatus consultis (Rome, 1583), applied his knowledge of inscriptions to the study of law, and whose important dialogues on coins, inscriptions, and other antiquities were posthumously published in 1587.

The earliest printed collections were those embracing the inscriptions of Ravenna (1489), Augsburg (1505), and Mainz (1520, '25). These were followed by the inscriptions of Rome, as printed by Mazochi (1517–21), and by a more comprehensive collection (inscriptiones...totius fere orbis) published in geo-

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1 Cp. in general, Hübner, in Iwan Müller’s Handbuch, i (ed. 1892), p. 632 f.
2 C. I. L. vi (1) p. xlii; ix-x p. xlvi; xiv p. xvi; De Rossi, Inscr. Christ. ii i 401 f.
3 Dessau, ii 6073.
5 C. I. L. vi (1) p. xlv.
6 C. I. L. ii p. xv; vi (1) p. xlix; ix-x p. xxviii.
7 This work was originally prepared by Francesco Albertini in 1517, and was revised for the edition of 1521 by Marcangelo Accorso. There are copies of this second edition recording further corrections by A. Laelius Podager, identified as Antonio Lelli by De la Blanchère, i.e., p. 20. Cp. C. I. L. vi (1) p. xlvi.
graphical order by Petrus Apianus of Ingoldstadt (1534). The collector and editor of the Augsburg inscriptions above-mentioned was the celebrated German humanist, Conrad Peutinger, a pupil of Pomponius Laetus. In the second edition of his work (Mainz, 1520) the number of the inscriptions rose from twenty-three to thirty-five, all of them admirably reproduced in the Roman style of the age of the Antonines.

In and after 1488, only a few fragments of the Fasti Consulares were known to Pomponius Laetus, and to Giocondo, and Mazochi. In 1546 a number of large marble blocks, including thirty fragments of those Fasti, down to 766 a.v.c., and twenty-six of the Acta Triumphorum, down to 735, were discovered on the East side of the Forum, between the Temples of Faustina and of Castor. It is now generally agreed that they formed part of the walls of the marble Regia rebuilt in 718 (=36 b.c.).

At first, they were deposited in the Farnese Palace; soon afterwards, under the directions of Michael Angelo, they were transferred to the walls of the newly formed Sala dei Fasti in the Palace of the Conservatori on the Capitol. They are accordingly often described as the Fasti Capitolini. They were first edited by Marliani (Rome, 1549), and afterwards by Sigonius (Modena, 1550; and, with commentary, Venice, 1556, etc.), Robortelli (Venice, 1555), and Panvinius (Venice, 1557 and 1558). Smaller portions of the same Fasti were discovered in 1816-18, and in 1870.

An ancient Calendar of Roman festivals of B.C. 8—A.D. 3 was discovered in 1547, and was for a time in the possession of Bishop Hieronymus Maffaeus, secretary to the Cardinal Farnese, in whose Palace it was preserved for more than 150 years. There are manuscript copies of early date in the Florentine Museum, and in the Bodleian, the latter by Ligorio. It was first printed by Paulus Manutius as an appendix to the text of the Fasti Consulares and the treatise on Roman names, published by Sigonius at Venice in 1555; and it was reprinted by the younger Aldus in

2 Cp. Fig. 43, p. 168f, infra.
in the second edition of his early work on Latin Orthography, which is founded on the study of Inscriptions, and includes copies of more than 1500. These Fasti Anni Ituliani are generally known as the Fasti Maffeiani.

The earliest discoveries of the Acta fratrum Arvalium were made in 1570 in the Vigna Caccarelli outside the Porta Portuensis, less than five miles S.W. of Rome; and, on the same site, further discoveries of these documents followed in 1699, 1792, and 1868.

Outside the Porta Capena, at the beginning of the Via Appia, the epitaph of Scipio, the son of Barbatus, was found in 1614, and the famous sarcophagus of Scipio Barbatus himself, and the epitaph of Scipio, the Flamen Dialis, in the same burying-place of the Scipios in 1780.

Panvinius (1529—1568) collected no less than 3000 inscriptions, and formed a grand scheme for publishing all the inscriptions of the Roman world. In the second book of his Fasti he writes:—Magnum inscriptionum totius orbis opus adorno, quod quamprimum Deo auspice evulgabitur; in quo omnia singillatim inscriptionum loca accuratissime descripta sunt. This collection has never been found, but it has been surmised that it may have been merged in some manner with that of one of his companions in Rome, Martin Smetius, of Bruges, who made his first manuscript collection of the inscriptions of Europe in 1545, and, when a large part of this had been destroyed by fire, made another in 1551. He died in 1578. Ten years later his work was published at Antwerp by the great Latin scholar, Lipsius (1588), who added more than 500 to the 3500 inscriptions collected by Smetius. The arrangement according to subjects, public inscriptions, sacred inscriptions, etc. adopted in this work, was continued in later thesauri.

The encyclopaedic genius of Joseph Justus Scaliger (1540—1609) formed a comprehensive plan for publishing a complete Corpus inscriptionum. The task was

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1 C. I. L. i, ed. 2, pp. 222—227; p. 172 infra.
2 See Frontispiece, and Figs. 17—21, pp. 66—68, infra.
entrusted to Janus Gruter (1560—1627), who included the collections made by Smetius in a work published by himself at Heidelberg in 1603 (and inadequately republished by Graevius and others at Amsterdam in 1707). Scaliger had not only supplied a large part of the materials, but had also devoted the strenuous toil of ten months to the construction of twenty-four admirably methodical indexes. In the body of the work, the arrangement was in order of subjects, instead of the geographical order of provenance.

About the same time, a work of the same general character was prepared by the Italian antiquary Giovanni Battista Doni (1594—1647); it was ultimately published, in an incomplete and inaccurate form, by Antonio Francesco Gori at Florence in 1731. Meanwhile, under the title of *Syntagma Inscriptum*, a supplement to the work of Gruter by Thomas Reinesius (1587—1667), had been produced at Leipzig in 1682. Inscriptions were also largely represented in the works of Jacques Spon of Lyons, in his *Antiquités...de Lyon* of 1673, and his *Miscellanea* of 1685.

At Padua, Count Sertorio Orsato (1617—1678) studied inscriptions in connexion with Latin scholarship in a work entitled *I marmi eruditi* (1669), and collected all the abbreviations then known in a treatise *De notis Romanorum* (1672). He also protested against the local belief (once accepted by Petrarch1) that the epitaph preserved in the curia of Padua was that of the historian Livy.

In Rome, Rafaello Fabretti (1619—1700) gave proof of an extraordinary accuracy in all matters relating to inscriptions by his works on the Roman aqueducts (1680), and on the Column of Trajan (1683, 1690), as well as by his edition of the inscriptions in his father's collection (1699), in which the 430 inscriptions he had inherited are followed by nearly 4600 derived from other sources. He was the first to draw attention to the date-stamps on Roman bricks.

In 1726—43, the inscriptions of the ancient cities of Etruria were carelessly collected in three volumes by Gori, already men-

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tioned as the editor of Doni. A far higher degree of merit was displayed by the genuine archaeologist, A. S. Mazzochi of Naples (1684—1771), in his memoirs on Campanian inscriptions (1727), and on the lex Iulia municipalis (1754 f). In 1739–42, the new edition of Gruter’s Corpus was followed by the Novus thesaurus veterum inscriptionum prepared by the learned Italian historian, Muratori (1672—1750). This proved to be an inadequate and unsatisfactory compilation. The arrangement being according to subjects, some of the inscriptions were repeated as many as six times. The large number of carelessly copied or actually forged examples, which had been allowed to appear in it, compelled Scipione Maffei of Verona (1675—1755) to examine the originals, and to reject all that were found to be spurious. In the Museum Veronense (1749) Maffei published the inscriptions and reliefs of his native city, with an appendix of inscriptions from Rome and the rest of Italy, and from France, Spain, Britain, and the Netherlands, and Africa. He also formed a plan for a generalis collectio inscriptionum, and invited the co-operation of his learned correspondent, the French jurist, Jean François Séguier of Aix. His treatise De arte critica lapidaria (1765), published ten years after his death in pp. 1—432 of the first volume of Sebastiano Donati’s supplement to Muratori’s Thesaurus, gives proof of the keen and unsparing criticism which he applied to the inadequate work of other archaeologists.

Such criticism was all the more necessary owing to the fact that the forging of Latin inscriptions was not unknown in and after the second half of the sixteenth century. Among those responsible for these forgeries were Pirro Ligorio of Naples, a painter and architect in Rome and Ferrara (1530—1586); J. J.

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1 In...tabulas Heracleenses, 1754–5.
3 C. I. L. xii p. 387.
Boissard of Besançon (1528–1602); the Portuguese, Luis Andrea de Resende (1498–1573), canon of Evora; the Spanish Jesuit, Hieronymus Roman de la Higuera (1551–1624); and the German, Leonhard Gutenstein, who, in making extracts for Gruter from the collections of Ursinus and Smetius, interpolated forgeries of his own, as well as those by Ligorio. One of the keenest critics of Ligorio's forgeries was Annibale Camillo degli Abati Olivieri of Pesaro (1708–1789).

An interesting introduction to the study, and to the writing, of Latin inscriptions was supplied by Stefano Morcelli (1737–1821), librarian of Cardinal Albani, in his works On the style of Latin inscriptions (1780), and in his Select inscriptions, with comments (1783).

His contemporary, the eminent archaeologist, Gaetano Marini (1742–1815), published the inscriptions of the Albani Villa and Palace in 1785, and the high expectations thereby aroused were completely fulfilled in the two quarto volumes of the inscriptions of the Fratres Arvales (1795), in which the Acta of that ancient religious body were explained and emended, and no less than 1000 other inscriptions published for the first time.

Marini found an eminent successor in the person of Count Bartolommeo Borghesi (1781–1860), who began his archaeological career by the study of numismatics, and became the founder of the modern science of Latin epigraphy. As citizen and podestà of the still-independent Republic of San Marino, he spent the last thirty-nine years of his life in the smallest of the Italian states, but his archaeological correspondence extended over the whole of the Italian peninsula. He devoted a large part of his labours to the study of the Fasti Consulares, producing in 1818–23 his papers on the newly-discovered fragments. These were reprinted in 1885 in the ninth volume of his collected

2 C. I. L. ii p. xi 17.
3 C. I. L. ii p. xvii.
4 C. I. L. iii p. xxxii; vi (5) p. 222*-227*; and ix-x p. xlv.
5 Cp. Orelli's Sylloge, i p. 43 ff.
6 2nd ed. in three vols. quarto (Padua, 1819 f), with portrait.
works, published in Paris in ten volumes in 1862–97, a series in
which volumes 3—5 are entirely devoted to Latin inscriptions.

Maffei’s Swiss correspondent, Hagenbuch, had often insisted
on the importance of a critical basis for the further
publication of the vast mass of extant Latin inscrip-
tions. His annotations formed a part of J. C. Orelli’s excellently
planned Amplissima Collectio, produced in two volumes at Zürich
in 1828. The usefulness of these volumes was greatly enhanced by
the supplements and corrections, and, above all, by the indices rerum
ac notarum, published in a third volume by W. Henzen in 1856.

The scheme for a complete Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum,
formed, with the support of Borghesi, by Olaf
Kellermann of Copenhagen (1805—1837), who
spent the last nine years of his life in Italy, and
by Emiliano Sarti, and further promoted by Letronne and others
as members of the French Academy during the ministry of
Villemain, was ultimately taken up by the Berlin Academy. The early preparations for carrying out the scheme are associated
with the names of the Latin grammarian, K. G. Zumpt (1792—
1849), and his nephew, A. W. Zumpt (1815—1877). The younger
Zumpt aimed at little more than extracting and re-arranging all
the inscriptions that had been already published. His papers on
inscriptions brought him into frequent conflict with
Theodor Mommsen (1817—1903), who laid his
own scheme before the Academy in 1847. During the last two
years Mommsen had been studying inscriptions in Italy with the
aid of Borghesi and Henzen. In his ‘Inscriptions of the Kingdom
of Naples’ (1852), he showed a consummate skill in applying the
results of epigraphical research to the elucidation of the constitu-
tional history and the law of the Italian communities. Momm-
sen’s scheme was ultimately approved by the Academy, and finally
carried forward with complete success.

2 i 29—66; 525 ff (Epp.), and ii 361—378.
3 O. Jahn, Specimen epigraphicum, 1841; cp. C. I. L. vi (1) p. lxvi.
5 Reprinted in Harnack’s History of the Berlin Academy, ii (1900) 522 f.
6 Obituary notice of Mommsen, reprinted in O. Hirschfeld’s Kleine
Schriften, esp. pp. 932—944.
The way for the publication of the proposed *Corpus Inscriptionum* had been partly prepared by the preliminary labours of Henzen and G. B. de Rossi in Rome, and by the study of inscriptions in relation to early Latin by Friedrich Ritschl (1806—1876) at Bonn. In 1862 Ritschl published the *Priscæ Latinitatis Monumenta Epigraphica* in a vast folio volume containing 98 lithographed plates and including a very large number of facsimiles of early Latin inscriptions, some of the most important being exact reproductions of the large bronze plates inscribed with ancient Roman laws. The plates were preceded by 127 pages of descriptive text, with elaborate indexes classifying and summing up all the results relating to the early history of the Latin language.

In the first volume of the *Corpus Inscriptionum*, published in 1863, the *Fasti consulares* were edited by Henzen; and the rest of the inscriptions of the Roman Republic, including the *Elogia clarorum virorum*, and the *Fasti anni Iuliani*, down to the death of Julius Caesar, by Mommsen, who also prepared for subsequent volumes the Oriental inscriptions (iii), and those of *Gallia Cisalpina* (v), and Central and Southern Italy, and Sicily and Sardinia (ix, x). The inscriptions of Pompeii etc. (iv) were edited by Zangemeister and others; those of Northern Italy (xi) by Bormann; those of Rome (vi) by Bormann, Henzen, Hülsen, aided by De Rossi; those of ancient Latium (xiv) by Dessau; and those of the *instrumentum domesticum* of Rome, including inscriptions on pottery (xv), by Dressel. *Gallia Narbonensis*, or Southern Gaul, was undertaken by Hirschfeld (xii); the 'three provinces of Gaul and the two of Germany' (xiii) by Hirschfeld and Zangemeister, with the *Instrumentum* by Bohn, and the *Signacula Medicorum* by Espérandieu; Africa by Wilmanns and by Cagnat, J. Schmidt, and Dessau (viii). Meanwhile, Spain (ii) and Britain (vii) had been dealt with by Hübner. The number of volumes published between 1863 and 1906, including supplements, was about forty, while the total number of the inscriptions came to about 100,000. Among collections of select inscriptions for the use of students, that of Wilmanns (1873) includes 2885, and that of Dessau (begun in 1892 and completed in 1916) as many as 9522. It will be observed that the latter figure
is more than 400 times greater than that of all the inscriptions, about 22 in number, which we find definitely quoted by classical authors.

Ritschl's vast volume of 1862, the *Priscae Latinitatis Monumenta*, had supplied lithographed facsimiles of most of the important inscriptions of the Roman Republic. The corresponding volume on the Roman Empire was published in 1885 by Hübnner (1834—1901), under the title of *Exempla Scripturae Epigraphicae Latinae*, including outline specimens of no less than 1216 inscriptions from the death of Caesar to the age of Justinian, with 68 ample pages of palaeographical Introduction. The *Inscriptiones Latinae* prepared by Diehl (1912) contains 50 comprehensive plates of photographic facsimiles, 19 of which are concerned with Christian inscriptions; and reproductions of inscriptions form an important feature of the handbooks prepared by Cagnat (fourth edition, Paris, 1914), Egbert (New York, 1896), and Ricci (Milan, 1898).

Among the epigraphical discoveries made in Rome towards the close of the nineteenth century, few have rivalled in interest the archaic inscription found in the Forum in 1899, and the *Acta ludorum saecularium of 17 B.C.*, which were discovered in 1890, and are now preserved in the new Museum formed out of the ancient Baths of Diocletian. The successive excavations of the Forum, and the chronological order of its inscribed monuments, have been clearly set forth by Jordan (1877), while the archaeological exploration of the site, from the Revival of Learning to the early years of the twentieth century, has been briefly reviewed by Hülsen in his *Roman Forum* (1906).

Of the many thousands of inscriptions included in the *Corpus*, very few (such as those carved upon rocks) are still in the positions which they originally occupied. Many have either been lost since the time when they were copied, or are only to be found in private collections. But

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1 *p. 19 supra.*


3 *pp. 33—55.*
by far the greatest number are still preserved in public museums. In Rome, the most important collection is in the *Galleria lapridaria* of the Vatican Museum, where whole walls are covered with inscriptions. There are also the collections in the Capitoline Museum, the *Palazzo dei Conservatori*, and the Lateran Museum, the inscriptions now (or formerly) in the *Museo Kircheriano*, and those in the Villas Albani, Borghese, and Boncompagni (late Ludovisi). Among the rest of the museums of Italy, the most important are those of Naples, Florence, Milan, Turin, Verona, Brescia, Venice, Padua, Mantua, Parma, Modena, Bologna, Perugia, Arezzo, and Cortona. In Paris the galleries of the Louvre include inscriptions found in France, and not a few from Italy and North Africa (many of these last being also preserved in the various local museums of Algeria, and of Tunis). Besides these, there are collections in the *Bibliothèque Nationale*, and at St Germain-en-Laye, near Paris; and also in Boulogne, Lyon, Vienne, Nîmes, and Arles. In Switzerland, there are museums at Geneva, Lausanne, and Avenches, as well as Basel, Bern, and Zürich. In Spain, at Seville, Tarragona, Madrid, and Barcelona. In Germany, in Berlin, Cologne, Bonn, Mainz, Mannheim, Augsburg, Stuttgart; in Bavaria, in Munich: and, in Austria, in Vienna, Salzburg, and Graz. In Hungary, there is a museum at Buda-Pest; in Holland, at Leyden; while, in Great Britain, we have the British Museum in London, and the local museums at Colchester and Cirencester, at Bath, York, Carlisle, Newcastle, Durham, and in Edinburgh and Glasgow1. In the United States of America, there is a collection at the Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore2, and another at the University of Michigan3.

1 There are also museums at Caerleon, Shrewsbury, and South Shields, and accessible private collections at Lanercost abbey, Castlesteads, and Netherhall park, Maryport (Bruce's *Handbook to the Roman Wall*, pp. 214, 222, 252, ed. 7, 1914).

2 III of these Latin Inscriptions are described in the *American Journal of Philology* for 1907, 1909-12, by H. L. Wilson, who died in 1913.

3 'Some New Inscriptions from Puteoli, Baiae, Misenum and Cumae' in this collection were published in the *American Journal of Archaeology* for 1898, pp. 373–398, by Walter Dennison, who died in 1917. See *University of Michigan Studies, Humanistic Series*, xii (1918) 167 ff.
CHAPTER III

THE LATIN ALPHABET

All the Italian alphabets, whether Etruscan, Umbrian, Oscan, Faliscan, or Latin, were derived from the alphabet of the Dorian Greeks of Italy and Sicily. This Greek alphabet belonged to the western colonies of the Euboean city of Chalcis, viz. Cumae, Neapolis and Rhegium in Italy, and Zankle, Naxos and Himera in Sicily. The forms of the Greek letters are preserved on coins and in inscriptions and syllabaries. The ordinary types of these letters are given in the following line:

\[ \text{ABCDEFGHIJKLMNOPQRSTUVWXYZ} \]
\[ \text{αβγδεζηθικλμνξοπρςτυφχ} \]

The variants found in Chalcidic texts may here be added:

\[ \text{ΔΑ(νότΑ), ΔΔ, Α, Ε, Θ, Θ, Ο, Ω, Μ, Ν, ΡΡ, ΕΣ, Υ, +, ΨΨ} \]
\[ \text{αδεζηθυμπρσυξχ} \]

The following is the Greek Alphabet on the Formello vase found near Veii. It may be regarded as a link between the Chalcidian and the Italic alphabets. The letters corresponding to ε and Φ are accidentally transposed in the original, but the order is corrected in the almost identical second alphabet on the same vase.

\[ \text{ABCDEFGHIJKLMNOPQRSTUVWXYZ} \]
\[ \text{αβγδεζηθικλμνξοπρςτυφχ} \]

Fig. 2. Greek Alphabet on the Formello vase.

1 Cp. E. S. Roberts, Greek Epigraphy, i p. 17.
2 Phoen. samekh.
3 Phoen. shin.
It will be observed that this alphabet closely coincides with that used on the archaic *cippus* in the Roman Forum (Fig. 4, p. 39).

In early Latin the symbol for ζ soon fell out of use. The Romans also rejected the three Greek aspirates Θ Φ Ψ as letters of the alphabet, but adopted them as numerals. Ζ, the curved form of the old Greek gamma, had, at first, the same value as gamma, but it was also used to express the sound of kappa. Thus the symbol Ζ did double duty for the sounds of K and G. To prevent confusion, the symbol Ζ, when used to represent the sound of gamma, was slightly changed into G. G is first found on an *as libralis* of Luceria, before 269 B.C., and a distinction between C and G (杞 and $L$) may be noticed about 250 B.C. on the earliest coins of Aesernia, and in the Oscan bronze of Rapino. About 234 the grammarian Spurius Carvilius appears to have been the first to give the letter G its present position in the place formerly held by Z in the Greek alphabet. In the *elogium* on Scipio Barbatus, probably later than 234, we find the letter G in *Gnaivod*, *prognatus* and *subigit*. During the time when C was still used for G, the abbreviations C. and CN stood for the praenomina pronounced as Gaius and Gnaeus, and the old spelling of these abbreviations was retained after the introduction of the new letter, G.

After the rejection of the three aspirates and the introduction of G, the Latin alphabet consisted of the following 21 letters. That number is mentioned by Cicero (*N. D.* ii 93), and X is called the last letter by Quintilian (i 4, 9).

A B C D E F G H I K L M N O P Q R S T V X

Late in the seventh century of Rome, Y and Z were introduced in the spelling of words borrowed from the Greek, such as *ZEPHTRVS*. The Greek Y had previously been represented by V or I. Thus Ennius wrote *BVRRVS* for *Πυρρος* and *BRVGES*

1 p. 54 f. *infra.*
2 Mommsen, *Die unteritalischen Dialekte*, 32.
5 See Frontispiece, and Figs. 17, 18 (p. 66).
for \( \Phi \nu \gamma \varepsilon \). Only a single example of \( \Upsilon \) has been found in Latin before the seventh century, DIONTSI on an inscription from Puteoli\(^1\). \( \Upsilon \), which had been found in the Carmen Saliorum (Varro, L. L. vii 26), and on a coin of Cosa\(^2\) later than 273 B.C., was revived in the age of Sulla. The Greek \( \Upsilon \) had been previously expressed in Latin by \( \text{S} \) at the beginning and \( \text{SS} \) in the middle of a word, e.g. sona \((\zeta \omega \nu)\) and tarpessita \((\tau \rho \alpha \rho \epsilon \xi \iota \gamma \eta \varsigma)\).

Three new letters were invented by the emperor Claudius (Tacitus, Ann. xiv 14), who used an inverted digamma \( \digamma \) for the consonant or semivowel \( \Psi \), an antisigma \( \sigmapsilon \) for the combination \( \delta \sigma \) or \( \phi \sigma \), and \( \breve{\iota} \) (the first half of the aspirate \( \text{H} \)) for a sound between \( i \) and \( u \) in words like \textit{optumus} and \textit{maxumus}. The first and the third of these symbols are actually found in inscriptions of the time of Claudius to express the Latin \( \Psi \) (as in Fig. 12, p. 45), and the Greek \( \Upsilon \), as in \textit{AEGI-PTI} and \textit{BI-BLIOTHECA}.

**Double vowels** were introduced by the tragic poet, L. Accius (fl. 139 B.C.), to represent a long vowel. In Latin this doubling is confined to the vowels \( \text{A}, \, \text{E}, \, \text{U} \), e.g. \textit{Vaarus} and \textit{seedes} in the Aletrium inscription\(^3\), and \textit{Juulius}. The earliest example is \textit{paastores} in 132 B.C. (Fig. 35, p. 132). The double vowels, as well as the form \textit{qura} and the shape of the letters, have led to the following epitaph from the Via Appia being assigned to the age of Accius (who died c. 90 B.C.):

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Hoc est factum monumentum | Maarco Caicilio.} \\
\text{Hospes, gratum est quom apud | meas restititstei seedes;} \\
\text{bene rem geras et valeas, | dormias sine qura.}
\end{align*}
\]

Dessau, ii (2) 8121 (ep. iii p. 804); Ritschl, \textit{P. L. M. E. tab.} 69 D, \textit{Opusc. iv} 142—163.

This usage is found in inscriptions from the time of the Gracchi (133 B.C.) to the Mithradatic war (75 B.C.). From that date to the second half of the third century the long vowel was distinguished by an \textit{apex}, placed above the vowel in the form of a comma (\( \breve{\iota} \)), or (later) of an accent (\( \acute{\iota} \)); cp. Fig. 8, p. 43.

**Double consonants** are said to have been introduced by Ennius (d. 169 B.C.). The earliest known example is in a decree of 189 B.C., where \textit{possidere} occurs by the side of \textit{posedisent}

\( \footnote{1 \text{ Ritschl, \textit{Priscae Latinitatis Monumenta Epigraphica}, tab. 76 a; \textit{C. I. L. x} 3975.} \)
\( \footnote{2 \text{ Ritschl, tab. vii 40 a and b.} \)
\( \footnote{3 \text{ p. 119 infr.}} \)
(Fig. 42, p. 162). They are also found c. 150 and become common before 100 B.C.

Long I was spelt as E in isolated examples in and after the age of Sulla. From the age of Augustus to the second half of the second century it was often represented by a taller form, 1. The diphthong ai (or aei) survived until the age of Sulla, and was temporarily revived by Claudius. ae and ai were represented by E in a few of the oldest inscriptions and in vulgar usage, and more frequently after the end of the first century of our era. au for o, oi for oe, and oe and ou for u, are found, in general, in republican times¹.

An Archaic Alphabet was used in ancient treaties, such as that with Gabii, and with the Latins and the Carthaginians². The first of these was written on an ox-hide; and the other two engraved on bronze.

On the Latin Alphabet, cp. Index Palaeographicus to Ritschl's P. L. M. E. (1862), and article of 1869, reprinted in his Opusc. iv 691—726; Kirchhoff's Studien (1863; ed. 4, 1887); Isaac Taylor, The Alphabet, 1883, ii 124—144; Hübner's Exempla (1885) lii—lvii; Cagnat's Cours d'Épigraphie Latine, ed. 4, 1914, pp. 1—23; Lindsay's Latin Language, 1—12; Giles' Manual of Comparative Philology, §§ 606—9; and Sir Edward Maunde Thompson's Introduction to Greek and Latin Palaeography, 1912, pp. 5—7.

The earliest Latin inscription in metal is that on the gold fibula of Praeneste, where all the letters are Greek in form. The retrograde order, the use of FH for F, FHEFHAKED for fecit and NVMASIOI for Numerio, all point to a very early date³. The 'Duenos' inscription (Fig. 5) also runs from right to left. The inscription on the fibula of Praeneste (Fig. 3) is assigned to about 600 B.C.

The earliest Latin inscription carved in stone is that on the four sides of a rectangular pillar, or cippus, of tufa lying five feet below the pavement of black marble found in 1899 between the Forum

² p. 3 f supra.
³ Cp. Bücheler in Rhein. Mus. xlii 317; Darbishire, Reliquiae Philologicae, 6—14; Lindsay, Handbook of Latin Inscriptions, 18 f; Ernout, Textes Latins Archaiques (1916), pp. 3 f.
and the Comitium (Fig. 4). (This rectangular pillar, or cippus, is sometimes, erroneously, called the lapis niger, a term which ought to be confined to the pavement of black marble five feet above it; it comes from Festus: niger lapis in Comitio locum funestum significat—Romuli morti destinatum... p. 184, 19 ed. Lindsay.) The letters run in lines vertical to the base; line 1 is written from below upward (right to left), line 2 from above downward (left to right), and so on, alternately. Such alternation of direction is not found in purely Latin inscriptions. The inscription is not later than the fifth century B.C., and the letters show a very close resemblance to those of the Greek alphabet, and especially

\[
\text{manios med. she. fhaked. numasioi}
\]

(Manius me fecit Numerid)

Fig. 3. Fibula Praenestina (C. I. L. xiv 4123; slightly reduced from Röm. Mitth. 1887, p. 37). The points (:) and (;) are more correctly copied in the transcript immediately below the cut.

to those on the Formello vase (Fig. 2). We here have C for G, \(\square\) for H, \(\wp\) for R, \(\varphi\) for \(\varpi\), \(\mathfrak{s}\) for \(\mathfrak{S}\), \(\mathfrak{y}\) for \(\mathfrak{v}\); the words are separated by three vertical points, as in the above fibula. Mention is made of the kalator, and the rex (possibly the rex sacrorum) in the form recei (for regi), and of ioumenta (for iumenta).

Lines 1, 3, 5, 7, 9, 11, 12, 14, 16 run from right to left; 2, 4, 6, 8, 10, 13, 15, from left to right; 8, 9, 16 are upside down. (1) HOI may be HONce; (2—3) SAKPOS ESED = sacer sit. (5) RECEI = regi. (6) EVAM = devam for devam. (10—11) IOVXMENTA = iumenta. Thurneysen inverts the order of the last four lines; the inscr. ends with (16) added in smaller letters along the edge of the stone, between the fourth face and the first.

Fig. 4. Inscription on the archaic cippus in the Forum (116); from a photograph by Vasari, Rome.
Greek influence is clearly visible in the 'Duenos' inscription, which runs, from right to left, round the outer edge of three small vases, joined together in an equilateral triangle, found near the Quirinal in 1880. The inscription is assigned to the early part of the fourth century.

The 'Duenos' inscription

Jordan was the first to notice that *ted endo* = *in te* (*Hermes*, 1881, 225).

Bücheler's rendering is as follows:—*Iovi Saturno deis qui me mittat, ne te intus comes virgo sit | adstet, nisi Opi Tutesiae pacari vis; | Duenos me fecit propter mortuum ut die noni me mano sistito* (*Rhein. Mus.* xxxvi 355).

Prof. Conway, reading *Io. Vei. Sat.*, *Duenoi ne med*, and *malo* (for *mano*) formerly translated:—'May the Gods Jove, Vejove, Saturn, (grant) that Proserpine, to whom they suffer this vase to be despatched, show thee no favour. Unless thou, indeed, art willing to make thy peace with Ops Toitesia. Duenos made me (as a curse) against Manos, and let no evil fall to Duenos from me' (*A. J. P.* x (1889) 445–459). But *lovestod* for *iusto* in the Forum inscription (Fig. 4, line 15) suggests that in line 1 *iove sat* should be read

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Fig. 5. The 'Duenos' Inscription (slightly reduced from Dressel, *Annali*, pl. 1, 1880; *C. I. L.*, i ed. 2, p. 371; Dessau, ii (2) p. 986).

1. *iove sat deivos goi med mitat nei ted endo cosmis virco sied*
2. *asted noisi ope totesiai pakari vois*
3. *Duenos med feced en manom einom dzenoine med mano statod*
as one word *iovesat*, early Latin for *iurat*, an interpretation which Prof. Conway now prefers, making the sense: ‘he who sends me adjures the gods not to let Proserpine be kind to thee.’ It is now generally admitted that the inscription should be interpreted as a curse; it is included in Audollent’s *Defixionum Tabellae* (1904).

F. D. Allen regarded the inscription as having been ‘interpreted, with a fair amount of probability’, either as a direction for a *novendiale sacrificeum*, or as an *execration* (see *Harvard Studies* for 1898, 53 f). Thurneysen, however, regards it as a gift from a lover to his mistress (*Kühn’s Zeitschrift*, 1897, 193—226). Cp. also Egbert’s *Introduction to...Latin Inscriptions*, p. 346 f, Lindsay’s *Handbook*, pp. 19—23; Ernout, 7—9; and the literature at the end of E. W. Fay’s article in *A. J.*, *P.* 1901, 121—138, and in Bursian’s *Jahresbericht*, cvi (1901) 40—46.

Here we have A A A for A; \( \odot \) for C and G; \( \delta \) and \( \dot{\delta} \) for D; \( \mathfrak{m} \) for M; \( \odot \) and \( \otimes \) for O; \( \beta \) for P; \( \phi \) for Qu; \( \varphi \) for R; \( \mathcal{Z} \) and \( \mathfrak{z} \) for S. As in the other early inscriptions, the letters closely resemble those of the Greek alphabet (p. 34), and are, at the same time, marked by a general absence of uniformity.

The monumental alphabet of the last three centuries of the Republic exhibits a marked improvement. A certain inelegance and unevenness may, indeed, be noticed in the dedications from the sacred grove of Pisaurum\(^1\), and in the ancient epitaphs from Praeneste\(^2\). The letters are, however, more even and more elegant in the following dedication from Tusculum assigned to the sixth century of Rome.

Fig. 6. Dedicatory inscription from Tusculum

(P. L. M. E. tab. 49 B), \( \frac{3}{4} \) of facsimile.

*M. Fourio(s) C. filios* tribunos militare(s) praidad Maurte dedet

(C. I. L. xiv 2577; cp. Lindsay’s *Handbook*, p. 34).

\(^1\) P. L. M. E. tab. 43 f; Diehl, *Inscr. Latinae*, pl. 2; Ricci, tav. v; Dessau, ii p. 2.

\(^2\) P. L. M. E. tab. 36, n. 53—61: Ricci, tav. vi, d—o; Cagnat, pl. i 3; Dessau, ii (2) p. 834; Egbert, p. 34.
The same general characteristics may be noticed in the epitaphs of the Scipios. See Frontispiece, and figs. 17—21, pp. 66–68.

The fully developed alphabet of the *Scriptura monumentalis* belongs to the age of Augustus and the early Empire. The work is executed by a professional stone-cutter; the letters are exact, and, in general, square. They are the *litterae quadratae* or *lapidariae* of Petronius, who (in c. 29) has the phrase 'quadrata littera scriptum CAVE CANEM', and (in c. 58) 'lapidarias litteras scio'. But all the letters are not (strictly speaking) 'square', for that epithet cannot be applied to circular letters such as O Q C D, or to others such as I and M. The epithet seems, in fact, to be derived, not from the shape of the letters, but from the use of square-cut stones for the carving of inscriptions. Such stones are described as *lapides quadrati*, or *saxa quadrata*; the artificers are therefore called *quadratores*, or *artifices quadratarii*, and their work *opus quadratarium*. Sidonius Apollinaris, on composing a poetical epitaph, asks his correspondent to have it promptly inscribed on a marble tablet (*tabula*), and to take care that the stone-cutter (*lapicida*), makes no mistake, for the reader is sure to attribute any such mistake to the composer, and not to the stone-mason (*quadratarius*).

The subjoined inscription from the tablet on the massive tomb of Caecilia, daughter of Q. Caecilius Metellus Creticus (consul of 69 B.C.), and wife of the elder son of the triumvir, M. Crassus, is a good example of the *scriptura monumentalis* of the early part of the Augustan age.

![CAECILIAE Q.CRETICIF METELLAECRASSI](image)

---

1 Cassiodorus, *Variae*, ii, 7.
2 *Lpp. iii* 12, 5. See in general, Hübner's *Exempla*, p. xxvi, col. 2.
The following inscription of a still more public character is an excellent example of the best monumental style of the age of Augustus.

\[
\text{IMP\:CAESAR\:DIVI\:F\:AVGVSTVS}
\]
\[
PONTIFEX\:MAXIMVS
\]
\[
\text{IMP\:XII\:COS\:XI\:TRIB\:P\:OT\:X\:IV
\]
\[
\text{AE\:GYPTO\:INF\:P\:TEST\:AT\:EM
\]
\[
\text{POP\:VI\:ROM\:AN\:I\:RED\:ACT\:A}
\]
\[
\text{S\:OL\:I\:D\:ON\:VM\:DED\:IT}
\]

Fig. 8. From an obelisk in the Circus Maximus, now in the Piazza del Popolo, Rome, 10 B.C. (reduced by $\frac{1}{3}$ from Hübner's Exempla, no. 52). Cp. Pliny, xxxvi 71.

In both of the above inscriptions the lettering of the upper part is on a larger scale than the rest. In the four rows of a Pompeian inscription figured in Hübner's Exempla (no. 138), three different sizes of letters may be observed. Two varieties may be seen in Fig. 12.

The following is a typical alphabet of the \textit{scriptura monumental}is of the Augustan age. It is mainly founded on the immediately preceding inscription.

\[
\begin{array}{cccccccccccccccccccc}
\end{array}
\]

Fig. 9. Alphabet of \textit{scriptura monumental}is, Augustan age, founded mainly on Fig. 8 supra (from Hübner's Exempla, p. lxxx, no. ii).

The following are typical alphabets of the \textit{scriptura actuar}ia, founded on public documents of (a) the Augustan, and (b) the Claudian age.
ABCDEFGLMNOPQRSTUVWXYZ

Fig. 10 (a). Alphabet of *scriptura actuaria*, Augustan age, founded mainly on the *Acta triumphorum*, Fig. 45 infra (from Hübner’s *Exempla*, p. lxxxii, no. 13).

ARCDEFGLMNOPQRSTUVWXYZ

Fig. 10 (b). Alphabet of *scriptura actuaria*, Claudian age, founded on the Speech of Claudius, Fig. 48 infra (from Hübner’s *Exempla*, p. lxxxii, no. 14).

In contrast to the large, carefully outlined, and deeply cut lettering of important public monuments, we have the smaller and simpler type used for inscriptions of a more ordinary kind. This assumed three forms:—

1. The lettering used in public documents, *scriptura actuaria* (Fig. 10). In early times public announcements or advertisements were painted in black or red letters on the walls of buildings. Such also are the later placards and advertisements, and in particular, the election-notices, on the walls of Pompeii. These notices are of two classes, according as they are the work of an unpractised hand, or that of a professional calligrapher. The following is an example in which ‘all the fruiterers’ publicly urge the election of a *duumvir*.

M. HOLCONIVM
PRISCUMII VIRID. POMARIUNIVERSI
CUM HELVIO VESTALE RQGAN.

Fig. 11. A Pompeian placard (Niccolini, *Pompeii*, Seconda Fontana, tav. 1).

*M. Holconium Priscum II vir(um) i(ur)i d(icundo) pomari universi cum Helvio Vestale rog(an).* C. I. L. iv 202; Dessau, ii 6411 a.

The original use of the brush led to the letters assuming a free and flowing form, and this form was partially reproduced even when the document was cut in bronze or stone. As an early
example of the documental style in bronze we have the decree of L. Aemilius Paullus, belonging to 189 B.C. (p. 162). The *scriptura actuaria* of the Augustan age is exemplified in the marble tablets of the *Acta Triumphorum* (p. 172). A later example may be seen in the bronze tablet at Lyons, recording an Oration of Claudius (p. 179). The influence of the ‘painted’ style is exemplified by the letters incised on the black marble of the following Pompeian inscription. This also belongs to the age of Claudius, as is inferred from its containing two examples of one of the three letters which he added to the Latin alphabet (p. 36 supra).

---

**Fig. 12.** From a Pompeian pedestal of black marble, now in the Museum of Naples (Hübner's *Exempla*, no. 135), c. 3.

*Sp. Turranus L. f. (i)lius* | *Sp. n(apos) L. pron(apos) Fab(ia tribu) | *Procullus Gellianus* | *praef(ectus) fabr(um) II, praef(ectus) curatorum aljei* | *Tiberis, praef(ectus) pro pr(ästore) i(lure) d(icundo) in urbe Latinius, p(ater) p(atriatus) populi Laurentii,.../loci/ d(ato) d(iece) d(ecurionum) (C. I. L. X 797). On å for V cp. p. 36 supra.*

The other two are developments of the *written*, rather than the *epigraphic* style:

(2) The *cursive characters*, generally confined to waxed tablets, and to the *graffiti* of Pompeii (p. 46).

Cursive characters are used in an epitaph in the Vatican Museum. Certain isolated characters are occasionally used in

---

1 Cp. Fig. 10 (a).
2 (p. Fig. 10 (b).
other inscriptions on stone, such as Λ for A, Π for E, Г for C, and ИИ for M.

6
Littera Theorianis semper dictura salutem
Nomine nunc Dextri tempus in omne manet.

7
Surda sit oranti tua ianua laxa ferenti
Audiat exclusi verba receptus [am]a[ns].

Fig. 13. Pompeian graffiti, including two quotations from the poets (C. I. L. iv 1891–93–94), more than 1.

(6) Littera Theorianis semper dictura salutem
Nomine nunc Dextri tempus in omne manet. Anon.

(7) Surda sit oranti tua ianua laxa ferenti
Audiat exclusi verba receptus [am]a[ns].

Ovid, Am. i 8, 77.

Ianitor ad dantis vigilet, si pulsat inanis
Surdus in obductam somniet usque seram.

Propertius, iv (v) 5, 47.

(3) The **uncial letters** of rounded form and with a marked curve above the vertical strokes. These were borrowed from the written style of papyri and parchments, and adopted in African inscriptions from the end of the third century, and in dedicatory inscriptions elsewhere, from the end of the fourth. 1 In the following example the use of a form of U for V will be noticed in lines 2, 3, 4.


The shapes of the letters vary according as they are used in the monumental, the documentary, or the cursive style. Thus the horizontal stroke of A is retained in the monumental style (though it varies in height), while it is often omitted in the documentary ($\Lambda$), or deflected from the right or the left ($\Lambda$ or $\Lambda$) or made vertical (A) in the cursive, which sometimes omits it and prolongs the right arm upwards ($\Lambda$).

The angular type, B, is found in some early inscriptions, and in letters cut in lead under the Empire, the form depending on the material used. The rounded type is in ordinary use during all periods, with variations in the relative sizes of the two lobes. The lower lobe is rather large in copies of the *Fasti*¹. Sometimes, in the painted style, the upper lobe entirely vanishes, and the upper part of the stem, or of the lower lobe, is curved upwards.

The archaic forms of C are $\angle C$. The narrower forms are found in early inscriptions, while the fully rounded form belongs to the best period. In and after that period it is sometimes made larger than the next letter, especially at the beginning of the line, where it may even include the next.

¹ Cop. Fig. 46, p. 173.
Fig. 15. Ancient Latin alphabets (founded on Ritschel's Præae Lætiitatis Monumenta Epigraphica, and reproduced, by permission, from Darenberg and Saglio, i. 215, Fig. 238).

Table:

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Notes:

(a) 475–500 A.D. = 279–254 B.C.
(b) 501–600 A.D. = 253–154 B.C.
(c) From 600 A.D. = 154 B.C.
letter within its curve. Similarly, at the end, we may have a large C embracing a small o. See p. 51 ult.

The archaic forms of D are $\overline{\Delta}$, $\overline{\Delta}$. The fully rounded type is found on monumental inscriptions of the best age.

In laws of the republican period, inscribed on metal plates, the lobe is often left partly open, either above or below. In the painted, the documental, and the cursive styles, a tail often extends to the left from the upper part of the lobe.

The archaic forms of E are $\overline{\varepsilon}$, $\overline{\varepsilon}$. Under the Republic the three parallel lines are sometimes deflected downwards, but in the Augustan age these lines are horizontal, and are of very nearly (if not exactly) equal length. After the Augustan age the central horizontal line becomes shorter. In the painted style, the parallel lines are curved upwards and are sometimes very short, so that the letter E resembles the letters F, L, I, T. The form $\parallel$ probably arose out of the use of $\overline{l}$ for F. It is found under the Republic, and in ancient inscriptions of lower Italy, and is not infrequently used under the Empire, especially in the ‘vulgar’ style.

F went through the same changes as E. The archaic forms are $\overline{F}$, $\overline{F}$, $\parallel$. In the monumental style of the best age the two transverse lines are horizontal and equal. They are deflected upwards in ancient times, and in the second and third centuries of the Empire; and also in the painted and the ‘vulgar’ styles. Deflection downwards, which is also ancient, is not found under the Empire. $\overline{l}$ is to be seen in the Pompeian graffiti. F (like P and T) is often taller than the other letters, especially at the beginning of the line. This fashion dates from the second century in Italy and the provinces, and from after the third in Rome.

In the monumental style of the early Empire the very short stroke distinguishing G from C rises straight upwards and is deflected horizontally towards the left. The form in which the stroke immediately curves inwards is rare in the first century, but is common in the next two centuries, especially when the letters are small and are in the painted style. G, and other cursive forms are also found in the uncial style; late in the
second century they even appear in some of the smaller examples of the monumental style.

Π, the earliest form of Η, may be seen in the ancient *cippus* of the Forum (Fig. 4), and on the *fibula Praenestina* (Fig. 3). Η varies little. Rather broad in the early monumental style, it gradually becomes narrower. Sometimes the transverse stroke either extends beyond the two vertical lines, or joins the lower part of the first to the upper part of the second. The partial or complete omission of the upper part of the second vertical line begins in some Roman inscriptions of the second century¹. This is an early form of the modern η.

In some of the inscriptions of the Republic and early Empire, I is perfectly plain, with no further strokes, either above or below. These are added, in a straight or curved form, in inscriptions of the painted style, in which (as in the ‘vulgar’ style) it often resembles T or L. I is used for the semivowel, as well as for the vowel. In Cicero’s time the semivowel was sometimes expressed by a double I, as in CVIIVS, EIIVS, for *cuinus, eius*. Cicero himself wrote *aio* and *Maia* for *aio* and *Maia* (Quint. i 4, 11), and there is also evidence for *Aiiax* and *Troiax*; but this innovation did not become common. About the time of Sulla a tall I was used for *ei*, and this was partly continued in the Augustan age, especially in the dative and ablative plural. The tall I was also used to denote the long vowel in DIVOS and DIVI, in IVLII and CAESARI, and in PRIDIE and APRILIS; as the first letter of IMPERATOR (especially at the beginning of the line); and even in IN and ITEM, and IVSSV, and ISDEM CONSVLIVS (87—155 A.D.)². Under the Empire, I was used between two vowels, as in CVIIVS and EIIVS (C. I. L. i 1964, v 18). For the latter we even find ELIVS and EIIVS (Hübner’s *Exempla*, 1129: cp. 1148). For DIVI cp. Fig. 8, l. 1, and 47, l. 1, pp. 43, 178.

¹ Hübner’s *Exempla*, 1129: cp. 1148.

² For DIVI cp. Fig. 8, l. 1, and 47, l. 1, pp. 43, 178.
The letter K was seldom used and underwent little change. Under the early Empire the two transverse strokes were very small (Fig. 45, p. 172). In the painted style they become larger about 300 A.D.

The archaic form of L was L (see Fig. 19, p. 67, infra). The most ancient angular type gradually gave way to the various rectangular forms, and completely disappeared about 200 B.C. In the best age the horizontal line measures a little more than half the vertical. In later times it varies and becomes much shorter, sometimes differing but little from ی. A tall L is often found as an initial letter. In the documental and the cursive style, the lower stroke is sometimes curved downwards. ی is peculiar to the 'vulgar' style.

The oldest form of M, which has five straight lines, ی، is found on the fibula Praenestina and in the 'Duenos inscription' (Figs. 3, 5). This form was used as the abbreviation for Manius under the Republic and (occasionally) under the Empire; M.' (for Manius) is purely modern. The straddling form in four lines (ٓ) is the prevailing type (Figs. 7, 8, 17—21). ی and ی are very rare under the Republic, the former being found on coins and small articles, and the latter only on coins, to save space. The former is not used in monumental inscriptions till after 200 A.D.; it is about 50 A.D. that the form ی comes first into use in Germany. ی، a cursive form of the best age, appears later on monuments of the lower class, while another cursive form ییی is found in the Pompeian graffiti.

The earliest form N, in which all the strokes were oblique, was retained under the Republic, but the upright form is sometimes found in the same inscriptions as the other. ی is the usual type of the best age. Extra touches were gradually added to the top and bottom of the vertical lines.

The archaic forms of O were ی، ی، ی، د. In the earliest times, O was often much smaller than the other letters; this was partly continued under the Empire, especially after C, which often embraces a small O in its curve, as in the abbreviation ی س for consul.
The archaic forms of $P$ are $^\Gamma P$. The latter remains the standard type. The closed form, $P$, is sometimes found on the *glandes plumbeae* and the *tesserae* of the Republic, but it is rare under the early Empire. It appears about 100 A.D. in Germany, and about 200 A.D. in the other provinces, and in Rome. As an initial letter it is taller than the rest.

The earliest form of $Q$ is $\dot{Q}$. Among other archaic forms are $Q$ and $Q$. Under the late Republic, the tail is short and nearly straight, in the early Empire it is longer and more curved (Figs. 47, 48, p. 178 f).

The oldest form of $R$ is found in the retroverted Greek type of the earliest inscriptions (Fig. 5). Among other archaic forms are $R$ and $R$. In the standard monumental type of this letter, the circumference of the fully rounded upper loop ends at the middle of the shaft, and it is at this point that the tail begins. Cp. p. 201 infra.

The archaic forms of $S$ are $\dot{S}$ and $\ddot{S}$. The angular types belong to the age of the Republic alone. The curved form of perfect symmetry is characteristic of the best period.

The archaic types of $T$ are $\dot{T}$ and $\ddot{T}$ as well as $T$. Under the early Empire this last was the standard form, and it was often made taller to save space on either side (Fig. 12, p. 45). In the documental and cursive styles, the transverse line was slightly curved.

$V$ is fairly constant, but it sometimes slopes to the left, with the right stroke perpendicular and the left stroke slightly lengthened. The same letter was used for the vowel and for the semivowel. The curved form $U$ is used for both in the uncial style at Rome about 200 A.D., and later elsewhere (cp. Fig. 14, p. 47).

In comparatively modern alphabets, $V$ was used in the tenth century as the initial, and $U$ as the medial letter, and $V$ came to be regarded as the semivowel, $U$ as the vowel.

The archaic $\dot{X}$ is found in an ancient inscription from the *lacus Benacus* (C. I. L. i 1434). The normal character $X$ underwent little change under the Empire.
Y and Z were borrowed, towards the close of the Republic, for the transliteration of Greek words. Y was often made taller than the other letters, and sometimes assumed a slanting form. In other respects Y (like Z) was constant in shape.

Ligatures, etc.

With a view to saving space, especially at the end of the line, two or three or even more letters are sometimes joined together: e.g. A preceding E, M, N, R, TR, V, VR; I preceding B, N, R, T; or following C, F, H, L, M, N, P, T, V. This practice first appears on coins about 200 B.C. and in inscriptions about 150. To save space in an inscription of c. 41 A.D., ET is represented by $\xi$ in the second line, and by a monogram in the third (Hübner, Ex. 193). O·V·F, for orat vos faciatis, and O·H·S, for ossa hic sita, are sometimes contracted into a monogram (Hübner's Exempla, p. lxix). Ligatures were not in general use in Italy, but became common in Gaul, Germany, and Africa. (Lists in Hübner's Exempla, p. lxviii; Cagnat, p. 24; and Egbert, p. 67.)

It is stated by grammarians that a sicilicus or laterally inverted C, $\mathfrak{O}$, was placed above a consonant which was to be regarded as a doubled letter. Some examples of this (e.g. SABELIO and OSA) belong to the early part of the Augustan age (C. I. L. v 1361, x 3743, xii 414). Cp. Isidore, Etym. i 27, 29, 'veteres non duplicabant litteras, sed supra sicilicos adponebant; qua nota admonebatur lector geminandam esse litteram'.

The apex was used to distinguish vowels which were naturally long (Figs. 8, 47, pp. 43, 178). It was in use from after the age of Sulla to about 250 A.D. Its earlier forms were $\flat$ and, under the Empire, ' It is rarely found over I. Long I was written as EI after 134 B.C., or expressed by a taller letter, c. 80 B.C. to 150 A.D.
Punctuation

The several words were separated by means of a mark placed, not at the foot of the line of letters, but midway between the top and the bottom. These marks are nearly always absent at the ends of the lines, and they are not used to denote the termination of a clause or a sentence. When the letters are in relief this mark is round. When they are incised in stone or metal, it may be either square or oblong or triangular (Fig. 47, p. 178). This last finally assumed the ornamental form of an ivy-leaf. An inscription at Cirta expressly mentions *hederae distinguentes* (C. I. L. viii 6982). Towards the end of the first century the more important divisions are sometimes distinguished by branches of palm. In the more ancient inscriptions (especially in the early *leges* of the Republic) words are seldom divided at the end of the line; but this becomes common in the *acta* of the Empire.

In later inscriptions points are sometimes inserted between single letters or syllables. In lengthy documents these are often omitted, except after abbreviations, and similarly in the bronze lettering of important buildings, and in epitaphs written in 'vulgar' characters.

Numerals

The original numerals were I (a single digit) for 'one,' V (a rudimentary representation of the five fingers) for 'five'; X (or the two hands joined) for 'ten.' X, however, is sometimes regarded as an Etruscan symbol for 'ten,' the upper half of which was adopted for 'five.' To these ancient symbols two were added from the Chalcidic alphabets, *ch, ↓* (altered into ↓, ↓, ↓) for 50, and *ph, ϕ* (🇩, later 610) for 1000. The sign for 100 (C) probably originated in the Chalcidic Θ, but no certain example of the use of Θ or 0 for 100 has yet been found. The opinion that it was the three

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1 For pp. 47–54 the primary authority is Hübner's *Exempla*, pp. lii–lxxxiii.
Chalcidic aspirates that were borrowed to denote 50 and 1000 and 100 is confirmed by the Etruscan alphabet, in which these aspirates, retained as letters, were slightly changed when used as numerals.

While ☳ denotes 1000, the addition of a second circle outside the first made it mean 10,000, and that of a third, 100,000. Half of these figures was denoted by the second half of the symbol, e.g. ☳ for 500 (cp. Cicero, *pro Q. Roscio*, 4, 11 f, 22 f, 28 f, 32 f, 40 f, 43, 48 f, 55). In early inscriptions, multiples of 100,000 were expressed by repeating the symbol as often as necessary (cp. Fig. 30, p. 96).

Towards the end of the Republic the thousands were denoted by drawing a horizontal line above the numeral, e.g. V = 5,000, ☳ = 500,000. Lateral lines were further added to denote 100,000, e.g. [X] = 1,000,000. These lines are first found in the *lex Rubria* of 49 B.C. (C. I. L. i 205). Cp. Pliny, *N. H.* xxiii 133.

The original numerals I, V, X being identical with certain letters of the alphabet, other numerals were assimilated to letters. Thus the second half of ☳ became D, ☳ became C, and ☳ became L. The second of these changes was favoured by the fact that C was the first letter of *centum*. At an early date *milia passuum* was represented by ☳-p, but the separate use of ☳ for the word *mille* or *milia* is not found before the second century A.D., and ☳ was never used as a mere numeral. The old form ☳ was sometimes changed into ☳ (Cicero, *pro Q. Roscio*, 28 f; Appendix, v 14) or ☳.

To prevent confusion in the use of the same signs as numerals and as letters, the numerals were distinguished by drawing a horizontal line either across the letter or (in the Augustan age) above. A familiar example of the early use of II as a numeral is to be seen in HS (= *duo + semis*) for *semis-tertius*, the *sestertius* of 2½ *asses*. II, after the title of an office, denotes that it has been twice held. ⌜IVIR is the common abbreviation for *duumvir*.

Numerals other than those above mentioned were expressed either by the method of addition, in which the higher figure comes first, or by that of subtraction, in which it comes last. Of these methods the former is the earlier, and the more usual,
Thus, III is earlier and more frequent than IV, while the latter belongs to writing of the lower class and is first found in the seventh century of Rome. VIII is commoner than IX, and XXVIII than XXIIX. Besides I and X, C is used in subtraction, as CD = 450 and CCLX = 960, but V, L, and D are not so used.

The single as was denoted by I and the uncia, its twelfth part, by — or $. The quadrans of 3 unciae was expressed by — — ; the semis by its first letter S; and the deunx of 11 unciae by S — — — .

Process of Making Inscriptions

Some of the epitaphs of the Scipios (e.g. Fig. 17 f) include letters painted in vermillion (minium). The custom of painting letters in black on a white ground is mentioned in the lex Aelia repetundarum of 123 B.C. (C. I. L. i 198, 14, in tabula, in albo, atramento scriptos). Fasti painted in red or black have been found on the walls of Rome, and in black on the buildings of Pompeii, and other painted inscriptions have been preserved in large numbers. The lines of the lettering were either marked out previously by means of a cord covered with vermillion, or faintly cut with a rule (as in the epitaph of Scipio, the flamen Dialis, Fig. 21, and as in the unfinished inscription reproduced in Daremberg and Saglio, s.v. Inscriptiones, fig. 4068). The accuracy characteristic of the lettering of inscriptions cut in bronze or stone proves that the separate letters must have been first painted, or at least outlined, before they were incised, and there is reason for believing that patterns of the different letters were used for this purpose. The next step was for the stone-cutter (marmorarius or lapidarius) to cut the letters out of the stone (scalpere, sculptere or insculpere) with a chisel (scalprum) and hammer. On certain inscriptions we have actual representations of the tools used (cp. Daremberg and Saglio, s.v. Inscriptiones, fig. 4067, and references there given; and Hübner's Exempla, p. xxx ff.). The shape of the incision is neither curved.

1 See, in general, Mommsen in Hermes, xxii (1887) 596 ff, and xxiii (1888) 152 ff (Ges. Schr. vii 765—787).
2 Cp. conspectus in Cagnat, 30—34, or Egbert, 71—81; also Dessau, iii pp. 797 f.
nor oblong, but an acute angle resembling the letter \( \nu \). The letters, when completed, were often picked out with vermilion, a practice mentioned by Pliny (xxxiii 122, minium...clariores litteras vel in auro (corr. muro or aere), vel in marmore, etiam in sepulcris facit). The letters on bronze plates were sometimes made more distinct by being filled with white lead. For large public monuments the letters were sometimes separately made of bronze or lead, and affixed to the stone with rivets. On the architrave of the triumphal Arch at Orange, it is only the holes left by these rivets that enable us to restore part of the lost inscription:—TI CAESARI DIVI AVGSTI F DIVI IVLI NEPOTI AVGSTO (Daremberg and Saglio, fig. 4070); and similarly with the inscriptions on the frieze of the temple at Assisi.

For inscriptions on bronze, the person employed was an aera-\( \text{rius} \) or caelator, and the corresponding verb was incidere, which is also applied to inscriptions on stone. Sometimes the letters are only indicated by a series of points impressed on the surface of the plate. A large stilus called a graphium was used to scratch inscriptions on the walls of buildings (generally before the cement had hardened). Many such graffiti have been found at Pompeii (Fig. 13). Lettering of different kinds, varying with the material, is also found on pottery, on bricks and tiles, and on plates of gold, silver, bronze or lead.

In the Museum at Palermo we have an inscription in which a professional stone-mason advertises his establishment in two parallel columns, in Greek and in Latin:—στὴλαι | ἐνθάδε | τυποῦνται καὶ | χαράσσονται | ναοῖς ἱεροῖς | σῶν ἐνεργείας | δημοσίας, | tituli | heic | ordinantur et | sculptur] | aidibus sacris | cum operum publicorum (sic). Similarly, in a Roman inscription:—D(is) M(anibus) | Titulos scribendos vel | si quid operidis marmoriari(i) opus fu	ext{erit} hic hæbes. In the Lateran Museum we find an elaborately sculptured funerary urn, which had been prepared on specu-

1 Traces of colour can be seen in the elegium on Scipio Barbatus in the front of the sarcophagus figured in the Frontispiece.
2 Mommsen, Eph. Epigr. ix 1, lex municipii Tarentini (Ges. Schr. i 148).
3 C. I. L. xi 5378; cp. p. 125 infra.
4 Hübner's Ex. p. xxxvii, and nos. 896, 926—945.
5 Hübner's Exempla, p. xxx; C. I. L. x 7296 and vi 9556 (copied on title-page of Cagnat, ed. 2—4).
lation, inscribed only with the letters D·M·, leaving the rest of the inscription to be completed to order¹.

Stamps of hard material are often used to impress letters in relief on the surface of articles made of clay or terracotta. Letters in relief are also stamped on arms and on household utensils, on pigs of metal, and on water-pipes, missiles, tablets and tokens of lead².

A rude type of lettering called *scriptura vulgaris* is characteristic of inscriptions made by an inexperienced or unprofessional hand. The letters are cut without the aid of outlines. Sometimes holes are first punched out, to mark the shape of the letters. These holes are then rudely joined together, as in the inscriptions in quarries near Hadrian’s Wall in the north of England, (1) by the side of Banksburn, near Lanercost (C. I. L. vii 872; Hübner’s *Exempla*, no. 1185); and (2) on the ‘written rock’ of Helbeck, about two miles south of Brampton, *Vexillationis* legionis II Au(gustae), *officina* Apr(ilia), sub Agricola optione, a lieutenant of 207 A.D. (C. I. L. vii 912). The following is Bruce’s copy of the first two words, where Hübner suspects that for IE we should read II, the ‘vulgar’ form of E, but Bruce’s copy has been confirmed by Haverfield³. It is to the large characters of this

![Vexillationis](image)

Fig. 16. From the ‘written rock’ on the river Gelt (*Lapidarium Septentrionale*, iii 469, p. 234, c. r). Letters about 4 inches high.

‘written rock’ that Tennyson compares the inscription seen on certain slabs of rock in *Gareth and Lynette*:

> In letters like to those the vexillary
> Hath left crag-carven. o’er the streaming Gelt.

Similar unprofessional work is often found in the remains of fortified camps, in ordinary epitaphs, and in cases where additions are made to the normal columns of *Fasti*, or new names added to those of the emperors first mentioned on Roman milestones.

CHAPTER IV

CLASSIFICATION OF INSCRIPTIONS

(I) INSCRIPTIONS PROPER

Inscriptions (ἐπιγραφαί) are primarily divided into two classes:—

(I) Inscriptions proper (ἐπιγράμματα, tituli), consisting of characters inscribed on monuments or other objects to denote their purpose, the essential point in each case being the name of an individual and a statement of his relation to the monument or other object.

(II) Documents, public or private (γράμματα, acta, instrumenta, tabulae), inscribed on durable material, such as metal or stone, with a view to their publication and more or less permanent preservation.

The tituli of class (I) are subdivided into (1) epitaphs (tituli sepulcrales); (2) dedicatory inscriptions (t. sacri); (3) honorary inscriptions (t. honorarii); (4) inscriptions on public works (t. operum publicorum); (5) inscriptions on portable objects (instrumentum domesticum, etc.).

The acta of class (II) are subdivided into (1) treaties (foedera); (2) laws (leges and plebiscita); (3) decrees of the Roman Senate (senatus consulta) and of the coloniae and municipia, the collegia and sodalicia; (4) decrees of magistrates and emperors (decreta, etc.); (5) consular diptychs (diptycha consularia); (6) sacred and public documents (acta sacra et publica); (7) private documents (acta privata); (8) graffiti on walls (inscriptiones parietariae).

The most elaborate classification of Latin inscriptions is that of Zell, who divides them into (I) sacred, and (II) profane; and subdivides sacred inscrip-
tions into those on (1) temples, and (2) tombs etc.; profane into (1) public, and (2) private; and public into (a) civil, and (b) military.

Among simpler classifications of inscriptions proper (our class I) are those of Zaccaria, and Cagnat, (1) dedicatory, (2) honorary, (3) sepulchral; Egbert and Ricci’s order is (1) dedicatory, (2) sepulchral, (3) honorary; and Hübner’s, (1) sepulchral, (2) dedicatory, (3) honorary. This last is the order I have retained; it has the advantage of beginning with the largest class of inscriptions, and of placing inscriptions on tombs immediately before those on temples, both of these being of the nature of ‘sacred inscriptions’. But a single inscription may sometimes belong to more than one class. An honorary inscription may be combined with an epitaph (as in the monument of Bihulus, p. 103), or with a dedicatory inscription, as where Titinius Capito recites all his own honours in a dedication to a divinity (p. 87 infra).

(i) Epitaphs

I (1). The earliest epitaphs, such as those of Praeneste (250—150 B.C.), simply give the name of the deceased, in the nominative case, e.g. M' Fabricius(2). K(aesonis) f(iilos)(3). The nominative is also found in the epitaphs of the Turpleii and Fourii at Tusculum(4), and in the earlier inscriptions on the Scipios (first part of Figs. 17—20). The genitive and dative (Fig. 7) are later in date. The following are in constant use as the abbreviations for the most frequent praenomina:—


O stands for Gaia, and may be used for any woman, e.g. M ARRIVS O L DIOMEDES means ‘M. Arrius, freedman of Arria’. On the cinerary urns, found in the vineyard of San Cesario on the Via Appia (150—50 B.C.), the date of the death is also given, e.g. L. Anauis(5) L. f. eidiibus Sex(tilibus). In course of time the profession of the deceased, the age, with formulae such as hic cubat (H C), hic situs est (H S E), were added, as well as laudatory epithets.

1 Handbuch, ii (1852) 139 f.
2 Old form of Fabricius.
4 Cp. Dessau, l. c., and dedicatory inscription, Fig. 6.
5 M. Arrius Gaiae (= Arriae) libertus Diomedes. Wilmanns, no. 1933; Dessau, ii 6378.
In the case of distinguished persons, it had become customary, about 250 B.C., to supplement the ordinary tituli with poetic elogia. The original epitaph of Scipio Barbatus was simply his name written in vermilion (upper part of Fig. 18); at a later date an elogium was added below in Saturnian verse, the metre used in the case of three other Scipios, while Scipio Hispanus, praetor peregrinus in 139 B.C., was honoured in two elegiac couplets:—

Virtutes generis mieis moribus accumulavi,
progeniem genui, facta patris petiei.
Maiorum optenui laudem, ut sibei me esse creatuni
laetentur; stirpem nobilitavit honor.

In contrast to the elogia we have the following simple epitaph found in Padua, which is possibly that of the historian Livy:—

On important tombs of the earlier time, the inscription is generally brief and simple, as on the great tomb of Caecilia Metella (p. 42). On the other hand, the tomb of a consul of 74 A.D., Tiberius Plautius, near Tivoli, included a full and elaborate enumeration of all his distinctions.

Epitaphs on tombs prepared by persons who are still living usually begin with the letters V·F., vivus fecit, for example:—
V·F. | C(aius) Atilius | Castalii lib(ertus) | Florentinus sibi et | dis manibus Iuliae | Fortunatae uxor(is) | optime meritae (Dessau, ii (2) 8072).

In lists of persons commemorated by a single epitaph, the names are regularly given in the nominative. Those who are still living are distinguished by the letter V (vivus) prefixed to the name: those who are dead by a symbol like Θ. The latter was also used in lists of soldiers to distinguish those who were no longer living, cp. Isidore, Etym. i 24, 1, ‘Θ Theta vero ad unius-cuiusque defuncti nomen apponebatur. Vnde habet per medium telum, id est mortis signum. De qua (sc. nota) Persius ait (iv 13): et potis est nigrum vitio praefigere theta.’ This usage

1 Bücheler, Carmina Epigraphica, nos. 6, 8, 9; Figs. 19, 20, 21 infra.
2 ib. no. 958.
3 Dessau, i 986.
which is rare in the provinces) is mainly found in Roman and Italian inscriptions of the first century, e.g.

Θ. P. Aqvillius. P. P. L. Hilarvs
v Aqvillia. P. E. T. C. L. Nice

Θ(ανω?) P. Aquillius P(ubliorun duorum) l(ibertus); Hilarus.
V(ica) Aqvillia P(ubliru) et C (multiris) l(iberta) Nice.

Θ(?) is hardly found after the age of Augustus. It has been distinguished from various forms of Ω, such as Θ, Θ, Ω, used as an abbreviation for obii or obitus, and specially frequent in the inscriptions of Noricum. Similarly, in Pannonia, we find Memoriae Ω M. Aurelii Melliti Librari leg(ionis) etc. (Wilmanms, 1549). Ω is also used for ossa (ib. 1633, 1644). Ω·Ω, or Ω, stands for quondam.

Many epitaphs (especially in and after the Augustan age) begin with Dis Manibus or Dis Manibus Sacrum, at first written in full, but afterwards abbreviated as D · M, or D · M · S. The tomb is sometimes called a (locus) deum Maanium, as at Hispellum, or is expressly dedicated to the Di Manes, e.g. at Padua, hunc locum monumentumque dis Manibus do legoque. At Corduba we have the phrase dei Manes receperunt eum. In Gallic inscriptions D · M is often followed by et memoriae aeternae, or (more rarely) by quieti aeternae or perpetuae. Frequently we find only memoriae, and, sometimes, in memoriam. Μ(emoriae) Ω(ausa), found in Greece and Asia Minor, corresponds to the Greek formula, μνήμης χάρων. D · M is normally followed by the genitive of the person commemorated; but it may also be followed by the name and description of the deceased in the nominative.

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1 Hübner's Exempla, 4. Cp. Dessau, ii 6963, (2) 8150.
2 This distinction is maintained by Hübner, followed by Egbert; but it is hardly defensible. Θ is not used in Greek for θανω or θανατος; much less is it likely to have been so used in Latin. Both symbols are best regarded by Mommsen, Mowat (Bulletin Épigraphique, iv 133 f), and Cagnat, 292, as abbreviations for obiiit, and by Dessau, iii p. 795, as standing for obitus.
3 C. I. L. i 1410.
4 Wilmanms, 217.
5 Dessau, ii (2) 8007.
6 Wilmanms, 590; cp. Pliny, Epp. iii 3, i, with Mayor's note.
7 S. Reinach, Épigraphie grecque, p. 427.
with *hic situs est*, or with the dative in apposition to *Dis Manibus*. The dative singular is often followed by *B · M* (*bene merenti*), or, less often, *A · B · M* (*amico bene merenti*).

The age is most simply expressed in the genitive case, either by *annorum (tot)* alone, or by *natus annorum (tot)*. When it is introduced by the phrase *qui vixit* (*Q · V*), the number of years is far more frequently expressed by the ablative *annis (tot)* than by the accusative *annos (tot)*. In either case the number of years may be followed by that of the months, days, and even hours. Occasionally the ablative, *annis*, is ungrammatically followed by the accusative, *menses*, or *dies*.

The accusative and the ablative may be seen in two different epitaphs on the same funerary altar (p. 73). *Q · V · A* is used as an abbreviation for *qui* (*or quae*) *vixit annis* (*or annos*), and an approximate number of years is expressed by prefixing *P · M* (*plus minus*). A very early example of this last formula is *VIX·ANN · P · M · XXIII*.

Salutations addressed to the dead by the passers by are placed either at the beginning or at the end of an epitaph, e.g. *AVE* or *HAVE*, or *S · T · T · L*, either abbreviated, or in full as *siti tibi terra levis*.

We often find salutations purporting to be addressed by the dead to the living, e.g. *ave, salve, or vale, viator; or tu qui legis vale et cum voles venito; or bene valeat is qui hunc titulum perlegit meum*. In fuller form, we have the following metrical lines:

```
adulescens, tametsi properas, | hic te saxsolum
rogat ut se | aspicias, deinde ut quod scriptust | legas.
            hic sunt ossa Maeci Luci sita |
            Philotimi vasculari.
            hoc ego voleba(m) | nescius ni esses. vale.
```

(Dessau ii (2) 7703.)

The deceased is also represented as saying of his present abode, *iuvenis feci, ut senex habitem* (*C. I. L. viii 2177*). The living and

1 Wilmanns, 542, 1436, *annorum gnatus or natus*; also *annos gnatus or natus* (*ib. 541, 1493*).
2 Wilmanns, 1558, 1647; and Dessau, ii (2) 8100.
3 Wilmanns, 235; Dessau, i 1523.
4 Cp. the epitaph of Pacuvius quoted on p. 14 supra.
the dead are sometimes represented as conversing, as in the following epitaph:—

D·M· | Primitiva have. Et tu quis quis es, vale.
Non | fueram, non sum, | nescio, non ad me | pertin(et).
Alexand(er) actor coniugi kar(iissiae).

(Dessau, ii (2) 8165, cp. 8125, 8162; iii p. 947.)

We may here quote the epitaph of an actor, aliquoties mortuus sum, sed sic nunquam (C. I. L. iii 3980), or that of the modest matron, hic sita est Amymone Marci optima et pulcherrima, | lannifica pia pudica frugi casta domiseda, and the longer epitaph ending with the line domum servavit, lanam fecit; dixi, abet. Among simpler forms of reference to the deceased are C(arus) S(uis), or P(ius) I(n) S(uos), both found in Spain; B(ene) Q(uiescat) and (with reference to the survivor) P(ro) P(ietate), both in Africa.

Facts relating to the site are often added, such as loco dato decreto decurionum (L·D·D·D·). It is a characteristic of the Augustan age to give the dimensions of the place of burial:—locus patet in fronte pedes (tot), in agro (or in via, or retro) pedes (tot). Cp. Horace, Sat. i 8, 12 f:—

Mille pedes in fronte, trecentos cippus in agrum
hic dabat, heredes monumentum ne sequeretur.

In this quotation, the last four words refer to a customary legal formula, the object of which was to reserve the property in the tomb and in its immediate surroundings, and to prevent its passing to the heirs of the adjacent land. In inscriptions, this was usually expressed by H(oc) m(onumentum) h(eredem) n(on) s(equitur), or s(equetur), and especially by—heredem exterum non sequetur, with variations, such as h(ic) l(ocus), or h(aec) a(ra), or h(ic) l(ocus) s(epulturae), h(ic) l(ocus) et m(onumentum), ending sometimes a(d) h(eredem) n(on) p(ertinet). The site is sometimes called l(ocus) m(onumenti), or loc(us) sep(ulturae).

We also find phrases forbidding desecration, such as, notei violare or monumento huic nil male feceris; h(uic) l(oco), or h(uic)

1 Dessau, ii (2) 8402 f; Bücheler, Carm. Epigr. i 52, p. 25.
2 Wilmanns, index, p. 692 b, Dessau, iii p. 943.
4 Ib. 330 and index, p. 691.
5 Dessau, ii (2) 8174 and 7602; cp. Wilmanns, index, p. 693.
EPITAPHS

monumento), d(olus) m(alus) a(besto)\(^1\); and even protests against painting election placards upon the tomb:—

\[ \text{ita candidatus fiat honoratus tuus} \]
\[ \text{et ita gratum edat munus tuus munerarius} \]
\[ \text{et tu (sis) felix, scriptor, si hic non scripseris.} \]

The epitaph often included the name or description of the person dedicating the monument, while the monument dedicated might be followed by a verbal phrase, such as \( \text{ponendum curavit (P C \cdot)} \), with mention of the circumstance or motive, e.g., \( \text{ob memoriam custodiendam adque propagandam} \), and a description of the persons to whom it was dedicated, in the dative:—\( \text{sibi et suis (S ET \cdot S), libertis libertabus posterisque eorum (L \cdot L \cdot P \cdot Q \cdot E).} \)

Sometimes the sepulchral inscription is an actual document, a \( \text{laudatio funebris} \) of an exemplary wife or mother. From the eulogy of a wife, which, even in its fragmentary remains, fills four pages of print, we may here extract a single sentence:

Domestica bona pudicitiae, opsequi, comitatis, facilitatis, lanificiis tuis [adsiduitatis, religionis] sine superstitione, ornatus non conspiciendi, cultus modici cur [memorem?]\(^3\).

The extant page in praise of a mother ends as follows:

Eo maiorem laudem omnium carissima mihi mater meruit, quod modestia probitate pudicitia opsequio lanificio diligentia fide par similisque ceteris probeis feminis fuit, etc.\(^4\)

\( \text{Lanificiis and lanificio in the above laudations remind us of lanifica and lanam fecit in the already quoted epitaphs, which include the making of wool among the praises of women.} \)

Sometimes the inscription includes the complete quotation of the terms of a will\(^5\), or legal provisions relating to the place of sepulture\(^6\).

The most important group of extant epitaphs of the Republican age is associated with the tombs of the Scipios.

The custom of burying, instead of burning the dead, was long continued by the gens Cornelia, to which the Scipios belonged. Their place of burial

\(^1\) Wilmanns, 252, and \( \text{index, p.693.} \)
\(^2\) Dessau, ii (2) 8206; cp. 8205, 8207.
\(^3\) Dessau, ii (2) 8393, lines 30 ff (the so-called \( \text{laudatio Turiae}; \) cp. Mommsen (1863), \( \text{Ges. Schr. i 395—421; W. Warde Fowler, in Cl. Rev. xix (1905), 261—267.} \)
\(^4\) \( \text{Ib. 8394 (the laudatio Murciæ).} \)
\(^5\) p. 64 supra.
\(^6\) \( \text{Ib. 8379 f.} \)
\(^7\) \( \text{Ib. 8380—8392. For many examples of tituli sepulcrales, see ib. 7818—8566.} \)

S. L. I.
was outside the *porta Capena*, S.E. of Rome. The epitaph of L. Cornelius Scipio (consul of 259 B.C.), son of Scipio Barbatus (Fig. 19), was there found in 1614, while the tombs of Scipio Barbatus (Fig. 17, consul of 298) and of seven other Scipios were discovered in 1780.

Fig. 17. Tomb of Scipio Barbatus, consul 298, censor 290 B.C. (reduced to \( \frac{3}{4} \) of Piranesi's engraving in Ritschl, *P. L. M. E.* tab. 37).

See also the Frontispiece.

(a) The original epitaph written in red; (b) the elogium, in Saturnian metre, incised on the stone; (c) the epitaph of Cornelia, wife of Hispallus, consul of 176 B.C.

Fig. 18. Epitaph of Scipio Barbatus (reduced to more than \( \frac{3}{4} \) of Ritschl, tab. 37). Dessau, i 1. Cp. Lindsay, 41 f; Ernout, 12 f.
(a) The epitaph in its present state, after the loss of *L. Cornelio*; (b) the elogium; (c) the epitaph of the wife of Hispallus. The elogium (b) is later than (a), and even later than the epitaph of the son of Barbatus, Fig. 19 (Ritschl, *Opusc. iv* 222 f). Wolflin, *S. Ber. Münch. Akad.* 1892, 188—219, assigns the *elogia* in Figs. 18 (‘after 200’), 19 (‘c. 200’), 21 (c. 170), to Ennius (ob. 169), and that in Fig. 20 (c. 160) to Pacuvius, on grounds regarded as weak by Schanz, *Röm. Lit.* i 50³. On all the *Scipionum Elogia*, cp. Wordsworth’s *Early Latin*, pp. 395—404.

(a) *L. Cornelio* Cn. f. Scipio

(b) *Cornelius Lcius Scipio Barbatus,*
Gnaivod patre | prognatus, fortis vir sapiensque, quouis forma virtutei parisuma | fuit;
consol, censor, aidilis qui fuit apud vos;
Taurasia Cisauna | Sannio cepit,
subigit omne Loucanam opsidesque abidoucit.

(c) *Paula Cornelia Cn. f. Hispalli.*

---

**Fig. 19.** Epitaph of *L. Cornelius Scipio* (consul 259 B.C.), son of *Barbatus* (reduced to ¼ of Ritschl, tab. 38). Dessau, i 3. Cp. Lindsay, 39 f; Ernout, 14 f.

Honc oino plirume cosentiont K[omai]
duonoror opatum fuise viero,
Luciom Scipione. Filios Barbati,
consol, censor, aidilis hic fuet a[pud vos].
Hec cepit Corsica Aleriaque urbe,
dedet Tempestatebus aide mereto . . . .
Fig. 20. Epitaph of L. Cornelius Scipio, younger brother, or son, of Hispallus (reduced to more than ¼ of Ritschl, tab. 41). Dessau, i 7. Cp. Lindsay, 76 f; Ernout, 19 f.

Magna sapientia | multasque virtutes
actate quom parva | posidet hoc saxsum.
Quoiei vita defeicit, non | honos, honore.
Is hic situs, quei nunquani | victus est virtutei.
Annos gnatus XX is | 1, . eis mandatus:
ne quairatis honore | quei minus sit mandatus.

Fig. 21. Epitaph of P. Cornelius P. f. Scipio, flamen Dialis, who died young (c. 204—164 B.C.), possibly a son of Africanus maior (c. ¼ of Ritschl, tab. 39 f). Dessau, i 4. Cp. Lindsay, 43; Ernout, 18 f.

Quae apice insignis Dialis laminis gesistei, |
mors perfectus tua ut essent omnia | brevia, |
honos fama virtusque, | gloria atque ingenium,

1 locis Mommsen; divis Bücheler.
quibus sci | in longa licet tibe uticr vita |, facile facteis superases gloriam | maiorum. quare lubens te in gremiu, | Scipio, recip[are] terra, Publi, | prognatum Publio, Corneli.

Among the largest Roman tombs, bearing extant Latin inscriptions, are the massive rotunda of Caecilia Metella (p. 42), and the vast pyramid of C. Cestius. An inscription on the latter shows that, in accordance with the will of the deceased, it was completed within 330 days:

C. Cestius L. f(ilius) Pob(lilia) Epu(lo), pr(aetor), tr(ibunus) pl(ebis)], vivir epulonum].

Opus apsolutum ex testamento diebus CCCXXX | arbitratu | [L.] Ponti P. f(ili) Cla(udia) Mclae heredis et Pothi l(iberti)]. One of the heirs was M. Agrippa.

Of the numerous inscriptions placed on the vast Mausoleum of Hadrian, not one has survived, save in the copies made mainly in the codex Einsiedlensis, or (in the case of the principal inscription) by humanists of the 14th and 15th centuries. A finely situated monument on the promontory of Gaeta, resembling the above mentioned rotunda of Caecilia Metella, is inscribed solely with a brief record of the distinctions of L. Munatius Plancus, the founder of Lyons in the year of his consulship (42 B.C.). The inscription on this tomb is of the same general type as those of the elogia in the Forum of Augustus.

L. Munatius L. f(ilius), L. n(epos), L. pron(epos) | Plancus cos (=consul), cens(or), imp(erator) iter(um), vivir | epulon(um), triumph(havit) ex Raetis, aedem Saturni | fecit de manibis (=manubiis), agros divisit in Italia | Beneventi, in Gallia colonias deduxit | Lugudunum et Rauricam.

The only important sarcophagus of the Roman Republic, now extant, that of Scipio Barbatus, bears his name on its lid and a fuller inscription on its base (Frontispiece and Fig. 17). Occasionally, a Roman sarcophagus (like those of Etruria) was surmounted by reclining figures representing a husband and wife.

1 Dessau, i 917.
2 Ib. 917 a.
3 Ib. i 329, 346, 349—352, 383—385, 401; p. 20 supra.
4 Ib. 322.
5 Cp. p. 97 f infra.
6 Dessau, i 886; Wilmanns, 1112; view of the monument in P. S. Bartoli, Gli antichi sepolcri (1704), tav. 88.
The front of such a sarcophagus was generally adorned with sculptures in relief, leaving little, if any, room for an inscription. But, on a sarcophagus from the Appian way, we find the central three of the winged Cupids (here represented as forging armour) engaged in holding up a circular shield, bearing a brief epitaph:—

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Blaera} \\
\text{Vitalis} \\
>\text{Leg. III. Avg} \\
\text{B. M. M. D}
\end{align*}
\]

The person commemorated is a centurion of the legio III Augusta, and the letters in the last line possibly stand for bene merenti mater dedit.\(^1\)

When the front of a sarcophagus was filled by an inscription, triangular spaces were often added at each end, bearing the letter D in the space to the left, and M in that to the right, the two letters standing for Dis Manibus, the normal beginning of the epitaph.

![Fig. 22. Inscription on a sarcophagus](image)

Sometimes we find a portrait of the person commemorated. A sepulchral slab in the British Museum bears in deep relief the portrait busts of (a) a priest of the Alban Salii, and (b) his wife, with the following inscriptions beneath them:

(a) ‘L(ucius) Antistius Cn(aei) filius Hor(atia) Sarculo, Salius Albanus, idem mag(ister) Saliorum.’

(b) ‘Antistia L(ucii) l(iberta) Plutia.’

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\(^1\) C. I. L. vi 3645; Durny, Histoire des Romains, vi 329; Daremberg et Saglio, s.v. Sarcophagus, fig. 6112.
Below both we read:—

(c) ‘Rufus i libertus, Anthus i libertus, imaginies de suo fecerunt patrono et patronae pro meritis eorum’. Besides this record of the dedication of the two busts, there was a fuller inscription including the names of four other members of the family.

A monument in the museum at Trier shows us a statue of a man and his wife, standing in two niches, with the inscription showing that it was set up by the husband in his life-time:—

C · ALBINIVS · ASPER | SEC VNDIAE · RESTITUTAE | CONIVGI —— | VIVOS (i.e. vivus) [POSVIT?]².

Sometimes a pair of busts is carved in relief beneath a curved niche, as in the pair inscribed with the words:—

TVP PILIANAE M · F  CACV TIO
 TERTIAE  C · F ·
 M ATRI  PATRI³

These marble busts were a kind of survival of the imaginies maiorum which adorned the halls of important families in ancient Rome.

In an oblong slab in the British Museum Aurelius Hermia stands facing his wife and clasping her hands. The husband praises his wife, and the wife her husband, in the verses which form the greater part of the inscription: the style is that of the school of Accius, about 78 B.C.

(a) To the left of the relief:

(L. Au)relius L(ucii) L(ibertus) Hermia (la)nius de colle Viminale

(H)aec quae me faato praecessit corpore casto,
(c)oniu nxs, una meo praedita amans animo,
(f)ido fida viro veixsit studio parili, qum
nulla in avaritie cessit ab officio.

Aurelia L(ucii) l(liberta)

1 C. I. L. vi 2170 f; A. H. Smith, Brit. Mus. Cat. of Sculpture, no. 2275; fig. in Hans Lamer, Römische Kultur im Bilde (1910), no. 128; and in article by Mrs S. A. Strong, in Journal of Roman Studies, iv (1914), 147—156.

2 Hans Lamer, Fig. 127.

3 W. Altmann, Die römischen Grabaltdre der Kaiserzeit (with 210 illustrations), 1905, p. 206, copied in Daremberg et Saglio, s.v. Sepulcrum, fig. 6344.
(b) to the right of the relief:

Aurelia L(ucii) l(iberta) Philematio

Viva Philematium sum Aurelia nominitata,
casta, pudens, volgei nescia, feida viro.
Vir conleibertus fuit eidem, quo careo eheu!
ree fuit ee vero plus superaque parens.
Septem me naatam annorum gremio ipse recepit;
xxxx annos nata necis potior.
Ille meo officio adsiduo florebat ad omnis

The ashes of the deceased were often deposited in an urn, or other receptacle, which was placed in a funerary altar. The marble olla, which once contained the ashes of a son of Cicero’s enemy Clodius (now in the Louvre), bears the following inscription:—
P· CLAVDIVS · P · F · | AP · N · AP· PRON · | PVLCHER Q · QVAESITOR | PR · AVGVVR. The large marble urn of Agrippina the elder is still preserved in the Capitol. It is inscribed OSSA | AGrippinae M·AGrippae (F) DIVI AVG·NEP·TIS · VXORIS | GERMANICI CAESARIS | MATRIS C · CAESARIS AVG · | GERMANICI PRINCIPI.

A favourite form of monument was an altar of an architectural type with its two upper angles adorned by heads of oxen or of rams, or by bearded human heads with Ammon horns, or, again, by capitals with rams’ heads between them. The inscription was usually in the upper part of the front of the altar. Most of these grave-altars appear to belong to slaves or freedmen or freedwomen. It is exceptional to find such an altar (inscribed with the words d. m. Miniciae Marcellae Fundani f(iliae), v(ixit) a(nnis) xii, m(ensibus) xI, d(iebus) vii) commemorating a proconsul’s daughter. Her death is lamented by the younger Pliny.

1 Figured in A. H. Smith, Brit. Mus. Cat. of Sculpture, III pl. xxvii; also in Greek and Roman Life, p. 233; text in Bücheler, Carm. Epigr. no. 959, and Dessau, ii (2) 7472.
2 Dessau, 882; Fig. in Ritschl, tab. Ixxxvi, and in Daremberg et Saglio, s.v. Olla. Q. stands for Q(uririna tribu).
3 W. Altmann, Die römischen Grabaltäre, passim; cp. Daremberg et Saglio, s.v. Sepulcrum, figs. 6342 f.
4 Ep. v 16.
There are two inscriptions on the altar in the British Museum figured below.

Fig. 23. Roman Funerary Altar, in the British Museum.

The first inscription runs:—L. Cocceius M(arci) filius Dexius Clymenus vixit annum I, menses VII, diem unum.

The second:—C. Sergius Alcimus vixit ann(is) III, mensib(us) III, diebus tribus. Frumentum accipit die X, ostio XXXIX. Sergius Alcimus f(ilio) suo.
(Dessau, ii 6069; both inscriptions in C. I. L. vi 1024.)

In (2) the child is stated to have received his dole of corn on the tenth day, at the office numbered 39. In other inscriptions
children of four are described as having received the dole. A ticket inscribed FRV for Fru(mentatio) was presented by persons entitled to this privilege. It will be observed that a bird is figured among the fruit and foliage to the left of the epitaphs; and that, at each angle, there is a candelabrum exemplifying the use of 'funeral lights in Roman sepulchral monuments.'

In many cases a person founded a tomb sibi et suis, or sibi et liberis suis posterisque suis, or libertis libertabus posterisque eorum. This led to the formation of associations for sharing the different parts of a common tomb, and also of arrangements whereby a large rectangular chamber called a columbarium was built, partly above and partly below ground, with its inner walls filled with horizontal rows of niches, like pigeon-holes, for cinerary urns. There was space for as many as 3000 in the columbarium of the freedmen and slaves of Livia, wife of Augustus, which was in excellent preservation when it was discovered on the Via Appia in 1726. In this columbarium each of the niches was under a small semicircular arch, and contained two urns (ollae) let into circular openings in the slab below the arch. There was a tablet above, recording the names of those to whom the niche was allotted, e.g.

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Fig. 24. Tablet in the columbarium of Livia. (Gori, p. 122, tab. LXXV.)

(a) Liviae liberta; (b) Liviae libertus—supra medicos.

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1 Dessau, ii 6067, 6070; cp. 6065f, and Hirschfeld; in Philologus, 1870, p. 64.
3 See G. McN. Rushforth's article under the above title in Journal of Roman Studies, v (1915), 150—164.
4 Cp. Wilmanns, 211.
5 Described, with illustrations, by A. F. Gori, Florence, 1727.
In the case of *columbaria* which belonged to an association, the total number of niches was sometimes equally divided by lot among all the partners, so that each was the proprietor of one niche in each division. Thus we have five inscriptions, relating to a freedman named P. Sontius Philostorgus, showing that, in a *columbarium* with five horizontal rows of thirty-six niches, he was the owner of niche no. 3 in row 1; no. 14 in 11; no. 13 in 111; no. 36 in 111; and no. 23 in v. The niches, that he did not require for his own use, he could assign to his friends.

Among military epitaphs, special mention may here be made of those in honour of the *equites singulares Augusti*, who were instituted under Trajan, or, more probably, under Hadrian, as a troop connected with the auxiliary cavalry, but standing in a higher grade. They nearly always have the regular Italian three names. They appear to have been originally taken from the provinces on the Rhine or the Danube, and formed an imperial body-guard supplementary to the Praetorians who were mainly raised from Italy, Gaul, and Spain. They wore a helmet without any plume, and carried a sword and lance, and an oval shield. The reliefs relating to them seem to show that they had slaves, and were therefore free themselves. They had a special cemetery near the third milestone on the Via Labicana. The following represents the tombstone of a Pannonian *eques singularis Augusti*, which was formerly in Rome, and is now in the British Museum. The reliefs are characteristic of the tombstones of *equites singulares Augusti*.  

---

1. Dessau, ii (2) 7892.
Fig. 25. Tombstone of an eques singularis Augusti (in the British Museum, from a photograph by Messrs W. A. Mansell).

The following is a military cenotaph of special interest:—

Fig. 26. Cenotaph of a Roman centurion in the Bonn Museum (reduced copy of L. Lindenschmit, Alterthümer (1858 f), pl. i 6, 5; cp. Baumeister's Denkmäler, fig. 2263).

On each side is a bust of one of his liberti, both named M. Caelius; and, below, is the inscription:—M. Caelio T. f(ilio), (tribu) Lem(onia), (domo) Bononia, o(ptioni)2 leg(ionis) xix, ann(orum) LIII s(emissis); cecidit bello Variano. Ossa inferre licebit. P. Caelius T. f(ilius), (tribu) Lem(onia), frater fecit. C. I. L. xiii 8648; Dessau, i 2244.

2 or centurion, O or Θ standing for centum (Bücheler, Rhein. Mns. 1891, p. 239); p. 54.

1 C. I. L. vi 3223; cp. A. H. Smith, L. c. iii no. 2354; and, in general, C. I. L. vi 3173—3323, 31138 ff, 32783—32813: Dessau, i 2180—2212; and Pauly-Wissowa, vi (1) 312—322.
Tombs of centurions were sometimes provided with portraits of the soldier commemorated, wearing his military decorations. Thus, the monument of M. Caelius, centurion (or deputy-centurion) of the 18th legion, who fell in the Varian war (9 A.D.), shows him wearing a corona civica of oak-leaves, and a tunic and cuirass; on his shoulders are two medallions with lions’ heads; on his breast, two torques and five phalærae; and, in his right hand, the vitis or vine staff, which is the emblem of his office.

Tombs were occasionally decorated with representations of the tools or instruments ordinarily used by the deceased in his daily duties. We have examples of these in the case of an architect, a bee-keeper, a butcher, a cutler, a shoemaker, a carpenter, an upholsterer, and a stone-mason; and we have already noticed that carvers of inscriptions sometimes had the implements of their craft represented on their own monuments. Such tools or instruments were generally carved on one of the ends of the tomb, leaving the large space in front free for the inscription. The tomb of a poetess is adorned with a lyre and a cithara, that of an officer of the corn-supply with a figure of the goddess Annona; a representation of flowing water appears on the tomb of an engineer of the Aqua Claudia; the prow of a ship of war recalls the rostra of an orator; and a bisellium (or ‘seat of double width’) the dignity of a decurio or of a sevir Augustalis. On Pompeian tombs, such a double seat, with one footstool, is accompanied by the inscription:—Decurionum decreto et populi consensu biselli honor datus est.

The above-mentioned representations of tools denoting the former business of the deceased must not be confounded with the ascia or adze, frequently carved

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1 Fig. 26. Tacitus, Ann. i 60.
2 Altmann, l. c. p. 173.
3 C. Julius Helius; ib. p. 248; Mrs Strong’s Roman Sculpture, opp. p. 362.
4 Cp., in general, Daremberg et Saglio, s.v. Sepulcrum, p. 1237; also s.v. Tignarius, fig. 6989.
5 p. 56, suprà.
6 Altmann, p. 243.
7 C. I. L. vi 8495.
8 Dessau, ii 6372 f; Mau’s Pompeii, ed. Kelsey, fig. 232.
on tombstones in or near Lyons\(^1\) from the middle of the first to a little later than the end of the third century. On these tombs the *ascia* may be seen, either incised or carved in relief. It is often placed between the two letters D and M (the ordinary abbreviation for *Dis Manibus*, Fig. 27), or above the beginning of the

Fig. 27. Altar-tomb in the Lyon Museum (from De Boissieu, *Inscriptions Antiques de Lyon*, p. 303).

\[D(is)\ ascia M(anibus) et memoriae aeternae L(uccii) Sabini Amandi veter(ani) leg(ionis) \textit{i} Minervae (sc. Minervinae) Ianuarinia Verina coniunx et Sabin(us) Victor (filiius heredes p(onendum) c(uraverunt) et s(ub) a(scia) d(e)d(icaverunt). C. I. L. xiii 1885.\]

\(^1\) A. de Boissieu, *Inscriptions Antiques de Lyon* (1846–54), passim, with discussion on pp. 103–113; cp. Allmer et Dissard, *Musée de Lyon (Inscriptions Antiques*, iii (1890) 148; Dessau, ii (2) 8141 n. 3. At Trier, the *ascia* is found on two tombs, (1) by itself, and (2) with a last, a hammer, and a file; Hettner’s *Rom. Steindenkmäler*, pp. 88 f. See also Fig. 22, p. 70, supra.
inscription, and sometimes in a duplicated form; while, occasionally, it appears at the side or the end of the epitaph. The *ascia* may either appear alone, or it may be accompanied, in the latter part of the inscription, by a *formula*, such as *sub ascia dedicavit*, either in full or in some abbreviated form, such as *S · A · D*. Rarer varieties of this *formula* are *ab ascia fecit*¹, or a *solo et ab ascia fecit*², or *ad asciam (or ab ascia) dedicatum posuerunt*³, or *consummatum hoc opus sub ascia est*⁴, or *inscribendum et consummandum curaverunt et sub ascia dedicaverunt*⁵. Among the inscriptions of Lyons, so far as they are included in De Boissieu's important volume, about 150, or half of all the sepulchral monuments, have either the *formula*, or the *ascia*, or both, while there are 167 exhibiting the *ascia* in the thirteenth volume of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* (nos. 1815—2332).

At Narbo, where most of the inscriptions belong to the early imperial age, the *ascia* and its *formula* are very rarely found; they have not been found in Aquitania, where the Celtic population appears to have been small; while, outside of Gaul, they have only been found in regions formerly inhabited by Celts, or in inscriptions in memory of persons who had possibly left Gaul and had died elsewhere⁶.

The meaning of the symbol and the *formula* has been long debated. (1) In 1715 it was suggested that the symbol was a kind of talisman to preserve the tombs from violation⁷. This opinion is supported by Otto Hirschfeld, the

¹ *C. I. L. vi* (2) 8931.
² *C. I. L. vi* (2) 10921; Dessau, ii (2) 8090⁸; found on *Via Labicana*, two miles from Rome. See p. 81, n. 4.
³ *A · A · D · P.* in *C. I. L. xiii* 5391 (near Besançon).
⁴ *C. I. L. xiii* 2494; Dessau, ii (3) 9439.
⁵ *C. I. L. xii* 2041 (Vienne).
⁶ The *ascia* has been found in Spain, *C. I. L. ii* 1383, 4147, *Epig. Epigr. ix* 364; and the *formula* in Portugal, *C. I. L. ii* Suppl. 5144 (Dessau, ii (2) 8100), 'hoc misolio (= mausoleum) sub ascia est'; and near Rome, *C. I. L. vi* (2) 10921 (quoted on p. 81, n. 4); and both in Dalmatia, *C. I. L. iii* 1712, Caesonia Nardis—(con(iugi) viva fecit ann(orum) XLV, et suis omnibus sub ascia dedicavit. There is an *ascia* between D and M in an epitaph from Colchester, now in the Fitzwilliam Museum (*C. I. L. vii* 92). It is figured in four Roman epitaphs, now in Baltimore (nos. 24, 72, 77, 84, in *J. J. P. xxxi—xxxiii*).
editor of the two volumes of the *Corpus Inscriptionum* in which by far the largest number of such inscriptions is recorded (xii and xiii). He holds that, in accordance with some very ancient Gallic custom, this symbol showed that the tombs were placed under divine protection, and that any who violated their sanctity would be visited by divine punishment.

(2) The prevalent opinion, however, is that the *ascia* and its *formula* implied the preparation of a perfectly new tomb, the solemn dedication of which was completed while the work was still in the hands of the stone-mason who first shaped out the block with his adze. This opinion rests partly on the variety of the *formula* found in late examples near Rome: — *ab ascia fecit*, and *a solo et ab ascia fecit*. It has also been surmised that the *ascia* and the *formula* may have been due to some local legal requirement involving the formal claim of a prescriptive or permanent right to a new tomb, and barring any counter-claim. It is, in any case, noteworthy that, of the 167 epitaphs of Lugdunum marked with the symbol of the *ascia*, *Dis Manibus* is followed in no less than 96 by the phrase *et memoriae aeternae*, in 17 by *et quieti aeternae*, and in 10 by *memoriae*, while there are isolated examples of *spei* (or *securitati*) *aeternae*, or *memoriae permani*, or *securitati* (or *quieti*) *perpetuae*. Taking the first two groups alone, we have 123 epitaphs which include, with the symbol of the *ascia*, a phrase implying a desire to ensure a perpetually undisturbed possession of the tomb.

(3) It may here be suggested that the *ascia* and the corresponding *formula* characteristic of Celtic Gaul may be regarded as the local equivalent of the Roman *formula*: — *hoc monumentum heredem exterum non sequetur*. The object of the Roman *formula* (in all its varieties) was to prevent the tomb and its immediate site from passing (with the surrounding property) to any heir who was not a member of the family, and to ensure its being reserved in perpetuity for the deceased and his or her direct descendants. The same object was attained

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2 Léon Renier (in Allmer et Dessard, _Musée de Lyon, Inscr. Ant.* iii (1890), 148; and Mau in Pauly-Wissowa, s.v.).

3 C. I. L. vi (2) 8931 1. D M | M. Aurelius Afrodisius Augusti Lib(ertus) nomenclator se vivo ab ascia fecit monumentum muro cintum sibi et suis etc. ending ‘in agro p(edes)…., in f(rente) p(edes)…”

4 Ungrammatical inscr. from the Via Labicana, C. I. L. vi (2) 10921; Dessau ii (2) 8090; hunc munimentum in fr(onte) p. xiii, in agro p. xvi a solo et ab ascia Aelia Isigienia Ti. Cl. Zenati memoriam marito suo dulcissimo et sibi libertis libertabusque suis posterisque eorum fecit.

5 C. I. L. xiii nos. 1815—2332. The above statistics do not include epitaphs containing the *formula* sub *ascia dedicavit*. Of the 150 epitaphs in De Boissieu’s *Inscriptions* in which the *ascia* or the *formula* is found, 84 have *memoriae* (or *quieti*) *aeternae*. See also Allmer et Dissard, *l.c.*, iii 146 f, where *memoriae aeternae* is described as almost a ‘local formula.’
in Celtic Gaul by placing on the tombstone the *ascia* and the corresponding *formula*, which may have denoted that, from the time of the first hewing out of the stone, the monument was reserved for a definite person or persons. We sometimes find special mention of posterity. The Celtic and the Roman *formulae* were thus two different ways of reserving a perpetual property in a sepulchral monument. The two *formulae*, here regarded as having the same purpose, are very seldom found on the same tombstone; but, in two late inscriptions near Rome, the *formula* of the *ascia* is found in combination with a statement of the dimensions of the ground reserved, and once, among the Ambarri, north of Lyons, in combination with the 'Roman formula'.

1 *Sibi posterisque* C. I. L. xiii 1937, 2070; and note 4, p. 81, *supra*.
2 *C. I. L.* vi (2) 8931, 10921, quoted p. 81, n. 3—4, *supra*.
3 *C. I. L.* xiii 2494 (Dessau, ii (3) 9439), Epitaph of M. Rufius Catullus,... consummatum (?) hoc opus sub ascia est, haec o(pera ?) sive l(ocus) h(eredem) n(on sequetur).

DEDICATORY INSCRIPTIONS

Dedicatory inscriptions (tituli sacri) are found on vases, altars, or temples, and on votive tablets or statues, belonging to or consecrated to the gods. The name of the god may be in the genitive, as in the numerous black paterae, found in Etruria, inscribed in white letters with AECETIAI or VOLCANI POCOLUM or VESTAI POCOLO. But it is more frequently in the dative, as in Iovi optimo maximo (I • O • M), Genio populi Romani (G • P • R), followed by verbal phrases such as dono dedit (D • D), or votum solvit laetus libens merito (V • S • L • L • M). Cp. Catullus, xxxvi 3 f, sanctae Veneri Cupidinique votit, and Virgil, Georg. i 436, votaque servati solvent in litore nautae.

Among the earliest of such inscriptions are those from the sacred grove of Pisaurum, e.g. IVNONE • RE | MATRONA | PISAVRESE | DONO • DEDROT, i.e. Iunoni Reginae matronae Pisaurenses dono dederunt. The dative after votit may be either with or without the word sacrum, e.g. HERCOLEI | SACROM | M • MINVCI • C • F | DICTATOR | VOVIT, an inscription set up by the dictator of 537 a.v.c. (Dessau, i 11). Sacrum is usually combined with the dative, but we also find examples of the genitive, e.g. PIETATIS • SACRVM (ib. ii 3791). Sacrum is often abbreviated as S, SA, or SAC. The genitive with ara is a frequent formula, e.g. in the three altars from Antium, inscribed ARA NEPTVNI, ARA TRANQVILLITATIS, and ARA VENTORVM (ib. ii 3277 f).

2 Facsimile in Ritschl, tab. xliii f, and Diehl, Inscr. Lat. 2e; cp. ib. 2a; Cagnat, ed. 4, pl. i 3; texts in Dessau, ii 2970—2983.
3 Ritschl, Opusc. iv, taf. xv.
As an example of a dedicatory inscription in archaic Latin, we have the votive tablet of bronze recording the dedication of the twentieth part of certain spoils to Apollo:

M. Mindios L. f.(lius) | P. Condetios Val(lesi)\(^1\) f.(lius) | aidiles vicesma parti | Apolones dederis (\(=\) dederunt). Ritschl, \(P. \ L. \ I. \ E.\) tab. ii b; Ricci, tav. xiii; Dessau, ii 3216.

The following is a facsimile of the votive inscription, in Saturnian lines, set up by L. Mummius, the conqueror of Corinth.

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**Fig. 28.** Votive inscription of Mummius, conqueror of Corinth, 146 B.C. (reduced from lithograph in Ritschl’s *Opuscula*, vol. iv, taf. iii).

L. Mummi l. f. cos.
Duct(u) | auspicio imperioque \(\mid\) eius Achaia capt(a),
Corinto \(\mid\) deleto Romam redieit \(\mid\) triumphans.
Ob hasee \(\mid\) res bene gestas quod \(\mid\) in bello voverat, |
hanc aedem et signu(m) \(\mid\) Herculis victoris |
imperator dedicat

(Facsimile in Ritschl, tab. li\(\text{a}\), and in Cagnat, pl. iii 4. Dessau, i 20; cp. Wordsworth, 473; Lindsay, p. 71 f; Ernout, p. 72 f.)

\(^1\) = \(T\)aleri.
As another example of a votive inscription in Saturnian lines, we have that set up at Sora by *M. et P. Vertuleii, Gaii filii*:

M. P. Vertulei[is]¹ C. f. |
Quod re sua di(f)eidens asper (*sic*) | asleicta
parens timens | heic vovit, voto hoc | solut(o, de)cum(a) facta | polouctae leibereis lube(ites) (*sic*)
donuts danunt | Herculei maxsume | mereto.
Semol te | orant se voti crebro | condemnes.

(Ritschl, *P. L. M. E. tab.* iì a; *Opusc.* iv 130 f, Taf. v; Dessau, ii 3411; cp. Ernout, p. 70 f; Lindsay, p. 69 f.)

Many other votive inscriptions in iambic, dactylic, or elegiac verse, may be found in Bücheler’s *Carmina Epigraphica*.

The next is a dedication in prose, (possibly) on the part of Juvenal, which was found near his birthplace, Aquinum:—

C(ere)ri sacrum | (U. Iu)nius Juvenalis | (trib.) coh. (I) Delmatarum, | II(vir) quinq., flamen | divi Vespasiani, | vovit dedicavitque | sua pec(unia). (Dessau, i 2926; many other examples, *ib.* ii pp. 1—288.)

A further example may be taken from a bronze tablet, found on the Great St Bernard and now in the British Museum, in which the dedication to the Pennine Jupiter is represented by a series of dots punched into the plate, and forming the words *Poenino sacrum*, etc. (Hübner, *Ex.* 929).

Vows made by a person are often fulfilled by himself after his promotion, or, by his executors, after his death. Thus a vow made by an aedile is fulfilled by a duovir². A freeman fulfils a vow which he had made as a slave, *ser(vus vovit), leiber sol(vit)³.* The *propylum* at Eleusis, vowed by Ap. Claudius Pulcher, as consul in 54 B.C., was begun by himself when he had been hailed as imperator in Cilicia, and was completed by his sister’s husband and son. The proposed *propylum* is mentioned by Cicero, in his letters to Atticus (vi 1, 26 and 6, 2). The inscription runs as follows:—


¹ An old nominative plural.
² Dessau., ii 3312.
³ *ib.* 3491.
The verbs used of the various acts of dedication and consecration are *dicare*, *dedicare*, and *consecreare*, e.g.

**AARA | LEEGE · ALBANA · DICATA**¹

(where the double vowels suggest the seventh century of Rome). The other two verbs, common in inscriptions, are combined in the second fragment of Catullus, *hunc lucum tibi dedico consecroque, Priape*. The verbs, or verbal phrases, in ordinary use are *dedi* (D), *donum or dono dedit* (D · D), *dono dedit dedicavit* (D · D · D), *fecit* (F), *faciendum curavit* (F · C), *posuit* (P), *ex voto posuit* (EX · V · P).

On an altar discovered in 1566 at Narbonne in Provence we have a celebrated inscription of considerable length setting forth, in the age of the Antonines, a dedication to the *numen* of Augustus, the original date of which was the year 11 A.D. It describes the sacrifices annually offered to Augustus on the anniversary of his birthday, *qua die eum saeculi felicitas orbi terrarum rectorem edidit*, in accordance with the vow made by the people of Narbo:—

*numini Augusti votum susceput a plebe Narbonensium in perpetuum*².

In many cases the verb of dedication is not expressed, but is easily understood. Thus we have in Rome the following brief dedication to Neptune, incised on a small tablet of bronze, only two inches broad and one and a half high, which might easily have been suspended on the *paries sacer* of his temple, like the *votiva tabula*, which Horace declares he had dedicated to ‘the god of the sea’³.

**Neptuno | ex voto | Cn. Domitius | Gelasus**

(Hübner, *Ex*. 893; Dessau, i 893.)

The following is nominally a ‘dedicatory’ inscription, for it ends with a dedication to Vulcan; but it is also an ‘honorary’ inscription, in so far as the larger part of it consists of the recital of the public offices held by the dedicator. The person in question is a man of letters, who was a friend of the younger Pliny⁴. He was a secretary to Domitian (as well as to Nerva and Trajan),

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² Hübner’s *Exempla*, 1099; Dessau, i 112.
³ Horace, *Carm.* i 5, 13—16.
⁴ *Epp.* i 17; v 8; viii 12.
but the name of the first emperor is here omitted; it was usually erased from public inscriptions after his death. The date is after 97 A.D., when the title of Germanicus (here mentioned) was conferred on Trajan.

Ca. Octavius Titinius Capito, praef(ectus) cohortis, trib(unus) milit(um), donat(us) hast(a) pura, corona vallari, proc(urator) ab epistulis et a patrimonio, iterum ab epistulis divi Nervae, eodem auctore ex s(enatus) c(onsulto) praetoriis-ornamentis, ab epistulis tertio imp(eratoris) Nervae Caesar(is) Traiani Aug(usti) Ger(manici), praef(ectus) vigilum, Volcano d(ono) d(edit). Dessau, i 1448.

Some twenty years later, in 118 A.D., under Hadrian, we have the following dedication to no less than nine divinities, inscribed by the equites singulares Augusti on a marble altar found, with several others of the same type, on the site of their camp near the church of St John Lateran:—

Iovi optimo maximo, Iunoni, Minervae, Herculi, Fortunae, Felicitati, Saluti, Fatis, Genio sing(ularium) Aug(usti), emeriti ex numero eod(em) missi honesta missione ab imp(erator) Traiano Hadriano Aug(usto), ipso II co(n)s(ule), l(aeti) l(ibentes) m(eritis) v(ota) s(olverunt). Dessau, i 2180.

In many cases an inscription is placed on a dedicated object, stating the source from which it was derived, with the name of the dedicator, but without the name of any divinity to whom it is dedicated. Thus, on a bronze tablet found at Firmum, certain quaestors (who are named) make a gift from the proceeds of a fine, aire moltaticod dederont (Dessau, ii 6132). M. Fulvius Nobilior, consul in 189 B.C., is described in two inscriptions, as having captured spoils (1) from Aetolia and (2) from Ambracia. Inscription (1) was probably set up in his native town, and (2) in a temple of the Muses in Rome: but in neither case is any divinity named. Of two inscriptions relating to spoils brought back from Sicily by Marcellus in the Second Punic War, the first simply states that he captured the spoil in question at Henna, the other adds that he gave the spoil to the god of war (MARTEI—DEDIT). The source of the gift, as well as the name of the god, is mentioned by M. Furius, who, as a military tribune, makes a gift to Mars, or to Fortune, de praidad = de praeda.
Similarly we have phrases denoting the cost, such as *de pecunia sua* (D·P·S), *ex reditu pecuniae, ex patromonio suo*. The occasion is sometimes mentioned, e.g. *ex iussu* (EX·IV), or *iussu deorum, ex oraculo, ex visu, somnio admonitus, ex testamento* (EX·T); or the person, on whose behalf the dedication is made, as *pro filio, pro populo*; or the motive, as *pro salute* (PRO·S) *filiae suae, pro salute sua* (P·S·S) or *in honorem domus divinae* (IN·H·D·D). The site of a dedicated monument is often denoted by *loco dato decreto decurionum* (L·D·D·D), *loco or solo publico, loco dato publice, loco or solo privato* (with their respective abbreviations).  

The dedicatory inscription was, originally, placed on part of a temple, or on the base of a statue, and, so long as the inscription was in its original position, it was not necessary to specify the building or the statue. Nor was it necessary to name the altar on which the dedication was inscribed, but the altar is sometimes specified, e.g.

Iovi Optumo Maximo *ex viso aram aedificavit P. Cornelius P(ublii) l(ibertus) Trupoi*.  

Similarly the dedication may specify the statue, or its base, or both, *basim donum dant*, or *signum basim*.  

While the object dedicated may sometimes be specified, it is very rarely combined with a demonstrative pronoun, as *hose seignum* on a bronze tablet from *Nemi*, and, in a dedication by *Mummius, hanc aedem et signu(m) Herculis Victoris imperator dedicat*.  

This use of a demonstrative pronoun is sometimes regarded as an indication of a spurious inscription.

1 Wilmanns, p. 11 no. 50 n., and Index, ii 675-8.  
2 Dessau, ii 3005; cp. Wilmanns, 52, *aram de eo suo f(aciundam) curavit*; also, of *sepulchral* altars, Orelli, 4521 f, 7357 f.  
3 C. I. L. ix 3910.  
4 C. I. L. i 1154.  
5 Dessau, ii 3234.  
6 *ib. i 20* (Fig. 28 supra). Also, of an altar, *ib. ii 4909, hanc aram locumque*; and of a sepulchral altar, *H(acc) A(ra) H(eredem) N(on) S(equitur), ib. ii 5208, cp. 1955.  
7 p. 204 infra.

For examples of dedicatory inscriptions, see Wilmanns, i 1—48, *tituli sacri*; Dessau, ii (1) pp. 1—288, *tituli sacri et sacerdotum*; and Richter, *Lateinische Sacralinschriften*, Bonn, 1906.
Dedications to Diana sometimes assume an almost poetical form:—

1) Dianae deae nemorum comiti, victrici ferarum, annua vota dedi Fannius Iulianus praefectus cohortis II Sardorum. (In Mauretania, Dessau, ii 3257.)

2) Umbrarum ac nemorum incolam, ferarum domitricem, Dianam deam virginem, Auxentius (v)ir (clarissimus), ubique pius, suo numini sedique restituit. (In Rome, ib. 3258.)

In Britain Silvanus, the god of the woodland, is gratefully thanked for the capture of a fine boar, which had long baffled pursuit:—

Silvano invicto sac(rum). C. Tetius Vetorius Micianus praef(ectus) alae Sebosianae ob aprum eximiae formae captum, quem multi antecessores eius praedari non potuerunt, v(o)to s(oluto) l(ibens) p(osuit). At Stanhope, near Lanchester, ib. 3562.

In making (or in restoring) a dedication to some divinity whose name was unknown, a vague formula was used, as in the celebrated ‘altar to an unknown god’ on the western slope of the Palatine.

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Fig. 29. Dedication of an Altar to an unknown god, on the Palatine
(from Ritschl, P. L. M. E., tab. lvi e; cp. Dessau, ii 4015).

SEI · DEO · SEI · DEIVAE · SAC
G · SEXTIVS · G · F · CALVINVSPR
DE · SENATI · SENTENTIA
RESTITVIT

Sei deus sei dea has been found at Tibur; si deo si deae, at Lanuvium; and sive deo sive deae in Rome; while we read (of

1 The use of G. twice (instead of C.) for Gahts is noteworthy. For a description of the altar cp. Middleton’s Ancient Rome, i 173-5.
2 Dessau, ii 4017.
3 Ib. 4016.
4 Ib. 4018.
the grove of dea Dia, in the Acta fratrum Arvalium), sive deo sive deae in cuius tutela hic lucus locusque est. De senati sententia and decurionum decreto were among the common formulae for official sanction in Rome and in the Italian municipia respectively. The dedicator of this altar is probably the person mentioned by Cicero as candidate for the praetorship in 100 B.C. He was apparently a son of the consul of 124.

Not a few names of foreign divinities, unknown in Latin literature, are solely preserved in inscriptions. Such was Iuppiter Dolichenus, a deity of Cappadocian origin, whose worship passed from port to port in the Mediterranean under the pervading influence of the soldiers of the Roman army. The name was originally connected, in some mysterious manner, with the discovery of iron mines, as implied in the following dedicatory inscription:

Jovi optimo maximo Dolicheno ubi ferrum nascitur C. Sempronius Rectus centurio frumentarius d(ono) d(edit)3.

Similarly, it is only through inscriptions that we know of the Celtic divinity, Camulus, who is identified with Mars, as is proved by inscriptions such as Marti Camulo sacrum at Cleves on the Rhine, and Marti Camulo in Glasgow. The name survives in Camulodunum, the Latin equivalent for Colchester. Apollo Maponus, mentioned in an inscription at Hexham, made it possible to restore another inscription by reading Deo san(cto) (A)pollini Mapon(o), where the three letters Map are represented by a monogram alone. Among other examples of the combination of Roman and Gallic names of divinities are dedications Apollini Beleno, Marti Belatucardo, and Minervae Belisanae. A Roman

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1 Dessau, ii 5047.
2 De Or. ii 249; Brutus, 130.
3 Dessau, ii 4302; cp. 4301, 4303—4324; also facsimile of inscribed relief in Marin., Atti Arvali, p. 539, and in Daremberg-Saglio, s.v. Dolichenus deus Iupiter, fig. 2489. The name is often abbreviated as I · O · M · D.
4 Hübner's Exempla, 198.
5 C. I. L. vii 1103.
6 Ib. 1345 (Dessau, ii 4639, and deo Mapon, ib. 4640).
7 C. I. L. vii 1345 n, where Hübner had previously read, ib. 218, ...Apollini et Matronis. (The inscr. is in the third court of St John's College, Cambridge.)
soldier, who is a citizen of Reims (*civis Remus*), sets up a series of reliefs in honour of Arduinna and Camulus (who appear with the attributes of Diana and Mars respectively), and also in honour of Iuppiter, Mercurius, and Hercules. There are many similar examples of the combination of Roman and of foreign names of divinities in the inscriptions of Africa, Germania, Gallia, Britannia, etc. More than four hundred inscriptions attest the existence of certain 'mother-goddesses' of Celtic origin known as *Matres* or *Matronae*. Similarly, it is to inscriptions that we owe practically all our knowledge of the widely extended worship of Mithras (especially as the *sol invictus Mithras*), which was introduced from the East by Roman merchants and Roman soldiers in the age of the Flavian emperors, and claimed a very large number of worshippers in the third century. In 307 A.D., at Carnuntum on the Danube, Roman emperors calling themselves *Iovii* (i.e. the 'Augusti' Diocletian, Galerius, and Licinius, and the absent 'Caesar', Maximin), or *Herculii* (i.e. the 'Augustus' Maximian, and the absent 'Caesar', the future emperor, Constantine) make a dedication to Mithras, as the protector of the empire:—

D(eo) S(oli) i(invicto) M(ithrae), fau tori imperii sui, Iovii et Herculii religiosissimi Augusti et Caesares sacrarium restituerunt.

On 27 October, 312 A.D., Constantine defeated Maxentius in the battle of the Pons Mulvius, to the north of Rome. Late in the same year, his restoration of the aqueduct of the *Aqua Virgo* is superintended by a *curator aquarum*, who describes himself as devoted to his numen; and, at the close of the year, Constantine allows the Senate to dedicate to himself the small round temple which Maxentius had built on the Appian way in honour of his

---

1 Dessau, ii (1) 4633.
2 *Ib.* pp. 186—245.
3 *Cp.* Ihm in *Bonner Jahrb.* 1887, 1—200; Haverfield in *Arch. Aeliana* 1892, 314 ff, *Romanization of...Britain*, ed. 1915, 71; and Daremberg-Saglio, s.v.
4 *C. I. L.* iii 4413 (with Mommsen's note), and Dessau, i 659; cp. ii 4190—4250, also Cumont in Daremberg-Saglio, s.v. *Mithra*, with restoration of a *Mithraeum* at Carnuntum on p. 1950. The latest genuine Mithraic inscription belongs to 387 A.D.
son Romulus¹. In 315 he returns to Rome to celebrate the completion of the first ten years of his reign, and the 'Senate and People of Rome' hastily erect the 'Arch of Constantine', in the dedicatory inscription of which his victory over Maxentius is vaguely described as due to a 'divine inspiration', a phrase which may be interpreted either in a pagan or in a Christian sense². Meanwhile, on the coins of Constantine, his change of belief has left its trace in the fact that their dedication to Mars, or to the 'Genius of the Roman people', has already disappeared in 313, to be followed in 317 by the further disappearance of dedications to the Sun-god, such as Soli invicto comiti, or Soli comiti Augustorum³. Lastly, in 327, in the Edict of Hispellum, the emperor approves of the local Aedes or Templum of his own Flavian gens, with the proviso that that temple is not to be 'polluted by the frauds of any contagious superstition'⁴.

¹ Victor, l. c., 40.
³ Schiller, Gesch. der Kaiserzeit, ii 207; Duruy, Hist. des Romains, vii 51.
⁴ Dessau, i 705; Mommsen, Ges. Schriften, vii 51.
CHAPTER VI

(iii) HONORARY INScriptions

(A) ELOGIA

Intermediate between epitaphs on the one hand, and honorary inscriptions on the other, is a special variety of honorary inscription called an elogium. The etymology of the term has been much disputed. It has been proposed (1) to derive it from eligere, and to regard it as meaning a ‘selection’ or ‘excerpt’ from the family archives1, or (2) to make it a parallel form to eloquium2, or (3) to explain it (with its French derivative, éloge) as a Latin equivalent to the Greek εὐλογία3, or (4) to the Greek ελεγείον4, assuming that, originally, it was applied to an elegiac couplet. Cato the elder uses it of Greek epigrams in honour of Leonidas5, and Suetonius of a dedicatory inscription6. It is mainly applied to a limited group of inscriptions, which originated in the epitaphs of the oldest family-sepulchres, and in the tituli attached to the imaginines maiorum in the Roman atrium. The meaning ‘epitaph’ is found in Cicero, who uses it of the Saturnian line on A. Attilius Calatinus7, of the Greek elegiac couplet on Solon8, and of a sentence in sepulcro rei publicae incisum9; also in Suetonius, who

1 Mommsen, C. I. L. i p. 277. This is the derivation implied in Corpus Gloss. Lat. v p. 19, 11 (= p. 64, 11), Elogia: laudes electae summaminiqve collectae, ut puta si quis in basi statuae alicuius laudes scribat aut in titulo imaginis, elogia dicuntur.
2 Dünzter, and Fick.
3 Stowasser.
4 G. Curtius, and Mommsen and Hülsen, C. I. L. i p. 186.
5 Apud Gellium iii 7, 19, ‘propter eius virtutes omnis Graecia...decoravere monumentis, signis, statuis; elogios, historis aliisque rebus gratissimun id ejus factum habuere’.
6 Caligula, 24.
7 De Sen. 61; De Fin. ii 116; p. 5f. 8 De Sen. 73. 9 in Pisonem, 72.
applies it to the verses carved by Augustus on the tomb of Drusus.

The earliest form of the Roman *elogium* was the *titulus* appended to the *imagines maiorum*. Suetonius mentions the family *imagines et elogia*. The *elogium* included the name, doubtless in the nominative, followed by the offices held and the triumphs won by the person commemorated. It thus corresponded to the form used in the earliest epitaphs, e.g. that on L. Scipio, consul in 259 B.C., *L. Cornelio L. f. Scipio aidiles cosol cesor* (Fig. 19, p. 67), and in some honorary inscriptions on statues, e.g. *L. Manlius L. f. Acidinus, triumvir Aquileiae coloniae deducendae* (consul 179 B.C.), and *M. Claudius M. f. Marcellus, consul iterum* (155 B.C.). From the end of the fifth century of Rome (or 254 B.C.) we have the addition of a poetical epigram celebrating the merits and the victories of the deceased, first in Saturnian lines (Figs. 18—21, pp. 66—69), and, later, in hexameters or elegiacs (p. 61).

The custom of setting up statues in honour of men of mark was of Greek origin, and, in some early Latin inscriptions on the pedestals of statues, the Greek custom of placing the name in the accusative and omitting the verb is retained, e.g. *Italicii L. Cornelium Scipionem (sc. Asiagenum) honoris causa* (193 B.C.; in Sicily, Dessau, i 864).

Pliny, in his account of ancient statues in the Roman forum, states that the honour of a statue was usually paid to those who had been killed in violation of the law of nations (as in 230 B.C.) and that, according to the annals, such statues were three feet high. He also states that all the statues of magistrates standing round the forum, except those which had been set up by decree of the people or of the Senate, were removed by the censors Publius Cornelius Scipio and Marcus Popilius (158 B.C.). Public places must have become overcrowded with statues. This overcrowding was due to the fact that, at an early date, the *imagines maiorum*, with their *tituli* or *elogia*, had found their way from

1 *Claud. i, p. 13 supra.*
2 *Galba 3, ‘imagines et elogia universi generis exequi longum est’.*
4 xxxiv 24.
5 *ib. 30.*
the atrium of the private house to the open spaces, and the public buildings, of the outer world. The first to adorn a public building with clipei, literally ‘round shields’, or portrait-medallions including tituli honorum of his ancestors, was Appius Claudius Caecus on the dedication of the temple of Bellona, which he had vowed during his second consulship in 296 B.C.¹

The term elogium may fairly be applied to the earliest extant public inscription of an honorary type, written in prose, namely that on the columna rostrata in honour of C. Duilius, consul of 260 B.C., the victor of Mylae.² This is only preserved in a copy discovered in the Forum in 1565, and ascribed, in its present state, to the early imperial age, and, in particular, to the time of Augustus or Claudius, in which archaic forms are inaccurately imitated.³ See Fig. 30 (p. 96). The column, with its honorary inscription, was surmounted by a portrait-statue of the victor. This is implied by the use of columnarum of ‘statues placed on lofty pedestals’ in the context of Pliny’s reference to this monument⁴, and is actually mentioned in the fragments (discovered in 1890) of a briefer elogium in his honour.⁵

The example set by Appius Claudius Caecus in 296 B.C. was followed by Marcus Aemilius Lepidus, consul in 78 B.C., who set up ‘shields’, or portrait-medallions, in the Basilica Aemilia built by his ancestors. The Arcus Fabianus, built to celebrate the victory of Q. Fabius Maximus, consul of 121, over the Allobroges, was restored by his namesake, the curule aedile of 56 B.C.⁶ It included statues, as well as ‘shields’ and emblems

¹ Pliny, xxxv 12, quoted on p. 10 supra.
² Ib. xxxiv 20; Quintilian, i 7, 12.
³ ‘Not before Claudius’ is Ritschl’s date, Opusc. iv 204—212. The inscription is also attacked by Mommsen, C. I. L. i 3 37—40, and defended by Wölflin, S.-Ber. Akad. Munich, 1890, 293—321. Cp. Allen, p. 67 f; Lindsay, p. 45 f; and Ernout, p. 109 f; also Traexler’s progr. Budweiss, 1899. Restoration of the columna (with its rostra, or metal prows of captured ships) in the Palazzo dei Conservatori, copied in Hülsen’s Forum, p. 10, reproduced in Daremberg-Saglio, s.v. Tropæum, fig. 7133.
⁴ xxxiv 20 and 27.
⁵ Dessau, i 55, ...statua qu(ovo)que.
⁶ Pliny, xxxv 13. The medallions are visible on coins of 61 B.C., struck by his son, the triumvir. Cp. Daremberg-Saglio, s.v. Clipei, Fig. 1666.
⁷ Cp. Cicero in Val. 28; p. 122 infra; Mommsen, Ges. Schr. v 47—53.
Fig. 30. From the Columna Rostrata (now in the Palazzo dei Conservatori on the Capitol) (Hübner’s Exempla, no. 91), c. 1.

... [Secest]ano[sque ............... op-]
[sidione]d exemet lectione[sque Cartaciniensis omnis]
[ma]ximosque macistr[a]tos [uci palam post dies]
[no]vem castreis exfociont, Macellamque opidom vi
[p]ucnandod cepet. enque eodem mac[istratud bene]
[r]em navebos marid consol primos c[eset copiasque]
[c]lasesque navales primos ornavet pa[ravetque],
[c]cumque eis navebos classeis Poenicas omnis, item ma-
[x]umas copias Cartaciniensis praesente[d Hanibaled]
[d]ictatedol[or]om in altod marid pucn[andod vicet]
[v]i que nave[sis cepe]t cum sociis septer[esmom unam quin-]
[queresmos]que triresmosque naveis X[XX. merset XIII].
[auro]m captom: numei .DOMDC[C]
[arcen]tom captom praeda numei 1C .............
[omne] captom aes ..............................
[mos qu]oque navaled praedad poplom [donavet pri-]
[mosque] Cartacini[ens]is [ince]nuos d[uixit in]
[triumpod] ....... eis ........ capt ...... (C. I. L. i2 25; Dessau, i 65).
1 = CCCICCC = centum milia, p. 55 supra.
of victory. Among the inscriptions were two in honour of L. Aemilius Paullus, the conqueror of Macedonia, and his son, the younger Scipio. The inscriptions on these two were as follows:

(a) L. Aemilius L. f. Paullus | cos. II cens. augur, | triumphavit ter.
(b) P. Cornelius Paulli f. Scipio | Africanus, cos. II cens. | augur, triumphavit II (Dessau, i 43).

Paullus, consul in 182 and 168, and censor in 164, was thrice imperator, and is therefore wrongly credited with three triumphs instead of two, namely in Spain and over king Perses. He was also the father of Q. Fabius Maximus Aemilianus, consul of 145 B.C., and great-grandfather of the restorer of the Arcus Fabianus. The younger Scipio, a son of Paullus, was a brother of Q. Fabius Maximus Aemilianus, and is therefore counted among the ancestors of the restorer of the Arch.

The inscription on the vast rotunda at Gaeta which was once the tomb of L. Munatius Plancus (consul in 42 B.C.) is in the form of an elogium, beginning with the name in the nominative, and not including a single word directly suggestive of an epitaph.

The imagines maiorum, with their tituli and elogia, were the origin of two literary works, (1) the Imagines of Varro (39 B.C.), including portraits of 700 celebrities, with an epigram or elogium under each; and (2) the Imagines of Cicero's correspondent, Pomponius Atticus. In the latter the portraits of the most distinguished statesmen and generals of Rome were placed above four or five lines of verse summing up their exploits and their public offices:—facta magistratusque.

The term elogium is specially applied by scholars to certain laudatory inscriptions which are neither 'sepulchral' nor 'honorary', but are of a literary and historical type. The most important of these elogia were those on the famous generals, set up in the temple of Mars in the Forum of Augustus, to which reference is made by Suetonius and by Horace. There was probably room

1 Fabricius (Roma, 1500), 'scuta et signa victoriae'. Jordan in Eph. Epigr. iii 265, 290.
2 p. 69 supra.
3 It has been suggested that the epitaphs on Naevius, Plautus, and Pacuvius (quoted by Gellius, p. 14 supra) came from Varro's Imagines.
4 Nepos, Atticus, 18, 5 f.
5 Aug. 31, quoted on p. 12, n. 10, supra.
6 Carm. iv 8, 3 f., p. 16 supra.
for statues of as many as thirty-six personages; but the names of only twenty have been in any way recorded:—


Of the bronze statues in each of the two porticoes not a single fragment has survived, but small portions of the *elogia* on Appius Claudius, Q. Fabius, and C. Marius have been discovered, from which it has been inferred that the name and official titles of each person were placed on the plinth of the statue, so far as there was room, while his exploits were reserved for a framed tablet on the broad pedestal below. Thus the few surviving fragments of the *elogium* of Appius Claudius, the full text of which has been preserved in a copy made at Arretium, show that the arrangement of the two parts of the inscription was as follows:

![Inscription Image]

*Fig. 31. Elogium of Appius Claudius Caecus, censor 312 B.C., as arranged by Hülser in *Mitt. Röm. Inst.* 1890, p. 312, and *C. I. L.* i2 p. 188; cp. also Lanciani in *Bull. Comun.* 1889, pp. 73—79, and Bormann quoted ib. p. 481. The sixteen letters marked off in lines 1, 2, 3, 5, 6 of the lower inscription are all that survive of the Roman original.*
The following is the arrangement of the above *elogium* in the copy formerly at Arretium, and now in the Florentine Museum.

(i) **APPIVS • CLAVDIVS**

\[\text{CENSOR} • \text{COS} • \text{BIS} • \text{DICT} • \text{INTERREX} • \text{III} \quad \text{cens. 312, cos. 307, 296 B.C.}
\]
\[\text{PR} • \text{II} • \text{AED} • \text{CVR} • \text{II} • \text{Q} • \text{TR} • \text{MIL} • \text{III} • \text{COM} \quad \text{sic pro Pyrrho}
\]
\[\text{PLVRA} • \text{OPPIDA} • \text{DE} • \text{SAMNITIBVS} • \text{CEPIT} \quad \text{sic pro et}
\]
\[\text{SABINORVM} • \text{ET} • \text{TVS CORVM} • \text{EXERCI} \quad \text{FECIT}
\]
\[\text{TVM} • \text{FVDIT} • \text{PACEM} • \text{FIERI} • \text{CVM} • \text{TYRRHO} \quad \text{sic pro Pyrrho}
\]
\[\text{REGE} • \text{PROHIBVIT} • \text{INCENSVR} • \text{VIAM} \quad \text{sic pro et}
\]
\[\text{APPIAM} • \text{STRAVIT} • \text{EI} • \text{AQUAM} • \text{IN} \quad \text{FECIT}
\]
\[\text{VRBEM} • \text{ADDVXIT} • \text{AEDEM} • \text{BELLONAE} \quad \text{FECIT}
\]

In lines 6—7, there are *apices* on *Sabinorum et Tuscorum*, and on *pæcena*.

C. I. L. i² p. 192 (Dessau, i 54).

Of the *elogia* in the Forum of Augustus copies were made, on a smaller scale, in Rome itself. Such were the local reproductions of the *elogia* on M. Furius Camillus and L. Papirius Cursor. Copies were also made for some of the Italian *municipia*. Among these the foremost place must be assigned to the seven from Arretium, namely those on M'. Valerius Maximus, Ap. Claudius Caecus, Q. Fabius Maximus, L. Aemilius Paullus, Ti. Sempronius Gracchus, C. Marius, and L. Licinius Lucullus. In these copies ancient forms, such as *quei armatei*, and *apsens*, are modernised, and verbal statements, as to the number of times in which a particular office was held, are changed into numerical abbreviations (not to mention a few errors of transcription).

The *elogium* of Ap. Claudius Caecus has already been quoted from the Arretine copy. The literary and historic interest of these *elogia* is so great that five others are here added from the same source.

\footnote{1 \textit{C. I. L.} i² p. 191 f, nos. vii, viii; Dessau, i 52 f.}
\footnote{2 Dessau, i 50, 54, 56—60.}
There are apices on quàm (l. 4), magistrátum (5), Médullinis (7), déduxit (8), senátus (10), liberávit (11), and léc tus (15).

C. I. L. i² p. 189 (v); Dessau, i 50.

The above is still at Arezzo; the following is now in the Florentine Museum.

Apices on subsequentó (l. 10), profilgató, subvénit, and nómine (14), exercitó (15), and cépit (17).  

C. I. L. i² p. 193 (xiii); Dessau, i 56.

1 Manius. M (Marcus) in MSS of Cicero, Livy, etc. Manius, the dictator of 494 B.C., who died in 463, had a brother, Marcus, consul in 505, who died at Lake Regillus in 496.  

2 494 B.C., cp. Livy ii 30, 4 f.  

3 sc. privs.  

4 Dessau, i 50; cp. esp. O. Hirschfeld, Kleine Schriften, 816—823, where Valerius Antias is conjectured to be the source of this elogium.  

5 233, 238, 215 f, 209 B.C.  

6 209, 204 B.C.; Livy, xxvii 11, 12; xxix 37, 1.
The antiquity of this *elogium* was doubted by Muratori and Maffei, but has been confirmed by a few fragments found in Rome. It will be observed that it does not (as implied by its impugners) profess to belong to the age immediately succeeding the death of Fabius in 204 B.C. It is at a later time (that of Augustus) that Fabius is here described as having been the most cautious commander of his own age. Sir John Hawkwood, the English *condottiere* (d. 1394), whose portrait was painted for the Cathedral of Florence by Paolo Uccelli in 1436, was described in the accompanying title in terms exactly identical with those of the above *elogium*, and it may well be doubted whether there was any one in the fifteenth century who was capable of forging the original.

\[
\text{IOANNES ACVTVS EQVES BRITANNICVS} \\
\text{DVX AETATIS SVAE CAVTISSIMVS} \\
\text{ET REI MILITARI$S$ PERITISSIMVS} \\
\text{HABITVS EST}
\]

The three following are at Arezzo.

\[
\text{L·AEMILIVS} \\
\text{L·F·PAVLLVS}
\]

\[
\text{COS·II$^{2}$·CENS$^{3}$·INTERREX·PR·AED} \\
\text{CVR·Q·TR·MIL·TERTIO·AVG} \\
\text{LIGVRIBV$S$·DOMITIS·PRIORE} \\
\text{CONSVLATV·TRIVMPHAVIT} \\
\text{ITERVM·COS·VT·CVM·REGE} \\
\text{per$^{s}$SE BELLVM·GERERET·AP} \\
\text{sens$^{f}$ACTVS·EST·COPIAS REGIS} \\
\text{decem$^{d}$·die$^{b}$VS·QVIBVS MACE} \\
\text{donium$^{d}$·attig$^{i}$T·DELEVIT} \\
\text{regemque cum liberis$^{s}$ CEPit}
\]

8—9 *ap·sens* Bormann; *a populo* Mommsen.

C. I. L. I\textsuperscript{3} p. 194 (xv); Dessau, i 57.

1 Zaccaria, *Istituzione antiquario-lapidaria* (1770), pp. 228—232. This *elogium* was also imitated by Francesco Barbaro (d. 1454) in the inscription on Donatello’s equestrian statue of Gattamelata (d. 1443) at Padua (finished in 1453). Morcelli, i 265.

2 183, 168 B.C.

3 164 B.C.
(5) C. MARIVS C. F
COS VII PR TR PL I Q AVG TR MILITVM
EXTRA SORTEM BELLVM CVM IVGRTA
REGE NVMIDIAE COS GESSIT EVM CEPIT
ET TRIVMPHANS IN SECUNDO CONSVLATV
ANTE CVRRVM SVVM DVCI IVSSIT
TERTIVM COS ABSENS CREATVS EST
III COS TEVTONORVM EXERCITVM
DELEVIT V COS CIMBROS FVDIT EX
IIIS ET TEVTONIS ITERVM TRIVMPHAVIT
REM PVB TVRBATAM SEDITIONIBVS TR PL
ET PRAETOR QVI ARMATI CAPITOLIVM
OCCVPAVERVNT VI COS VINDICAVIT
POST LXX ANNVM PATRIA PER ARMA
CIVILIA EXPVLSVS ARMIS RESTITVTVS
VII COS FACTVS EST DE MANVBIIS
CIMBRIC ET TEVTON AEDEM HONORI
ET VIRTVTI VICTOR FECIT VESTE
TRIVMPHALI CALCEIS PATRICIIS
(IN SENATVM VENIT)

The Roman original had apsens (l. 7), fugavit (9), ieis (10), and quei (12).
C. I. L. i² p. 195; Dessau, i 59.

(6) L. LICINIVS L. F.
LVCVLLVS.
COS PR AED CVR Q.
TR MILITVM AVG.
TRIVMPHAVIT DE REGE PONTI MITHRIDATE
ET DE REGE ARMENIAE TIGRANE MAGNIS
VTRIVSQVE REGIS COPIIS CONPLVRIBVS PRO
ELIS TERRA MARIQVE SVPERATIS CONLE
GAM SVVM PVLSVM A REGE MITHRIDATE
CVM SE IS CALCHADONA CONTVLISSET
OPSIDIONE LIBERAVIT

C. I. L. i² p. 196; Dessau, i 60.

¹ consul 107, 104—100, 86 B.C.; praetor, 115 B.C.; tribunus plebis, 119 B.C.
² consul, 74 B.C.; praetor, 77 B.C.; curule aedile, 79 B.C.; quaestor, 88 B.C.
³ 62 B.C.
Owing to the many points of similarity between the *elogia* of the Forum of Augustus, and the anonymous *liber de viris illustribus urbis Romae* (usually printed with the *Caesares* of Aurelius Victor), it was suggested by Borghesi in 1819 that the biographies in the *liber de viris illustribus* were ultimately derived from the *elogia*. But it has since been suggested that both had a common origin, and that the *elogia* were derived from the *Imagines* of Pomponius Atticus, which was also the ultimate source of forty-seven chapters of the *liber de viris illustribus*, while the other chapters may have been derived from the *Imagines* of Varro. This view is open to the obvious objection that the work on the *viri illustres* is written in prose, whereas the literary portion of the *Imagines* of Varro and of Atticus was clearly written in verse.

The following three *elogia* form a separate group:—(1) refers to a politician and man of letters frequently mentioned by Cicero. He was born about 120 B.C., was eminent as an orator and as a tragic poet, and was slain by the partisans of Marius in 90.

C. IVLIVS L. f. CAESAR STRABO,

aed. cur., q(uaestor), tr(ibunus) mil(itum) bis, xvir agr(is) dand(is) adtribuendis iud(iandis), pontif(ex).  

(2) The father of Augustus was commemorated as follows:

*C · OCTAVIVS · C · F · C · N · C · PR(onepos),
Pater Augusti, tr(ibunus) mil(itum) bis, q(uaestor), aed(ilis) pl(ebis) cum C. Toranio, iudex quaestionum, pr(aetor) pro cos., imperator appellatus ex provincia Macedonica.

(3) The *elogium* on Drusus, the celebrated tribune of 91 B.C., runs thus:

*M · LIVIVS · M · F · C · N · DRVSVS PONTIFEX,

tr(ibunus) mil(itum), xvir stlit(ibus) iudic(andis), tr(ibunus) pl(ebis), xvir a(gris) d(andis) a(dtribuendis) lege sua, et eodem anno xvir a(gris) d(andis) a(dtribuendis) lege Saufeia, in magistratu occisus est.

1 *Œuvres*, iii 10.  
3 *Brutus*, 177; *De Or.* iii 30.  
4 C. I. L. i² p. 198; Dessau, i 48.  
5 61 B.C.  
6 C. I. L. i² p. 199; Dessau, i 47.  
7 C. I. L. i² p. 199; Dessau, i 49.
It has been suggested by Mommsen that the three *elogia* above mentioned came from a *sacrarium* of the Augustan house containing *imagines* of the emperor's ancestors and connexions.

Libraries were also adorned with portrait-busts, or other representations, of orators or men of letters. A small column found on the Palatine is inscribed with the following *elogium* on one who is described in the *liber de viris illustribus* (c. 5) as a *iuris fetialis inventor*:—

> Fert(or) Erresius | rex Aequeicolus |. Is preimus | ius fetiafe paravit; | inde p(opulus) R(omanus) discipleinam exceptit. This *elogium* is in the archaistic style affected in early imperial times, and it may have belonged to the gallery of legislators and lawyers in the Palatine Library. The *elogium* on a portrait-bust was often simply the name of the person honoured, in the nominative case, with or without the age. Thus we have a bust of the first century, in Rome, inscribed *QVINTVS HORTENSIVS*; and another in Madrid bearing the inscription *M • CICERO • AN • LXIII*; and a third in London, at Apsley House (ascribed to the third century), bearing the name of *CICERO*.

(B) **Other honorary inscriptions**

Thus far, in our survey of 'honorary inscriptions', we have noticed that, on the pedestals of statues, the name of the person honoured may, in accordance with a Greek idiom, be put in the accusative case. We have also noticed that, in a very few ancient Italian inscriptions, and in *elogia*, the name is in the nominative. We now turn to the other 'honorary inscriptions', in which we shall find that the characteristic case is the dative of gift or of dedication, with or without the verb.

In Rome, to the north of the Capitoline hill, at the point where the Via Marforio meets the Via de' Corvi, we have a building resembling a temple, which is known as the Tomb of Bibulus. On its base is an honorary

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1 Dessau, i 61.
2 *C. I. L.* i² p. 202; Dessau, i 2915–8; *Q • ENNIVS*, iii (2) 9228.
4 p. 94 *supra*.
5 p. 94.
inscription showing that it was granted to Bibulus by the senate and people, as a place of burial for himself and his posterity. Since the burying or burning of any corpse within the city walls was forbidden by the Twelve Tables, this tomb was doubtless just outside the Servian wall. Bibulus is here described as an aedilis plebis, and he may possibly be identical with a tribunus plebis of 209 B.C.¹; but the lettering of the inscription suggests a century later.

Fig. 32. The tomb of Bibulus, in Rome (after Canina, Architettura Romana, 1830-40, no. 212).

C. Poblicio L. f(ilio) Bibulo, aed(ili) pl(ebis), honoris | virtutisque caussa senatus | consulto populace iussu locus | monumento, quo ipse postereique | eius inferrentur, publice datus est (Wilmanns, 294; Dessau, i 862)².

The dative is also used in one of the earliest Italian inscriptions recording the setting up of a statue: — L · POPLILIO · C · F ·

¹ Livy, xxvii 20.
² See facsimile of inscription in Ritschl’s P. L. M. E., tab. Ixxxiii A (with letterpress); and in Diehl’s Inscr. Lat. 7a. In the original, the third letter of POBLICIO is more probably P (as read by Ritschl), than B, and the last letter of VIRTUTIS is very indistinct.
FLACCO | POPLICE · STATVTA. The form *poplisc* probably did not last later than 104 B.C. This inscription was not found in Rome, but at Ferentinum. We have already seen that, in 158 B.C., all the statues round the Forum were removed by the censors, with the exception of those set up by decree of the people or of the Senate. At present hardly a single pedestal bearing an honorary inscription of the age of the Roman Republic has been found in Rome itself. We have a rare exception in the case of C. Vibius Pansa, the colleague of A. Hirtius as consul in 43 B.C. The honour paid to the former is inscribed in fine characters on a great block of travertine discovered in 1899:—

*Ex s(enatus) c(onsulto) C. Vibio C. f(ilio) Pasae Caetronian(o) co(n)sul(i)*.

From the age of Sulla onwards (80 B.C.), we frequently find the dative of dedication introduced into inscriptions of the honorary type, e.g. in four inscriptions in honour of Sulla himself, all beginning with the words *L·CORNELIO·L·F·SVLLAE FELICI*, with or without the title *DICTATORI*, an office which he held in 79 B.C.; in one set up at Auximum in honour of Pompey in 52 B.C.,—*Cn. Pompeio, Cn. filio, Magno, imperatori, consuli tert.*, *patrono, poplisc*; in one in honour of Caesar at Bovianum during his life-time, 48 B.C. (*C. Iulio Caesari, i(m)perator(i), dictat(or) iterum, pont)ufici max(imo), auguri, e)°(n)s(uli), patrono mu(nicipi), d(ecurionum) c(onsulto)*; and in another in Rome dated after his death, *Divo Iulio iussu populi Romani statutum est leg[e Rufrena*.

In the imperial age emperors and members of the imperial house often received the honour of a statue in Rome. The same honour was conferred on private persons with the emperor's consent. *Auctore M. Aurelio Antonino* is the phrase in several honorary inscriptions referring to statues set up in the Forum

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1. Ritschl, tab. lxxv c; Wilmanns, 652.
2. Pliny, xxxiv 30, p. 94 *supra*.
3. Livy, epit. Lib. 119; Bursian, Jahresh. vol. 144, p. 184; Dessau, iii (2) 8890.
4. Wilmanns, 1102.  
7. Dessau, i 70.
8. Cp. Cicero, *ad Fam.* x 21, 4; Dessau, i 73; facsimile in Hübner's *Exempla*, i.
of Trajan. Honorary statues were also set up in private houses in Rome and in the provinces, and also publicly in the provinces.

In Spain the following inscription in honour of Scipio Africanus maior records the recovery and the restoration of Saguntum in 207 B.C.; but it describes Scipio as consul, an office which he held for the first time two years later. It was once assigned to the end of the second century of our era, but it is probably not later than the time of Trajan. It seems to be a restoration in the imperial age of an honorary record of far earlier date.

![Fig. 33. Honorary inscription recording the recovery of Saguntum by Scipio in 207 B.C. (Hübner’s Exempla, no. 434), §.]

P. Scipioni consuli, imperatori, ob restitutam Saguntum ex senatus consulto bello Punico secundo. (Dessau, i 66.)

To the imperial age may also be assigned an inscription in memory of Marius, found near his birth-place:—C. Mario C.f(ilio) | consuli VII, pr(aetori), trib(uno) pl(ebis) | q(uaestori), aug(uri), tr(ibuno) militum, corresponding exactly with the name and titles

1 Wilmanns, 636, 638—640.
2 Pliny, xxxiv 17 (p. 10 supra); cp. Wilmanns, i p. 195.
3 Livy, xxiv 42, 10; xxviii 39.
4 C. I. L. s 5782.
in the *elogium* of the Forum of Augustus, except that the dative is here used instead of the nominative.  

The first of the two inscriptions in honour of the great general Stilicho begins with the words, *Fl. Stilichoni inlustrissimo viro*, and the second ends as follows:—*populus Romanus pro singulari eius circa se amore adque providentia statuam ex aere argentoque in rostris ad memoriam gloriae sempiternae conlocandam decrevit*. The fame of Stilicho was celebrated by the poet Claudian, and the following is the inscription placed on the pedestal of the statue of the poet in the Forum of Trajan. The genitive of the person whose statue was there placed fills the first line, and is followed by the usual dative of honorary dedication:—


**EIN ENI BΙΡΙΓΙΑΙΟΙΟ NOON | KAI ΜΟΥΚΑΝ ΟΜΗΡΟΥ | ΚΛΑΥΔΙΑΝΟΝ ΡΟΜΗ ΚΑΙ | ΒΑΣΙΛΗΣ ΘΕΕΚΑΝ⁵**

Pedestals of a series of statues set up by Fabius Titianus, praefect of Rome, a.d. 350 f, and by other praefects, have been found in the Forum⁶. The most ancient of the formulae stating the authority for the erection of an honorary statue was *publice*, or *publice statuta*. At a later date we find formulae specifying the public body conferring the honour, the *civitas*, *república*, *colonia*, *municipium*, *pagus*, or the *cives*, *municipes*, *coloni*, *pagani*, or the *senatus populusque⁷*, either in full or in the abbreviated form, *S·P·Q*. The following are also found, with their corre-

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¹ p. 102 (§) supra.  
² Wilmanns, 648 f; Dessau, i 1277 f.  
³ Cp. Tatiani and Eusebii in a separate line at the beginning of inscriptions on statues in Dessau, i 2942, 2946. It is generally a *cognomen* that is so placed (Wilmanns, 670 n).  
⁴ domini nostri.  
⁵ C. I. L. vi 1710; Wilmanns, 642; Dessau, i 2949; now in Naples; facsimile of part in Hübner's *Exempla*, 746.  
sponding abbreviations:—ex senatus consulto (E·S·C), publice decreto decurionum (P·D·D), and, especially at the end, decreto decurionum, D·D, alone. Verbs such as fecit, fecerunt (F), faciundum curaverunt or consuerunt (F·C), posuit, posuerunt (P), ponendum curavit (P·C), or dedit, dedicavit are often included, but are still more frequently omitted. The motive of an honorary inscription is often expressed by honoris causa (H·C). In Gallia Cisalpina we find Genio—H·C, and Gen(io) et Hon{oriy-. In and after the third century HONORI is sometimes placed in a separate line at the head of the inscription, followed, in the next line, by the ordinary dative of the person honoured. We also find virtutis ergo, or optime de republica merito; or ob merita eius, and, at the end, statuam censuit ponendam.

When the inscription is placed on the pedestal of a statue, the statue itself is seldom expressly mentioned, but, in later ages, this becomes more common, and the particular variety of statue is also specified, whether it is of marble, or of bronze, or gilded, or a statua togata or loricata, or pedestris or equestris. Bassaeus, the praefectus praetorio under M. Aurelius, was honoured with three different kinds of statue, aurata, civili amictu, and loricata. It is very rarely that the mention of the statue is accompanied by the demonstrative pronoun. This is not the only example of undue emphasis that may be noticed in the inscription of 608 A.D. on the pedestal of the statue in the Forum, once the theme of Byron’s apostrophe, ‘thou nameless column with the buried base!’, but now well known as the statue of Phocas dedicated by Smaragdus in the following terms:

hanc (statuam maiestatis eius aurei splendorem fulgens) tem huic sublimi columnae ad perennem ipsius gloriam imposuit ac dedicavit.

The compliment of a statue was often declined by the proposed recipient of the distinction. Such cases were so common

1 Wilmanns, i p. 195 f. 2 Ib. 239, 2181 f.
3 Wilmanns, 669 n; Dessau, i 1214, 1220, 1243, ii 6696.
4 C. I. L. xiv 2218.
5 Dessau, i 1071.
6 Wilmanns, Indices, p. 698.
7 Wilmanns, 671 n.
8 ib. i 299 n, and Indices, ii p. 668 b.
9 ib. 638.
10 p. 88 supra.
11 Childe Harold, iv 110, 2; Wilmanns, 1100; Dessau, i 837.
that the refusal is not unfrequently expressed in various abbreviated forms, e.g. *honore accepto impensam remisit*, H·A·I·R; *honore contentus sua pecunia posuit*, H·C·S·P·P.

The *honores*, or 'public offices', held by a Roman are mentioned in sepulchral and dedicatory, as well as in honorary inscriptions. They might be added to his name in his epitaph, and also in his dedication of any object to a divinity; but they are far more frequently found in those inscriptions which are distinctively known as 'honorary' (*tituli honorarii*).

The order in which public offices were held, the normal age for succeeding to them, and the intervals of time between them, were mainly determined by the *Lex Villia Annalis* of 180 B.C. After ten years military service, from 17 to 27, the Roman might successively hold the quaestorship, curule aedileship, praetorship, and consulship; but, as the number of the praetorships was equal to that of the aedileships, he was allowed to pass straight from the quaestorship to one of the praetorships. There was also an interval of two years between the tenure of one office and the next. Before Sulla (80 B.C.), the earliest age for holding the consulship was, normally, about the fortieth year; but, after Sulla had raised the age for the quaestorship to the completion of the thirtieth year, the earliest age for the consulship was about the forty-third.

There was a group of twenty-six minor functionaries called the *vigintisex viri*. Under Augustus these were reduced to twenty, the *viginti viri*, including the *decemviri stlitibus iudicandis*, the *quattuorviri viarum curandarum*, the *triumviri capitales*, and the *triumviri monetales*, and one of these twenty minor offices had to be held before passing to any of the twenty quaestorships.

In the normal *cursus honorum* for the senatorial order a Roman might successively bear the following titles, (1) *viginti-

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1 Wilmanns, 301, 2317.
3 p. 64 supra.
4 p. 86 f supra.
5 Livy, xl 44. 1, 'quot annos nati quemque magistratum petent caper-
entque.'
6 Polybius, vi 19.
vir¹, (2) quaestor, (3) tribunus plebis², (4) aedilis curulis, or aedilis plebis², (5) praetor, (6) consul, (7) censor, (8) dictator. As the holder of a military or civil office, he might be (1) a military tribune, (2) the legate of a legion, (3) the legate of a proconsul, or of a propraetor, (4) the curator alvei Tiberis et riparum et cloacarum urbis, or curator aquarum, or viarum (Aemiliae, etc.), or operum publicarum, or rei publicae; (5) the praefectus (a) aerarii militaris, (b) aerarii Saturni; the praefectus praetorio, or praefectus urbis Romae; a praeses provinciae, or a proconsul. Among the religious offices held by the senatorial order, were those of augur, flamen, frater arvalis, lupercus, pontifex, quindecimvir sacris faciundis, salius, septemvir epulonum, and sodalis Augustalis, etc. The virgines Vestales were limited to senatorial families.

In the cursus honorum of the equestrian order, down to the time of Diocletian (284—305), the eques might successively bear the following titles:—(i) in the preliminary grades of office, he might be a praefectus fabrum; a tribunus, or a praefectus, cohortis; a tribunus militum, or legionis; a praefectus equitum. He might become (2) a procurator provinciae, or one of some 37 other procuratores³; (3) a praefectus provinciae, a praefectus consularis, a praefectus classis, praefectus praetorio, or praefectus Aegypti. As holder of a religious office, he might be a tubicen or a sacerdos. As holder of an office of special character, he might be a procurator portorii, or a curator viarum.

Under the Republic, honorary inscriptions in the dative case were only accompanied by the mention of the public offices held at the time when the honour was conferred⁴. Fuller and more elaborate forms came into use in the Augustan age. One of the earliest extant inscriptions, in which all the offices held are mentioned in the chronological order of their tenure, is an Augustan inscription in honour of L. Aquilius Florus⁵. His offices are

¹ Usually expressed by the specific title of the office held, decemvir..., quattuorvir..., or triumvir....
² Open to plebeians only. For patricians the normal order was quaestor, praetor, consul.
³ Ricci, p. 138 f; or, more fully, Cagnat, pp. 123—5.
⁵ C. I. L. iii 551; Wilmanns, 1122; Dessau, i 928.
named in the following order:—

(1) decemvir stlitibus iudicandis;
(2) tribunus militum legionis nonae...
(3) quaestor imperatoris Caesaris Augusti;
(4) proquaestor provinciae Cypri;
(5) tribunus plebis;
(6) praetor;
(7) proconsul Achaiae.

The honores may either be stated (as above) in the direct order, or in the reverse order. The direct order implies that the successive offices are named in the order of appointment; the reverse implies beginning with the highest, and ending with the lowest. The different methods of statement attracted the notice of scholars at an early date; but they were first discussed fully by Borghesi in his memoir on the following inscription in the Naples Museum relating to the consul L. Burbuleius:

L • BVRBVEIO • L • F • QVIR
OPTATO • LIGARIANO
COS • SODAL • AVG • LEG • IMPERAT
ANTONINI • AVG • PI I • PRO • PR • PROV
SYRIAE IN QVO HONOR • DECESSIT • LEG •
EIVSDEM • ET • DIVI • HADRIANI • PRO • PR • PROV
CAPPAD • CVR • OPER • LOCOR • Q • PVBL • PRAEF •
AERAR • SATVRN • PRO • COS • SICIL • LOGISTE •
SYRIAE • LEGAT • LEG • XVII • FL • FIRM • CVR • REI • P •
NARBON • ITEM • ANCONITANOR • ITEM •
TARRICIN • CVRAT • VIAR • CLODIAE • CASSIAE •
CIMINAE • PR • AED • PL • Q • PONTI • ET • BITHYN •
TRIB • LATICL • LEG • IX • HISPAN • III • VIR • KAPIT
PATR • COL
RASINIA • PIETAS • NVTR • FILIAR • EIVS
S • P • P • L • D • D •
C. I. L. x 6006; Dessau, i 1066.

Here the order in which the offices were severally held was

(1) triumvir capitalis;
(2) tribunus legionis IX;
(3) quaestor Ponti et Bithyniae (after 117 A.D.);
(4) aedilis plebis;
(5) praetor;

1 Morcelli (1781), De Stylo Insir. Lat. ii 51, 2nd ed. (1820); Marini (1795) Atti Arvali, p. 754.

2 1838; Œuvres, iv 103—178.

3 sua pecunia posuit loco dato decreto decurionum.
(6) cura\tor viarum; (7) cura\tor rei publicae Narbonensis, etc.; (8) lega\tus legi\onis xvi; (9) logi\stes Syri\ae; (10) proconsul Siciliae; (11) praefectus a\eraii Saturni; (12) CONSUL c. 131; (13) cura\tor oper\um locorumque public\orum; (14) lega\tus propraetore Cap\p\adociae, c. 138 A.D.; (15) lega\tus propraetore Syri\ae, in quo hono\re de\cessit.

(10) the office of proconsul Siciliae is here exceptionally held before the consulship, but the holder was eligible to a proconsulship as an ex-praetor (5).

(11) the office of praefectus aerarii Saturni was also given to ex-praetors; never to ex-consuls; it was often held immediately before the consulship.

(12) it will be observed that the title of consul is not mentioned in the body of the inscription, but is placed at the head, and that it is there immediately followed by a priestly office, that of sodalis Augusti. Owing to the position in which the consulship is placed, the inscription does not help us to determine the date of that office in relation to the rest.

(13) the office of cura\tor oper\um public\orum was given to ex-praetors of long standing, or to recent ex-consuls; there is no indication whether Burbuleius held it before or after his consulship.

If the person honoured has held or is holding the office of consul, this office is almost always mentioned first, and is followed by the other offices, either in the direct or the reverse order. The various sacerdota\ria are generally kept in a separate group, either before or after the other offices. If all the offices are mentioned in a double series of (1) hono\res ordinarii, (2) hono\res extra-ordinarii, or (1) magistr\atus publici, (2) magistr\atus munici\p\ales, the sacerdota\ria publica are placed, in either case, in a separate group, between (1) and (2).

Among exceptions to the rule of naming the office of consul at the head of the list, the following inscriptions may be mentioned, beginning (1) with the nominative: M. Licinius Crassus Frugi, described first as pontifex and praetor urbanus (24 A.D.), and next as consul (27 A.D.)⁴; (2) with the dative, Ti. Plautio Silvano, named first as holding two priestly offices, and five other offices, and next as consul (suffectus of 45 A.D.)⁴; (3) also with

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1 Cp. Cagnat, 89, 97.
2 Wilmanns, i p. 360.
3 Dessau, i 954, probably an elo\gium on his tomb, on the Via Salaria.
4 I\b. 986, honorary inscr. near Tibur.
dative, C. Calpetano Rantio, named first as holding nine offices (one of which is priestly), and next as *consul* (*suffectus* of 71 A.D.)\(^1\).

The two orders of stating the sequence of the *cursus honorum* are well illustrated by two inscriptions on the same person, found (a) at Cirta (or *Constantine*), (b) at Thamugadi (or *Timgad*) in the Roman province of Africa. In (a) we have the *direct* order, and in (b) the *reverse*; in both, the consulship is mentioned first. This consulship belongs to the reign of Alexander Severus.

(a) P(ublio) Iulio Iuniano Martialiano, c(larissimo) v(iro),
consuli, quaest(ori) provinciae Asiae, trib(uno) plebei, praetori, curator civitatis Calenorum\(^2\), curator 3*viarum* Clodiae Cassiae et Ciminiae\(^3\), praefecto aerarii militaris, proconsul provinciae Macedoniarum, legato *leg(ionis) III Aug(ustae) Severianae Alexandrianae*\(^4\),
praesidi et patrono, res publica Cirtensium decreto ordinis dedit' deditcavitque.

(b) P(ublio) Iulio Iuniano Martialiano, c(larissimo) v(iro),
consuli, leg(ato) Aug(usti)\(^5\) pr(o) pr(aetore) provinciae Numidiae\(^6\), proconsul provinciae Macedoniarum, praef(ecto) aerarii militaris, curatores viae Clodiae, praetori, tribuno plebei, quaestor provinciae Asiae,
patrono coloniae et municipi, res publica coloniae Thamugadensium decreto decurionum?\(^7\).

The following inscription of 105 A.D. found at Aquileia is an example of the military and civil career of an *eques Romanus*. It is here printed without abbreviations, it is also broken into paragraphs, to show the various groups of the offices held in *ascending order*:

**C. MINICIO C. FILIO VELINA ITALO,**
quattuorviro iure dicundo;
praefecto cohortis v Gallorum equitatae, praefecto cohortis I Breucorum equitatae civium Romanorum, praefecto cohortis II Varcianorum equitatae, tribuno militum legionis VI Vircricis, praefecto equitum alae I singularum civium Romanórum, donis donato a divo Vespasiano corona aurea; hasta pura;

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\(^1\) Dessau, i 989, honorary inscr. by the *plebs urbana* of Tergeste (Triest).

\(^2\) Omitted in (b).

\(^3\) *Viae Clodiae* in (b).

\(^4\) Partly erased.

\(^5\) Partly erased.

\(^6\) Omitted in (a). Martialianus is called in (a) *legatus legionis tertiae Augustae*, and in (b) *legatus—Numidiae*.

\(^7\) Wilmanns, 1214 f; Dessau, i 1177 f.
procuratori provinciae Hellesponti, procuratori provinciae Asiae quam mandatu principis vice defuncti proconsulis rexit, procuratori provinciarum Luguduniensis et Aquitanicae, itcm Lactorae;
praefecto annona, praefecto Aegypti; flamini divi Claudii;
DECRETO DECVRIONVM.

In the mutilated portions of another side of the pedestal the person honoured is described as serving his country (per summos honor)es equestris dignitatis. From the minor municipal office of quattuorvir inure dicundo he rose to various positions as a military praefectus and a civil procurator, and was ultimately praefectus annonae and praefectus Aegypti; these last being among the highest offices open to the equestrian order. He is also named at the end of the inscription as the holder of a priestly office, that of Flamen divi Claudii.

The highest office that could be held by an eques was that of praefectus praetorio. Among those who attained that distinction was M. Bassaeus Rufus, whose honours are enumerated as follows in descending order, beginning with the highest and ending with the lowest:

praefecto praetorio M. Aureli Antonini—, consularibus ornamentis honorato et—corona murali, vallari aurea, hastis puris—donato; praefecto Aegypti, praefecto (annonae ?);
procuratori a rationibus, procuratori Belgicae et duarum Germaniarum, procuratori regni Norici, procuratori Asturiae et Calleciae;
tribuno cohortis—praetoriae, tribuno cohortis x urbanae, tribuno cohortis v vigulum, primipilo bis.

About 180 A.D., with the sanction of the emperors M. Aurelius and Commodus, three statues were set up by the Senate in his honour, a statua aurata in the Forum of Trajan, and two others in appropriate temples, one of them civili amictu, and the other loricata. An inscription of 377 A.D. in honour of a praefectus urbi, Symmachus, father of the famous orator, mentions an auro

1 Trajan.
2 Civica Cerealis, slain by Domitian, 88 A.D.
3 Lectoure, N. E. of Aquitania.
4 Wilmanns, 691; Dessau, i 1374.
5 Dessau, i 1326. Cp. 1327, where the honours of L. Iulius Iulianus, praefectus praetorio under Commodus (and slain by that emperor), are similarly described in descending order.
inlustrem statuam, which was to be set up in Rome, as well as in Constantinople, adposita oratione, quae meritorum eius ordinem ac seriem contineret.1

The terms of the tituli honorarii were sometimes left to be settled by the recipient of the honour. Thus, on the left side of a pedestal found at Fossombrone (Forum Sempronii), an eques, C. Hedius Verus, is described as having declined the honour of a statue; nevertheless, the municipal duumviri and decuriones once more decreed the statue, ordered it to be executed, and brought it to Verus with the appeal:—quod superest, voluntati nostrae consule, et qualem inscriptionem dandam putas facito notum. The inscription suggested by the recipient appears in front of the pedestal, describing his military career as praefectus equitum and tribunus militum, and his municipal career as duumvir in two towns, as quaeostor and flamen in one, and as aedilis and pontifex in the other, and as patronus of both. In another case, the recipient of a compliment at Cales, in Campania, is permitted to ‘amplify’ the inscription in his honour, inscriptionem basis suae—ampliare.2

After the time of Caracalla, the office of tribunus militum was no longer a necessary preliminary to that of quaestor. Under Alexander Severus, the vigintiviri dropped out of the list of honores, and the offices of tribune and aedile were seldom filled. Under Gallienus, senators were excluded from the army; the equestrian order acquired a new importance by succeeding to all the military functions of the legati legionum and the legati pro praetore, while the senatorial order became a class of honorary officials. The praetorship became the first effective office. The quaestorship had already fallen into abeyance, and access to the senatorial order had been already obtained by becoming adlectus inter quaestorios. From the middle of the third century the same access was obtained by becoming adlectus inter consulares, a privilege which was now constantly granted to persons who had never held the consulship. Under Constantine, the senatorial order flourished anew, and members of that order were promoted to three successive classes distinguished by the following titles:

1 Wilmanns, 641; Dessau, i 1257.
2 Wilmanns, 694.
3 ib. 695.
(1) clarissimi (C): (2) clarissimi et spectabiles (C · ET · S, or SP); and (3) clarissimi et illustres (C · ET · I, or IN, or INL). Stilicho, the general of Honorius, in the honorary inscription already quoted\(^1\), is described as *inlustrissimo viro*. His distinctions are mainly military, and are recited in rhetorical language characteristic of the age, without any distinct enumeration of the historical sequence of his *honores*.

The careers of persons below the senatorial and equestrian orders are set forth according to the same general rules. Such persons filled the subordinate places in the public administration, and served as soldiers or subalterns in the army. They also held office in the various *municipia* and *collegia*. The list of their *honores* is often reserved for their epitaphs. Thus, at Genava (*Geneva*), a centurion named M. Carantius Macrinus gives directions by his will for an epitaph, in which (as in the case of consuls) his highest office, that of *centurio*, is mentioned first, followed by his other military distinctions in the ascending order of definite dates in the imperial reigns, corresponding to the years 73 to 90 A.D.\(^2\) Honour is elsewhere paid to a member of a *collegium* of ‘fishermen and divers’, named Fl. Annius Annaeus Fortunatus, as *quinquennali perpetuo—honoribus omnibus per gradus functo*\(^3\). Thus, even in the *municipia* and the *collegia*, the order of the enumeration of *honores* is modelled on that prescribed for the highest officials of the Roman state\(^4\).

For Honorary Inscriptions see Wilmanus, nos. 609—696, and Dessau, i pp. 1—324, *passim*, esp. among the *tituli* (1) *imperatorum*, (2) *ordinis senatorii*, and (3) *virorum dignitatis equestris*; also iii (2) pp. xiv—xlvii.

\(^1\) p. 108, *supra*.

\(^2\) Dessau, i 2118; Cagnat, p. 138\(^4\).

\(^3\) *C. I. L. vi* 29700; Wilmanus, 1737; Cagnat, p. 154\(^4\), n. 2.

\(^4\) On the *cursus honorum*, see also *Appendix II*, pp. 222 ff *infra*. 
CHAPTER VII

(iv) INSCRIPTIONS ON PUBLIC WORKS

Inscriptions on public buildings, including temples, theatres, gates and towers and walls, bridges, arches, columns, and aqueducts (tituli operum publicorum), are of the same general type as the most ancient honorary inscriptions. In the case of temples, the earliest dated Roman example commemorates a stage in the restoration of the temple of Iuppiter Capitolinus (in 78–60 B.C.):—Q. Lutatius Q.filius, Q.(nepos) Catulus cos. (78) | substructionem et tabularium | de s(enatus) s(ententia) faciundum coeravit | (ei)demque pro(bavit). The municipal inscriptions earlier than the age of Sulla (80 B.C.) are of the same general type, e.g. on the temple of Castor and Pollux at Cora, ...Aed(em) Castoris Pollucis de s(enatus) s(ententia) faciendam pequin(i) a sac(ra) coeraver(unt) ..., ending d(e) s(enatus) s(ententia) prob(arunt) dedicar(unf) | (e)i| demque pro(bavit)\(^1\). On that of Hercules, at the same place, ...de senatus sententia aedem faciendam coeraverunt eisdemque probavere\(^2\); on a temple of Bona Dea near Corfinium: —p(agi) decreto faciendum curarunt probaruntque\(^3\); and, lastly, on the substructure of an ancient fort at Ferentinum, ...fundamenta murosque ad solo faciunda coeravere eisdemque probavere\(^4\). Similarly, an inscription from the western gate of Aeclanum records the names of the persons, who built the gates and towers and walls: —d(e) s(enatus) s(ententia) portas turreis moiros turreis-que aequas quum moiro faciundum coiraverunt\(^5\).

\(^1\) Wilmanns, 700; Dessau, i 35 (now lost); cp. 35 a, and Ritschl, P.L.M.E. lxxi c.
\(^2\) Ritschl, lxviii A; Wilmanns, 722.
\(^3\) Ritschl, lxviii c; Wilmanns, 723.
\(^4\) Ritschl, lxxiv J; Wilmanns, 703.
\(^5\) Ritschl, lxii c, lxvii d; Wilmanns, 708; Dessau, ii 5342 ff.
\(^6\) Ritschl, lxx c; Wilmanns, 699; Dessau, ii 5318.
Agrippa dedicated his Pantheon in 27 B.C. in the following terms: — *M. Agrippa L.filius) cos. tertium fecit*. *Fecit*, a characteristic verb relating to the building of a tomb, was also commonly applied to public buildings erected by private persons, such as Pompey’s theatre. In the *monumentum Ancyranum* Augustus applies the term *feci* to his dedication of the theatre of Marcèllus, and *refeci* to his restoration of the theatre of Pompey. Of the ‘smaller theatre’ at Pompeii it is stated that the *divumviri (theatrum tectum fac(iendum) locar(unt) eidemq(ue) prob(arunt)†*; and, of certain baths and other buildings, that the same officials *faciun(da) coerarunt eidemque probarunt*‡.

Phrases such as *faciendum curavit idemque probavit* are often abbreviated (F · C · I · Q · P). The architect’s name is seldom added. An inscription in front of the temple at Aletrium, among the Hernici, describes the local censor as having superintended the laying out of all the streets, with the play-ground and the meat-market, and the construction of a colonnade, a clock, a law-court, a swimming-bath and an aqueduct. The date is after the time of the Gracchi (133—122), but before the passing of the *lex Julia de civitate* (90 B.C.).

L. Betilienus L. f. Vaarus haec quae infera scripta sunt de senatu sententia facienda coiravit: semitas in oppido omnis, porticum qua in arcem etur, campum ubi ludunt, horologium, macelum, basilicam calecandam, seedes, lacum balinearum, lacum ad portam, aquam in opidum adque arduum pedes CCCX; fornicesque fecit, fistulas soledas fecit. Ob hasce res censorem fecere bis, senatus filio stipendia mereta esse iousit, populusque statuam donavit Censorino.

A very ancient inscription on the *pons Fabricius* in Rome records the name of its original builder, L. Fabricius, who was elected *curator viarum* out of the *tribuni plebis* of 62 B.C., and also the names of the consuls of 21 B.C.,
under whom the bridge was completed. There are two large arches, and, at a loftier level between them, a small arch for carrying off the water when the river was in full flood. Looking up the stream, we see, over the large arch to the left hand, the inscription

L·FABRICIVS C·F·CVR·VIAR
FACIVNDVM·COERAVIT

This is continued in the words EIDEMQVE PROBAVEIT on the small arch. On the back, the first of these inscriptions is repeated over the large arch, but is continued on the small arch in the slightly different spelling of the same date IDEMQVE PROBAVIT.

On the large arch to the right of the first arch, we see the same inscription as on the arch to the left, and this is repeated on the back, with an addition, in both cases, of an inscription in smaller letters recording the completion of the bridge by the consuls of 21 B.C., the only difference being that, as we look up the stream, we see the words M·LOLLIVS·M·F·Q·LEPI(DVS) (M·F·) COS and EX·S·C·PROBAERVNT, whereas, on the back of the same arch, the order of the two names is reversed, and the smaller inscription runs Q·LEPIDVS·M·F·M·LOLLIVS·M·F·COS and EX·S·C·PROBAERVVN(T)¹.

On the Roman bridge at Alcántara, a place on the Tagus, near the borders of Spain and Portugal, deriving its modern name from the Arabic words meaning 'the bridge', we have in large letters an inscription of 104 A.D. in honour of the emperor Trajan. Another inscription on the same bridge records the names of eleven municipia of Lusitania, which contributed to the cost of building the bridge. Their names are introduced by the words: municipia provinciae Lusitaniae stipe conlata quae opus pontis perfecerunt². In Dalmatia in 184 A.D. the emperor Commodus is described as having restored the bridge over the river Hippus with the aid of contributions from some of the neighbouring

¹ Ritschl, lxxxvii; Ricci, tav. xxii; Wilmanns, 788; Dessau, ii 5892; Middleton's Rome, ii 367. See also Mommsen, Ges. Schr. viii 100—107.
² Dessau, i 287.
municipalities:—pontem Hippi fluminis vetustate restituit, sumptum et operas subministrantibus Novensibus Delminensibus Riditis, curante et dedicante L. Iunio Rufino Proculiano, leg(ato) pr(o) pr(aetore)¹.

Certain officials at Patavium are described as accepting a contract for building a bridge, and approving its completion:—pontem faciendum d(e) d(ecurionum) s(ententia) locarunt, eidemque probarunt². A block of stone recovered from the foundations of the 'pons Cestius' records repairs ordered and approved, in 2 A.D., by the curators of the Tiber:—curatores riparum et alvei Tiberis ex s(enatus) c(onsulto) reficiundam (sc. ripam?) curaverunt idemque probaverunt³. One of the finest Roman bridges now extant is that of Augustus at Ariminum (the Ponte d'Augusto over the Marecchia at Rimini), which was begun under Augustus, and finished in 21 A.D. under Tiberius. The two inscriptions on each side of the road run as follows:—

imp. Caesar divi f(ilius) Augustus, pontifex maxim(us), cos. xiii, imp. xx, tribunic(iae) potest(atis) xxxvii, p(ater) p(atriae).
Ti. Caesar divi Augusti f(ilius), divi Iuli n(epos), Augustus, pontif(ex) maxim(us), cos. iii, imp. viii, trib(uniciae) potest(atis) xxii, dedere⁴.

On the S.E. side of Ariminum, at the opposite end of the Bridge of Augustus, and at the end of the Via Flaminia brought to that point from Rome in 220 B.C., rises the Arch of Augustus belonging to the year 27 B.C. It celebrates the completion of the repair of the via Flaminia and other important Roman roads⁵. The inscription runs as follows.

SEVATVS · POPVLVSQ(ue Romanus)
(imp. Caesari divi f. Augusto imp. sept.)
COS · SEPT · DESIGNAT · OCTAVOM · V(ia Flamin)IA (et reliquie)iS
CELEBERRIMEIS · ITALIAE · VIEIS · CONISILIO (et sumptib)VS (eius mu)NITEIS⁶

¹ Dessau, i 393.
² Ib. ii 5897.
³ Ib. ii 5893.
⁴ Dessau, i 113.
⁵ Suet. Aug. 30; Mon. Anc. § 20 ult.
⁶ C. I. L. xi 365; Dessau, i 84 (with Bormann's restorations, in small type). For a photograph of this Arch, see Sir T. G. Jackson's Holiday in Umbria, 1917, facing p. 6.
Another famous 'Arch of Augustus' is that at Segusio, the modern *Susa*, erected in 9 B.C. by the ex-king Cottius, then prefect of the province of the 'Cottian Alps'. The inscription records no less than fourteen tribes as under the sway of Cottius, who sets up the arch in honour of Augustus. Many of the bronze letters of the inscription have perished.

\[imp(eratori)\] Caesari Augusto divi f(ilio), pontifici maxumo, tribunic(i)a potestate xv, \[imp(eratori)\] xiii, M(arcus) Iulius, regis Donni f(ilius), Cottius, praefectus ceivitatium quae subscriptae sunt: Segoviorum, Segusinorum, Belacorum, Caturigum, Medullorium, Tebaviorum, Adanatium, Savincatium, Egdiniorum, Veaminiorum, Venisamorum, Iemeriorum, Vesubianiōrum, Quarratium, et ceivitates quae sub eo praefecto fuerunt\(^1\).

Of these fourteen tribes the six printed in italics are also named in the list of those subdued by Augustus as recorded in the *Tropaeum Alpium* of 7 B.C. transcribed by Pliny (\textit{iii} \textit{136}\(^2\)), but, on the *Tropaeum*, the name of the third of these tribes is given as *Edenates* and that of the sixth as *Esubiani*. Only a few letters from the *Tropaeum* are now preserved in the Museum at Saint-Germain-en-Laye\(^3\), near Paris.

Of the arches erected in Rome, the earliest were those set up in 196 B.C. by \textit{L. Stertinius} from the spoils of his Spanish campaign\(^4\); the next was that erected in honour of \textit{P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus} in 190 B.C.\(^5\) The victory of \textit{Q. Fabius Maximus} over the Allobroges in 121 B.C. was celebrated by the erection of the *Arcus Fabianus* at the east end of the Forum. This arch was restored by his grandson, \textit{Q. Fabius Q. f. Maxsumus} aedilis curulis, of about 56 B.C., who adorned it with statues of his ancestors \textit{L. Aemilius Paullus}, the conqueror of Perses, and of \textit{P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus}, the destroyer of Carthage, and added his own statue. It is to this fact that Cicero alludes in his speech *In Vatinium* § 28, 'nihil Maximus fecit alienum aut sua virtute aut illis clarissimis Paullis, Maximis, Africanis, quorum

\(^1\) Dessau, i 94; cp. Ricci, pp. 146-9, and Bursian, *Jahresb.* vol. 144, p. 330.
\(^3\) \textit{C. I. L.} v 7817; for an architectural restoration of the trophy, see Darenberg-Saglio, s.v. *Tropaeum*, fig. 7122.
\(^4\) Livy, xxxiii 27, 3-5.
\(^5\) \textit{Id.} xxxvii 3, 7.
ON PUBLIC WORKS. ARCHES

The Arch of Augustus, near the temple of Castor, was set up in honour of his victory at Actium in 31 B.C. The arch itself has vanished, but, during the excavations of 1540–50, a marble block from its attic was found with the following inscription, which has since been lost.

Senatus populusque Romanus Imp(eratori) Caesari divi Iuli f(ilio) cos. quinct. | cos. design(ato) sext., imp(eratori) sept., re publica conservata.

The Arch of Tiberius was erected in 17 A.D. in honour of Tiberius, on account of the recovery by Germanicus of the standards lost by Varus in Germany. Tacitus, Ann. ii 41, describes it as arcus propter aedem Saturni, ob recepta signa cum Varo omissa, ductu Germanici, auspiciis Tiberii.

The Arch of Claudius, erected in 51–52 A.D., stood across the Via Lata, corresponding to the modern Corso. Poggio saw the arch still standing in the fifteenth century; it was destroyed two centuries later. It was erected to commemorate Claudius’ ‘victory over eleven British kings’, probably Caractacus and his brothers in 50 A.D. (Tacitus, Ann. xii 35). The block containing half of the inscription is now in the Barberini Palace. The whole has been restored as follows:

Ti(berio) Clau(dio Drusi filio Cain) sari Augusto sto Germani)co, pontific(i maximo, trib. potes) tati(s) x I, cos. V, im(perator) xx (?), patri pa) trial, senatus po(pulusque) Ro(manus, quod reges Brit(anniai) XI (devictos sine) u al iactur(a in deditio nem acceperit), gentesque b(arbaras trans Oceanum) primus in di(ci(o) nem populi Romani redegerit).

The capture of Jerusalem in 70 A.D. was commemorated by an arch in honour of Titus in the Circus Maximus, which bore the following inscription belonging to the year 80 A.D.

Senatus populusque Romanus Imp(eratori) Tito Caesari divi Vespasiani f(ilio) Vespasiano Augusto pontif(ici) max(imo), trib(unicia) pot(estate) x, imp(eratori) xvii, cos. viii, p(atri) p(atriae), principi suo, quod praeceptis patr(is) consiliisque et auspiciis gentem Iudaeorum domuit et urbem Hierosolymam, omnibus ante se ducibus regibus gentibus aut frustra petitam aut omnino interm(p)tatam, delevit.

The four arches above mentioned are no longer in existence.

1 Wilmanns, 610; Dessau, i 43; cp. p. 95 supra.  
2 Dessau, i 81.  
3 Hübner, Ex. 86; Dessau, i 216.  
4 Dessau, i 264.
Fig. 34. The Arch of Trajan at Beneventum (reproduced, by permission, from a photograph by Moscioni, Rome).
The emperor Titus died in 81 A.D. and the Arch of Titus, erected 'in summa sacra via' after his death, still bears the following inscription:

SENATVS
POPVLVSQVE ROMANVS
DIVO TITO DIVI VESPASIANI F
VESPVASIANO AVGSTO

The Arch of Trajan at Beneventum was erected in the year 114 A.D. to commemorate the beneficent rule of the emperor, on whom the Senate had in that year bestowed the title of Optimus. It bears numerous reliefs on both sides, those on the side facing Beneventum and Rome referring to his home-policy, and those on the side facing the country, to his provincial policy. The former is the side here reproduced (Fig. 34). Both sides bear the same inscription.

Imp(eratori) Caesari divi Nervae filio, Nervae Traiano Optimo Aug(usto) Germanico Dacico, pontif(ici) max(imo), trib(uniciae) potest(atis) xvi12, imp(eratori) vi1, cos. vi, p(atr) p(atriae), fortissimo principi, Senatus p(opulus) q(ue) R(omanus)3.

The arch was never seen by the emperor himself, who had left for the East in 114 and died on his homeward journey in 1174. The same is true of the next arch.

The Arch of Trajan at Ancona belongs to the following year, namely 115 A.D. It commemorates the completion of the harbour at Ancona, and, besides the inscription in honour of the emperor, bears the names of his wife and his sister. The letters of the inscription were made of bronze; the letters have been lost; it is only by means of the holes left by the rivets, that the words have been read5.

1 Dessau, i 265; Diehl, 26a.
2 Dec. 113—114.
3 Dessau, i 296.
4 For a convenient conspectus of the reliefs on the arch, see A. L. Frothingham, jun., The Triumphal Arch at Beneventum, 1893; and Mrs Arthur Strong's Roman Sculpture, 1907, pp. 214—225, with the literature there quoted. See also Rossini, Arcbifionfali, 1836, tav. 38—43.
5 Cp. p. 57 supra.
Returning to Rome, we notice, on the Esquiline, an unimportant archway called the *Arch of Gallienus*. This was erected by a *vir egregius*, Aurelius Victor, about 260 A.D., in honour of an accomplished, but incapable, emperor, and his wife. It is inscribed in large letters on both sides:

Gallieno, clementissimo principi, cuius invicta virtus sola pietate superata est, et Saloninae sanctissimae Aug(ustae), Aurelius Victor v(ir) e(gregius), dicatissimus numini maestatique eorum.

The *Arch of Septimius Severus*, N.W. of the Forum, was erected in 203 A.D. in honour of the emperor and his sons Caracalla and Geta, after victories in Parthia and other eastern countries. It is inscribed, on both sides, as follows:


From the *Arch of Trajan in Rome* (no longer in existence) were taken the fine sculptured panels with scenes from Trajan's life, as well as the main entablature and eight Corinthian columns,

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1 Dessau, i 298. For a fine picture of this Arch, see frontispiece to Sir T. G. Jackson's *Holiday in Umbria*, 1917.
2 *Ib. i* 548.
3 Exceptionally given in full, instead of L.
4 His adoptive father, M. Aurelius, who ought to have been called *divus*.
5 After the death of Septimius Severus, when Caracalla had murdered his brother Geta, he ordered his victim's name to be erased from all inscriptions. Additional titles after the name of Caracalla, here called M. Aurelius Antoninus Pius, fill the place of the erased name, which is conjectured to have been originally introduced as follows, *et P. Septimio L. fil. Getae nobiliss. Caesari*, Dessau, i 425 (where various irregularities in the inscription are noticed).
which now adorn the *Arch of Constantine*, erected to commemorate Constantine's victory over Maxentius in 312 A.D.

The following is the inscription above both sides of the lofty central arch, which stands between two lower arches:

imp(eratori) Caes(arvi) Fl(avio) Constantino, maximo p(io) f(elici) Augusto, S(enatus) P(opulus)q(ue) R(omanus), quod instinctu divinitatis, mentis magnitudine, cum exercitu suo tam de tyranno quam de omni eius factione uno tempore iustis rempublicam ultus est armis, arcum triumphis insignem dicavit.

Within the central arch, we have on the one side 'liberatori urbis', and, on the other, 'fundatori quietis', while, above the double medallions of the two smaller arches, we have in front, on the arch to the left, VOTIS X, and on that to the right, VOTIS XX, implying 'votis decennalibus'—'votis vicennalibus'; and, on the back, in the corresponding positions, SIC X and SIC XX, i.e. 'sicut decennalia, sic vicennalia (fiant)', 'as he has reigned ten years, so may he reign twenty', the arch having been erected after the tenth year of his reign, i.e. 315 A.D. ¹

(1) The pedestal of *Trajan's column*, dedicated in 113 A.D., still bears the following inscription in letters of perfect form, each of them about four inches high ².

Columns

SENATVS - POPVLVSQVE - ROMANVS
IMP - CAESARI - D[IVI] - NERVAE - F - NERVAE
TRAIANO - AVG - GERM(ANICO) - DACICO - PONTIF
MAXIMO - TRIB - POT - XVII - IMP - VI - COS - VI - P - P
AD - DECLARANDVM - QVANTAE - ALTITVDINIS
MONS - ET - LOCVS - TAN[TIS] - OPE]RIBVS - SIT - EGESTVS ³

In the last line TIS - OPE have been preserved in the *Sylloge Einsiedlensis* ⁴.

¹ Dessau, i 694; *Facs.* in Hübner's *Exempla*, 702, copied in Egbert, p. 250, and Ricci, tav. xlv; *Phot.* in Cagnat pl. xx, i, and Diehl 26 d; p. 92 *supra.*

On all the above Arches, and on others in many parts of the ancient Roman world, see esp. Paul Graef, in Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, vol. iii pp. 1865—1899. For inscriptions on less important arches, cp. Dessau, ii 5566–77 (the more important are printed elsewhere, under the names of the several Emperors).

² Facsimile in Hübner's *Exempla*, 265, and Cagnat, ed. 4, pl. x (1).

³ *C. I. L.* vi 960; Wilmanns, 935; Dessau, i 294. In this inscr. the side strokes of M are nearly perpendicular, and the ordinary modern form of the letter has been retained in this and the subsequent inscriptions of the present chapter.

⁴ p. 20 *supra.*
The sense of the last two lines has been much discussed. Dion Cassius says that 'Trajan placed a colossal column in his Forum to be his own tomb, and also to show the amount of labour expended upon the Forum, the slope of the hill which previously occupied the site having been dug away so as to afford a level space for the Forum'.

(2) The *column of Antoninus Pius* was set up in 161 A.D. by his adopted sons, M. Aurelius Antoninus and Lucius Verus. The pedestal, with sculptures in high relief (including the *apotheosis* of Antoninus Pius and Faustina the elder) is now in the Garden of the Vatican. It bears the following inscription:—

```
DIVO · ANTONINO · AVGVSTO · PIO
ANTONINVVS · AVGVSTVS · ET
VERVS · AVGVSTVS · FILII
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The letters, which were originally of bronze, have been lost. The inscription only survives in the cuttings made in the marble to receive the separate letters, and consequently has a somewhat uncouth appearance.

(3) The *column of M. Aurelius*, 180 A.D., almost a copy of Trajan's, is exactly the same height, 100 Roman feet; hence these columns were known as *columnae centenariae*. The inscription is doubtless on that part of the original pedestal which is still buried beneath the surface of the modern Piazza. A separate tablet was, however, found in the ruins of an adjacent house, showing that this column had a custodian, *procurator columnae centenariae divi Marci*, who, in 193 A.D. under Septimius Severus, received permission to

---

1 Dion Cassius, lxviii 16, ἐστησαν ἐν τῇ ἁγορᾷ καὶ κλώνα μέγαστον—εἰς ἐπίδειξιν τοῦ κατὰ τὴν ἁγοράν ἐργοῦ· παντὸς γὰρ τοῦ χωρίου ἔκεινον ὀρεινοῦ ὄντος κατέκαψε τοσοῦτον ὄσον ὁ κλῖος ἀνίσχει, καὶ τὴν ἁγορὰν ἐκ τούτων πεδινήν κατεσκεύασε. Cp. Burn's *Rome*, p. 148, also Bursian's *Jahresb.* 144, 335; J. O. F. Murray and Verrall, in *Cambridge Philol. Soc. Proc.* 4 March and 13 May, 1897; Comparetti, in *Rendiconti—Acc. dei Lincei*, 1906, 577—588; Boni, *N. Antologia* 1 November 1906, 1 March 1907; Mau, *Röm. Mitt.* xxii 187—197. I understand the words, 'to show how great a height of hill', 'and space (i.e. 'as a space') for such vast buildings, has been cleared'. Cp. Livy, xxi 37, 1, 'tantum nivis fodiendum atque egerendum fuit'. The sense would have been clearer, if quantus had been inserted before locus.

2 Hübner's *Exempla*, 294; Wilmanns, 945; Dessau, i 347. Cp. pp. 57, 125 *supra*. 
build, at his own expense, a house instead of a hut, on condition of paying the usual ground-rent (cp. p. 160 (e) infra)\(^1\).

Of the dedicatory inscriptions on the Roman aqueducts none are earlier than the Augustan age. There are three such inscriptions over the arch of the *Aqua Marcia*. On the building of the Aurelian walls this arch was used for the *Porta Tiburtina*. Three aqueducts pass over the gateway, the lowest (and earliest) of these is the aqueduct of the *Aqua Marcia*, built by the praetor Q. Marcius Rex in 144 B.C.; the next is that of the *Aqua Tepula*, constructed by the censors, Cn. Servilius Caepio and L. Cassius Longinus, in 127 B.C.; and the highest (and latest) is that of the *Aqua Iulia*, originally constructed by M. Agrippa, as aedile in 33 B.C. The rebuilding of the aqueduct of the *Aqua Iulia* by Augustus in 5 B.C. is recorded in the highest of the three inscriptions:—

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{IMP} & \cdot \text{CAESAR} \cdot \text{DIVI} \cdot \text{IVLI} \cdot \text{F} \cdot \text{AVGVSTVS} \\
\text{PONTIFEX} & \cdot \text{MAXIMVS} \cdot \text{COS} \cdot \text{XII} \\
\text{TRIBVNIC} & \cdot \text{POTESTAT} \cdot \text{XIX} \cdot \text{IMP} \cdot \text{XIII} \\
\text{RIVOS} & \cdot \text{AQUARVM} \cdot \text{OMNIVM} \cdot \text{RE FECIT}
\end{align*}
\]

The lowest of the inscriptions is the record of the restoration of the *Aqua Marcia* by Titus in 79 A.D.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{IMP} & \cdot \text{TITVS} \cdot \text{CAESAR} \cdot \text{DIVI} \cdot \text{F} \cdot \text{VES PASIANVS} \cdot \text{AVG} \cdot \text{PONTIF} \\
\text{MAX} & \cdot \text{TRIBVNICIAE} \cdot \text{POTEST} \cdot \text{IX} \cdot \text{IMP} \cdot \text{XV} \cdot \text{CENS} \cdot \text{COS} \cdot \text{VII} \cdot \text{DESIG} \\
\text{IIX} & \cdot \text{RIVOM} \cdot \text{AQVAE} \cdot \text{MAR CIAE} \cdot \text{VETVSTATE} \cdot \text{DILAPSVM} \cdot \text{RE FECIT} \\
\text{ET} & \cdot \text{A QVAM} \cdot \text{QVAE} \cdot \text{IN} \cdot \text{VSÝ} \cdot \text{ESSE} \cdot \text{DESIERAT} \cdot \text{REDVXIT}
\end{align*}
\]

In the space between the highest and the lowest of the three inscriptions is the record of the restoration of the *Aqua Marcia* by Caracalla, between the death of his brother Geta in 212 and his acquisition of the title ‘Germanicus’ in 213 A.D.

\(^1\) Wilmanns, 2840; Dessau, ii 5920, ‘praestaturum secundum exemplum ceterorum solarium’. In Middleton’s *Rome*, ii 312, *solarium* (which is here meant) is confounded with *solarium*, a sunny upper room, here apparently ‘used for a whole house’! Facsimile of inscr. in Diehl, *Inscr. Lat.* 28 b.
Above the *Porta Praenestina* there is another group of three inscriptions relating to the *Aqua Claudia* and *Anio nova*, recording (1) their completion by Claudius in 52—53 A.D., (2) their restoration by Vespasian in 71, and (3) their further restoration by Titus in 81.

(1) Tl • CLAVDIVS • DRVSl • F • CAISAR • AVGVSTVS • GERMANIVS • CVMS • PONTIF • MAXIM • TRIBVNICIA • POTEASTE • XfT • IMPERATOR • XXVII • PATER • PATRIAE |
AQVAS • CLAVDIAM • EX FONTIBVS • QVI • VOCABANTVR • CAERVLEVS • ET • CVRTIVS • A MILLIARIO • XXXXV • ITEM • ANIENEM • NOVAM • A MILLIARIO • LXII • SVA • IMPENSA • IN VRBEM • PERDVCEANDAM • CVRAVIT

(2) IMP • CAESAR • VESPASIANVS • AVGVST • PONTIF • MAX • TRIB • POT • II • IMP • VI • COS • III • DESIG • IIII • P • P AQVAS • CVRTIAM • ET • CAERVLEAM • PERDVCTAS • A DĪVO • CLAVDIO • ET • POSTEA • INTERMISSAS • DILAPSASQVE • PER ANNOS • NOVEM • SVA • IMPENSA • IN VRBI • RESTITVIT

(3) IMP • T • CAESAR • DĪVI • F • VESPASIANVS • AVGVSTVS • PONTIFEX • MAXIMVS • TRIBVNIC | POTEASTE • X • IMPERATOR • XVII • PATER • PATRIAE • CENSOR • COS • VIII AQVAS • CVRTIAM • ET • CAERVLEAM • PERDVCTAS • A DĪVO • CLAVDIO • ET • POSTEA |
A DĪVO • VESPASIANO • PATRE • SVO • VRBI • RESTITVITAS • CVM • A CAPITE • AQVARVM • A SOLO • VETVSTATE • DILAPSAE • ESSENT • NOVA • FORMA • REDVCEANDAS • SVA • IMPENSA • CVRAVIT

1 i.e. 'imperial'.

2 Wilmanns, 765 f; Dessau, i 98; Burn’s *Rome*, pp. 63, 71; and Middleton’s *Rome*, ii 340.

3 Wilmanns, 764; Dessau, i 218; cp. Schreiber’s *Atlas*, lvii 1; Burn’s *Rome*, p. 65; Middleton’s *Rome*, ii 344 f; and Lanciani, on *Frontinus and the Aqueducts of Ancient Rome*, in *Memorie dei Lincei*, vol. iv 215—616 (Rome, 1880), and text and translation by C. Herschel (Boston, Mass. 1899); also O. Hirschfeld, *Verwaltungsbeamten* (1905), 273—284. For inscriptions relating to aqueducts, cp. Dessau, ii 5743—5796, and *C. I. L.* xv 906 ff.
In the original, the last paragraph above quoted forms a single line, in characters far smaller than the rest; and, throughout these inscriptions from aqueducts, M appears in a shape resembling m.

The above records of the completion or restoration of aqueducts are drawn up in the same general style as the 'honorary inscriptions' already noticed. The distinctive and characteristic point about them is that they are inscribed on the aqueducts themselves.

The legal conditions relating to the aqueduct at Venafrum are laid down in an edict of Augustus. In the Monumentum Ancyranum he records the fact that he doubled the supply of the Aqua Marcia by adding a second source (called the Aqua Augusta):—Aqvam · Qvae · Marcia · AppellatvR · DvpliCAVI | Fonte · Novo · In · Rivvm · Eivs · InmISSo. The space of ground belonging to an aqueduct, usually 30 feet wide, was marked by cippi, or upright slabs of stone, of the same general type as Roman milestones. Several of those set up by Augustus have been found, e.g. IvL · TEP · MAR | IMP · CAESAR | DIVI · F | AVGVSTVS | EX S · C | LXXV | P · CCXL. This refers to the three aqueducts of the aqua Julia, Tepula and Marcia, and denotes that the number of the cippus was 75, and the distance from the junction, 240 feet, which is equivalent to the longer side of a iugerum (240 × 120 feet). The number of hours, during which private houses could be supplied with water, was indicated by an inscription at the point where the small pipe left the large, e.g. 'aquae (= fistulae aquariae) duae ab hora secunda ad horam sextam'. Even the names of the makers of the leaden pipes were inscribed, with the names of the emperor and the procurator, e.g. 'Imp(eratoris) Caesar(is) Domitiani Aug(usti), sub cura | Alypii proc(uratoris); fec(erunt) Esychus et Hermias.'

We have a large number of inscriptions recording the construction or repair of roads. A slab of stone by the roadside recorded the name of the emperor, and the nature or extent of the repairs, in phrases such as refecit

1 Cp. Wilmanns, indices, ii p. 658 f.
2 Dessau, ii 5743.
3 c. 20.
4 Wilmanns, 776; cf. Dessau, ii 5744—5748.
5 Wilmanns, 780; cp. ib. 2038; Frontinus, ii 94.
6 Ib. 2808 a.
et restituit; silice sua pecunia stravit; viam antehac lapide albo
inutiliter stratam et corruptam silice novo... fecit.

One of the earliest of such documents is that found on the
site of Forum Popilii at Polla in Lucania, in which one who

Viam fecei ab Regio ad Capuam, et in ea via ponteis omneis, miliarios
tabelariosque poseivei.

Hince sunt Noueerriam meilia
Capuam
Muranum
Cosentiam
Valentiam
ad fretum ad statuum
Regium
suma af Capua Regium meilia

Et eidem praetor in Sicilia fugiteivos Italicorum conquaeisivei, redideique
hominens DCCCCXVII. Eidemque primus fecei, ut de agro poplieo aratoribus
eederent pastores. Forum aedisque poplicas heie feeci (Dessau, i 23; ep.
Lindsay, 74—76).

1 Dessau, ii 5818.  
2 Ib. 5821.  
3 Ib. 5822.
is certainly identified as P. Popillius Laenas, consul of 132 B.C.,
describes his building of a road from Regium to Capua, and his
other services.

Near the beginning of the above inscription, we should pro-
bably understand lapides with tabelarios, as well as with miliarios,
taking miliarios to mean stones bearing only the number of the
miles, while tabelarios might imply stones bearing a tabella or
brief inscription of quadrangular form.

Augustus in 2 B.C. inscribed on every milestone of his road
from the Baetis to Gades:—a Baete et Iano Augusto ad Oceanum,
and Claudius in 46 A.D. on those of the road founded by his
father Drusus:—viam Claudiam Augustam, quam Drusus pater
Alpibus bello patefactis derexerat, munit ab Altino (or a flumine
Pado) ad flumen Danavium.

Trajan, in 100 A.D., caused a road to be cut in the living rock
close to the water’s edge on the right bank of the Danube, near
the ‘Iron Gate’,—montibus excisi(s) anco(ni)bus sublatis, ‘by
hewing out the mountains, and removing the jutting crags’; and,
in III, built another road in the newly founded province of
Arabia, a finibus Syriae usque ad mare Rubrum. The Via
Traiana, which passed from Beneventum through Barium to
Brundisium, is personified on a coin of Trajan, and, on the Arch
of Constantine, the Via Flaminia is represented reclining at the
feet of Marcus Aurelius.

Inscriptions on milestones (miliaria) and boundary-stones
(cippi terminates) include names of places and records of distances,
which throw light on the topo-

1 Cp. O. Hirschfeld, Kleine Schriften, 708.
2 Dessau, i 102. Similarly, Gaius Caesar in 39 A.D., Hübner, Exempla,
283.
3 C. I. L. v 8002 f; cp. Dessau, i 208.
4 ‘Trabes intelligit Mommsenus, ego angulos montis’, Vollmer in Lat.
Thesaurus, s.v. ancon.
5 Dessau, ii 863, view by Bartlett in Dr W. Beattie’s Danube (1844),
p. 214.
6 Dessau, 5834, 5845; inscriptions on milestones on the Arnon, and in
other parts of Arabia Petraea.
7 Daremberg et Saglio, s.v. Via, figs. 7428, 7429. On the Via Traiana
see Ashby and R. Gardner in Papers of British School of Rome, viii (1916) 104—
171. For inscriptions relating to roads, cp. Dessau, ii 5799–5891, iii (2)
9371–4.
graphy of Rome, and the geography of the Provinces. In all, there are nearly 4000 milestones. Of these, about one-third have been found in Africa; only about 600 in the whole of Italy; and, of these, two-thirds in the South; about 100 in Sardinia; none in Corsica and Sicily. Spain has more than 400; Gallia Narbonensis about 250; the 'three Gauls' about 200; Germania and Helvetia about 250; Britannia about 70; and the Danubian Provinces less than 400.

The earliest at present known was set up by the curule aediles on the *Via Appia* at a place *ad Medias*, in the Pomptine marshes, in the first half of the first Punic War:

P. Claudio Ap. f., | C. Fourio aediles. (In fronte) ∣ III (a tergo) X².

Not much later in date we have two milestones set up by plebeian aediles: (1) xi miles from Rome on the *Via Ostiensis*³; and (2) xxx miles from Rome on the left bank of the Tiber:

P. Menates P. f. | aid. pl. | XXX⁴.

In 187 B.C. we have three set up by M. Aemilius Lepidus, the builder of the *Via Aemilia* between Ariminum and Placentia, one of them marking xv miles from Bononia, and another xxı from Mutina⁵. In 148 we have a milestone of Sp. Postumius Albinus, the builder of the *Via Postumia* from Cremona to Genua, with a record of the total length of cxxii miles, and the distance of xxvii miles from Cremona, and viii from a station unnamed⁶. Shortly after 146 B.C. the *Via Egnatia* was constructed, and the fact that it was provided with milestones is attested by Polybius⁷.

The age of the Gracchi is represented by a milestone of P. Popillius, consul of 132, builder of the *Via Popillia* between Ariminum and Atria. This was found at Atria, and it marks the distance of 81 miles between that place and Ariminum:

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¹ Cp., in general, O. Hirschfeld, *Die römischen Meilensteine* (1907), in *Kleine Schriften* (1913), pp. 703—743; and Daremberg et Saglio, s.v. *Via*.

² i.e. 53 miles from Rome, and 10 from the beginning of the 19 miles of the *decennovium* (Dessau, ii 5801); cp. Eph. Epigr. ix (1913), p. 494, n. 971.

³ *Röm. Mitt.* 10 (1895), 298 ff, with facsimile.

⁴ Dessau, ii 5802.

⁵ *ib.* 5803—4.

⁶ *ib.* 5806.

We have already noticed his own record of his construction of the road between Capua and Regium.

The age of the Gracchi also saw the beginning of the erection of milestones in the Provinces. Several of those set up by M. Aquillius in Asia Minor have been discovered on roads from Ephesus to Pergammon, or to Tralles and Sardis. He was consul in 129 B.C., and, as proconsul, two years later, he superintended the settlement of the boundaries on the taking over of the Pergamene kingdom. The same age is represented by a milestone of C. Cornelius Cinna, consul in 127; and another of T. Quinctius Flamininus, consul in 123. Gaius Gracchus set up milestones on the roads which he constructed; and the Via Domitia in Gallia Narbonensis was marked out with milestones shortly after his death in 121. It was probably in the age of Sulla (80 B.C.) that the several sections of an unidentified Via Caecilia were contracted for, and the beginning and end of each section denoted by the number of the miles on the milestones. The age of Caesar is represented by a milestone of P. Servilius Isauricus, proconsul of Asia in 46 B.C.

A new epoch begins with the Empire. Augustus, in the early years of his rule, repaired the Via Flaminia, and the road between Tusculum and Alba was restored by Valerius Messalla. The old tradition, that the charges for the repair of roads were sanctioned by the Senate, was maintained, as a matter of policy, by Augustus, whose milestones on the Via Appia, Latina, and Salaria (of 17—12 B.C.) bear the inscription S·C or EX S·C. While the emperors did much for the maintenance of the Via Appia, they are seldom mentioned as contributing to the cost of the roads in the Provinces, the expenses of which generally fell on the owners or the communities in the vicinity of the road. The emperor's

1 Dessau, ii 5807; facsimile in Ritschl, Tab. liv AA, and Opusc. iv, Tiefel xiii A (copied in Daremberg et Saglio, fig. 5029, and Egbert, p. 251).
2 p. 132 supra.
3 Dessau, ii 5809.
4 ib. 5808.
5 Plutarch, Gaius Gracchus, c. 7.
6 Polybius, iii 39, 8.
7 Dessau, ii 5799.
8 Dessau, i 40.
9 ib. 84 (quoted p. 121).
10 Tibullus, i 7, 57 ff.
11 ex senatus consulto.
name is often recorded either in the dative of dedication, or in the ablative of date. Even when the name is in the nominative, it does not follow that the emperor bore the expense, except in the case of the early Caesars. Thus, on a stone of 14 B.C. found between Monaco and Mentone, we read:—‘imp(erator) Caesar | Augustus, imperator x, | tribunicia potestate XI | \( \text{BCI} \)’ (i.e. 691 miles from Rome). Elsewhere we find the number of miles from the principal town of the region, such as Lyons, Ephesus, or Carthage. Of milestones found in England, the best, one of 120 A.D., of the time of Hadrian, is now in the municipal Museum, Leicester:—‘Imp(erator) Caes(ar) | Div(i) Traiani Parth(ici) f(ilius), Div(i) Ner(vae) nep(os), | Traian(us) Hadrian(us) Aug(ustus) p(ater) p(atriae), trib(unicia) | pot(estate) IV COS III a Ratis (i.e. ‘from Leicester’) II. In the Provinces in general the name of the Roman governor is often added. Thus a milestone at Ancyra after giving the titles of Domitian in 82 A.D., continues ‘per | A. Caesennium Gallum leg(atum) | pr(o) pr(aetore) vias provinciarum | Galatiae Cappadociae | Ponti Pisidiae Paphlagoniae | Lycaonieae Armeniae minoris | stravit’, and ends with the number of miles, above in Latin, VIII, and below in Greek, \( \text{H} \). But the name Domitianus is omitted, or mutilated, in this inscription, and in another at Ancyra, two years earlier in date. The names of emperors whose memory was execrated were apt to be mutilated, and the maltreated and rejected milestones were sometimes collected in a dépôt at the chief town of the Roman road, as at Rennes and Bayeux, and also at Heidelberg. In Upper Germany and in Gaul, from the time of Caracalla, the distances were reckoned in leagues (of 1500 passus), e.g. in Baden, ‘C(olonia) A(urelia) A(quensium). Ab Aq(uis) leug(ae) IIII’.

Milestones often indicate, not only the number of miles from the beginning of the road, but also the number from the end;
and Quintilian dwells on the encouragement which the traveller thus derives from the record of the diminishing distance:—facientibus iter multum detrahunt fatigationis notata inscriptis lapidibus spatia¹.

The forms of milestones vary. That of Popillius (132 B.C.)² is four feet high and two broad, and tapers towards the part inserted in the ground. Cato implies that a miliarium was a columella³. Between Nîmes and Arles, on the Via Domitia of 120 B.C., which was restored by the early emperors, the milestones of Augustus are cylindrical in shape, and only record the emperor’s titles in 3 B.C.; those of Tiberius are quadrangular pillars, which add to the imperial titles of 31—32 A.D. the distance in miles; while, in those of Claudius, the inscription on

Fig. 36. Milestone of Claudius, between Nîmes and Arles (height above ground, 7 feet, 7 inches); reproduced, by permission, from Daremberg et Saglio, s.v. Milliarium, p. 178.

Ti(berius) Claudius Drusi f(ilius) Caesar Aug(ustus) Germanic(us) Pontif(ex) Max(imus) trib(unicia) pot(estate) cos. desig(natus) II IMP II REFECIT (Dessau, i 200), A.D. 41. The meaning of the letter P, below the inscription, is unknown.

¹ Quintilian, iv 5, 22.
² p. 134 supra.
³ De Agri Cultura, 20, 22.
the cylindrical stone is enclosed in a quadrangular frame, making no mention of miles, but confining itself to the imperial titles of 41 A.D.\(^1\) An example of this last is given on p. 137.

On the *Vallum* of Antoninus Pius, constructed about 142 A.D. along the 36 miles between the Firth of Forth and the Firth of Clyde, a series of inscribed tablets has been found recording the exact distance covered by the work accomplished by each legion, or detachment of the same (a *vexillatio*, probably composed of two centuries). The work was apparently begun at the eastern end, and finished on the western. Out of seventeen tablets, the eight found in the eastern portion of the *vallum* record the distance in paces (*millia passuum* usually expressed PER \(\cdot\) M \(\cdot\) P), varying from 4652 paces to 3000\(^5\), while the remaining nine, found in the western portion, probably record it in feet (*pedes*, expressed P \(\cdot\) or P \(\cdot\) P), varying from 4411 to 3000\(^3\). On two of these nine, the work is described as *OPVS VALLI*\(^4\). The Second Legion, and a detachment of the Sixth, are each represented by five of the tablets; and the Twentieth, or a detachment of the same, by seven. The largest and finest of them all is that found in 1868 near the eastern end of the *Vallum*, at Bridgeness in Linlithgowshire. It includes two interesting pieces of sculpture; that on the right is a sacrificial scene, in which five men are standing, one of whom is pouring a libation on an altar, while another bears a standard inscribed *LEG II AVG*; below, there is a *tibicen*, and an attendant with the three characteristic animals of the *suovetaurilia*, a sacrifice known as a *piaculum Martis*, and connected with the 'lustration' of an army on taking the field\(^5\). On the left we have an armed horseman, of the Dexileos type, brandishing a spear, with four foemen prostrate beneath him\(^6\). See Fig. 37.

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2 *C. I. L.* vii 1088, 1121, 1122, 1126, 1130, 1131, 1132, 1143.

3 1133, 1133\(a\), 1135, 1136, 1137, 1138, 1140, 1141, and probably 1142. P may, however, be used for *passus* as well as for *pedes*. In *C. I. L.* vi 29774 (Dessau, 6032), P \(\infty\) is used for *passus mille*, as well as for *pedes mille*.

4 1135, 1140.

5 Livy, i 44, 2; viii 10, 14; Tacitus, *Ann.* vi 37.

Fig. 37. Distance-slab from the Vallum of Antoninus Pius, Scotland.

Original, 9 feet long, by 3 feet, 11 inches high, in the National Museum of Antiquities, Edinburgh; from a cast, made for the Roman Society, in the British Museum.

**Imperatori Caesar Titus Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Augustus Pio, Patri Patriae, Legio II Avgvsta per Millia Passuvm IIIIDCL II Fecit.** (Cp. C. I. L. vii. 1688.)

It has here been assumed that the name of the emperor is in the dative, as is usual in honorary inscriptions. **Caesari** is found in full in the distance-tablets numbered C. I. L. vii. 1121 and 1143.
Of these seventeen tablets, fifteen are in the Hunterian Museum, Glasgow\(^1\), while one of the others \((1133\ a)\) was purchased by the Chicago Museum, and perished in the great fire of 1871. The only similar record found on the *Vallum* of Hadrian (belonging to 122 A.D.) is a mere fragment from Chester, restored as \(\langle{\text{LEG}}\cdot{\text{II}}\rangle\ AV\{G\text{VSTA}\} \ (\text{FECIT} \text{ PEDES})\ CCCXLIII\)**, while the work of a single *centuria* is recorded in about 12 other unimportant inscriptions as amounting to distances varying from 22 to 200 *P\{EDES\}*, and one space of 200 and two of 800 feet are described as having been finished in the fortification of Salōnae in Dalmatia in 170 A.D.\(^4\) But nothing exactly resembling the distance-slabs of the *Vallum* of Antoninus Pius has been found in any other part of the Roman world \(^5\).

Of boundary-stones (*cippi terminales*), the earliest are the two found at Venusia declaring certain places *aut sacrom aut poublicom locom ese*\(^6\). Next come the *cippi* marking out the ager Campanus for division among the plebs under the authority of Gaius Gracchus and his two colleagues, *tres viri agris iudicandis adsignandis*, with the lines and angles of the cardo and the decumanus\(^7\). We also have boundary-stones between different communities, for example, three inscriptions of 141—136 B.C., fixing the boundaries between Ateste and Patavium on the one hand\(^8\), and between Ateste and Vicetia on the other. This last runs as follows:—

Sex. Atilius M. f. Saranus pro cos | ex senati consulto | inter Atestinos et Veicetinos | finis terminosque statui iusit\(^9\).

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2 *C. I. L*. vii 596.

3 *Ib. 228*, from Ribchester, now in the Library of St John’s College, Cambridge, coh\{ortis\} x (centuria) Titiana. *O\{pus\}? \{edum\} xxvii*. Cp. also 143, 144, 151, 213, 215, 630, 631 a, 780, 782, 789, 854.

4 Dessau, i 2287, 2616, 2617.


6 Wilmanns, 863.

7 Dessau, i 24 f.

8 Dessau, ii 5944 f; Facs. in Ritschl, LVIII a, b, c.

9 Dessau, ii 5945; Facs. in Ritschl, i.v b.
In Rome there are the *termini ripae Tiberis*, beginning with 55 B.C., and continuing in and after the Augustan age. In that age we have a series of upright stones marking the boundary, and stating the distance of the next stone 'in a straight line' (*recto rigore*) in either direction:

In front: Imp. Caesar divi f. | Augustus | pontifex maximus, | tribunic(ia) potest(ate) X V I I , | ex s. c. terminavit.
On right side: r(ecto) r(igore) prox(imus) cipp(us) ped(es) XX IV.
On back: r(ecto) r(igore) prox(imus) cipp(us) ped(es) C C V I .

*Cippi* have also been found, in or near Rome, recording the *termini* of the *pomerium* of Claudius, and of Vespasian and Titus. In each case the inscription begins with the full name of the Emperor or Emperors, and ends with the phrase *auctis populi Romani finibus, pomerium ampliavit terminavitque*, or *ampliaverunt terminaveruntque*. From the *Campus Martius* we have the following, of the time of Hadrian, 120 A.D.:

Ex s(enatus) c(onsulto) collegium | augurum, auctore | imp(erator) Caesare divi | Traiani Parthici (ilio), | divi Nervae nepote, | Traiano Hadriano | Aug(usto), pont(ifice) max(imo), trib(unicia) pot(estate) v, cos. III, procos. | terminos pomerii | restituendos curavit.

Near the bank of the Tiber, below the Aventine, a *cippus* has been found, recording the boundary between private and public property:

Imp(erator) Caesar Augustus | ex privato in publicum | restituit, in partem dextram recta | regione ad prox(imum) cippum | ped(es) CLXXXII, | et in partem sinistram recta | regione ad prox(imum) cippum | ped(es) CLXXVIII.

We have similar *cippi* relating to the boundaries of *municipia* in Italy and the Provinces. When the colony of Capua was enlarged by Caesar, massive boundary-stones were set up along the line traced by the plough-share, with the inscription:—

*IVSSV • IMP • CAESARIS | QVA • AARATVRM • DVCTVM | EST.* At Pompeii, under the authority of Vespasian, a tribune announces on a *cippus* the fact that he has restored to public use certain

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1 Dessau, ii 5922, a, b, c; Facs. in Diehl, *Insc. Lat. 8 d.*
2 *ib.* 5923 (8 B.C.).
3 *ib.* 5924 b; 5932, *rect. rigore*.
4 Dessau, i 213, 248.
5 *ib.* 311.
6 *ib.* ii 5936; ep. 5935—5943; 5946, ll. 8—9, *recta regione*; iii (2) 9376.
7 Wilmanns, 858.
property, which had been encroached upon by private owners. Many inscriptions as to *termini* have been found in the Provinces. Similarly we have public notices as to private property, e.g. 'via inferior | privatast | T. Umbreni C. f., | precario itur, | pecus plostru | níquis agat'.

In theatres, amphitheatres, and circuses, the Greek custom of placing inscriptions on seats assigned to certain officials or private persons, was adopted in many parts of the Roman world. Such inscriptions have been found in the 'Flavian Amphitheatre', commonly called the Colosseum, and in the Amphitheatres of Verona, Ariminum, Pola, and Syracuse; also in those of Nimes and Arles, Lyons and Orange.

The Fratres Arvales of Rome, in the minutes of one of their meetings, specially record the places assigned to themselves in the 'Flavian Amphitheatre' in 80 A.D.

1 Wilmanns, 864.  
2 Dessau, ii 5948—5986, iii (2) 9378—9387.  
3 *ib. 6012*; cp. 5987—6041.  
4 Wilmanns, 2740—2746.  
5 Hübner, *Exempla*, p. xlix; Dessau, ii 5654.  
6 Dessau, ii 5049; *Faci. in Hübner's Exempla*, 996, and Ricci, *Tac.* lxi.
CHAPTER VIII

(v) INSCRIPTIONS ON PORTABLE OBJECTS

The 'portable objects' here to be considered in connexion with inscriptions are usually classed in modern works under the heading of *instrumentum*. This is a general term including articles used in public or private life. They may be (i) articles of metal, such as (a) weights and measures, (b) *tesserae*, (c) armour and missiles, (d) vessels or other articles of gold, silver, or bronze, (e) pipes of lead, (f) stamps and seals; (ii) products of mines and quarries; (iii) tiles; and (iv) vessels of clay.

(i) (a) Weights and measures (*pondera et mensurae*) made of stone, lead or bronze, are generally marked with letters and numbers (either incised or raised in relief) denoting their size. Sometimes they bear inscriptions giving the name of the place where they have been tested, e.g. *exactum ad Castoris*; or *in issu ad(illum) exact(um) ad Articuleiana pondera* i(n) C(apitolo), Articuleius being one of the aediles of 47 A.D. The following is the inscription (of 72 A.D.) on the 'Farnese Congius', now in Naples:—

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IMP. CAESARE | VESPAS. VI | T. CAES. AVG. F. IIII COS | MENSVRAE | EXACTAE IN | CAPITOLIO | PX (i.e. 10 pounds)². After Trajan the weights and measures were tested by the praefect, e.g. *ex auctoritate Q. Iuni Rustici praefecti urbi* (c. 162 A.D.)³. Weights belonging to a legion were stamped with the name of that legion⁴.
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For purposes of weighing, the Romans used a steelyard (*stateria*) of bronze, as well as a simple balance (*libra*). The

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¹ 73 A.D.
² Dessau, ii (2) 8628; cp. 8629–36.
³ ib. 8638.
⁴ C. I. L. iii 784; Daremberg-Saglio, s.v. *Legio*, fig. 4406.
bar of the steelyard was graduated into several divisions, each subdivided into twelfths, representing pounds (librae) and ounces (unciae) respectively. The ounces were marked by notches, and the pounds by numbers incised in the bar, e.g. on the bar of a steelyard found in London (which can also be used as a foot-rule) the numbers marking the pounds are inscribed at distances of one foot from each other:—

X IIIIV IIIV IV V III

(b) Tesserae, primarily used of small cubes of bone or ivory, is also applied to various kinds of tickets or tokens:—

(1) the tesserae frumentariae, entitling the holder to obtain a dole of corn. Thus, in the British Museum, we have a quadrangular bronze corn-ticket, with a tapering top, inscribed, on one side Ant(oninus) Aug(ustus), Lib(eralitas) II, and, on the other, fruentatio LXI, i.e. the 61st monthly distribution dating from the accession of Antoninus (Pius?, 138 A.D.)². We have also certain leaden counters (tesserae nummariae) marked with some attribute of Annona, such as the modius or ears of corn, with or without an indication of the time and place of distribution.

(2) Various tesserae, or counters of bone, ivory, or lead, inscribed, on one side, with Alexandrian buildings, and, on the other, with two numbers, one in Latin and one in Greek, used to be regarded as tesserae theatrales entitling the holder to admission to the circus, or the theatre or amphitheatre. But they are probably a kind of tesserae lusoriae used like draughts in the ludus duodecim scriptorum³.

(3) Another kind of tesserae lusoriae of ivory has a Roman number from I up to LX on one side, and, on the other, some abusive or complimentary word, such as nugator, fur, fortunate, facete⁴.

³ Daremberg-Saglio, s.v. Tessera, fig. 6818.
⁴ Cp. Hülsen, in Röm. Mitt. 1896, 227 f; Dessau ii (2) 8625; Daremberg-Saglio, fig. 6817.
(4) The so-called 'contorniates', or bronze discs resembling coins, with designs in relief on either side within a raised rim and a circular depression, many of which have subjects connected with the circus, were probably used as counters in a game played on an oblong marble board inscribed with six words of six letters each. Here are two examples:

(a) CIRCVS PLENVS
   CLAMOR INGENS
   IANVAE TE(NSAE?)
(b) LVIDERE NESCIS
   PERDIS PLORAS
   VINCIS GAVDES

Each word was separated from that opposite by a flower within a circle.

(5) Tesserae hospitales, or tokens interchanged between host and guest, are mentioned by Plautus (Poëm. 958, 1047). We have two examples of the bronze head of a ram, and two of a bronze fish, divided longitudinally into two parts, one of which

![Fig. 38. Tessera hospitalis, found near the lacus Fucinus, 1895; reproduced by permission from Darenberg-Saglio, s.v. Hospitium, fig. 3909. T(itus) Manlius T(itil) f(filius) | hospes | T(itus) Staiodius N(umerii) f(filius).](image-url)
could be kept by each of the two persons taking a pledge of 'hospitality'\(^1\). One of the former includes the word *hospes* (see Fig. 38); one of the latter, *hospitium fecere*.

These belong mainly to private life, and specimens have been preserved in Rome and Vienna. Similar tokens relating to public life, and forming a compact between one community and another, or between a community and a private person, were recorded on bronze tablets known as *tabulae patronatus et hospitii*, presented (in the latter case) by a community to its patron. This was often in the form of a *tabella fastigiata*, with holes enabling it to be hung on the walls of the *atrium* of the person so honoured. Thus, L. Domitius Ahenobarbus, the grandfather of Nero, was made patron of a *pagus* in Northern Africa\(^2\). The usual phrase in such cases is *hospitium fecit*\(^3\); but, on a tablet of 2 B.C. it is stated that a certain Spaniard *tesseram hospitalem fecit cum civitate Palantina sibi et filiis suis posterisque*\(^4\). Most of these tablets have been found in Spain or Africa. As forms of agreement between a person and a community, they are sometimes regarded as belonging to the class of legal compacts\(^5\).

(6) The *tesserae gladiatoriae* are small oblong pieces of bone or ivory, less than two inches long, with a handle or a hole at one end, and with inscriptions distributed over the four long faces. The inscription has (1) the name of a person, whether slave or freedman, (2) that of his owner or trainer, (3) the word *spectavit* or the abbreviation *sp.*, *spe.* or *spect.*, (4) the month, with or without the day, and (5) the consuls of the year. This last item, which determines the date, has led to their being called *tesserae consulares*; they extend over the first century B.C. and the first A.D. About sixty of these have been found, and at least six of them have *Spectavit* in full, (1) *DIOCLES VECILI*; (2) *FILOMVSVS PERELI* (both known to Ritschl); (3) *PROTEMVS FALCI* (in the British Museum); (4) *GENTIVS PACONI T(ITU) S(ERVVS); (5) *MENOPIL · ABI · L(VCI) S(ERVVS) C · VAL(ERIO)

\(^1\) See, however, Wordsworth's *Early Latin*, p. 471.
\(^2\) Dessau, ii 6095; facsimile in Hübner, *Exempla*, 863.
\(^3\) Dessau, ii 6095, 6099, 6100, 6103, etc.
\(^4\) ib. 6096; facsimile in Hübner, l. c. 865, cp. ib. 862—887.
\(^5\) p. 157 infra.
M. HER(ENNIO) (consuls of 93 B.C., the earliest discovered with a definite date); (6) PAMPHIL · SOCIORVM. One of those with SP belongs to 63 B.C. M. TVL·C·ANT. The subject of spectavit is the gladiator, who, on the date specified, received this ticket of discharge, and 'took his place as a spectator' on being released from the arena. In a single tessera from Arles (only preserved in ms) we have Anchial(us) Sirti Luccii (servus) spectat. num. mense Febr. M. Tul(liio) C. Ant(onio) cos. (63 B.C.). SPECTAT · N\ˌN is interpreted by Mommsen as spectat(or), and by Ritschl as spectatus munere. The latter view would make it parallel to the phrase in Horace (Ep. i 1, 2), spectatum satis et donatum iam rude.

(7) The tesserae conviviales were tickets of admission to public banquets, marked with numbers which probably indicated the place reserved for the holder.

(8) A number of perforated leaden seals of circular or oval shape have been found in England, inscribed with abbreviations denoting cohorts or centuries of the Second Legion. These are probably bullae or badges, worn either as countersigns, or as marks of military distinction.

The above are only a few of the many varieties of inscribed Roman tesserae. The tesserae plumbeae in particular, or tokens of lead, were first classified by O. Benndorf in 1875. An important advance was made, on the same general lines, by Rostovzév, who

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1 Hübner, in Eph. Epigr. iii 161 f, 203.
2 Henzen, ib. 204.
3 Ritschl, Opusc. iv 572—565, with many facsimiles in Atlas of plates, xx, xxi, xxii; Hübner, Exempla, 6 facsimiles, 1194—9; British Museum Guide to—Roman Life, p. 75, specimen belonging to 85 B.C.; Dessau, ii 5161, with literature on p. 310; Friedländer's Sittengeschichte, ed. 6, ii 524; Bursian's Jahresb. li (1888) 103 f; Egbert, p. 260. Names of gladiators are followed twice by sp. in Dessau, ii 5084. Fröhner, however, Coll. Dutuit, ii (1901) 162 f, 211 f, approved by Rostovzév, Bleitesserae (1903) 2 f, reads spectat num(-er) in the tessera of Arles, and understands it of an incubatio.
4 On tesserae in general, see esp. Darentberg-Saglio, s.v., 1912, where the Roman tesserae are reviewed under the following headings;—(1) frumentariae, (2) spectaculum, (3) collegiorum iuvenum, (4) collegiorum et sodalitatum, (5) balnearum et hospitiorum, (6) sportularum, (7) hospitales, (8) militares.
5 C. I. L. vii 1269.
catalogued nearly 4000, in 1903. The tesserae discussed by him may be classified as follows: I, tesserae publicae, (1) imperiales, (2) militares, (3) frumentariae and nummariae, (4) spectaculorum, (5) collegiorum iuvenum; II, tesserae privatae, (1) hospitales, (2) collegiorum, (3) artificum, (4) negotiatorum. Tesserae frumentariae, spectaculorum, hospitales and militares have already been mentioned above under the headings (1), (2), (5), and (8).

(c) Armour. The 'Sword of Tiberius', found at Mainz, and now in the British Museum, was probably presented to an officer who served under Germanicus; it is inscribed FELICITAS TIBERI and VIC AVG, Victoria Augusti. The shield was sometimes marked with the name of the owner and that of his legion and cohort. Thus the umbo (or centre-plate) of the shield of a Roman legionary, adorned with two military standards, and figures of the four seasons and of Mars and an eagle and an ox, found near the mouth of the Tyne, is faintly inscribed: — Leg(ionis) VIII Aug(ustae); (centuria) Iul(ii) Magni; Iunii Dubitati.

Leaden sling-bolts (glandes plumbeae), oval in form and pointed at both ends, are inscribed with letters in relief denoting the name of the praetor, as in the bolt at Asculum used in the Social War of 90—88 B.C., inscribed T. Laf(renius) pr(aetor), (C. I. L. ix 6086, 1). They may also be inscribed with the name of the people making war, as Itali (on the bolt just quoted); or the person, as Cn. Mag(nus) imperator, on a bolt used in the war waged against Julius Caesar by Cn. Pompeius Magni filius (C. I. L. ii 4965); or the maker; or the corps of slingers. Sometimes they bear the word feri, or insulting messages to the foe: — em tibi malum malo; fugitivae peritis; pertinacia vos radicitus tollet. Many similar bolts are forgeries.

1 Tesserarum urbis Romae et suburbii plumbeorum Sylloge, with Atlas, St Petersburg, 1903; also new German ed., Römische Bleitesserae, with two plates, Leipzig, 1905, in Klio, Ergänzungsband, i (3).
4 C. I. L. vii 495; Hübner's Exempla, 942; Schreiber's Atlas, xlv 5.
5 Kitschl, tab. viii—ix; C. I. L. ix pp. 631—647, x 8053, 1—5; Eph. Ep. vi, 143 pp. with 13 plates; Bursian, Jahresb. lvi (1888) 107—113; Egbert, 262, 328.
6 C. I. L. ix 328 ff.
Among inscriptions on gold, the first place must be assigned to that on the very ancient *fibula* from Praeneste:—*Manios med shefhaked Numasoi* (p. 38).

Inscriptions are found on gems and on the gold rings in which they are mounted. Thus AMO TE is found on the gem and on the gold of a ring from Aix (C. I. L. xii 5692 f).

The various portions of the silver plate from Hildesheim are stamped with the weight of each, and similarly with the silver *lanx* from Corbridge, marked on the back as weighing 14 pounds, 3 ounces, and 2 scruples. In many cases we find the name or initials of the owner. Among other inscriptions on silver may be mentioned the itinerary from Gades to Rome engraved on four cylindrical cups found at the warm springs of Vicarello (*Aquae Apollinares*) in Tuscany.

The silver mirrors and the bronze jewel-boxes (*cistae*) of Praeneste are inscribed with the names of Greek gods or heroes, and (in two or three examples) with the name of the maker or owner. Thus the celebrated *cista Ficorioniana* bears on the lid the inscription

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Νονινος} & \cdot \text{πλαυτίνος} \cdot \text{μεδ. ρομαί}. \text{ fecid} \\
\text{διάδια} & \cdot \text{μακονία} \cdot \text{φιλαί}. \text{ dedit}
\end{align*}
\]

(C. I. L. xiv 4112; Dessau, ii (2) 8652.)

The two lines are placed thus:

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{\.\.\.\text{νιδ/νιδ}} \\
\text{Νονινος\ldots..}
\end{array}
\]


On a bronze cup found in Wiltshire there is a very short itinerary of some stations on or near Hadrian's Wall. Among the inscriptions on the numerous bronze vessels exported from Italy, and found in various parts of Europe, may be mentioned those

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1 Dessau, ii (2) 8617.
3 C. I. L. xi p. 496 f; Desjardins, *Géographie...de la Gaule Romaine*, iv i—20, *les Vases Apollinaires de Vicarello*, with plates and maps.
4 C. I. L. vii 1291; Hübner's *Exempla*, 911.
on the handle of a bronze *patera* with the name of the maker stamped in relief in small characters, surrounded by another inscription formed by a series of dots ending with the abbreviation for *votum solvit libens merito*. The collars of bronze worn by slaves bore inscriptions such as *tene me, ne fugiam, et revoca me in*... Some of these are too small for a slave, and are probably dog-collars. We also find makers’ marks on bronze objects, and bronze stamps for marking goods with letters.

(e) Lead water-pipes (*fistulae plumbeae aquariae*) bear inscriptions in relief dating from the age of Augustus to the end of the third century. The earliest have only the name of the emperor; those of the second century add that of the *procurator*, or other official, and that of the *officinato*, under whose direction the pipe was made, or of the slave who made it. In special cases the inscription gives the name of the owner of the house, or the capacity of the pipe.

(f) Seals (*signacula*) for stamping inscriptions in relief on softer substances were mainly made of bronze. They include the name of the owner of the article stamped, and sometimes that of the slave employed. They were also used to stamp certain kinds of provisions, e.g. *C. I. L. x* 8058, 18, *inscriptio impressa pani*, found at Herculaneum. A *centuria* of the 14th legion is named on the four sides of a stamp, found at Mainz, which resembles a small brick, and was probably used to mark the four sides of every loaf of bread supplied to that *centuria*. See Daremberg-Saglio, s.v. *Legio*, fig. 4407. The passage of Pliny, *cibi quoque ac potus anulo vindicantur a rapina* (xxxiii 26), need only refer to the use of a signet-ring to seal up stores.

A special class of *signacula* or seals, with letters cut on each of the four outside edges of small rectangular tablets of steatite or slate, was used by oculists for stamping the packets containing the medicament prescribed. Each of the edges bears an inscrip-

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1 Hübner’s *Ex*. 933.
2 *C. I. L. xv* 7171–91; Dessau, ii (2) 8726–33.
3 See p. 151 infr.
4 Cp. Dessau, ii (2) nos. 8677–8705.
tion, usually in two lines, giving the name of the oculist, and the remedy, and the malady for which it is to be used. See Fig. 39.

Fig. 39. Impression produced by Oculist’s Stamp found at Reims (from Hübner’s Exempla, 1203).

D · GALL(i) SEST(i) (s)FRAG|IS AD ASPRITVDI|NES
D · GALL(i) SEST(i) SFRA|GIS AD IMPET(VM) LIPPIT(VDINIS)
D · GALL(i) SESTI PE|NECIL(LVM) LE(NE) AD LIPP(ITVDINEM)
D · GALL(i) SESTI | DIVNV(M) AD ASP(RITVDINES)

The following are the inscriptions corresponding to the stamps on a specimen, found in England, and now in the British Museum:—

M · IVL · SATYRI DIASMV|INES POST IMPET(VM) LIPPIT(VDINIS)
M · IVL · SATVR· PENCE|CIL(LVM) LENE EX OVO
M · IVL · SATYRI DIA|LEPIDOS AD ASPR(ITVDINEM)
M · IVL · SATVR|I DIAL|BANVM AD SVPPVRAT(IONES)¹.

On the sole of a bronze foot we have a stamp enabling the vendor of pieces of pottery to impress his wares with the words VTERE FELIX (Ricci’s tav. lxv). Stamps were also used to impress inscriptions in relief on vessels of glass, as in the words BIBE VIVAS MVLTIS ANNIS running round the rim in letters of green on the opal ground of the beautiful bowl in the Museo Trivulzio at Milan². Souvenirs of Baiae have been found in the

² Guhl and Koner, E. T. fig. 453.
form of glasses bearing representations of the oyster-parks of that
sea-side health-resort, and inscribed (inter alia) with memoriae
felicissime filiae, and anima felix vivas.

(ii) Inscriptions are found on blocks of marble in ancient
quarries (as those in Lebanon, and near Hadrian's
Wall), or at the Roman emporium on the Tiber.
They include the number of the block, the name of
the quarry, the consuls of the year, the officials or slaves in
charge, and the emperor to whom the quarry belongs (cp. Dessau,
i (2) 8713–25).
Pigs of lead, found in various parts of England, Spain and
Sardinia, as well as in Italy, are stamped with the name of the
emperor, and the place where the metal was obtained. At Wookey
hole, near the Mendip hills, a block of lead belonging to 49 a.D. was
found bearing the inscription:—Ti: Claud(ius) Caesar Aug(ustus)
p(ontifex) m(aximus) trib(unicia) p(otestate) VIII imp(erator) XVI.
De Britan(nicis). Others are inscribed De Cea(nis) or De
Ceangi(s), (the Cangi of Tac. Ann. xii 32), or metallic Lutudare(n)s(is), from the Derbyshire mines of Lutudaron near Matlock.

(iii) Ancient tiles (tēgūlai) have been found near Parma,
Veleia and Placentia, bearing the names of consuls
between 76 and 11 B.C. In Rome the consuls are
not named until the second century A.D. Tiles of the last
century of the Republic, or the first of the Empire, bear rect-
angular stamps with the inscription in a single line. Two straight
lines of lettering are found on the stamps from about 50 A.D., and
several in the time of Trajan and Hadrian. Thus far, each of
the letters is concave. From the former date onwards, we also
have stamps, with the lettering in relief, which are either perfectly
round, or are of a semicircular or crescent shape. The crescent
is produced by leaving a small circle blank within the edge of
the larger circle. In process of time, the size of the small circle
diminishes, the result being that the lettered portion of the stamp

1 Daremberg-Saglio, s.v. Vivarium, figs. 7559 f. For inscriptions on
glass, see also the works of Delville (1873) and Fröhner (1874).
2 C. I. L. vii p. 220 f.; Ἐπίθ. Ἑπ. ix p. 642–4; Ῥώμεν's Ex. 1204–13; Dessau, ii (2) 8706–11. In Tac. l.c. 'inde Cangos' is best read as 'in De-
cangos'; hence Haverfield rightly prefers Deceangi(cum); cp. C. I. L. vii
1203, Brit(annicum).
is of a crescent shape in 60—100 or 120 A.D.; the crescent increases between 100 and 180, and becomes an almost complete circle in 175—217. The inscription runs round the circumference in two or three concentric bands. The following are examples:—e.g. *Opus doliare Dionysi Domitiae P. filiae Lucillae, Paeto et Aproniano consulibus* (123 A.D.)

\[1\]

ex fig(ulis) M. Herenni Pollionis doll(iare) L. Sessi Succesi\[2\]; *Op(us) doll(iare) ex pr(aediis) C. Fuku(ii) Plaut(iani) pr(aefecti) pr(aetorid), || C(larissimi) V(iri), Cos. ii, fig(lina) Bucconia* (203—5, Fig. 40). This last has no smaller

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Fig. 40. Stamps on a Roman tile in the Vatican Museum, 203—5 A.D. (from Marini’s *Atti Arvali*, 1795, p. 544). Only part of the second stamp is here reproduced.


2 Hubner’s *Ex. 1214*.

circle left blank within the circumference; but there is a second inscription running in two horizontal lines at the foot of the same tile:—L. Numer(ius), divided by the palm-branch from Justus fec(it) in the second line. It also has in the centre of the circle a helmeted female figure, seated on a trophy. Other tiles have in the centre a decorative figure by way of trade-mark, sometimes referring to the name of the owner of the kiln, e.g. a wolf for Lupus, a crown for Stephanus.

Tiles used by soldiers in building their quarters are stamped with the name of the cohort, legion, or army. The badge of the legion is sometimes added. Thus, a capricorn playing with a ball appears on a tile of the LEG(IO) XXII PR(IMIGENIAE) P(IAE) F(ELICIS), found on the borders of Raetia and Germania.1 In Britain, the graves of Roman soldiers are marked by tiles bearing the names of their legions, such as LEG(IO) II AVG(VSTA), LEG(IO) VI VICT(RIX) P(IA) F(IDELIS), or LEG(IO) XX V(ALERIA) V(ICTRIX), Tiles have also been found, in Kent, inscribed CL · BR · (classis Britannicae)2.

Roofing-tiles were stamped with a decorative trade-mark. Flange tiles have been found in London, inscribed P · P · BR · LON, that is, probably, publicani provinciae Britanniae Londinienses. A tile inscribed with abbreviations equivalent to ‘Nero Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus’, i.e. the Emperor Nero, has been found at Silchester.3

(iv) Vessels of clay, including lamps (lucernae), and jars of various sizes, ranging from the small patellae and pelves to the intermediate amphorae, and the huge dōlia, are stamped with the name of the maker, merchant, or owner. The inscriptions include abbreviations of the words fecit, manu, officina or figlina. The letters are either impressed or in relief. Lamps were sometimes used as inexpensive New Year’s gifts; these were stamped with a figure holding a small disc inscribed with ANNO NOVO FAVSTVM FELIX TIBI SIT.4 On the

1 Copied in Cagnat, p. 343.
4 Haverfield, Romanization of Roman Britain, ed. 3, p. 49, n. 2.
5 Daremberg-Saglio, fig. 7415.
wine-jars we find the name of the wine, and of the maker or merchant, and the consuls of the year (as implied in Horace, C. iii 21, 1; Ep. i 5, 4); e.g. in red letters below the neck of an amphora from the Esquiline:—*Ti. Claudio P. Quinctilio cos. (13 B.C.), a(nte) d(iem) xiii K(al.) Iun(ias); vinum diffusum quod natum est duobus Lentulis cos. (18 B.C.), autocr(atos)*1.

1 Cp. Athenaeus, 32 f; see Dessau, ii (2) 8580, and cp. 8578—8594, and, in general, Walters, l.c., (lamps) ii 420—9, and (jars) 458—467.
CHAPTER IX

(II) Documents

The second great class of inscriptions consists of Documents (acta or instrumenta), incised on tablets of stone or metal. These fall into the following subdivisions:—

(1) Treaties (foedera). The only Italian treaty recorded in an extant inscription is that relating to the Oscan civitas libera of Bantia in Lucania, drawn up in 133—118 B.C., containing part of the concluding portion of an agreement in Latin and in Oscan, providing for the annual election of an index. The phrase lex plebeive scitum implies that the Latin document may have been a lex de foedere. The discovery of this inscription in 1790 led to the investigation of the Oscan dialect.

The oath sworn by the citizens of the civitas foederata of Aritium in Lusitania, on the accession of Caligula in 37 A.D., may be regarded as a foedus. Its terms are as follows:—

Ex animi mei sententia, ut ego iis inimicus ero, quos C. Caesari Germanico inimicos esse cognovero, et si quis periculum ei salutique eis infert inferetque, armis bello internicivo terra marique persequi non desinam, quoad poenas ei persolverit, neque me neque liberos meos salutare cariores habebo, eosque, qui in eum hostili animo fuerint, mihi hostes esse ducam; si sciens fallo fefellerove, tum me liherosque meos Juppiter optimus maximus ac divus Augustus ceterique omnes diimmortales expertem patria incolumitate fortunisque omnibus faximt.

1 Cp. p. 31 supra.
2 Facsimile in Ritschl, tab. xix; C. I. L. i 197; ii 582; ix 416; Allen, no. 103; Diehl, Alllateinische Inschriften, no. 226.
3 Cp. Conway’s Italic Dialects, i 22—24; Wordsworth’s Early Latin, 173 f, 420 f; Lindsay, 80—83; and Ernout, Textes Latins Archaiques, 85—89.
The tabulae patronatus et hospitii, already noticed (p. 146 supra), are of the nature of legal compacts.

(2) Laws, (including leges and plebiscita). (a) The earliest and most important of those preserved is the lex Acilia repetundarum (122 B.C.), inscribed on bronze plates about six feet broad in 90 lines of no less than 200—240 letters each.

On the back of the lex Acilia is (b), the lex agraria of III B.C., the last of the enactments made after the death of Gaius Gracchus with a view to annulling his agrarian laws.

(c) The lex Cornelia de viginti quaestoribus, being the eighth tablet of Sulla's legislation, referring to the appointment of additional quaestors.

(d) The plebiscitum of 71 B.C., confirming the autonomy of Termessus in Pisidia, one of four or five large plates.

(e) The lex Rubria de civitate Galliae Cisalpinae (49 B.C.). It is characteristic of Caesar's legislation that this document is drawn up in a more convenient form, in two columns, with numbered divisions, of which the extant bronze tablet is the fourth.

(f) The 'lex Iulia municipalis' (45 B.C.), found near Heraclea in Lucania, on the reverse of a much older Greek decree of that place, and dealing with the distribution of corn, the duties of the aediles, and the rules of municipal government.

(g) A fragment of Caesar's general municipal institutions containing a curious passage relating to the promulgation of laws.

1 C. I. L. i 198; Ritschl, tab. 23—28; cp. Wordsworth, 176 f, 429 f; Lindsay, 84—88.
2 C. I. L. i 200; R. tab. 26—28; Wordsworth, 189 f, 440 f.
3 C. I. L. i 202; i 587; R. tab. 29; cp. Wordsworth, 205, 460; Allen, 49; Lindsay, 90 f; Ernout, 96—99.
4 C. I. L. i 204; Dessau, i 38; R. tab. 31, partly copied in Ricci, tav. xxxiv; Wordsworth, 209, 462.
5 C. I. L. i 205; R. tab. 32; cp. 212; Wordsworth, 463; Lindsay, 96 f.
6 C. I. L. i 206; R. tab. 33 f; Dessau, ii 6085; Wordsworth, 213 f, 464 f; Lindsay, 97 f; E. G. Hardy, J. Elmore, and J. S. Reid, in Journal of Roman Studies, iv—v (1914—5).
7 C. I. L. v 15. See texts of all the above laws in Bruns, Fontes Iuris Romani antiqui, ed. 7, 1909, with Gradenwitz, Simulacra, 1912; cp. E. G. Hardy, Six Roman Laws, 1911.
Under the Empire leges assumed the form of senatus consulta and imperial constitutiones. It was as a senatus consultum that the leges de imperio, on the accession of an emperor, were promulgated, e.g. the lex de imperio Vespasiani (70 A.D.), recorded on a bronze tablet found in Rome, formerly in the Church of St John Lateran, and now in the Capitoline Museum.

The constitutions given to civitates were also called leges, e.g. (1) the lex municipii Tarentini, which was granted before 62 B.C.; (2) the lex coloniae Genetivae Iuliae Vrbanorum sive Vrsonis (Osuna in Spain), which was granted in 44 B.C., and is partly preserved in three bronze tablets of the time of Vespasian; (3) the lex Salpensana, and (4) the lex Malacitana, granted by Domitian in 81—84 A.D. to the municipia of Salpensa and Malaca in Spain; and (5) the lex metalli Vipascensis, granted by one of the Flavian emperors to a mining settlement in southern Portugal.

(3) Of the Senatus Consulta of the Roman people the earliest preserved as a Latin inscription on bronze tablets is (a) part of the Latin portion of the S. C. Lutatianum of 77 B.C., declaring Asclepiades of Clazomenae and his comrades amici populi Romani. We have also (b) fragments of decrees on the ludi saeculares of 17 B.C. and 47 A.D., preserved on a marble slab; (c) fragments decreeing posthumous honours to Germanicus and the younger Drusus, as mentioned by Tacitus, Ann. ii 83 (of Germanicus), honores... reperti decretique...; and iv 9, memoriae Drusi eadem quae in Germanicum decernuntur... (d) regulations against the demolition, and on the rebuilding, of houses in Rome (41—46 and 56 A.D.), on a bronze plate found at Herculaneum; (e) a permit for a

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1 Dessau, i 244; Rushforth, Lat. Hist. Inscri., no. 70; Facsimile of a few words in Hübner, Exempla, 802; cp. p. 21 supra, and Appendix iv (4) infra.
2 Dessau, ii p. 500 f., no. 6086; Mommsen, Ges. Schr. i 146—161.
3 Dessau, ii pp. 502—525, no. 6087; Hübner, Exempla, 805.
5 Dessau, ii pp. 682—685, no. 6891.
6 C. I. L. i 203; R. tab. 30; Wordsworth, 205 f., 460.
7 C. I. L. vi 877, and 32323. For the Acta of the ludi of 17 B.C., see p. 176 f. infra.
8 C. I. L. vi 911 f.; Orelli-Henzen, no. 5381.
9 Dessau, ii p. 480, no. 6043.
market in the saltus Beguensis in Northern Africa; (f) a Senatus Consultum on Cyzicus, of the time of Antoninus Pius (138—161 A.D.) now in the British Museum; (g) a Senatus Consultum of 176—177 A.D., de sumptibus ludorum gladiatoriorum minuendis, found in 1888, now in Madrid. This forms a large part of a speech delivered by a senator, after a message from M. Aurelius and his son and colleague, Commodus, had been read to the Senate. It is with reference to this enactment that Iulius Capitolinus writes in his M. Antoninus Philosophus, 11, 4, ‘gladiatoria spectacula omnifariam temperavit’, and 27, 6, ‘gladiatorii muneris sumptus modum fecit’.

The Senatus Consulta, de Bacchanalibus, and de Tiburtibus, are embodied in letters, and are noticed at a later point (p. 161 f).

(4) The municipal decrees, now extant, are far more numerous, and are in a more or less complete form.

(a) The earliest is the lex operum Puteolana II, described in the document itself as lex parieti faciendo. The date corresponds to 105 B.C., but, as the lettering is more graceful than in other inscriptions of that date, the inscription is supposed to have been restored under the Empire; but, as it is of the nature of a specification for a particular building, it is difficult to understand why it should be restored at any later date than that which it bears. The form, however, of the letters shows that it was ‘recut in imperial times’ (Wordsworth, p. 476). See next page, Fig. 41.

(b) The two decreta Pisana were passed by the Senate of Pisa, in 3—4 A.D., prescribing funeral rites in honour of Lucius and Gaius Caesar, the adopted sons of Augustus, being the sons of Agrippa and Iulia, the only child of Augustus. Lucius had died on his way to Spain, 2 A.D., and Gaius in Lycia, 4 A.D. The memory of Lucius was to be honoured by an altar, and that of Gaius by a triumphal arch with a statue above it, between equestrian statues of both brothers.

1 Wilmanns, 2838; Facsimile in Cagnat, ed. 1914, pl. xii 1.
2 C. I. L. iii 7060 bis.
3 Dessau, ii p. 310 f, no. 5163; Mommsen, Ges. Schriften, viii 499—531.
4 Dessau, i 139, 140; Wilmanns, 883; Hübner’s Exempla, 1063—4.
(c) A decree of Lanuvium belonging to 136 A.D., laying down the rules for a funeral club. A single sentence, addressed to any prospective applicant for admission, may be worth quoting:—

Tu qui novos in hoc collegio intrare voles, prius legem perlege et sic intra, ne postmodum queraris aut heredi tuo controversiam relinquias.

**LONGASMI·CRASSASPI··INSUPERIDLIMEN**

**Fig. 41.** From the lex parieti faciendo, of Puteoli; see p. 159; (lines 1—5 and 13, from Hübner’s *Exempla, 1072.*)

Ab colonia deducta anno xc, |
N(umerio) Fu(fidio) N(umerii) |
fi(llio), M(arco) Pullio duovir(is), |
105 B.C. P(ublio) Rutilio, Cn(eio) Mallio cos. | Operum lex II |
Lex parieti faciendo in area, quae est ante— |
(13) longas p. II, crassas p. 1—I. Insuper id limen— |


(d) A decree of Tergeste (Trieste), ordaining the erection of a statue in honour of L. Fabius Severus, an eloquent and public-spirited advocate, under Antoninus Pius (138—161).

(e) A decree of Puteoli, c. 180 A.D., paying M. Laelius Atimetus the compliment of remitting the ground-rent (solarium) of a building he was erecting:—

III non(as) Septembr(es) in curia templi basilicae Augusti Anni(ane), scribundo adfuerunt Q. Granius Atticus, M. Stlaci(c)us Albinus, A. Clodius Maximus, M. Amullius Lupus, M. Fabius Firmus.

Quod T. Aufidius Thrasea, Ti(berius) Claudius Quartinus nviri v(erba)

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1 Dessau, ii (2) 7212; Wilmanns, 319; Hübner’s *Exempla, 1076.*
2 Dessau, ii (1) 6680; Hübner’s *Exempla* 1079.
3 Cp. p. 129 *supra.*
(fecerunt) de desiderio Laeli Atimeti, optimi civis, Q·D·E·R·F·P·, D·E·R·I·C·1.

Cum M. Laelius Atimetus, vir probissimus et singulis et universis karus, petierit in ordine nostro, uti sólarium aedifici, quod extruit in transitorio, remitteretur sibi ea condicione, ut ad diem vitæ eius usus et fructus potestasque aedifici sui ad se pertineret, postea autem rei p(ublicae) nostræ esset: placere huic ordini tam gratam voluntatem optimi civis admitti, remittique ei sólarium, cum plus ex pietate promissi res publica nostra postea consecutura sit.

In curia f(uerunt) número LXXXIX2.

Among municipal inscriptions may be mentioned those of Pompeii3, including (a) monumental inscriptions cut in stone on public buildings, on pedestals, or on tombs; (b) public notices painted on the walls in bright red or in black, especially those recommending a particular candidate as virum bonum, V·B, urging his election in the phrase, oro vos faciatis, O·V·F, or making a personal appeal involving a pledge of future support, Sabinum aed(ilem), Procule, fac, et ille te faciet; (c) notices of public buildings to let; (d) advertisements of animals or articles, lost or found; and (e) announcements of gladiatorial games with the special attraction, venatio et velai erunt, followed by the name of the painter,—the same enterprising person who puts up outside his house:—

Aemilius Celer hic habitat4.

(5) Of the decrees of magistrates under the Republic the earliest extant example is a decree of L. Aemilius Paullus as praetor in Further Spain (in 189 B.C.), setting the Lascutani free from the control of their neighbours at Hasta. It is incised on a bronze plate (Fig. 42).

As an example of a document embodying a Senatus Consultum we have (a) the Letter addressed by the Consuls of 186 B.C. informing the Teurani in the Bruttian peninsula of the terms of the Senatus Consultum de Bacchanalibus5. The original bronze

1 quid de ea re fieri placert, de ea re ita censuerunt.
2 Dessau, ii (1) 5919; complete facsimile in Hübner's Exempla, 1084.
3 Dessau, ii (1) pp. 306—602.
4 Dessau, ii 5145, 6409 note; Mau, Pompeii, c. 55.
5 See text in Appendix iv (1), below; also text and notes in Dessau, i 18; Allen, no. 82; Wordsworth, 418 f; Lindsay, pp. 59—67; Ernout, pp. 58—68; cp. Livy, xxxix 8 f.
plate (called tabola ahena in the inscription) is now in Vienna. While, in the above-quoted Decree of 189 B.C. (five years before the death of Plautus), there is no ablative in 

old ablative in 

L. Aemilius L. f. inpeirator decreivit, utei quei Hastensium servei in turri Lascutana habitarent, leiberei essent; agrum oppidumque, quod ea tempestate posedisent, item possidere habereque; iouisit, dum poplus senatusque; Romanus vellet. Act. in castreis | a. d. XII k. Febr.²

Fig. 42. Decree of L. Aemilius Paullus, 189 B.C. (from C. I. L. ii 5041).

L. Aemilius L. f. inpeirator decreivit, utei quei Hastensium servei in turri Lascutana habitarent, leiberei essent; agrum oppidumque, quod ea tempestate posedisent, item possidere habereque; iouisit, dum poplus senatusque; Romanus vellet. Act. in castreis | a. d. XII k. Febr.²

old ablative in (discarded in the decree of 189) is purely a piece of conservative spelling. Further, we have no doubled consonants, and ai and oi are used throughout, except in l. 1, aedem Duelonai. On the other hand, we have -us and -um, not -os and om. In the ancient notice hung up in the sacred grove at Spoletium the final d is sometimes added, but is sometimes dropped. Curious verb-forms ending in d are found in a similar notice, from Luceria³.

1 Facsimile in Ritschl, tab. xviii, Gradenwitz, Simulacra, no. iii, and Diehl, Inscr. Lat. 5.
2 Dessau, i 15; Allen, p. 27; Wordsworth, 415 f.; Lindsay, p. 57; Ernout, p. 57. Cp. Mommsen, Hermes, iii 261 f (Ges. Schriften, iv 56—62).
3 Both notices quoted in (6) (a) (b) infra. Cp. Lindsay, 53, 56 f.
The substance of a Senatus Consultum relating to the Tiburtes is embodied in a Letter from the praetor L. Cornelius (possibly of 156 B.C.). This was recorded on a bronze plate, found at Tibur.

The award of the Minucii in a boundary dispute between the Genuates and their tributaries belongs to 117 B.C. This is preserved on a bronze plate found near Genoa.

As a ‘sacred inscription’ of the early republican period we have (a) the notice hung up in a sacred grove at Spoletium in Umbria:

Here deina and dinai stand for divina, -ae. The final d after a long vowel is sometimes written, sometimes dropped; double consonants are written single in anua and violasit; and n is dropped before s in scies.

Seven examples of the final d may be seen in the following similar notice from Luceria in Apulia:

Among documents connected with religious worship may be noticed the leges templorum.

One of these is the decree of 58 B.C. relating to the temple of Juppiter Liber at the Sabine town of Furfo. The heading is clear enough; L. Aienus L(uci) f(ilius), Q. Baebatius Sex(ti)f(ilius) aedem dedicarunt | Iovis Liberi Furfone a.d. 111 idus Quintileis, L. Pison, A. Gabinio cos., mense Flusare (i.e. Florali). The colloquial forms for alius and aliud, namely alis and alid,
found in Catullus (lxvi 28) and Lucretius (i 263), are exemplified in the phrase alis ne potesto; but the inscription in general, which fills about half a page of print, was denounced by Mommsen as the most corrupt inscription he had ever known.

(b) At Narbo, in Southern Gaul, we have an inscription of 11 A.D. (restored in the second century) dedicating an altar to Augustus, beginning with the date:—T. Statilio Tauro | L. Cassio Longino | cos. x k(alendas) Octob(res) | numini Augusti votum | susceplum a plebe Narbonensium inperpetuom. On the side of the altar, the terms of the dedication are introduced as follows: (plep)s Narbonesis a(ram) | numinis Augusti dedicavit... | legibus iis q(uae) i(nfrd) s(criptae) s(uit), and, at a later point, we read ceterae leges huic arae titulisq(ue) eaedem sunt, quae sunt arae Dianae in Aventino. The formula for the dedication of the temple of Diana was apparently the oldest of which the Romans possessed any record. In accordance with that ancient precedent, the present dedication proceeds as follows: hisce legibus hisque regionibus, sicuti dixi, hanc tibi aram...dv dedicoque, uti sies volens propitium.

c) At Salonae in Dalmatia an altar is dedicated to 'Iuppiter optimus maximus' in 137 A.D., and the formula just quoted is there repeated with no further difference than the name of the deity to whom the altar is dedicated.

(d) An 'ara incendii Neroniani' has been found in Rome on the Quirinal, with one of several upright stones (cippi) marking out the boundaries of the consecrated ground. The following is taken from the first half of the dedicatory inscription of 83 or 84 A.D.

haec area, intra hanc definitionem cipporum 'clausa veribus, et ara 'quae est inferius, dedicata est ab imp(eratore) Caesare Domitiano Aug(usto) Germanico ex voto suscepto, quod diu erat neglectum nec redditum, incendiorum arcendorum causa, quando urbs per novem dies arsit Neronianis temporibus. Hac lege dedicata est, ne cui liceat intra hos terminos aedificium exstruere, manere, negotiari, arborem ponere aliudve quid serere, ...

1 C. I. L. i2 603; Wilmanns, 105; Dessau, ii 4906; Wordsworth, 224, 479 f.; Lindsay, 93.
2 Facsimile in Hübner's Exempla, 1099 (and Egbert, p. 371).
3 sc. numen. Wilmanns, 104; Dessau, i 112; cp. p. 88, supra.
4 Wilmanns, 103; Dessau, ii 4907. 5 For verubus. 6 Dessau, ii 4914.
Among minor examples of 'sacred inscriptions' we have the sortes, or small tablets bearing vague and commonplace admonitions, which were drawn out of an urn, and were regarded as oracular responses, e.g.,

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LAETVS·LVBENS·PETITO·QVOD
DABITVR·GAVDEBIS·SEMPER
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C. I. L. i. 1448.

Seventeen of these tablets were found near Padua, having probably been used at the Fons Aponus, a neighbouring seat of divination. Others have been found near Parma; while tablets with prescriptions, and with exhortations to prayers to Jupiter and Aesculapius, have been found at Pavia, e.g. Obscura fati quaeerella deum praesidio lenietur; esto cura cauta tu placa Iovem etc.

Foremost among documents belonging to the sacerdotal collegia are the Acta collegii fratrum Arvalium, an ancient corporation revived by Augustus. Their sole duty was to preside at the festival of the Dea Dia in May; and their place of worship was in the grove of that goddess on the old Via Campana, five miles from Rome. It was there that the marble tablets recording their meetings were found. These were collected and published first by Marini in his Atti e monumenti de' fratelli Arvali in 1795, and, finally, by Henzen in his Acta fratrum Arvalium quae supersunt in 1874. They form a most important group of epigraphic monuments. In a tablet discovered in 1778 their most ancient carmen has been preserved among the acta of 218 A.D. in an almost unintelligible, and probably corrupted, form

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enos Lases iuvate.
neve lue rue Marmar sins incurrere in pleores.
satur fn fere Mars limen sali sta berber.
semunis alternei advocapit concotos.
enos Marmor iuvato.
triumpe.
```

1 C. I. L. i. p. 267 f.
2 ib. xi 1129 a—c.
3 Hübner's Ex. 908–9.
Each of the first five lines is repeated thrice, and the final *triumpe* five times\(^1\). The following version in ordinary Latin (only partially clearer than the original) has been suggested:—

(1) *nos, Lares, iuvate!* (2) *neve luem, ruem* Marmor, *sine incurrere in* plures. (3) *satur esto, fere Mars; limen sali, siste verber.* (4) *semones alternatim advocavit cunctus.* (5) *nos, Marmor, iuvato.* (6) *triumpe.*

*Marmor* (like Mamers) is a reduplicated form of *Mars*\(^2\); (1), (2), half of (3), and (5) are addressed to the gods; the rest of (3), and (4), and (6) to the brethren.

If, in the grove of Dea Dia, a fig-tree has to be uprooted from the roof of the temple, and the roof repaired; if an ancient branch falls to the ground, or, if any of the trees are struck by lightning, every one of these events calls for a sacrifice of expiation. These sacred rites are recorded in various *acta* extending from 14 to 224 A.D.\(^3\) In the *acta* of 80 A.D., the year in which Titus dedicated the *Amphitheatrum Flavianum*, the position and the exact dimensions of the places permanently assigned to the *Fratres Arvales* are carefully indicated\(^4\). The *acta* for 101 A.D. record the vows offered by the *collegium* to Iuppiter, Iuno, Minerva, Mars, Victoria, FortunaRedux, and other divinities, for the safe and victorious return of Trajan from his Dacian expedition, while they perpetuate the language of the prayer addressed to each:—

*principem parentemque nostrum...feliciter incoluorem reducem victorvemque facias*\(^5\).

Among the *decreta collegiorum* may be noticed the *lex collegii salutaris Dianae et Antinoi* of 136 A.D.\(^6\); the *lex collegii Aesculapii et Hygiae* of 153 A.D.\(^7\); and the *lex collegii Iovis Cerneni* of 167 A.D., found in Dacia\(^8\).

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1. *I. L.* i\(^1\) 28; Dessau, ii p. 276; facsimile in Ritschl, tab. 36 a (copied in Ricci, tav. xv); also in Hübner, 1024 (Ricci, tav. xii).
2. Cp. Lindsay, pp. 1–26; Ernout, p. 107; also Mommsen’s *History of Rome*, Book 1, c. xv (i 287, ed. 1894); English version (and notes):—Wordsworth, 385–395.
3. Dessau, ii 5042—5048.
7. Dessau, ii (2) 7213.
8. *I. L.* iii p. 924; Wilmanns, 321; Dessau, ii (2) 7215 a.
The 'public and sacred' documents include the Fasti, in both senses of the term, (1) the monthly, and (2) the annual calendar. Both of these calendars were comprehended under the name of Fasti, which strictly belonged only to the list of court days. The pontifex maximus combined the annual, with the earlier monthly, calendar, one of his duties being to keep 'an official record of the names of the chief annual magistrates'. This is specially stated by Servius in his commentary on Virgil's Aeneid, i 377:

Ita annales conficiebantur; tabulam dealbatam quotannis pontifex maximus habuit, in qua praescriptis consulum nominibus et aliorum magistratum, digna memoratu notare consueverat, domi militiaeque, terra marique gesta, etc.

Among the most important of the historical inscriptions of Rome are the Fasti consulares and the Acta triumphorum. By far the largest number of the fragments of these inscriptions was discovered in 1546, the number of the fragments of the Fasti and the Acta then discovered being 30 and 26 respectively, the corresponding totals being now 49 and 38. Almost all of these have been placed in the Sala dei Fasti in the Palazzo dei Conservatori on the Capitol; hence the name of Fasti Capitolini. They have been elaborately edited in the first volume of the Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum, in the first edition of 1863, and in the first part of the second edition of 1893.

Most of the fragments were found in the north-eastern quarter of the Forum, between the temple of Antoninus and Faustina, and the temple of Castor. In that portion of the above space which lies immediately to the north of the temple of Vesta, and to the south of the Sacra Via, certain architectural remains have been discovered which have been identified with the foundations of the new Regia, or public office of the Pontifex Maximus. The position, between the Sacra Via and the temple of Vesta,

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2 p. 25 supra.
3 See pp. 1—54, with the plates at end of this part.
4 F. M. Nichols, Archaeologia, vol. 50 (1887).
corresponds to that of the traditional site of the Regia of Numa, as described in Ovid's *Tristia* (iii 1, 26):

Haec est a sacrís quae via nomen habet,
hic locus est Vestae qui Pallada servat et ignem,
hic fuit antiqui Regia parva Numae.

After the conflagration of the old Regia, the new Regia was built by the pontifex maximus, Domitius Calvinus, on his triumphant return from Spain. The site was a little to the east of the old Regia. The date of the new Regia was 718/36.

![Fig. 43 (a). Elevation of the West End of the Regia, showing the probable position of the Fasti Consulares (1) and (2). Figs. 43 (a) and (b) are founded on a perspective view of Hülsen's restoration.](image)

The Fasti consulares and the Acta triumforum were placed on the outer walls of this Regia. They were inscribed, not on separate slabs, but on the actual blocks of marble, more than eighteen inches thick, of which the Regia was built. It was a small but costly building, gleaming with the marble of Luna, that was destined to receive the record of more than seven centuries of Roman rule and Roman triumph.

The building was oblong in shape, with its narrow ends facing east and west, and its broad sides facing north and south. The

1 Dion Cassius, xlvi 42, τυχών τε τῶν ἐπισκλών...τὸ χρυσὸν τὸ παρὰ τῶν πόλεων...τὸ μὲν τι ἐς τὴν ἐσφυρὶ ἀνάλωσε, τὸ δὲ δὴ πλεῖον ἐς τὸ βασιλείου. κατακανθὲν γὰρ αὐτὸ ἀνυκοδώμησε καὶ καθιέρωσεν, ἄλλοις τέ τισι λαμπρῶς κοσμήσας καὶ εἰκόσιν κ.τ.λ. Coins of Calvinus, struck in Spain, name him as imperator, and include his insignia as pontifex.
sunlit southern aspect was the most suitable for a long inscription, and it is practically certain that these inscriptions were begun on the west end and were completed on the south side. Apparently, the only external rectangle was at the south-west corner.

The Fasti consulares were divided into four tables in double columns. The first and second were on the west end, and the third and fourth on the south side, probably to the left and right of a central door. The Acta triumphorum were also divided into four tables, but all of these were on the south side, the third

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Fig. 43 (b). Elevation of the South Side of the Regia, showing the probable position of the Fasti Consulares (3) and (4), and of all the four lists of the Acta Triumphorum (TRI).

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The Fasti record under each year, in chronological sequence, the names of the consuls, and (where necessary) the military tribunes with consular power, the dictators and magistri equitum,

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2 For architectural restoration, see Hulsen, in (1) Jahrbuch des Instituts, 1889, 228—253; (2) C. I. L. ii (1893) pl. ii; and (3) The Roman Forum, E.T. (1906), p. 184. All three represent a view taken in perspective from the S.W. angle of the building. Hülsen's corrections in Beitr. z. alt. Gesch. ii 255 ff. (Pauly-Wissowa s.v. Fasti, p. 2030) are incorporated in Fig. 43 (a).
and the censors. After every ten years they add in the left-hand margin the date from the foundation of Rome, according to the Catonian era, which was one year later than the Varronian subsequently in general use. The names of all the magistrates were inscribed in double columns. The height of tables I and II (on the west end) was probably 8 feet 6 inches (2·62 mètres); and that of III and IV (on the south side) 7 feet 10 inches (2·41 mètres). The corresponding Varronian years covered by the four tables were I, 1—364; II, 365—461; III, 462—600; and IV, 601—745, with a marginal continuation covering the years 746—766. The dates of certain ludi saeculares were added:—(1) to the left of table III, the date 518 a.v.c. (236 B.C.), and (2) and (3), below 766, the dates 737 and 841, for the ludi of Augustus (17 B.C.) and Domitian (88 A.D.) respectively. The number of lines in the double columns has been ascertained to have been originally 1300. In table III, which is less incomplete than the others, the number of lines extant is 187 out of 249, or, roughly, three-fourths.

The Acta triumphorum, inscribed on four pilasters of a single column only, were nearly 11 feet high (3·35 mètres), the years of Rome in each being I, 1—452; II, 453—532; III, 533—625; IV, 628—735 (=19 B.C.). This last was the year in which L. Cornelius Balbus, the younger, who was proconsul in Africa, celebrated his triumph over the Garamantes. The total number of lines was 660. In II, which is better preserved than the rest, the number of lines extant is 139 out of 160, or about seven-eighths.

As to the date when the Fasti and the Acta were inscribed on the walls of the Regia, there have been two opinions.

(1) Borghesi¹, followed by Mommsen and Henzen in the first edition of vol. i of the Corpus Inscriptionum (1863), placed the date after 718/36 (the year of the building of the Regia), and before 724/30. The latter date was inferred from the fact that, in the Fasti, the name of the triumvir M. Antonius had been first erased, and subsequently restored, under the years 707/47 and 717/37, and similarly in the case of his grandfather,

¹ 1818; Œuvres, ix 1, p. 6.
the orator, under 657/97. It was argued by Borghesi that the erasures must have been made in 724/30, after the triumvir's defeat at the battle of Actium, and that the Fasti, at any rate, were completed before that date. This assumes that the Fasti ended with the year 718/36, in the middle of the second column of the third table, and were afterwards continued to 766 or 13 A.D.

(2) While Borghesi, Mommsen and Henzen placed the date of the Fasti and the Acta between 718/36 and 724/30, Hirschfeld placed the date of both between 742/12 and 747/7. The former was the year in which Augustus became pontifex maximus. In the second edition of the Corpus (1893), Mommsen and Henzen adhered to Borghesi's date for the Fasti (shortly after 36 B.C.), but placed the completion of the Acta between 736/18 and 742/12, and most probably in the latter year, thus accepting the earlier of Hirschfeld's dates for the Acta (c. 12 B.C.).

The following extract, relating to the beginning of the First Punic War, may serve as a specimen (on a reduced scale) of the style of the lettering adopted in the Fasti. It represents the first half of a few lines in the first column of the third table,

![Fig. 44. From the Fasti Consulares of the First Punic War (reduced from Hübner's Exempla, col. 1 of no. 948 c), 1/5 of original size.](image)


The Acta triumphorum begin with the triumphs of Romulus and Ancus Marcius, and they include, under the year 718/36,

1 Dio Cassius, li 9.
3 Dessau, i 69.
the triumph of Cn. Domitius Calvinus, the builder of the *Regia*. The following specimen, on a reduced scale, belongs to the year 493/261 f.

\[ \text{CDVIII} \text{LIVSMEMNCO} \text{SPRIMVSAN} \cdot \text{CDXCII} \\
\text{NAVALEMDESICVIEFCLASSEPONICAE} \text{EGET} \\
\text{KINTERKALAR} \\
\text{L} \text{CORNELIVSLF} \text{CNNSCIPIOCO} \text{SANC} \text{CDXCIV} \\
\text{DEPOENEISETSARDINCORSICANIDMART} \]

**Fig. 45. From the Acta Triumphorum** (reduced from Hübner's *Exempla*, no. 949), about \( \frac{1}{4} \) of original size.

C. Duilius M. f(ilius) M. n(epos) co(n)s(ul) primus an(no) CDXIII
navalem (triumpum) de Sicul(is) et classe Poenica egit,
k(alendis) interkalar(ibus).

L. Cornelius L. f(ilius) Cn. n(epos) Scipio co(n)s(ul) an(no) CDXCIV
de Poeneis et Sardin(ia) Corsica V. id(us) Mart(ias).

\( \text{C. I. L. i} \text{48; i}^2 \text{ p. 47.} \)

We have also certain other *Fasti consulares* and *Acta triumphorum*, drawn up by priestly colleges and Italian municipalities, as records of public events. The battle of Actium is so recorded in the *Fasti* discovered at Amiternum.

The *Fasti anni Iuliani* are calendars arranged according to the Julian year. About thirty of these have been found; they extend from the age of Augustus to that of Claudius, and have survived in a more or less fragmentary form. The best known is the *Kalendarium Maffeianum*, which was in the Palace of the Maffei in the sixteenth century, and is now represented by a few fragments only. These *Fasti* contain lists of all the days of each month in a series of

1 Complete facsimile of the *acta triumphorum*, on a small scale, with text and restorations, and historical notes on the whole, in Georg Schön, *Das Capitolinische Verzeichnis der Römischen Triunph*, Wien, 1893; for a discussion of the value of the *Fasti* and *Acta*, and the authorities probably followed in them, see the same author's article in Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. *Fasti.*

2 *C. I. L. i* \( \text{p. 61;} \) Hübner's *Exempla*, 952, copied in Egbert, p. 365.

3 *C. I. L. i* \( \text{pp. 206—279, ed. Mommsen.} \)

4 The whole is restored by Mommsen, *C. I. L. i* \( \text{pp. 222—228; Dessau, ii (2) pp. 987—991.} \) Cp. p. 25 f *supra.*
columns, the first of which gives the sequence of the eight *litterae nundinales*, from A to H, with the several days marked F or N or NP, for *fastus* or *nefastus* or *nefastus prior*¹, or (more probably) for *fas* or *nefas* or *nefas*, *feriae publicae*. The following is from the Maffeian calendar for March 23—31.

![Calendar diagram]

**Fig. 46. Fasti anni Iuliani (Hübner's Exempla, no. 971), §.**


March 27. *Hoc die Caesar Alexandre(riam) recepit*, 707/47. C (after the *littera nundinalis*) = *Comitialis*.

The *Fasti Praenestini* were set up in the Forum of Praeneste by Verrius Flaccus, the famous grammarian of the Augustan age. Cp. Suetonius, *de grammaticis*, 17, *statuam habet Praeneste, in inferiore fori parte circa hemicyclium, in quo fastos a se ordinatos et marmoreo parieti incisos publicarat*. Large marble slabs of these *Fasti* were found in the neighbourhood of Praeneste. They are more fully annotated than the other *Fasti*. A fragment was

¹ This explanation was attacked by Mommsen (*C. I. L.* ii p. 289f.), who regarded NP as a corruption of an old form of N, denoting *Nefasti hilares*. With Wissowa, *Religion und Kultur der Römer* (1902), p. 371, and Reid, in *Companion to Latin Studies*, p. 97, I prefer Soltau's interpretation, *nefas, feriae publicae*, 'the abbreviation having undergone some distortion of form.' Hence, in Festus, s.v. *nefastus*, *NEP* should be *N·F·P*.

published by Ursinus in 1577, and further fragments in 1771. In and after 1774, they were preserved in Rome, at the residence of one of the Cardinals.

Calendars were also prepared for the use of farmers. Two of these were discovered in Rome in the sixteenth century:—(1) the lost *Menologium Vallense*, which once belonged to the De la Valle family; and (2) the *Menologium Rusticum*, discovered by Angelo Colocci, and now in the Naples Museum. The latter is engraved on the four upright sides of a cubical marble altar, 2 feet high, by $1\frac{1}{4}$ broad, with three months on each side. At the head of each month is a sign of the zodiac, followed by the name of the month, the number of days, the date of the nones, the number of hours in the day and the night, the name of the sign of the zodiac, and the agricultural agenda and the festivals of the month.

The following is the complete text, as printed in *C. I. L. i* p. 280 f (notes on details, *ib.* pp. 305—339).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>capricornus</th>
<th>aquarius</th>
<th>pisces</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MENSIS·</td>
<td>MENSIS·</td>
<td>MENSIS·</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JANVAR</td>
<td>FEBRVAR</td>
<td>MARTIVS·</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIES · XXXI</td>
<td>DIES · XXVIII</td>
<td>DIES · XXXI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NON · QVINT·</td>
<td>NON QVINT</td>
<td>NON SEPTIMAN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIES · HOR · VlIIIS</td>
<td>DIES · HOR · XS</td>
<td>DIES HOR · XII</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NOX · HOR · XIII</td>
<td>NOX · HOR · XIII</td>
<td>NOX · HOR · XII</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SOL</td>
<td>SOL · AQVARIO</td>
<td>AEQVINOCITVM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CAPRICORNO</td>
<td>TVTEL · NEPTVNI</td>
<td>VIII · KAL · APR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TVTELA</td>
<td>SEGETES</td>
<td>SOL · PISCIBVS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IVNONIS</td>
<td>SARIVNTVR</td>
<td>TVTEL MINERVAE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PALVS</td>
<td>VINEARVM</td>
<td>VINEAE PEDAMIN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AQVITVR</td>
<td>SVPERIFIC · C0LIŤ</td>
<td>IN PASTINO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SALIX</td>
<td>HARVNDINES</td>
<td>PVTANTVR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HARVndo</td>
<td>INCENDVNT ·</td>
<td>TRIMESTR SERITVR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CAEDITVR</td>
<td>PARENTALIA</td>
<td>ISIDIS NAVIGVM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SACRIFICAN</td>
<td>LVPERCALIA</td>
<td>SACR · MAMVRIO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIS</td>
<td>CARA COGNAT0</td>
<td>LIBERAL QVINQVA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PENATIBVS</td>
<td>TERMINALIA</td>
<td>TRIA LAVATIO</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 *C. I. L. i* pp. 230—239.

2 Published from manuscript copies in *C. I. L. vi* 2306, and *i*² p. 280 f.

3 Dessau, ii (2) pp. 994—6; complete facsimile in Egbert, 369 f; copies in bronze (not in exact facsimile) inscribed 'cast in Lauchhammer' (N. of Dresden) 'Ael. Rost.'
aries
MENSIS APRILIS
OIES · XXX
NONAE
QVINTAN
OIES
HOR · X·IIS
NOX
HOR · XS
SOL · ARIETE
TVTELA
VENERIS
OVES
LVSTRANTVR
SACRVM
PHARIAE
ITEM
SARAPIA
taurus
MENSIS MAIVS
OIES · XXXI
NON · SEPTIM
OIES · HOR · X·IIS
NOX · HOR · VIIIIS
SOL TAVRO
TVTEL · APOLLIN
SEGET RVNCANT
OVES TVNOVNT
LANA · LAVATVR
IVVENC| DOMAN
VICEA PABVLAR
SECATVR
SEGETES
LVSTRANTVR
SACRVM MERCVR
ET · FLORAE
gemini
MENSIS IVNIVS
OIES XXX
NON · QVINT
OIES HOR · XV
NOX HOR · VIIIIS
SOLIS · INSTITIVM
VIII · KAL · IVL
SOL · GEMINIS
TVTELRA
MERCVR
FAENISICIVM
VAE/AE
OCCANTVR
SACRVM
HERCVLI
FORTIS
FORTVNAE
cancer
MENSIS IVLIVS
DIES · XXXI
NONAE
SERTIMAN
OIES
HORARVM
X·IIS ·-
NOX · HOR
VIIIIS ·-
SOL · CANCR
TVTELRA
IOVIS
Messes
HOROIAR
ET FABAR
APOLLINAR
NEPTVNAL
leo
MENSIS AVGVST
DIES · XXXI
NON · QVINT
OIES · HOR · XIII
NOX · HOR · XI
SOL · LEONE
TVTEL · CERER
PALVS · PARAT
MESSES
FRVMENTAR
ITEM
TRITICAR
STVPVLAE
INCENOVNT
SACRVM · SPEI
SALVATI · OEAÆ
VOLCANALIA
virgo
MENSIS SEPTEMBER
OIES · XXX
NON QVINT
DIES HOR · XII
NOX HOR · XII
AEQVINOCT
VIII · KAL · OCT
SOL · VIRGINE
TVTELRA
VOLCANI
OOEA
PICANTVR
POMA · LEGVNT
ARBORVM
OBLAQVIATIO
EPVLVM
MINERVAE
The marble slabs of the *Acta Sacrorum Saecularium* of 17 B.C. were mainly discovered in 1890. They form an almost complete record of the proceedings on that memorable occasion. The arrangements were carried out by Augustus and Agrippa as members of the *collegium quindecim virorum*, who had the custody of the Sibylline books, and the duty of superintending any religious ceremony prescribed in them. In the *Monumentum Ancyranum* (§ 22) Augustus himself refers to the leading part which he played in this commemoration:—*pro conlegio xv virorum, magister conlegii, collega M. Agrippa, ludos saec(u)lares, C. Furnio C. Silano consulibus, (feci).* The official duties of the *collegium* on the same occasion are briefly touched upon by Horace in his *Carmen Saeculare* (l. 70): *Quindecim Diana preces virorum curat.*

The inscription, in its present form, begins with the letter from Augustus to the *Quindecimviri*, dated March 24, detailing the proposed arrangements for the commemoration on June 1—3. During those days all the law-courts were to be closed, and ladies in mourning were to lay aside that sign of grief. The *Quindecimviri* announce that, at four centres in the city, they
would distribute torches, sulphur, and bitumen, for purposes of purification, on May 26, 27, 28, and wheat, barley, and beans on May 29, 30, 31. On May 23 the Senate meets, and passes two resolutions. As none of the living had seen, or would see, any similar commemoration, the prohibition against unmarried persons between the age of twenty and fifty attending ceremonies of state is removed; and two pillars are to be set up, one of bronze, and one of marble, recording the official report of the celebration. During the night of May 31, sacrifices are offered to the Fates, and other ceremonies performed on a wooden stage illuminated by lights and fires. In the pageant of June 1—3, the order of the procession is as follows: at its head is Augustus, as Emperor and Pontifex Maximus; next come the Consuls, the Senate, the Quindecimviri and other Colleges of priests; then follow the Vestal virgins, and, lastly, one hundred and ten matrons, corresponding to the number of the years of the saeculum. On the 3rd of June, Augustus and Agrippa sacrificed to Apollo and Diana on the Palatine; and, on the completion of the sacrifice, seven and twenty boys and girls of patrician descent, both of whose parents were living, sang the several portions of the Carmen Saeculare:

SACRIFICIOQVE PERFECTO PVERI (X)XVII. QVIBVS. DE-NVNTIATVM. ERAT. PATRIMI. ET. MATRIMI. ET PVELLAE. TOTIDEM.
CARMEN. CECINERVNT. EODEMQVE. MODO. IN. CAPITOLIO.
CARMEN. COMPOSVIT. Q. HOR(AT)IVS. FLACCVS.  

In 1890 many other fragments were discovered, which contain the record of the commemoration under Septimius Severus and Caracalla, in the year 204 A.D.  

1 Moerex, the Parcae of Horace's Carmen Saeculare, 25.
2 Cp. Mommsen in Ephemeris Epigraphica, viii 225—309 (1892), and in his Gesammelte Schriften, viii (1913) 567—626; Hülsen in C. I. L. vi 32323; Dessau, ii pp. 282—7; Lanciani, Pagan and Christian Rome (1892), pp. 73—82, with Mommsen's text in Appendix; and Lindsay, 102 f. Facsimile of lines 85—167 in Diehl, Inscr. Lat. 9 and 10.

3 C. I. L. vi 32327; one extract in Dessau, ii 5030 a.
On the walls of the temple of Augustus and Roma, at Ancyra (the modern Angora) in Galatia, we have, in the form of a 'sacred' inscription, the Monumentum Ancyranum, the best preserved copy of a secular document of the highest historical importance as to the life of Augustus. This is the Index rerum a se gestarum, originally incised on bronze tablets to be placed in front of his mausoleum in Rome. The inscription at Ancyra, discovered and partly copied by Busbequius in 1555, was first published by Schott at Antwerp in 1579; the Greek translation was partly copied by W. J. Hamilton in 1836. Many further portions were discovered by Georges Perrot and E. Guillaume in 1861; and in 1873 the whole was edited in the Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum by

\[ \text{Rerum gestarum divi Augusti, quibus orbem terrarum imperio populi Rom(ani) subjiciit et insensarum, quas in rem publicam populumque Rom[m]num fecit, incisarum in duabus aheneis pilis quae sunt Romae positae, exemplar subiectum} \]

§ 1. Annos undeviginti natus exercitum privato consilio et privata impensa | comparavi ...

§ 19. Curiam et continens ei Chalcidicum, templumque Apollinis in | Palatio cum porticibus...feci.

1 Suet. Aug. 101.

2 Exploration archéologique de la Galatie, 1872; view of remains of the temple (from Perrot) in Duruy's Histoire de la Grèce, iv 154; restoration of temple, \textit{ib.} 155; facsimile of large part of the Latin text, \textit{ib.} 163.

3 C. I. L. iii (2) 769 f; followed by Bergk's ed. (Gottingen, 1873).
Mommsen, who also produced separate editions of this important
document.

In Fig. 47 we see a reduced facsimile of the heading, and of
two items. Here, as in Augustus' inscription on the obelisk
from the Circus Maximus (Fig. 8), we have the tall I and the
apex over other long vowels. The heading is in the *scriptura
monumentalis*, and the rest in the *scriptura actaria*.

The *Oratio* of Claudius (48 A.D.) on the admission of Gallic
citizens to public office is engraved on large bronze
tables discovered at Lyons in 1528 (Dessau, i p. 52,
no. 212; Lindsay, 107), being a copy of the
original text of the speech reported by Tacitus as having been
delivered before the Roman Senate (*Ann. xi* 24).

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**TEMPVSESTIAMTI CAESAR GERMANICE} DETEGRÆ PATRIBVS CONSCRIPTIS
OVOTEN}DATORATIO TVAIA]MENIMADEXTREMOSFINESGALLIAE}NAR
BONENSISVENISTI**

*Fig. 48. From a Speech of Claudius, 48 A.D.; preserved at Lyons.*

(Hübner's *Exempla*, no. 799; Boissieu, *Inscr. ant. de Lyon*,
p. 132 ff), ½.

Tempus est iam, Ti. Caesar Germanice, detegere té patribus conscriptis,
quo tendat oratio tua; iam enim ad extremos fines Galliae Nar|bonensis
venisti (cp. Bury's *Greek Historians*, 229). Here we have I for i, also an
apex ' in line 1, and in line 2 the point twice placed within the letter (to save
space).

The decrees of the imperial age include (1) the award of the
proconsul, L. Helvius Agrippa (69 A.D.), on a boundary-dispute
in Sardinia (Dessau, ii 5947); (2) the letter to the magistrates of
Saepinum and Bovianum in Samnium from the *praefecti praetorio*
of 166–9, to protect the farmers of the imperial sheep-walks;
inscribed on a stone still to be seen at Saepinum near the present
sheep-path, which passes through the gate to Bovianum (*C. I. L.*
ix 2438; Wilmanns, 2841).

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1 1865 and 1883; also by Cagnat and Peltier, 1886; and at the end of
Shuckburgh's ed. of Suetonius, *Augustus*, 1896; small ed. by Diehl, 1908,
1910; cp. Lindsay, 104–6; and see Appendix iv (2) infra.

2 For the whole of the extant text, see Appendix iv (3).
Among the *Constitutiones* of the emperors may be mentioned (1) the edict of Augustus on the aqueduct at Venafrum; (2) that of Claudius (46 A.D.) on the Civitas Anaunorum (in the Val di Non, north of Trent); and (3) the celebrated Latin and Greek edict of Diocletian (301 A.D.) *De pretiis rerum venalium*, promulgating a maximum price for provisions and other articles of commerce, and a maximum rate of wages. There are also certain *decreta*, or judicial decisions, of the emperor in the form of a letter, such as those of Vespasian relating to disputed boundaries in Corsica and Spain, and the *tabulae alimentariae* of Trajan, providing for the relief of the children of poor parents, as in the inscriptions relating to the Ligures Baebiani in Samnium and to the inhabitants of Veleia near Parma. These inscriptions give the details of the plan whereby the emperor lent large sums at low interest on the security of landed estates belonging to members of the municipality, while the interest was paid to the municipal chest for the relief of the children.

The *diplomata militaria* record the privileges as to *civitas* and *conubium* granted to veteran soldiers by nearly all the emperors from Claudius in 52 A.D. to Diocletian in 305.

These inscriptions are of special interest in connexion with the legal rights of the Roman army. Soldiers of foreign birth received the above privileges when they had completed their time of service, which usually extended to twenty years, that of the auxiliaries being twenty-five. For this purpose the emperor published a "law" including a complete list of the veterans.

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1 Wilmanns, 784; Dessau, ii p. 415 f, no. 5743; facsimile of three lines in Hübner's *Exempla*, 1062.
3 *C. I. L.* iii p. 801 f (separate editions by Waddington, and by Mommsen and Blümner; selections in Dessau, 642; *exordium* in Wilmanns, 1061, and, *infra*, in Appendix iv (6); facs. from three lines of copy at Aix in Hübner's *Ex. 1097*.
4 *C. I. L.* x 8038; Orelli, 4031.
5 *C. I. L.* ii 1423.
6 Wilmanns, 2844; Dessau, ii p. 612 f (no. 6509); facsimile of about 60 lines in Diehl, *Inscr. Lat.* 27.
7 Wilmanns, 2845; Dessau, ii p. 640 (no. 6675).
entitled to these privileges at a given date. This law was not a *lex rogata*, but a *lex data*, and, as such, belongs to the class of *principum constitutiones*. Even under the Republic the right of citizenship could be granted by *triumviri coloniiis deducendis*, and by *imperatores*. Cicero mentions a *tabula, in qua nomina civitate donatorum incisa essent*, and such *tabulae* were set up in the Capitol. Hence it was in the Capitol that the imperial enactments, with regard to the grant of citizenship and other privileges to the veterans, were set up from the time of Claudius (52 A.D.) to that of Domitian (86 A.D.). Later in Domitian’s reign, in and after 90 A.D., they were set up on the Palatine.

Each of the soldiers concerned was entitled to a copy of the enactment, followed by his own name. This copy is known as a military *diploma* because it was composed of two tablets of bronze folded together in the form of a diptych. All these diplomas include the same elements in the following order:—

1. the full name and titles of the emperor.
2. the class of soldiers, or the special corps, to which the privilege is granted, and the name of their commander.
3. the number of years of service.
4. the formula *quorum nomina subscripta sunt*, followed, in documents before 145 or after 178, with the extension of the same privileges to their descendants.
5. the statement of the privileges conferred, namely *civitas* and *conubium* (or legal Roman marriage) on those already married or thereafter to be married:—*ipsis libris posterisque eorum civitatem dedidit et conubium cum uxoribus, quas tunc habuisissent, cum est civitas iis data, aut, si qui caelibes essent, cum iis quas postea duxissent, dumtaxat singuli singulas*. As the foreign wife of a veteran obtained the right of Roman citizenship, the last clause above quoted limited this privilege to a single marriage, to prevent abuses arising from his marrying and divorcing a series of wives, and securing the privilege of citizenship for each wife and her offspring.
6. the date, day, month, and year (reckoned by consuls). So far all is a copy of the imperial enactment.
7. the name and nationality of the soldier, preceded by the name of his cohort and his commander, and his rank in the same.
8. a certificate that the document was a correct copy of the original on the Capitol (or Palatine).

The diploma was engraved on two tablets of bronze of exactly equal size (about 6 inches by 5), which were folded together.

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1. *Gaius*, i 57.
Fig. 49. Military diploma of Vespasian, 70 A.D. 1/4 of the original found at Resina, 1746, and now in the Naples Museum. Facsimile in Museo Borbonico, v (1767), pag. xliii f; reproduced in Marini, Atti Arvali (1795), 440 f; Platzmann, Iuris Romani specimen (1818); and Daremberg-Saglio, s.v. Diploma (1892), fig. 2452, here copied on a smaller scale.
Text of inner tablets (a) and (b), and also of outer copy (c).

IMP. VESPASIANVS. CAESAR. AVGVST. TRIBVNIC. POTEST. COS II.

VETERANIS. QV. MILITAVERVNT. IN. LEG. II. ADIVTRICE. PIA. FIDELE.
QV. VICEA. STIPENDIA. AVT. PLVRA. MERVERANT. ET. SVNT. DIMISSI.
HONESTA. MISSIONE. QVORVM. NOMINA. SVBSCRIPTA. SVNT. IPSIS.
LIBERIS. POSTERISQVE. EORVM. CIVITATEM. DEDIT. ET. CONVBM.
CVM. VXORIBVS. QVAS. TVNC. HABVSSENT. CVM. EST. CIVITAS.
CVM. ET. DATA. AVT. SIQVI. CAELIBES. ESSENT. CVM. IIS. QVAS.
POSTEA. DVXISSENT. DVM. TAXAT. SINGVLI. SINGVLAS.

A. D. NON. MAR. IMP. VESPASIANO. CAESARE. AVG. II. CAESARE.
AVG. F. VESPASIANO. COS.

T. PAG. V. LOC. XXXXVI. NERVAE. LAIDI. F. DESIDIATI.

DESCRIPTVM. ET. RECOGNITVM. EX. TABVLA. AENEA. QVAE. FIXA.
EST. ROMAE. IN. CAPITOLIO. IN. PODIO. ARAE. GENTIS. IVLIAE.
6. LATERE. DEX. TRO. ANTE. SIGNV. LIB. PATRIS.

Text of tablet (d).

C. HELVI. LE
Q. PETRONI
L. VALERI
M. NASSI
L. PVBLICI
Q. PVBLICI
Q. PVBLICI

PIDI. SALONITANI
MVSAE. IADESTINI
ACVTI. SALONIT
PHOEBI. SALONIT
GERMVLLI
Macedonis. NEDITANI
CRESCENTIS

All the witnesses, whose country can be identified, were Dalmatians.

Text in C. I. L. iii (2) p. 849; Rénier, 21; Wilmanns, 2864; Dessau, i 1989.

The text of the enactment was copied lengthwise on the two inner surfaces of the tablets ((a) and (b) in upper half of Fig. 49); it was also copied crosswise on the outer surface of one of them ((c) in lower half of Fig. 49). The tablets were perforated in two or more places, and were closed by a three-fold wire which passed through the perforations. On the outer surface of the other tablet (d), the wire was sealed with the several seals of the

1 70 A.D.
2 'filio', Titus.
3 7 March, A.D. 70.
4 T(abula) 1, pag(ina) v, loc(o) xxxxvi.
5 'Desidiates populus Dalmatiae' (cp. Plin. iii 143).
6-6 added in exterior copy (c).
seven witnesses whose names were added to certify the identity of the copy with the original. It was with a view to prevent forgery that this method had been adopted in legal documents in the time of Nero.

It was only in this way that the document had legal validity. A decision of the Senate on these details is recorded by the jurist Iulius Paulus, who became praefectus praetorio about 222 A.D. Originally, the text was copied only on one of the inner tablets, and one of the outer tablets contained the names of the witnesses; but only one diploma of this kind has survived. At an early date it became customary to make a fresh copy of the text on one of the outer tablets, so that the contents of the diploma might be known without breaking the seals. Down to the time of Trajan the interior and the exterior copy were drawn up with equal care, but, under that emperor, the interior copy, which ought to have been of primary importance, was less carefully executed.

Most of the diplomas refer to the auxiliary cohorts; few to the navy; and still fewer to the praetorian or urban cohorts. In the last case, as the soldiers were already citizens, they only received the right of conubium. No diplomas have been found in which privileges were granted to an ordinary legionary soldier. The only apparent exceptions are soldiers of the legio prima adiutrix and the legio secunda adiutrix, created by Nero and Vitellius respectively. But these were formed, not out of Roman citizens, but out of the naval forces of foreign birth, and they were therefore eligible for the special grant of citizenship. Such soldiers receive the grant in diplomas of 68 and 70 A.D. The second of these is here reproduced (Fig. 49).

Down to 1872 the total number of diplomata recorded in the

1 Suetonicus, Nero, 17, adversus falsarios tunc primum repertum, ne tabulae nisi pertusae, ac ter lino per foramina traiecto, obsignarentur.
2 Sententiae, v 25, 6, Amplissimus ordo decrevit, eas tabulas, quae publici vel privati contractus scripturam continet, adhibitis testibus ita signari, ut in summa marginis ad medium partem perforatae triplici lino constringantur, atque impositae supra línun cerae signa imprimitur, ut exteriore scripturae fidem interiori servent. (Edd. for 'exteriori scripturae fidem interiori servant'.) Alius tabulae prolatae nihil momenti habent.
3 Late in 79 A.D. (Dessau, i 1994).
Corpus Inscriptionum was fifty-eight; by 1884, twenty-two more had been published in the Ephemeris Epigraphica: twenty-three have since been published, or one hundred and three in all. Facsimiles of twelve were published by Arneth (Vienna, 1843), engravings on thirty-seven plates by Renier (Paris, 1876); and specimens of the lettering of the first few lines of about fifty in Hübner's Exempla (Berlin, 1885). These have been found in many parts of the Roman world, but their ultimate provenance is always Rome, and they therefore supply evidence of the style of lettering there used for this purpose from the time of Claudian to that of Diocletian.

Among official documents we may here mention the diptycha consularia, or ivory tablets including the names and portraits of the consuls with representations of the public spectacles to which they invited the senators and other important personages. They extend from 406 to 541 A.D. A diptych of 487 A.D. bears a portrait of the father of Boëthius, with the following inscription:—Nar(ius) Manl(ius) Boëthius c(larissimus) et in(lustris), ex p(raefecto) p(raetorio) p(raefectus) u(rbi) sec(undo), cons(ul) ord(inarius) et patric(ius).

(1) Private documents are represented by wills, such as that of Dasumius (109 A.D.), inscribed on two marble columns found in Rome in 1820 and 1830. Another inscription, set up in honour of M. Meconius

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1 C. I. L. iii (2) pp. 842—901; cp. Bursian, Jahrb. 23 (1880), 210—214.
2 Conspectus in v (1884) pp. 101, 610 ff; cp. Bursian, 56 (1888), 83—86.
3 Eleven in C. I. L. iii, Suppl. iii (1893) pp. 1955—2038; and five more in Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. (1903); also seven in Dessau, iii (2) 9052—8, cp. 9059.
4 Cp., in general, Marini, Atti Arvali (1795), 448—468; Mommsen in C. I. L. iii pp. 842—901 (text), 902—919 (commentary); Wilhmanns, 2863—9; Dessau, i pp. 389 f, nos. 1986—2010, iii (2) 9052—8; Cagnat, ed. 1914, pp. 302—306, with diploma of 128 A.D. on p. 307, and of 82 A.D. in Pl. ix, and ed. 1890, diploma of 98 A.D. on p. 269 (and Egbert, p. 357); also articles in Darenberg and Saglio (Thédenat) and Smith's Dict. of Ant. (L. C. Purser), and British Museum Guide,...Roman Life, p. 8. Among the diplomas in the British Museum is that granted by Trajan to the Spaniard Reburrus, one of the veterans, qui...militant in Britannia (C. I. L. vii 1193).
5 Dessau, i pp. 288—292; Gori, Thesaurus veterum diptychorum, Florence, 1759; full list by Villefosse in Gazette Archéologique, 1884.
6 Wilhmanns, 314; Dessau, ii (2) 8379.
Leo by the magistrates of Petelia among the Bruttii, includes (at his own request) a long extract from his will, which contains a clause relating to a vineyard of 'Aminean' vines.

(2) Among other private documents we have those written on waxed tablets in a cursive hand recording the business transactions of the Pompeian banker, L. Caecilius Iucundus, mainly for the years 52—62

Waxed tablets

Fig. 50. Receipt for a payment made by a Pompeian banker, 59 A.D., in Naples Museum (from C. I. L. iv 3340, cxiili).

Cn. Pompeio Grospho, Grospho Pompeio Gaviano, 11 vir(is) iur(i) dic(endo), vi idus Iulias, privatus colonorum coloniae Veneriae Corneliae Pompeianorum ser(vus) scripsi me accepisse ab L. Caecilio Iucundo sestertios mille sescentos.

1 Wilmanns, 696.
3 Further facsimiles in Diehl, Inscr. Lat. pp. xvi—xxvi; cp. Van Hoesen’s Roman Cursive Writing (1915), p. 27; and Daremberg-Saglio, s.v. Tabella, fig. 6714.
4 Cp. Mau-Kelsey, Pompeii, its Life and Art, c. 57.
A.D. On the opposite page is the first of the two tablets of a receipt belonging to 59 A.D. Here e is represented by two upright strokes, and m by four.

(3) The cursive hand of private documents is also exemplified in the waxed tablets of 131—167 A.D., discovered between 1786 and 1855 in Transylvania, in the mining district of Verespatak, corresponding to the ancient Alburnus maior in Dacia1. Like the military diplomas already mentioned2, the Pompeian and Dacian documents contain the deed inside, and the sealed duplicate copy outside; but, while the diplomas are diptychs of bronze, the Dacian, and most of the Pompeian, documents are triptychs of wood3. The former are incised on both sides of the bronze plates. In the latter, the deed is begun on the back of the first tablet, and continued on the front of the second, and is then closed up, and concealed from view; the duplicate copy is visible on the back of the second tablet (which includes the seals), and on the front of the third. Only the interior surfaces are waxed. The front of the first tablet and the back of the third are unwaxed and are left blank; the two outer tablets thus serve to protect the inner waxed surfaces, and the seals on the back of the middle tablet4.

(4) A rude cursive of an illiterate type is used in the maledictions written on tablets of lead or bronze devoting Exsecrationes to destruction the personal enemies of the writer. These were known as exsecrationes, defixiones, or devotiones5. A tablet, still preserved at Bath, invokes dire calamities on the head of one who has stolen a certain napkin6. A similar tablet is preserved at Lydney Park in Gloucestershire, together with two bronze plates recording the fulfilment of a vow7. Very few

1 C. I. L. iii (2) pp. 921—960, with facsimiles, partly copied in Egbert, 382—5, Sir E. M. Thompson's Introduction to Palaeography, 316, and Daremberg-Saglio, s.v. Tabella, fig. 6715.
2 p. 180 supra.
3 Cp. 'Tabellae ligneae Aegyptiacaes,' Dessau, iii (2) 9059.
5 Tac. Ann. ii 69. 6 Hübner's Exempla, 947 (Egbert, p. 386).
7 C. I. L. vii 138—140; cp. in general, Dessau, ii (2) pp. 996—1000; esp. no. 8749, facs. in Ritschl, tab. xvii 30; also W. S. Fox, Am. Journ. Philol. no. 129 (1912), with bibliography; Jeanneret, Rev. de Philol. (1917) 599.
of such curses are engraved on stone, as that addressed to a Spanish form of Proserpine:

Dea Ataecina Turijbr(ensis) Proserpina, | per tuam maiestatem te rogo obsecro, | uti vindices quot mihi | furti factum est etc. 1

(5) The cursive hand is also found in the 3500 graffiti scribbled on the walls of Pompeii2. Some of them record the prices of provisions, or the names of members of the praetorian guard. Among those of a distinctly literary interest, we find a phrase from Ennius, Romulus in caelo. We have also the opening words of Lucretius, Aeneadum genetrix; the first line of the first Aeneid, the beginning of the second, conticuere omnes3 | intentique, and eleven other passages of Virgil4. Besides these, we have several reminiscences of Propertius5 and Ovid6, and of both combined7. In the quotation from the Ars Amatoria, i 475, quid pote tan durum saxso aut quid mollius unda, dura tamen molli saxsa cavantur aqua, our mss have quid magis est saxo durum, quid mollius unda? In the amphitheatre, as well as in the basilica, the trivialities which are to be seen on every side have provoked the quotation of a couplet from an unknown poet:—

Admiror, paries, te non cecidisse ruina,
qui tot scriptorum taedia sustineas8.

1 Dessau, ii 4515.
2 First partially collected by Chr. Wordsworth, Inscriptio Pompeianae 1837; ed. 2, 1846, republished in Conjectural Emendations &c., 1883; and finally edited by Zangemeister, in C. I. L. iv (1871), and Suppl. ii (1909).
3 Conticuere omnes has also been found in England, on a tile from Silchester; facsimile in Haverfield’s Romanization of Roman Britain, ed. 3 (1915), p. 30.
4 Ecl. ii 56, iii 1, v 72, viii 70; Aen. i 135, 234; ii 148, v 461, 485; vii 805; ix 494.
5 ii 5, 9 f; iii 16, 13 f; iv (v) 5, 47. Cp. p. 46 supra.
6 Amores, i 4, 67; i 8, 77 (p. 46 supra), and Ars Am. i 475 f.
7 Prop. i 1, 5, and Ovid, Amores, iii 11, 35 (Bücheler, Carmina Epigraphica, 354). Cp. in general, Diehl, Pompeianische Wandinschriften... (1910), esp. pp. 44—46; also Mau-Kelsey, Pompeii, its Life and Art, 1899, pp. 481—488, The Graffiti; and Bücheler, l. c., 1785—7.
8 C. I. L. iv 1904, 2487 (Bücheler, l. c., 957).
CHAPTER X

LANGUAGE AND STYLE

It has been said of language, that 'the perfection of strength is clearness united to brevity; but' that 'to this combination Latin is utterly unequal; from the vagueness and uncertainty of meaning which characterises its separate words, to be perspicuous it must be full'\(^1\). Nevertheless the Latin of inscriptions can certainly be ‘perspicuous’ without being ‘full’, and, like the Roman legal and technical style, it commends itself by its ‘clearness and precision’\(^2\). Even in modern times Latin continues to be the language of dedicatory inscriptions and of epitaphs. In Rome, in the sixteenth century, when ‘the Bishop orders his tomb in St. Praxed’s church’, he requires for the epitaph ‘choice Latin, picked phrase, Tully’s every word’\(^3\). Of an English epitaph in the island of Skye, Dr Johnson said, ‘the inscription should have been in Latin, as every thing intended to be universal and permanent should be’\(^4\).

The language of a Latin inscription should be brief and perspicuous, and appropriate to its subject. Ancient inscriptions, or, at any rate, the best of them, and those belonging to the best times, are usually brief, simple, and severe in style, for example those on Pompey and Augustus recorded by the elder Pliny\(^5\). A higher degree of grandiloquence was characteristic of the inscriptions of Trajan, who, in restoring

\(^3\) Browning, *Selections*, ed. 1884, p. 181.
\(^4\) *Tour to the Hebrides*, 5 Sept. 1773.
\(^5\) p. 9 f, *supra.*
the Circus Maximus, described it as worthy of the Roman people\(^1\), and allowed the language of vague exaggeration to appear on the pedestal of his Column\(^2\). A still more pompous style may be observed in the inscriptions in honour of Aurelian, \textit{perpetuo victoriosissimo indulgentissimo imperator, restitutor orbis}; Dio-cletian, \textit{aeterno imperator nostro, maximo optimoque principi}; Constantius Chlorus, \textit{piissimo ac fortissimo fundatori pacis, ac publicae libertatis auctori}; and Constantine the Great, \textit{restitutori humani generis, propagatori imperii dicionisque Romanae, fundatori etiam securitatis aeternae}.\(^6\)

As regards the order of words, adjectives used as epithets of divinities are usually placed \textit{after} the name; for example, \textit{Iovi optimo maximo, Minervae medicae, Herculi invicto}; \textit{deo sancto Apollini pacifero}. But we occasionally find the epithet placed \textit{first}, as in \textit{sancto Silvano}, while both orders are combined in \textit{virgini vidicri; sanctae deae Nemesi}, and \textit{sancissimo Herculi invicto}. Substantives in apposition to the names of deities are naturally placed \textit{after} them, as \textit{Herculi victori, Neptuno adiutori}. Genitive cases dependent on a word in apposition are placed \textit{after} that word, as in \textit{I. O. M. conservatori imp(eratoris) ..., totiusque domus divinae}, and \textit{Herculi comiti et conservatori dominorum nostrorum}.\(^13\)

In the case of other titles including a genitive case, the most natural order is adopted, and the governing noun precedes the genitive, e.g. \textit{magister collegii fratrum arvalium; praefectus vigilum et armorum; procurator Augusti Alpium maritimmarum}; also, in complimentary phrases, such as \textit{parenti patriae}\(^14\); \textit{conservatori orbis}

\(^1\) Dio Cassius, lxviii 7, 2, \textit{oút...kal μεγαλόφορον καὶ μεγαλογνώμων ἐφι ὡστε καὶ τῷ ἑποδρόμῳ ἐπιγράψας ὅτι ἔαρκοιντα αὐτόν τῷ Ἡρωδαλῶν δήμῳ ἐποίησεν, ἐπείδη διαφαραέτα πῇ καὶ μεξὼ καὶ περικαλλέστερον ἐξειργάσατο}. Cp. Pliny, \textit{Paneg. 51}, \textit{digna populo victore gentium sedes}. Morcelli, \textit{De stilo inscr. Lat.} ii 4, suggests an inscr. beginning with all the titles of the emperor, and ending \textit{circum maximum vetustate corruptum | operibus a solo ampliatis | immensique lateris ambitu exornato | parem populo Romano fecit}.

\(^2\) p. 127 f, \textit{supra}.
\(^3\) Dessau, i 578.
\(^4\) ib. 614.
\(^5\) ib. 648.
\(^6\) ib. 692.
\(^7\) Dessau, ii \textit{3407–9}.
\(^8\) ib. 3223.
\(^9\) ib. 3543.
\(^10\) ib. 3739.
\(^11\) ib. 3446.
\(^12\) Wilmanns, \textit{i004}.
\(^13\) \textit{C. I. L. vi 305}.
\(^14\) Dessau, i 72 (of Julius Caesar), \textit{101} (of Augustus); rarer than \textit{patri patriae}.\(^6\)}
terrarum; or conservatori orbis\(^1\), or patriae\(^2\), or generis humani\(^3\); or propagatoris imperi\(^4\); or defensori pacis et conservatori imperii Romani\(^5\). In inscriptions dedicated to Vespasian we find the normal order of words:—conservatori caerimoniarum publicarum et restitutori aedium sacrarum\(^6\), and, elsewhere, c. aedium sacrarum\(^7\), and c. aedium publicarum et restitutori aedium sacrarum\(^8\). These examples of the normal order throw suspicion on the inverted order adopted in an inscription in honour of the same emperor:—sacrarum aedium restitutori et rituum antiquorum conservatori\(^9\). Genitives, in general, are doubtless usually placed after the noun which governs them, as memoriae suorum; constitutori collegi, and ex postulatione plebis. Sometimes, however, they are placed before it, as populi advocatio; suo et liberorum suorum nomine; and imitatus patris exemplum.

Cases defining the duties of a public office are placed after the general name of the office, as decemvir stlitibus iudicandis; triumvir aere\(^10\) argento auro flando feriundo; curator pecuniae publicae exigendae et attribuendae in ludos; and quattuorviri aedilicia potestate.

Participles are usually preceded by cases dependent on them, as, with potens:—deo Marti, militiae potenti\(^11\); and Mercurio, lucrorum potenti et conservatori\(^12\). Also, with passive participles, as principi castrorum, equo publico exornato et donis donato ab imp\(...\)\(^13\); omnibus honoribus in patria sua functus. But they are

\(^1\) ib. 579; restitutor orbis, ib. 577 (of Aurelian).
\(^2\) C. I. L. xi 3872 (of Tiberius), and iii 12333 (of Aurelian).
\(^3\) Dessau, i 304 (of Trajan).
\(^4\) Wilmanns, 989 (of Septimus Severus, in 205 A.D.).
\(^5\) Dessau, ii 5827 (of Constantius II, 337—361 A.D.).
\(^6\) ib. i 252; Wilmannus, 921 (C. I. L. vi 934).
\(^7\) Gruter, p. 243, n. 7 (ex Panvinio).
\(^8\) ib. p. 244, n. 7 (ex Roma Onufrii).
\(^9\) ib. p. 243, n. 5 (ex Metelli schedis), Orelli, 746; possibly a modern variation of the inscr. in note 6.
\(^10\) Old dative for aeri.
\(^11\) Wilmanns, 147; Dessau, i 2296.
\(^12\) Dessau, ii 3199.
\(^13\) Wilmanns, 1595, followed by ab Imp\(...\); equo publico exornatus, ib. 1200, 2380; or honoratus, 1821, 1825; less frequently exornatus (1828), or honoratus (2005), equo publico.
almost always succeeded by the dependent case, when the latter is the name of the emperor, as curatori reipublicae—dato ab imp. Traiano; and missa ab imp. Antonino Augusto Pio ad deducendas vexillationes in Syriam ob bellum Parthicum.

A name denoting any honour or dignity (and, indeed, everything of the nature of a title) is commonly placed after the proper name, being regarded simply as an explanatory addition, e.g. Cn. Domitius—Calvinus, pontifex, consul iterum, imperator; and, similarly, C. Poplicio—Bibulo, followed by aedili plebis, and L. Cornelio Sullae, by dictator. But the hereditary title, rex, is frequently placed before the name, as regi Iubae, regis Iubae filio, regis Iempsalis nepoti), regis Gaudae pronetot, regis Masinissae pronepotis nepoti; rex Antiochus; rex magnus Samsigeramus; de rege Ponti Mithridati et de rege Armeniae Tigrane. But, conversely, we sometimes find orders such as Tigranis regis liberta, and cum Iugurtha rege Numidiae; also Acrone rege Caeninensium.

A complimentary epithet usually follows the noun, as in patrono optimo; amico optimo; viro innocentissimo; feminae castissimae. But we also find optimo parenti; optimorum fratrum; magnificus vir; and rarissimae, nobilissimae, sanctissimae, or obsequentissimae ac pudicissimae feminae. The superlative also comes first in the case of Princeps or Caesar, as optimum Principem; nobilissimus Caesar; invictissimi Principes.
The epithet follows, when it serves to define a public office, or a trade or business; as pontifex maximus; faber ferrarius; or negotiator frumentarius; also when it defines the exact status of a citizen, as vir clarissimus, or spectabilis, or perfectissimus (V · P ·). This last is the true title of Martianus V · P · (praeses provinciae Norici mediterr.)¹, and not Vrbi praefectus², for the latter would have been expressed by praefectus Vrbi (P · V ·).

Cicero, in his speeches, seldom mentions any man of mark, or even of ordinary respectability, without describing him as vir clarissimus³, or amplissimus, fortissimus, nobilissimus, ornatissimus. Clarissimus vir was mainly used of Senators, and, in the course of the first century⁴, it became a fixed epithet of senatorial rank⁵. Early in the second, the full phrase is reduced to the abbreviation C · V ·; members of a senatorial family may be called c. i(uvenis) or c. p(uer), and clarissima puella is applied to a girl who died at the age of a month and a half⁶. The title was, in the earlier age, clarissimus vir; in later times, vir clarissimus (V · C ·). When combined with other epithets, clarissimus regularly comes first. As a title, vir clarissimus immediately follows the name, unless the title has been won at a particular stage in the cursus honorum, e.g: during the transition from equestrian to senatorial rank. Down to the time of Marcus Aurelius, it was the only official title of the superlative degree; under Marcus, the equestrian officials were divided into three ranks, (1) the praetorian praefect was vir eminentissimus; (2) any of the other praefects, or of the highest procurators, was vir perfectissimus⁷;

¹ Gruter, p. 283, n. 5.
³ We find 22 examples of the various cases of vir clarissimus, and 96 of clarissimus vir.
⁴ For an early example of its use in inscriptions, cp. Dessau, ii 6043 (middle), Hosidio Geta et L. Vagellio cos., clarissimis viris (c. 45 f, A.D.). T. Pomponium Bassum, clarissimun virum (ib. 6106) is found in 101 A.D. The earliest certain examples in literature are probably those in Pliny’s Epp. ix 13, 19; Paneg. 90; ad Tratanian 56, 77. But Lentulus, in Cic. Epist. xii 1, has ‘M. Bratus V. C.’
⁵ Cp. Friedländer, Sittengeschichte, vol. i, Appendix to Section iii.
⁶ C. I. L. vi 1334.
⁷ First found in 201 A.D.
(3) any other procurator was *vir egregius*. *Eminentissimus* and *perfectissimus* were epithets personally applied to an equestrian official, without being extended to members of his family. In an inscription of the fourth century, the son of a *v(ir) p(erfectissimus)* is called, in full, *puer egregius*. The abbreviations *p(uer) e(gregius)* and *e(gregia) f(eminna)* are very rare; *iuvenis egregius* seems to have been avoided; *vir egregius* appears for the last time in 321 A.D. *Vir eminentissimus* was properly confined to the praefect of the praetorian guard, but, in the third century, it was extended to the *praefecti vigilum*. The equestrian titles of rank continued until 323. Under Gratian (367—383), *eminentissimus* had lost its distinctiveness as an equestrian title; for it was then combined with the senatorial epithet *clarissimus*. In 384 there were three classes of *perfectissimus*, and the title was even given to the clerks of the treasury; meanwhile the *praesides* and *duces* were promoted to the title of *clarissimi*. By 412 the title *perfectissimus* had vanished; it never appears in Cassiodorus, whose official letters (collected in 538 A.D.) teem with laudatory titles. After the reforms of Constantine, *vir clarissimus* long remained the sole title of the highest officials, but, under his successors, two new titles for these officials were introduced,—*inlustris* and *spectabilis*. The former is first found in 354; the latter was probably introduced by Valentinian I (364—375), who (as stated in the Theodosian code) *singulis quibusque dignitibus certum locum meritumque praescripsit*.

The first certain example of *spectabilis* is dated 378 A.D. In the age of Isidore² (ob. 636) the three ranks of Senators were, in descending order, (1) *illustres*, (2) *spectabiles* and (3) *clarissimi*. The latest example of a *v(ir) clarissimus* in an inscription belongs to the year 629.

The *legio*, the *cohors*, and the *ala* are always followed by their distinctive numbers, or epithets, as *legio 11 adiutrix pia fidelis*; *cohors II Gallorum Macedonica*; *ala I Tungrorum Frontoniana*. The number of times that any one has held office is placed *after* the title, as *COS · III*; and the number of years of any one's life

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1 Cod. Theod. vi 5, 2.
2 *Etym. ix 4, 12.*
3 Cp. in general O. Hirschfeld, *Die Rangtitel der römischen Kaiserzei* (1901), in Kleine Schriften (1913), 646—681.
is placed *after VIXIT ANNIS*, and similarly with months and days.

As regards conjunctions, the successive epithets of any single divinity are not introduced by *et*. Thus we have *Herculi victori pollenti potenti invicto*. But, if several divinities are mentioned, the conjunctions may be either omitted, as in *Sanctae Isidi, numini Sarapis, sancto Silvano, Laribus*; or inserted, as in *Silvano sancto et Mercurio et Libero patri sacrum*. In enumerating a series of military or civil offices held by the same man, the conjunction is generally omitted, but the full title of each office is set forth, even if part of the title is the same in all: as *praefecto annonae, proc(uratori) a rationibus, proc. provinciarum Lugdunensis et Aquitanicae, proc. hereditat., proc. Hispaniae ...*, *proc. Alpium maritimarum* etc.

Similarly we find *proc(uratori)* at the beginning of each of six lines relating to T. Statilius Optatus.

When an adjective is in agreement with a substantive governed by *ob, pro, propter*, or the like, the adjective generally precedes the substantive, as *ob insignem in cives amorem et singularem erga patriam affectionem*; *ob eximiam benignamque erga omnes cives suos affectionem, sinceramque et incomparabilem innocentiam eius*; *pro singulari eius circa se amore*; *propter eximiam pietatem et affectionem fraternam quam circa se et liberos exhibit*.


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1 Dessau, ii 3434, cp. 3436.  
2 Wilmanns, 1263.  
3 Gruter, p. 62, 4.  
4 Dessau, i 1342.  
5 *ib. ii (2) 9011*; Papers of British School at Rome, iv 85 (pl. iii, fig. 1); see also Mommsen, *Comm. on Res gestae divi Augusti, De iteratione legationum*, pp. 179—182.  
6 Wilmanns, 1636.  
7 *C. I. L. xi* 6362; Dessau, ii (2) 7364.  
8 Dessau, i 1278.  
9 *ib. ii* 6822.
CHAPTER XI

RESTORATION AND CRITICISM OF INSCRIPTIONS

Many of the extant inscriptions are mutilated and fragmentary. Before they can be adequately published or profitably used as evidence, they often require to be restored by means of conjectural criticism. The first requirement is a completely accurate copy of the original taken by the best mechanical means available. The usual method is that of paper 'squeezes'. These are made by wetting sheets of thick unsized white paper and pressing them into the indentations of the inscription by means of a brush with short stiff bristles. Rubbings may also be made with black lead; and, in the case of very small articles, such as gems, impressions can be taken in wax.

Errors may arise from an inaccurate transcript. Thus, the last six letters of $Q\cdot CONVNTIS\cdot F\cdot HE QVE$ were interpreted by Muratori as $f(ili)\ he(redes)\ que$, but a more accurate copy of the original has $FEL\cdot OVF\cdot Fe(licis)\ Ou(fentina)\ (tribu)$. The transcript $DE\cdot CARNVNT\cdot$ led Fabretti to imagine the existence of a Deus Carnuns, whereas the inscription really reads $DEF\cdot CARNVNTI$, defuncto Carnunti.

Errors of interpretation may be due to a misunderstanding of the special meaning of certain abbreviations in some particular context. Such was the error of one who inferred the existence at Lyons of no less than three hundred augurs from an inscription.

in Spon\(^1\) including the letters C · C · C · AVG · LVG 
the true interpretation of which is the full official title of the city, Coloniae Copiae Claudiae Augustae Luguduni\(^2\). In an inscription ending with the words qui vixit annis LXXXVII V · V · V · aliquando securus sum, V · V · V · was dubiously interpreted by Mommsen as meaning vixi vitam vexatam\(^3\), an interpretation supported by no precedent. A more probable solution is vale, vale, vale, which is ordinarily said by the living to the dead\(^4\), but may also be the reply of the dead to the living as in vale viator and viator vale\(^5\).

Errors may be due to the original carver of the inscription, and are, in some cases, corrected by the carver himself. Thus, in Fig. 35 (p. 132 supra), a mistake in the numbers of the miles in lines 6, 7 and 9 is corrected by punching out a square space, and thus removing the erroneous endings of the numerals.

Among other errors are the following. On a distance-slab of the Antonine Vallum in Scotland, among the symbols for millia passuum tria, P · III is wrongly repeated: M · P · III P III CCCIV\(^6\). In a Roman inscription, h(eredem) nostrum sequetur is substituted for h(eredem) non sequetur\(^7\); and, in an inscription of Ostia, Q · Q · for ‘q(uin)q(uennali)’ has been set out in full as qvoqve\(^8\). In provincial inscriptions, pater patriae is sometimes allowed to stand as an indeclinable nominative, in the midst of several datives\(^9\). In epitaphs, datives and accusatives are occasionally combined in the statement of the duration of the life of the deceased, as vixit annis vii mens. vii dies xii\(^10\). Mistakes may arise from similarity in the shapes of various letters, such as

\(^1\) Spon, Misc. (1685) 170, 3 and 173, 2; cp. R. de la Blanchère, Hist. de l'épigr. rom. (1887), p. 46.
\(^2\) Orelli, 194; cp. Wilmanns, 120, 121, 122; Dessau, ii 4132–4.
\(^3\) C. I. L. vi 10251; Dessau, ii (2) 7348 (taken from Rome to Verona).
\(^4\) Servius on Virgil, Aen. ii 644, ‘dici mortuis solet, vale, vale, vale’. This interpretation, that of Maffei (Mus. Ver. 96, 5), was accepted by Orelli, 2389, and is entered in Cagnat's list of abbreviations.
\(^5\) C. I. L. iii 495; i 1027 (Wilmanns, 1641; 556 = Dessau, ii (2) 7602); cp. i 2555, tu qui legis vale.
\(^6\) C. I. L. vii 1126.
\(^7\) vi (2) 9138.
\(^8\) xiv 418.
\(^9\) ii 2054.
I and L, E and F, B or P and R. Thus we have AQLIVER for Aquilifer\(^1\), FOPVM for eorum\(^2\), and AVG·LIR·SIR for Aug(usti) lib(erti) ser(vi)\(^3\). When the surface of the stone has been much rubbed, the horizontal strokes of letters such as E, L, T are often worn away, leaving nothing but the vertical stroke, \(I\). Words are sometimes wrongly divided, as SVPERVM PONITVR for super-imponitur\(^4\). Occasionally, owing to local peculiarities of pronunciation, consonants of similar sound are interchanged, as B and V, e.g. bixit for vixit; vene for bene; and even veneficium for beneficium\(^6\).

In restoring lacunae, the general principles of textual criticism are the same in the case of an inscription as in the case of a manuscript. But inscriptions are subject to more rigid rules than literary texts, and leave less room for the exercise of the imagination. From the length of the lines, and the size of the letters, we ascertain the exact number of letters missing. To restore an inscription we are not at liberty to assume any abbreviation we please. Certain words are seldom, if ever, abbreviated, while in others the abbreviated forms are frequent. The restoration of an incomplete inscription may be suggested or confirmed by a more complete inscription on the same subject or by a parallel passage from a classical author.

A knowledge of the history and chronological development of the Roman name; and a familiarity with the sequence of the cursus honorum, and with the successive names and titles of the Emperors, are an important aid towards the restoration of lacunae; and the same may be said of a knowledge of the customary legal formulae. In the case of the cursus honorum and the titles of the Emperors, this may be illustrated by Mommsen's restoration

\(^1\) v 2495. \(^2\) vi 13016. \(^3\) v 8247. 
\(^4\) Hagenbuch in Orelli, ii p. 362. 
\(^6\) On errata fabrilia, cp. Hagenbuch, l. c. p. 366 § 44; also Hübner's Exempla, p. xli f, and his index to C. I. L. i p. 646, and Dessau, iii (2) p. 873 f. 
\(^6\) Eph. Ep. ix, no. 776, 27, 'propter quod veneficium statuam eidem—collocarunt' (at Praeneste). Cp. History of Classical Scholarship, i\(^2\) 268, 475; Cagnat, 412 f, B(eteranus) for veteranus; also Diehl, Vulgärlateinische Inschriften, nos. 419, 498, vene combined with bixit and habe (for ave), and many other references in index, p. 162 f.
C. PLINIUS. L. F. OV F. CAECILIUS
AVGVSTI. LEGAT. PRO PR. PROVINCIAS. PONT.
CONSULARIS. POTESTAT. IN. EAM. PROVINCIAM.
IMP. CAESAR. NERVA. TRAIANO. AVG. GERMAN.
CVRATOR. ALVEI. TIBERIS. ET. RIPARVM. ET.
PRAEF. AERARI. SATURNI. PRAEF. AERARI. MIL.
QVAESTOR. IMP. SEVIR. EQVITVM.
TRIB. MILIT. LEG. TIT. GALICIAE

TIB. IVDICAND. THERM. AD. IEX. VIDE
ORNATVM. IN. HS. CCC.
HS. CCC. T. F.
HS. [XVIII] LXVI BCL XVI. RECI
PLEB. VRBAN. VOLVIT. PERIT.
ET. PVELLAR. PLEB. VRBAN. HS.
CAE. HS. C

secundus et bithyniae
ex s. e. missus ab
imperatore Caesare Nerva Traiano Augusto Germanico Dacico, patre patriae; curator alvei
Tiberis et riparum et cloacarum urbis, praefectus aerari Saturni, praefectus aerari militaris,
praetor, tribunus plebis, quaestor imperatoris, sevir equitum Romanorum, tribunus militum legionis
tertiae Gallicae, decemviris stlitibus indicandis; termas ex sestertiis..., adiectis in ornatum
sestertium tercentum millibus... et eo amplius in tutelam sestertium ducentum millibus, testamento
fieri iussit, item in alimenta libertorum suorum, hominum centum, sestertium decies octies
centena et sexaginta sex millia cum sexcentis sexaginta sex reipublicae legavit, quorum
incrementum postea ad epulum plebis urbane voluit pertinere; item vivus dedit in alimenta puereorum
et puellarum plebis urbanei sestertium quingenta millia; item bylibothecam et in tutelam bylibothecae
sestertium centum millibus.

Inscription recording the career of the younger Pliny.
of the celebrated inscription, formerly at Como, now in Milan, recording the career of the younger Pliny.

The date of an inscription may be determined (1) by its form, in respect to (a) the shapes of the letters, or (b) the spelling of the words; and (2) by its subject-matter.

(1a) The date of an inscription belonging to the Roman Republic may be partly determined by the character of the letters. Under the Republic, forms of A, such as /A, A, or A, which are never constant, cease altogether about 184—174 B.C., and the same is true of the sibilant letter S, and of those forms of O which are open at the top or the bottom. The acute-angled L (for L) ceases about the same date. The rectangular form of ꝏ (for ꝏ) ceases in 114 B.C. In process of time the triangular-headed R and R become the round-headed R and R. The tall I is not found before the age of Sulla (dictator in 80 B.C.), or the apex (or accented vowel) before that of Caesar (dictator in 48). Y is hardly ever found before 55 B.C. Z, which had appeared after 273 B.C. on an ancient coin of Cosa, was finally borrowed solely for the spelling of Greek words containing that letter, and was placed at the end of the Latin alphabet.

The characteristic shapes of the other letters of the alphabet (1) in the last quarter of the fifth century of Rome (279—254 B.C.) and (2) in the sixth century (253—154 B.C.), have been stated in a tabular form on a previous page. The archaic forms of the letters were gradually superseded by the normal and regular alphabet, as it finally appeared in the monumental and in the documental style of the Augustan age, and a specimen of each (1) from an important monument, and (2) from a public record, has already been given, as well as the corresponding alphabet.

The lettering of the later alphabets of Claudius, Nero, the Flavian emperors, Trajan, Septimius Severus, and Constantine, as set forth in Hübner’s Exempla, shows very little change.

1 Hermes, iii (1869), p. 112, Ges. Schr. iv 366—468; C. I. L. v 5262; Dessau, i 2927.
2 Fig. 15, p. 48, supra. 3 (1) Fig. 8 (p. 43); (2) Figs. 44, 45 (p. 171 f).
4 Figs. 9, 10 a (p. 43 f). 5 Fig. 10 b (p. 44).
Inscriptions of nearly the same date may have a different style in their lettering, a fact that prompted Maffei's remark, *fallax et ambigua scripturae coniectura*. The painstaking epigraphist, Fabretti, was led by the inferior lettering of the last two lines of an inscription to assign it to a later time. The superior lettering ends with *C · SEPTIMI* and the inferior begins with *O · GEMELLO*; so that, on this view, the *praenomen* and nearly the whole of the *nomen* would belong to one age, and its last letter, and the *cognomen*, to another!

The correct shape of the letter *R* is an important criterion in determining the date of a dedication to Juno Sospita by a former slave of Cn. and Aulus Caecilius, and of Q. Flaminius. An inscription in the following terms was discovered by Ritschl at Basel. It was carved on a perfectly faultless tablet of slate, with a central point, made by a pair of compasses, still visible in every circular *O* and *Q*, and in every semicircular *C*:

\[
Q \cdot CAECILIVS \cdot CN \cdot A \cdot Q \\
FLAMINI \cdot LEIBERTVS \\
IVNONE \cdot SEISPITEI \\
MATRI \cdot REGINAE
\]

This was condemned by Ritschl on the ground of the shapes of the letters, especially that of the thrice repeated *R*, with its unduly large head and its curiously curved tail. Mommsen defended the substance of the inscription, and even regarded the lettering as of the ordinary late Republican type. Meanwhile, an inscription in the same terms had been seen somewhere in the Campagna by the Roman architect, Canina, who had mentioned it to Henzen. It was ultimately traced to the famous seat of Juno's worship at Lanuvium, where the whole of the inscription was found extending in a long line on the architrave of an ancient temple of the goddess, with the letter *R* appearing

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1 *Ars Critica Lapidaria* (1765), col. 165.
3 *Bullettino dell' Instituto*, 1853, p. 170 f, translated with additions in *Rhein. Mus.* ix (1854), 450 f, 639.
4 Orelli-Henzen (iii) 5659 a.
in a perfectly regular form. Thus Ritschl was right in condemning the lettering of the Basel copy, and Mommsen in defending its substance. Both of these eminent epigraphists were justified, in different ways, by the discovery of the lost original at Lanuvium.

(1 b) Turning to questions of spelling, we find that, in the final syllable of the inflexions of nouns and verbs such as tribunōs, pocolom, donom, sacrom, dederont, coiraveront, o is superseded by u about 234 B.C. (though o survives after u and v, as in mortuōs and vivōs). Similarly, in the final syllable of words like fruge, cepet, curavet, dedet, e is superseded by i. The final d of the ablative falls out of general use after 200 B.C., though it is retained in 186, in the Senatus Consultum de Bacchanalibus. xs for x is not found earlier than that document, extra appearing twice as exstrad. Double consonants are not found before the time of Ennius (d. 169); examples of their presence or absence are about equal in number from 174 to 134; from 134 they become more common, and they are practically constant from 114. Double vowels are confined to the sixty years between 134 and 74. The omission of the final s and m ceases about 130. The unaspirated consonants p, c, t, as in Pilotimus, Antiocus, Corintus, are in general earlier than the aspirated; the latter are not found before 104—94 B.C.; their use varies down to 54 B.C., and becomes fairly constant from 53. QV for CV, as in QVM, QVRA, PEQVS, PEQVNA, appears to be due to the influence of Accius, as it does not come into use before 114. About 100 B.C. ou, after having been used in such words as Fourio, Loucana, adiouta, abdoucit, gives way to u, though the old spelling survives for some time in ious (for ius), and its cognates ioussi, ioudicare, iourare. About the same date, (1) poplicus is superseded by publicus; (2) in the nominative plural of o-stems, the old terminations -es, -eis, and -is (as in magistres, magistreis,
and *hisce ministris*) become obsolete; (3) in consonant-stems, the genitive termination *-us* (as in *Venerus, Kastorus*) falls into abeyance; and (4) the diphthongs *oe* and *oi* (as in *coerare* and *coirare*) are superseded by *ui* (as in *curare*). Among other archaic diphthongs we have *ai* for *ae*, as in *aidem*, and *oi* for *oe*, as in *foiderater*.

(2) The date may also be determined by the subject-matter, by the mention of consuls or other officials, whose date is exactly or approximately known. In imperial inscriptions the details of the titles borne by the emperor are generally conclusive. References to consulships, and to imperial titles, are often found in honorary inscriptions. Epitaphs are rarely dated by consulships, and it is very exceptional to find an epitaph in which the successive dates in a centurion’s career are recorded in terms of imperial titles. The *lex parieti faciendo* of Puteoli is dated *ab colonia deducta anno xc*, the year of the foundation of the colony being 194 B.C. An Umbrian monument of 32 A.D. in honour of Tiberius is dated 704 years from the foundation of Interamna; and the ‘restoration of liberty’ by Nerva on the death of Domitian in 96 A.D. was commemorated on the Capitol in an inscription dated in the year of Rome, 848. Such dates are generally confined to *tituli sacri*, and are very rare in Italy. But they are common in Asia, and are also found in Mauretania, where some public baths were dedicated in ‘the year of the province 157’, i.e. 196 A.D., and where a priest is described as having died at the age of 105 (‘more or less’) ‘in the year of the province 363’, or 402 A.D.

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1 Founded on the imperfectly classified Summary in Ritschl’s *Opuscula*, iv 765. For further details see index to Diehl’s *Altlateinische Inschriften*, 2nd ed., 1911, and Dessau, iii (2) 802—875, *Grammatica quaedam..*

2 Appendix III, *infra*.


4 Dessau, i 2118, quoted, p. 117 *supra*.

5 C. I. L. 11 577; p. 160 *supra*.

6 Wilmanns, 64 a; Dessau, i 157.

7 *ib.* 64; Dessau, i 274, and iii (1) p. 347 f.

8 Dessau, ii 6876.

9 *ib.* ii (2) 8083, and iii (1) p. 348 f. On dating inscriptions cp. C. Bone’s *Anleitung*, pp. 50—82.
Modern criticism of Latin inscriptions began when the forgeries of Pirro Ligorio (who died about 1586) were detected by Maffei and Olivieri. Inscriptions produced solely to glorify a particular family, or to support a particular opinion, are always liable to suspicion. An inscription supporting the view that Basilice is on the site of the Samnian town Murgantia is discredited by the illegitimate formation of the adjective in populus Murgantius, instead of Murgantinus or Murgantiensis, and (less strongly) by the unidiomatic use of the demonstrative in basilicam hanc.

With this we may contrast Dessau, ii 5527, 'M. Nonius...Balbus procos. | basilicam, portas, murum pecunia sua'. The demonstrative, is, however, occasionally found in inscriptions: see p. 88 supra.

Among modern forgeries we have the epitaph of Paulus Aemilius:

Annibal Pauli Aemilii Romanorum consulis apud Cannas trucidati consuque corpus inhumatum iacere passus non est; summo cum honore Romanis militibus mandavit sub hoc marmore reponendum et ossa eius ad urbem deportanda.

Caesar's favourable reception of Cicero, on their meeting between Tarentum and Brundisium in September, 47 B.C., finds expression in the following forgery:

C. Caesar M. T. Ciceronem ob egregias eius virtutes singularesque animi dotes per universum orbem virtute nostra armisque perdomitum salvum et incolenum esse iubemus.

The daughter of Marius is commemorated in a forged inscription at Arles, ascribed to the middle of the seventeenth century:

D M (separated by two palm-branches) | Calphur'niae | Cai Marii | cons. filiae | piissimae—Cimbror(um) | victrici.
As it was known that Cicero intended to set up a temple, either at Arpinum or across the Tiber, in memory of his daughter Tullia, there was an obvious temptation to forge an inscription in her honour. Abela, in his _Malta Illustrata_, describes her epitaph as having been found at Malta, of all other places, in the following form:—Tulliola M. Tullii F. An altar in Florence bears the inscription:—D · M · | Tulliolae | v · c | cineres. Again, when the body of a young girl was found in 1485, in an ancient tomb, six miles from Rome on the Appian Way, it was declared that it was the tomb of Tullia, the young wife of Dolabella, and the phrase _nihil unquam peccavit nisi quod mortua est_ was stolen from a genuine epitaph to enrich a forgery in her memory:—Tulliola filia, mea unica | quae nunquam peccavit | nisi quod mortua fuit | infelix pater posuit M · T · Cicero.

In the celebrated epitaph of Iulia Alpinula, founded on the fate of Iulius Alpinus of Aventicum, as recorded in Tacitus, _Histories_, i 68, the name Alpinula was doubtless derived from that of 'Alpinia Alpinula' in a genuine inscription of Baden in Switzerland. The forgery, which was among the inscriptions supplied to Lipsius by Paulus Gulielmus, deceived Johann Müller, the historian of Switzerland, and also Lord Byron, who alludes to it in _Childe Harold_ (iii 66). The epitaph is as follows:—

_Iulia Alpinula hie iaceo | infelicit patris infelix proles | Deae Avent(icae) sacerdos. | exorare patris necem non potui. | male mori in fatis illi erat. | vixi annos xxiii_8.

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1 _Ad Att._ xii 18, 19, 21.
2 Forsyth's _Cicero_, p. 402, note (ed. 1867).
3 _C. I. L._ vi (5) 3465; _v. c._ is probably meant for 'viri clarissimi (filiae)._'
4 _C. I. L._ vi (4), 20634.
5 _ib._ vi (5) 3593; Lanciani, _Pagan and Christian Rome_, 300 f.
6 Orelli, 457.
7 Orelli, i p. 40.
8 Orelli, 406*, where Byron is quoted as saying _je ne connais point de composition humaine plus touchante que cette inscription_. The same inscription is the theme of a poem by 'N.' (i.e. J. N. Simkinson) in _The Rugby Magazine_, no. 1, July 1835, p. 78, and reprinted in Holden's _Foliorum Silvula_, i (1866) no. 637 (with note), beginning _'Tis past—the struggle now is o'er | Which I have borne for thee; | A daughter's prayers can bend no more | Those hearts of cruelty._
The inscriptions from Nennig near Trier\(^1\), and many of the sling-bolts of Asculum\(^2\), are also forgeries\(^3\).

Genuine inscriptions have sometimes been wrongly regarded as fabrications. Even certain of the epitaphs of the Scipios were suspected by Gori and Maffei; the \textit{decreta Pisana}, by Scaliger; and the \textit{lex regia Vespasiani}, by others\(^4\). An inscription, once described as a forgery\(^5\), has since been discovered in the sanctuary of Fortuna Primigenia at Praeneste\(^6\). Among the \textit{inscriptiones falsas urbi Romae attributas} collected in 1885, \textit{C. I. L. vi} (5), nearly 3000 were recorded by Ligorio, but more than fifty of them are accepted as genuine in the \textit{Corrigenda}, four of these being still extant in Rome, Perugia, Florence, or Paris. Another inscription, which was first transcribed in 1674, afterwards disappeared, and was regarded as a forgery\(^7\), partly because it referred to the Census of Quirinius. In 1880, about half of the inscription was discovered at Venice, and it was afterwards admitted by Mommsen to be genuine\(^8\). On this subject in general he modestly said in the early part of his great career as one of the founders of Latin epigraphy,

\begin{quote}
Omnino nobis modestè confitendum est, in hac quæstione de vera titu-
lorum fucatave antiquitate multum dandum esse testim honestati et oculorum auctoritati\(^9\).
\end{quote}

\(^2\) p. 148 \textit{supra}.
\(^4\) Cp. Orelli, i p. 63, and Zell, 353.
\(^5\) \textit{C. I. L. vi} 696\(^*\).
\(^6\) xiv 2907.
\(^7\) v 136\(^*\).
\(^8\) \textit{Eph. Ep.} iv p. 537; \textit{C. I. L. iii suppl.} 6687; Rushforth, \textit{Lat. Hist. Inscr.} no. 23; Dessau, i 2683.
APPENDIX I

ROMAN NAMES

Plurimum Epigraphicae Romanae debere nominum rationem consentaneum est. Hübner, Quaestiones Onomatologicae Latinae (1854), p. 5.

Our knowledge of Roman names depends largely on Latin inscriptions. In every kind of inscriptions, except copies of Roman laws, Roman names are frequent. Epitaphs necessarily include the name of the deceased; dedicatory inscriptions, the name of the dedicator; honorary inscriptions, the name of the person honoured; while names form a no less important feature of the Fasti Consulares and the Acta Triumphorum, and of lists like those from the Caelian hill, each of them recording the names of one thousand soldiers.

The knowledge of Roman names, derived from inscriptions which have been perfectly preserved, often makes it possible to restore inscriptions which have come down to us in a mutilated or otherwise illegible form.

It was believed by Varro that, in ancient Italy, each individual bore a single name. In support of this opinion he pointed out that Romulus and Remus, and Faustulus, had apparently no praenomen or cognomen. It was urged, however, in reply, that the mother of Romulus and Remus bore the double name of Rea Silvia, and their grandfather that of Silvius Numitor; that an early Alban king was named Agrippa Silvius, and a later Alban general, Mettus Fufetius; that the Sabines claimed the names of Titus Tatius, Numa Pompilius, and Mettus Curtius; and the Etruscans, that of Lars Porsenna. Hence it was sur-

1 Wilmanns, 1499; Dessau, i 2157.
mised that it was from the Alban and the Sabine peoples that the Romans derived the custom of having more than one name.  

When a single name was used, the individual was distinguished by the addition of the name of the father, the husband, or the master, in the genitive case. 'Marcus, son of Marcus', was at first expressed by Marcus Marci. Hence arose the fuller form Marcus Marci f(ilius), in which f(ilius) follows, instead of preceding, the father's name. At a later date we have Caecilia Metella described as Q. Cretici (ilia) and as Crassi (uxor). Among ancient names of slaves were Marcipor and Lucipor, for Marci and Lucii puer (i.e. servus).

As a general rule, all free-born Romans had three names, the praenomen, the nomen, and the cognomen, e.g. M(arcus) T(ullius) Cicero. These are the tria nomina of Juvenal (v 127). The praenomen was the personal name given to a boy on the ninth day after his birth; but, according to Scaevola, this name was not officially recognised, until he had assumed the toga virilis. In inscriptions a boy's praenomen is sometimes mentioned, and sometimes omitted. Its mention became more common owing to an ordinance of Marcus Aurelius (161—180), by which every citizen, in Rome and in the provinces, was required to report the birth of a son, within thirty days of his birth, nomine imposito. If a son has died before coming of age, he is described as an infant, under the name Pupus, which is placed first, in the same position as any praenomen, e.g. Pup(o) Pontio, T(iti) (Pontii) f(ilio), Vol(tinia tribu) Proculo, an(norum) tredecim.  

In inscriptions, when a praenomen stands by itself, it is given in full; when it is prefixed to another name, it is abbreviated, the ordinary form of the corresponding abbreviation being the initial letter or letters here printed in capitals before the parenthesis:

A(ulus), AP(pius), C for Gaius, CN for Gnaeus, D(ecimus), K(aeso), L(ucius), M(arius), NN for Manius, N(umerius), P(ublius), Q(uintus), S(er)ius, S(ex)us, S or SP for Spurius, TI or TIB for Tiberius, T(itus), and V(ibus).

1 Liber de praenominibus, appended to editions of Valerius Maximus.
2 P. 42, fig. 7, supra.
3 Macrobius, i 16, 36.
4 Capitolinus, Vita Marci, 9.
5 C. I. L. ix 2789; Wilmanns, 2697.
6 Cp. p. 60 supra.
Varro recognised thirty praenomina. Of the eighteen above mentioned, Kaeso, Manius, Servius and Spurius are comparatively rare. Among still rarer praenomina are Agrippa, MAM(ercus), Paullus, POST(umus), and VO(piscus). Spurius is often found in the Fasti Consulares, and in ordinary inscriptions, as a praenomen of Postumii and Albini. But Spuri f. and Sp. f. are also used to denote illegitimate sons or daughters, being sometimes combined with further epithets, which show that the above phrases are only used to conceal an indefinite paternity, e.g. C. Asinius Spuri f. spurius, and C. Mamercius Sp. f. Ianuarius ...filius naturalis.

Certain gentes, or subdivisions of gentes, confined themselves to a particular group of praenomina. Thus the gens Claudia used only Appius, Gaius, Decimus, Publius, and Tiberius; the Claudii Nerones, only two:—Tiberius and Decimus; the Corneli Scipiones, only three, Gnaeus, Lucius, and Publius; and the Manlii:—Aulus, Gnaeus, Lucius, Publius, and Tiberius. In distinguished families certain praenomina fell out of use, as Lucius among the Claudii, owing to the condemnation of two who bore that praenomen, and Marcus among the Manlii, and the Antonii. In 20 A.D. Cn. Piso, the son of a conspirator, was compelled to change his praenomen.

In the earliest times praenomina were given to women. This is proved by legendary names, such as Acca Larentia, and by the testimony of Varro, who cites names derived from the colour of the hair or eyes, such as Rutila, Caesellia, and Rodacilla. Accordingly, in the Sabine region near the birth-place of Varro, we find inscriptions bearing the names of Rutila, and Gavia Caesidia. Gavia is an old form of Gaia, which is mentioned by Varro, with Lucia, Publia, and Numeria, among female names formed from the praenomen of the husband; ceterum Gaia usu super omnes celebrata est. Gaia, in particular, in its old spelling Caia, the form in use before the introduction

1 De Praen. § 3.
2 C. I. L. ix 2696; x (1) 1138.
3 Suet. Tib. 1.
4 Livy, vi 20, 14; Cicero, Phil. i 22.
5 Plutarch, Cicero, 41.
6 Tacitus, Ann. iii 17.
7 C. I. L. ix 4298, 5124.
8 ib. 3621.
9 De Praen. 7.
of the letter G, was the typical praenomen of a wife, as is proved by the inquiry in Plutarch's Quaestiones Romanae (30):—

'Wherefore do they at Rome, when they bring a newly espoused bride home to the house of her husband, force her to say these words unto her spouse, ὅπως ὦ Γάιος, ἐγὼ Γαία?' (Here Plutarch is simply translating the Latin formula:—ubi tu Gaius, ego Gaia.) To this Plutarch answers: 'it implieth as much as if she should say, 'where you are lord and master, I will be lady and mistress.' Now these names they used as being common, and such as came first to hand...like as the lawyers use ordinarily these names Caius, Seius, Lucius, and Titius.

This use of Gaia as a typical woman's name is humorously described by Cicero as leading to the fancy of the lawyers that every woman, who entered into a kind of legal contract, called coemptio, bore the name of Gaia. A certain number of these praenomina, including Gaia and Lucia, are found in inscriptions of the Roman Republic. They have no civic importance, and are rarely found under the Empire, as in the epitaph of Ser(via) Cornelia Sabina, a liberta of Ser(vius) Cornelius.

Of two sisters, the elder and the younger are distinguished in inscriptions by the prefix of maio(r) and mino(r), while the eldest is described as maxima. The ages of a series of sisters are distinguished by Prima, Secunda, Tertia, etc.

Among female praenomina we find Pola, the oldest form of Paulla, and of the later Paula, and of the more rustic Polla; and, in the same sense, Pusilla. We also find Pupa, the feminine of Pupus.

It is only rarely that women have praenomina corresponding to those of men, and similarly abbreviated, e.g. Ap(pia) (as in Ap(pia) Aurelia Aurelii f. Lupercilla in Spain); also Gaia and Gnaea, as well as Lucia, Publia, Ser(via), Sex(ta), and T(ta).

The nomen proper is the nomen gentilicium or gentile, common to all members of the same gens, men or women, clients and freedmen. Varro held that the number

1 Philemon Holland's transl.
3 Similarly we have M'. Curia and Pola Livia in an ancient dedication to Iuno at Pisaurum (C. I. L. xi 6303). Cp. also Hübner, in Handbuch, 664, and Cagnat, 474, note 4.
4 C. I. L. vi (3) 16450.
5 C. I. L. ii 3372.
of such names was one thousand. The ancient nomen of the patrician and the older plebeian families was most frequently formed by adding to the stem a suffix ius, as Gell-ius and Helv-ius, or aius, aeus, eus, eius, as Ann-aeus and Pomp-eius. The addition of further suffixes led to the formation of names such as Volc-aci-us, Sulp-ici-us, Alb-ucius; Au-fidius; Corn-el-i-us; Lic-iniu-s; Val-eri-us; Hor-atius; Hort-ensius; Vitr-uvius.

There are also forms ending in anus, of Latin and also of Sabine or Umbrian origin, usually derived from names of places, as Norb-anus; with later forms in ani-us, as Vips-anius. Certain names of Sabine or Oscan origin end in enus, as Alf-enus; of Umbrian, in as, anas, enas, as Maec-enas: and of Etruscan in arna, erna, enna, ina and inna, as Caec-ina and Spur-inna.

In inscriptions most of the nomina are set forth in full. It is only those which are most frequent, owing to their passing from patricians to their clients or freedmen, or from emperors to their freedmen or soldiers, that are abbreviated, e.g.

AEL(ius), ANT(oni-us), AVR(elius), CL(audius), FL(avius), IVL(ius), POMP(eius), VAL(eri-us), and VLP(ius).

Nomina may be abbreviated, when the full form is easily inferred from the context, e.g. M. Propertius Tert. et M. P. Q. f. They may also be abbreviated, or entirely omitted, in contiguous inscriptions referring to members of the same gens.

The cognomen was of later origin than the praenomen and nomen, and is not found in official documents before the age of Sulla. By the lex Iulia municipalis (45 B.C.) the officials charged with the census were enjoined to register the cognomen in addition to the other names. The cognomina were, in some cases, originally derived from some personal peculiarity, e.g. Barbatu-us, Capito, Longu-us, Nasica. In the great families in particular, these cognomina soon became hereditary, thus serving to distinguish the various branches of

1 De Praen. 3.
3 Hübner, quaest. onomatol. in Eph. Epigr. ii (1875) 25—92.
4 Orelli, 482.
5 Hübner, in Handbuch, 669.
6 C. I. L. i p. 206, l. 146, 'censum agito, eorumque nomina, praenomina, patres aut patronos, tribus, cognomina...accipito'.
the same gens, as *Cornelii Balbi* and *Cornelii Scipiones*, or even the subdivisions of the same branch, as *Cornelii Scipiones Nasicae*. Sometimes we have even three *cognomina*, e.g. *Cornelius Scipio Nasica Corculum*.

A *cognomen ex virtute*, which was given by way of honour, such as *Africanus, Asiaticus, Creticus, Hispanus, Macedonicus*, became hereditary\(^1\), but was possibly limited to the eldest son\(^2\).

Under the early Empire several *cognomina* were often held by the same person, but from the second and third century their number was considerably increased\(^3\). It became customary to add the 'gentile name' of the mother, and the names of the maternal grandfather, and even of the adoptive father. In cases where a second *praenomen* was thus annexed, the original *praenomen* and *nomen* were followed by the new *praenomen*, *nomen*, and *cognomen*, e.g. *C. Antius A. Iulius. Quadratus* (consul in 105 A.D.). When a new gentile name was annexed, it was generally placed immediately after the original name, e.g. *L. Aelius Aurelius Commodus* (the emperor); but it might also be placed at a later point, e.g. *M. Larcius Magnus Pompeius Silo* (consul in 82 A.D.). The multiplication of *cognomina* is well illustrated in the case of Q. Pompeius Priscus, consul in 169 A.D., who, in an honorary inscription at Tibur, boasts of more than thirty names, once supposed to be the names of fifteen or sixteen separate persons\(^4\):


From his father he derives the names 'Q. Pompeio Roscio Murenæ Coelio Silio Deciano Iulio Eurycli Herculanæo L. Vibullio Pio'; from his maternal grandfather, 'Senecioni' and 'Sosio'; from his great-grandfather, 'Sex. Iulio Frontino'; and from a consul of Trajan's time, 'Augustano Alpino Bellicio Sollerti'\(^5\).

In Latin literature, as in Latin inscriptions, the normal order of the *tria nomina* is *praenomen*, *nomen*, *cognomen*, and the best

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1 Cic. de Rep. vi 11.  
2 Mommsen, Röm. Forsch. i 53.  
3 A later name for such an additional *cognomen* was *agnomen*. De praen. 2.  
4 Cp. Orelli, 2761.  
5 Dessau, i 1104.
writers of prose, such as Cicero and Caesar, adhere to this order. Poets, however, for metrical convenience, often place the nomen before the praenomen, as in the epitaph of one of the Scipios, Cornelius Lucius Scipio Barbatus (page 66 f), while Ennius has Aelius Sextus; Lucilius, Laelius Decumus; and Horace, Casellius Aulus. The examples of the same inversion in Varro and Livy are due to corruptions in the text. The praenomen alone was used for relations and friends, and the cognomen alone in any other ordinary intercourse, with the praenomen prefixed in emphatic address, e.g. O Marce Druse, patrem appello\(^{1}\). In the language of literature, after Caesar's time, most writers place the nomen either before or after the cognomen. As, in inscriptions, we have the cognomen before the nomen in Pulcher Claudius et Rex Marius\(^{2}\), so, in Cicero, we have Balbus Cornelius\(^{3}\), and Ahala Servilius\(^{4}\). The normal order, nomen, cognomen, is consistently used by Caesar; Livy and Tacitus\(^{5}\) vary, while the younger Pliny reverts to the normal order of Caesar\(^{6}\).

The Latin term for a distinctive sobriquet, or nickname, was signum. It is not found in inscriptions before 150 A.D., the earliest known example belonging to the time of Marcus Aurelius and Commodus. Some of these signa were borrowed from Greek, or from other foreign languages. They often ended in -ius, in which case they were derived from an adjective, as Gaudentius from gaudens; Eusebius from εὐσεβής. Even when applied to women, the masculine termination -ius was retained in the genitive case, as 'Octavia Felicitas, signo Leonti'. The word signo or signum was usually prefixed, as signum Aeaci, signum Olymphi, or signo Concordiae\(^{7}\). There were also introductory formulae such as idem, or sive, or qui et, or qui et vocatur or dictus est\(^{8}\). Such names were also placed at the beginning or the end of an inscription, either in the genitive or in the vocative, followed, in the latter alternative, by vale or vivas. Sometimes the name

\(^{1}\) Cic. Orator, 213.
\(^{2}\) C. I. L. 1 805.
\(^{3}\) Ad Att. viii 19, 3.
\(^{4}\) Pro Mil. 8.
\(^{5}\) In Ann. ii he generally writes Asinius Gallus, and, less frequently, Gallus Asinius, or simply Gallus.
\(^{6}\) Cp. Marquardt's Privatleben der Römer, ed. 1886, p. 9, and Smith's Dict. of Antiquities, ii 233 f.
\(^{7}\) Wilmanns, 92, 2715.
\(^{8}\) ib. indices, ii 406.
was common to several members of a family, or a society, such as a funeral-club. From Rome, under the Antonines, the custom spread to the provinces, and, by the fourth century, it had become frequent among the higher classes. Among the earliest examples are *Euhodi* and *Helvini* (200 A.D.). We also find *Asterii* applied to L. Turcius and his brother (346)\(^1\); *Phosphorii* to the father of Symmachus, the orator (377), and *Eusebii* to Symmachus himself (consul, 391)\(^2\). The prominence given to the familiar name by placing it at the head of the inscription ensured the ready identification of the person in whose honour the inscription was set up. Sometimes this familiar name was the only one mentioned in historical literature, as in the case of Clodius Celsinus *AdeHlius*, *praefectus urbi* in 351, and of *Iulius Festus Hymetius*, proconsul of Africa in 362 A.D.\(^3\)

Next to the *praenomen* and *nomen* was placed the father's abbreviated *praenomen* in the genitive case, followed by *F(ilius)* or *Fil(ius)*. This might be succeeded by the *praenomen* of the grandfather followed by *N(epos)*, of the great-grandfather by *PRON(epos)*, and even, sometimes, of the great great-grandfather by *ABN(epos)*, e.g. C. Neratio C. *Fil(io) C. N(epoti) C. PRON(epoti) C. ABN(epoti) Proculo\(^4\). Occasionally the *praenomen* of the father is superseded by his *cognomen*, e.g. Tito Mamilio Silonis Fil.\(^5\) Sometimes the name of the mother is given (*a*) with or (*b*) without that of the father, as in Tuscan inscriptions of the time when the Etruscan language was giving way to Latin, e.g. (*a*) L. Pomponius L. F. Arsiniae gnatus, and (*b*) L. Gavius Spedo Septumia nat.\(^6\) The latter is also exemplified in an *exsecratio*, where the absence of the father's name is part of the malicious character of the whole document, as it probably implies that the person in question is illegitimate\(^7\).

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1 Dessau, ii 1229.
2 ib. 1257, 2946; cp. 1214, 1224-6, 1238-40, and Wilmanns, *indices*, ii 403.
3 Ammianus Marc. xvi 6, 2; xxviii 1 r. 17. In the *indices* of Wilmanns, ii p. 369, and of Dessau, iii, p. 163, these are entered under *cognomina*, in the capital letters distinctive of the senatorial order. Elsewhere, they are sometimes included among *agnomina*, a late term of little authority (p. 212, n. 3, *supra*).
4 Dessau, ii 6485.
5 ib. 6934 (in Spain).
6 Wilmanns, 155.
7 ib. 2749.
The *lex Iulia municipalis* enacted that the names of Roman citizens should be registered in the following order: nomina, praenomina, patres aut patronos, tribus, cognomina. This is the order generally followed in inscriptions, except that, under the Empire, the praenomen is always placed first. The name of the father and that of the tribe were placed after the praenomen and nomen, and before the cognomen, e.g. Q. Lollio M(ari) fil(io) Quiri(a) tribu) Vrbico; L. Minicio L(ucri) fil(io) Gal(eria tribu) Natali. The name of the tribe may be given in full, either in the ablative or (rarely) in the genitive, or in an adjectival form. More frequently it is abbreviated. In any case the word tribu, or tribus, is omitted. The following are the names of the thirty-five tribes, with the most frequent abbreviation of each. It will be observed that the abbreviation generally consists of three letters.

AEM(ilia), ANi(ensis), ARN(ensis), CAM(ilia), CLa(udia), CLv(stumina), COLL(ina), COR(neliâ), ESQ(uilina), FAB(ia), FA(lerna), GA(leria), HO(ratia), LEM(onia), MAEC(ia), MEN(enia), OV(Ventina), PaL(atina), PaP(ria), PoL(ia), PoM(ptinia), PVB(lilia), PVP(inia), QVIR(ina), RoM(ilia), SA(Batina), SCA(P(tia), SER(gia), STE(llatina), SVC for Suburana; TER(etina), TRo(mentina), VE(L(ina), VOL(tinia), VoT(uria).

The patria, or native town, if mentioned, is generally placed, in the ablative or genitive, or in an adjectival form, after the cognomen, e.g. C. Aufidius C. fil. Arn(iensi) Restitutus Kartha(gine); and similarly with the province, or region, of birth or of nationality. The town of residence may be denoted by domo followed by a locative case. Several of these local indications may be combined, e.g. domo Voltin(a) Philippis Macedonia.

In the case of legitimate sons, the eldest generally received the same praenomen as his father. Sometimes the father’s praenomen is borne by several of his sons; there are also cases in which the praenomen of the eldest son is different from that of his father.

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1 p. 211 supra.  
2 Dessau, i 1065.  
6 *ib.* 1500.  
7 *ib.* 2095; *indices*, ii 409 f.
In the early Empire, the eldest son generally received the *cognomen* of his father; the second, that of his mother; and the third a *cognomen* in -anus derived from that of his father. Thus the eldest son of M. Cosinius Priscus and Tuccia Prima is named M. Cosinius Priscus; the second, M. Cosinius Primus; and the third, M. Cosinius Priscianus. Similarly, the eldest son of Flavius Sabinus and Vespasia Polla is named T. Flavius Sabinus; and the second, T. Flavius Vespasianus, the emperor, whose *cognomen* is derived from the *gens* of his mother. Again, the eldest son of Vespasian and Flavia Domitilla is named T. Flavius Vespasianus (the emperor ‘Titus’); and the second son, T. Flavius Domitianus (the emperor ‘Domitian’), while their daughter takes her mother’s name, Domitilla. Occasionally the eldest son received the *praenomen* and *cognomen* of his paternal grandfather; and there was room for even further varieties in the names of the children, which, however, were generally in some sort suggested by the names of their ancestors.

Illegitimate children generally take the gentile name of their mother. Thus a son of Cn. Numidius Berullus, by his concubine Allia Nysa, appears as L. Allius L. f(ilius) Quartinus; it will be observed that he is called L(ucii) f(ilius), although his father’s *praenomen* is Gnaeus. Again, P. Paccius Ianuarius and Mamercia Grapte dedicate an epitaph to their son, C. Mamercio, Sp. F. Ianuario... filio naturali, where Sp. F., owing to its position in the series of names, is probably intended to be read *Spurio filio*, though it really means *spurio filio*. This interpretation is confirmed by inscriptions in which the *praenomen* is given in full,—*Spuri f(ilius)*, e.g. C. Asinius, Spuri f(ilius), Spurius. Such sons were often assigned to the *tribus* Collina, or Suburana, or Esquilina.

An adopted son, on passing into the *gens* of his adoptive father, gave up his own *tria nomina* and took those of his adoptive father. Under the Republic, he added to these names a *cognomen* formed from the *gens* of his own father by expanding it into an adjective ending in *anus*.

1 C. I. L. x 1506.  
2 Suetonius, Vesp. 1 and 3.  
4 C. I. L. x 1138; p. 209 supra.  
5 Cagnat, 73 f.
Thus a son of L. Aemilius Paullus, who is adopted by P. Cornelius Scipio, becomes P. Cornelius P. f. Scipio Aemilianus; a son of C. Octavius, adopted by C. Iulius Caesar, becomes C. Iulius Caesar Octavianus (the emperor Augustus); T. Pomponius Atticus, on his adoption by his uncle, Q. Caecilius, becomes Q. Caecilius Q. f. Pomponianus Atticus.

Under the Empire, the change of name was attended by some irregularities. Thus the younger Pliny, whose original name was P. Caecilius L. f. Ouf(entina) Secundus, on his adoption by his maternal uncle, the elder Pliny, C. Plinius Secundus, became C. Plinius L. f. Ouf. Caecilius Secundus. By his adoption he took the name of his adoptive father, while he lost his own praenomen, and placed his original gentile name Caecilius immediately before his cognomen Secundus; but he continued to describe himself as L. f., the son of his actual father, instead of C. f., the son of his adoptive father.

Under the Flavian emperors, it became customary to keep, in many cases, not only the former praenomen, but even some of the other original names. Thus T. Aurelius Fulvus Boionius Arrius Antoninus, on his adoption by P. Aelius Hadrianus (the emperor Hadrian), became T. Aelius Hadrianus Aurelius Antoninus (commonly called Antoninus Pius); and M. Annius Verus, on his adoption by the latter, became M. Aelius Aurelius Verus (commonly called M. Aurelius).

The same rule applies, if the person in question is adopted by a woman. Thus, Ser. Sulpicius Galba, the future emperor, on his adoption by his step-mother, Livia Ocellina, took her father's praenomen Lucius, and the gentile name Livius, and the cognomen Ocella. In a Greek inscription his full name is equivalent to Lucius Livius Sulpicius Galba.

When a foreigner received the Roman citizenship, he generally took the praenomen and nomen of the person to whom he owed the citizenship; but he retained his original name in the form of a cognomen. Thus Caburus, who obtained the citizenship through C. Valerius Flaccus,
became C. Valerius Caburus. In Gaul we have many who owed their citizenship to C. Iulius Caesar, and accordingly received names beginning with C. Iulius. Similarly, under the Empire, in and after the time of Claudius (41 f), naturalised foreigners generally took the gentile name of the emperor to whom they owed their citizenship. Thus Alexander, on receiving the citizenship from T. Flavius Vespasianus, became T. Flavius Quir(ina tribu) Alexander.

Not only foreigners, but even foreign towns raised to the rank of Roman cities, were assigned to a particular tribe by the emperor to whom they owed that privilege. In the case of the Julian emperors, the towns in the East, with all the newly adopted citizens, were assigned to the tribus Fabia; towns in Spain, to the Galeria; those in Gallia Narbonensis, to the Voltinia; those in Dalmatia, to the Sergia. Under Claudius, the towns in Mauretania were assigned to the Quirina, those in the rest of the Empire to the Claudia; under Nero and the Flavian emperors, the tribe was the Quirina; under Hadrian, the Sergia; under Antoninus Pius, the Voltinia; and, under M. Aurelius and Septimius Severus, the Papiria.

Foreigners enrolled in the Roman legions frequently took the praenomen and nomen of the emperor under whom they were enrolled. Roman citizens serving in the legions had not the right of contracting a legal marriage. Hence their sons were illegitimate, and, if enrolled in the legions, did not receive the gentile name of the emperor, but that of their father, and were assigned to the tribus Pollia.

Foreigners who were not naturalised sometimes assumed the name of a Roman gens, and added their own name as a cognomen, thus usurping the privileges of Roman citizens. This was carried so far that Claudius forbade their use of the gentile names of Rome. Foreign kings, allied to the Roman empire, often adopted the name (usually the gentile name) of the reigning emperor, as in the case of the British king, Ti. Claudius Cogidubnus.

1 Caesar, B. G. i. 47.
2 C. I. L. iii 6785.
3 Suetonius, Claud. 25.
Slaves usually bore a single name, followed by the name of their master in the genitive of possession, with or without the addition of servus or of its abbreviation S. In many cases they have double names. Some of these are aliases or nicknames, e.g. Speratus, Caesiae s., Mus; and Philadelphus, qui et Polydapanus\(^1\). Many more are examples of servi publici, or of slaves of emperors, with second names in anus derived from those of their former masters.

Under the Empire, freedmen usually bore three names corresponding to the praenomen, nomen, and cognomen of a free Roman. For the praenomen and nomen they took those of the master to whom they owed their liberty; and, for their cognomen, their former slave-name. This is the point of the passage in Persius, (v 78 f), 'momento turbinis exit Marcus Dama\(^2\).' In inscriptions a freedman usually inserts between his former master's praenomen and nomen, and his own former name, the genitive case of that master's praenomen followed by L. (or LIB.) for libertus, e.g. C. Iulius C. lib(ertus) Hermes. When the former master is an emperor, the praenomen is replaced by Aug(usti) or Caes(aris) n(ostris). Liberti not unfrequently use a different praenomen and occasionally a different nomen from that of their former master\(^3\).

A slave, enfranchised by a woman, takes the gentile name of the woman, preceded by that of her father, e.g. Menophilus, a former slave of Livia Augusta, daughter of M. Livius Drusus, receives the name of M. Livius Aug(ustae) (libertus) Menophilus\(^4\).

In inscriptions the fact that a libertus owes his freedom to a woman is denoted by \(\overset{o}{L}\), i.e. G(aiae) libertus, Gaia being a typical name conventionally used of any woman\(^5\), and the inverted \(\overset{o}{L}\) being its regular symbol\(^6\). This interpretation of the inverted \(\overset{o}{L}\) is confirmed by the fact that its place is sometimes taken by

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1 Wilmanns, 1945, 2640.
2 The Quintus (or Publitis) Dama of Horace, Sat. ii 5 18, 32, whose sensitive ears gaudent praenomine, is clearly a wealthy libertus.
3 Wilmanns, indices, i 404.
4 C. I. L. vi 3939.
5 pp. 60, 210 supra.
6 Quintilian, i 7, 28, 'Gaius C littera notatur, quae inversa mulierem declarat'.
the word *mulieris*, either written in full, or abbreviated, or represented by an inverted *M* or *M*.

If the *libertus* has been the slave of two masters bearing the same *praenomen* and *nomen*, he takes the *praenomen* and *nomen* of both, e.g. *Q. Cornelius, Q. Q. l(ibertus)*, *Saturninus*², where *Q. Q.* stands for *Quintorum*.

If he has been the slave of more than one master, with the same gentile name, but with different *praenomina*, he places one of the *praenomina* before the gentile name, and all of them (in the genitive) before the abbreviation for *libertus*. Thus *Philomusus Mus*, a former slave of Marcus and Publius and Vibius Decumius, becomes *P. Decumius, M. P. V. l(libertus)*, Philomusus Mus³.

If his former masters have different *praenomina* and different gentile names, he takes either the *praenomen* and *nomen* of one of them; or the *praenomen* of one, and the *nomen* of the other; and similarly in the case of three former masters. Thus a *libertus* of *Cn. Caecilius* and of *Aulus and Quintus Flaminius* may be called *Q. Caecilius, Cn. A. Q. Flamini l(eibertus)*⁴.

The former *servi publici* of a *municipium*, or a *colonia*, take, as *liberti*, either (a) the gentile name *Publicius*, formed from *publicus*, e.g. *M. Publicius Coloniae l(libertus)* *Philodamus*⁵;

or (b) a gentile name occurring among the cognomina of the town in question, e.g. *Ti. Claudius, municipii Celeiani l(eibertus)*, *Favor*, the name of Celeia being the *municipium Claudium*⁶;

or (c) a name derived from the name of the town, e.g. from *Venafrum*, *Q. Venafranius, col(oniae) l(libertus)*, *Felix*⁷.

A *libertus* often takes his name from the trade followed by the college, or colleges, to which he formerly belonged, e.g. *Cresimus (sic)*, a *libertus* of two collegia of *Fabri* and *Centonarii*, becomes *Fabricius Centonius, collegiorum l(ertus)*, *Cresimus*⁸.

Slaves, who rose to high rank, sometimes completely concealed their original names under a new designation derived from the gentile name of one of their former masters. Thus the

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1 Wilmanns, 2674 f.
2 C. I. L. vi (3) 16307.
3 ib. 16771 a.
4 p. 201 supra.
6 ib. 2668.
7 ib. 2666.
8 ib. 2670.
former slave Icelus, whose name, as a *libertus* of Ser. Sulpicius Galba, would naturally have been Ser. Sulpicius Icelus, assumed, in place of his former slave-name, that of Marcianus, implying probably that he had been transferred to Galba by a former master, named Marcius'.


On Roman Names in general cp. Lahmeyer, in *Philologus* (1865) 469 ff.; Mommsen, *Röm. Forschungen*, i (1864) 1—68; Marquardt, *Das Privatleben der Römer*, ed. 2 (1886) 7—27; Hübner, *Handbuch*, 653—680; Cagnat, 37—87; Egbert, 82—102; and, for illustrative inscriptions, Orelli, i pp. 472—487; Wilmanns, ii 197—208; and esp. Egbert, 103—113. See also Dessau, iii (2), *Indices*, 920—929, ‘Nominum ratio’.
In Chapter VI, on Honorary Inscriptions, the general rules as to the cursus honorum, or the order in which public offices were held, have been briefly set forth, together with certain peculiarities in the way in which those offices are enumerated in Latin inscriptions. The offices may be enumerated either in the direct or in the reverse order, while, occasionally, there is a combination of both methods\(^1\).

Tabular lists of the various offices concerned have been reserved for the present Appendix, which also sets forth the ordinary abbreviations for each office.

**Senatorial Cursus Honorum**

*Preliminary minor offices, held for one year*

1. **Vigintiviri** *XX V**IRI*
   
   *(a) decemvir stlitibus indicandis, X ・ V**IR ・ S**TL ・ IVD; member of civil court.*
   
   *(b) quattuorvir viarum curandarum, III ・ V**IR ・ V**IAR ・ C**VR; supervisor of city streets.*
   
   *(c) triumvir capitalis, III ・ V**IR ・ C**AP(KAPIT); superintendent of capital sentences.*
   
   *(d) triumvir monetalis, III ・ V**IR ・ M**ON, — aere argento auro flando feriundo, III ・ V**IR ・ A ・ A ・ F ・ F; officer in charge of coinage.*

(Under Severus Alexander (222—235), the vigintiviri disappeared.)

\(^1\) pp. 110—117 supra.
### I. Quaestor
- pro praetore
- (provinciae—)
- urbanus
- Augusti, Caesaris, Imperatoris

### II. Aedilis
- curulis
- plebis
- cerealis

or II. Tribunus plebis

### III. Praetor
- peregrinus
- urbanus
- tutelarius
- aerarii

### IV. Consul
- C (rare), COS (later CON, CONS)

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**Priesthoods open to the Senatorial Order**

- Augur
- publicus populi Romani Quiritum

- Fetialis

- Flamen Dialis
- Quirinalis
- Augustalis
- Claudialis

- Frater Arvalis

- Pontifex
- maximus

- Quindecimvir sacris faciundis
Salius . . . . . SAL (rare)
Septemvir epulonum . . . VII VIR · EPVL(ON)
Sodalis Augustalis . . . . SOD · AVG
" " Claudialis . . . . — — CL(AVD)
" Hadrianalis, Marcianus, Aurelianus etc.¹
Virgo Vestalis . . . . . V · V

Officials appointed out of the Senatorial Order

Censitor (or legatus Augusti censibus accipiendis) assigned to consulares or praetorii
Comes—Augusti (assigned generally to praetorii).
Corrector (consulares or praetorii)
Curator actorum senatus (quaestoricii)
Curator alvei Tiberis et riparum et cloacarum urbis (consulares).
Curator operum publicorum (consulares or praetorii)
Curator aquarium et Minicieae (consulares).
Curator Minicieae (cp. Wilmanns, 1202, n. 4)
Curator viarum (praetorii or consulares).
Curator rei publicae—(praetorii or quaestoricii).
Iuridicus per Italian regionis—(consulares).
Iuridicus, legatus iuridicus provinciae
" (consulares or praetorii).
Legatus Augusti pro praetore provinciae—
Legatus proconsulis, or pro praetore provinciae (quaestoricii).
Legatus legionis (praetorii).

¹ Dessau, i 160.
Praefectus .. aerarii militaris (praetorii) .. P, PF, PR, PRAE, PRAEF
      ,, aerarii Saturni (praetorii) — AER · MIL(IT)
      ,, alimentorum (praetorii or consulares) — AER · S(AT)

Praefectus frumenti dandi ex senatus consulto (praetorii or aedilicii)

Praefectus urbi (urbis), (consulares).

Procura provinciae, of Asia or Africa; praetorii, of other senatorial provinces.

Proconsul (consulares, of Asia or Africa; praetorii, of other senatorial provinces).

EQUESTRIAN CURSUS HONORUM

Under the Empire the ancient body of eighteen centuries of equites, known as equites Romani equo publico EQ · R(OM) · EQ, was reorganised. The preliminary qualifications for admission to this body were free birth, and the possession of property amounting to not less than 400,000 sesterces. To be enlisted in the equestrian troop, it was further necessary for a duly qualified applicant to be recognised by the emperor’s presentation of a knight’s horse. The recipient was described as equo publico donatus, or exornatus. From this body officials were appointed to represent the emperor, and to be promoted in due course from the lower grade of procuratores to the higher grade of praefecti.

I. Preliminary services, (a) military

(a) The three forms of preliminary military service, instituted by Claudius, were, according to Suetonius, (1) praefectura cohortis, (2) praefectura alae, (3) tribunatus legionis; but we learn from inscriptions that, until early in the second century, one or more tribunates in the army or one of the three tribunates in the city,—that of the tribunus cohortis vigilum or urbanae or praetoriae, might be substituted for the praefectura alae.

1 Mommsen, Staatsrecht, ii 240.
2 Wilmanns, 1595; Dessau, i 2667.
3 Claudius, 25.
From the time of Septimius Severus the centurionate became the first military office, leading up through the primipilate, and the praefectura legionis, to the procuratorship, the higher positions in the latter being generally reserved for those who had filled the city tribunates above mentioned.

(b) From the time of Hadrian various grades of civil service were recognised as avenues to the position of procurator, or praefectus.

II. Procuratores. The procurator was an imperial agent charged with minor administrative duties. Originally, he was generally one of the emperor’s liberti, but, ultimately, he was always appointed from among prominent members of the equestrian order.

From the time of Hadrian there were four classes of procuratores, whose rank may be determined by their salaries, rising from 60 to 100, 200, or 300, thousand sesterces, and described as sexagenarii, centenarii, ducenarii, and trecenarii respectively.

The sexagenarii were mainly composed of the assistants and subordinates of the procuratores and praefecti. Thus there is definite evidence that they included the assistants in the state-council, the adiutores studiorum, the provincial directors of the post, the district directors of alimentation, the procurator ad annonam Ostiis, and (in the second century) the procurator bibliothecarum. They also included the lower district-officials of the ratio privata, of the xx hereditatium (with the promagister in Rome), the superintendents of the provincial gladiatorial schools, the sub-praefects of the fleet in Italy and probably some of those in the provinces, the sub-procurators in the provinces, the assistants of the praefectus annonae in Rome and the provinces, the adiutores ad census in Rome, and the advocati fisci.

The centenarii included the procuratores alimentorum, aquarum, bibliothecarum (in the earlier time), hereditatium patrimonii privati, ludi magni, monetae, operum publicorum, patrimonii, and portus; the subpraefecti annonae and vigilum; a praefectus vehiculorum; an imperial consiliarius; the magister vicesinarum in Rome; the procuratores of important mines in the provinces; the procurator rationis privatae; the iuridicus Alexandreac, the procurator Pelosi; and the praefectus classis in Italy (in the first two centuries).

The ducenarii included the procurator or praeses of certain provinces; the procurator stationis hereditatium; the praefectus vehiculorum viae Flaminiae; and the president of the Museum of Alexandria.

The trecenarii included the procurator a rationibus or rationalis; the procurator rationis (or rei) privatae; the procurator a censibus, a cognitionibus.

1 Egbert, in Studies in honour of H. Drisler, New York (1894), 16—23.
ab epistulis Latinis, a libellis, a memoria, a studiis; and the magister sum-марum rationum.

The details of the above classification of officials rest on the authority of inscriptions. Thus we have an inscription in memory of Sex. Varius Marcellus, the father of 'Heliogabalus,' describing him as proc(uratori) aqur(um) c (= centenaria), proc. prov(inciae) Brit(anniae) cc (= ducenario), and proc. rationis privat(ae) ccc (= trecenario). We have also an inscription in honour of the praefectus praetorio, C. Caelius Saturninus, dedicated to him as ducenario a consiliis (sacris), sexagenario a consiliis sacris, and sexagenario studiorum adiutori.

III. Praefecti. These important officials held the following rank, in ascending order:—

(1) Praefectus classis (praetoriae, at Ravenna and Misenum), Praef. Class — (2) — vigilum, — Vig, Vigil; (3) — annonae, — Ann; (4) — Aegypti, — Aeg; (5) — praetorio, — Praet.

The priesthods held by equites were those of Haruspex, Har; Lupercus, Luperc; (Sacerdos) Laurens Lavinas, L • L or Lav • Lavin; and tubicen sacrorum populi Romani Quiritium, TVB • Sac • P • R • QVIRIT.

Offices open to the Third Class

The official positions open to persons below the senatorial and equestrian orders were very numerous, and comparatively unimportant. In the indices of the Corpus Inscriptionum; members of this third class are arranged as follows:—

(1) Apparitores et Officliales Magistratum et Imperatoris et Vesti-galium.

(2) Officia Militaria et Classiaria.

(3) Honorati et Principales Coloniae et Municipiorum.

(4) Principales Collegiorum.

1 O. Hirschfield, Verwaltungsbeamten (ed. 1905), die procuratorische Lauf-bahn, 410—465, esp. 432—441.
2 Dessan, i 478.
(1) Among *apparitores*, the following are those most frequently mentioned in inscriptions, with some of the more notable abbreviations:

Accensus consulis or patroii; lictor; scriba, viator, or praeco, decuria, (who were members of the decuriae, or organised subdivisions of scribae, etc arcarius, ARK; commentariensis; contra(O or T)scriptor, OSC or 7S
dispensator; tabellarius; tabularius rationis fisci or vigesimae hereditatum; XX HER.

(2) Subordinate officers of (a) the army or (b) the navy, including

(a) actarius (legionis); aquilifer; beneficiarius, BF; centurio O, 7, ); or CENT; curator fisci; custos armorum, C · A; optio, OP, OPT; suet tribuni, S · T; signifer, SIG, SIGN, SIGNIF; singularis consularis, S, SING
speculator, SPEC; tesserarius, TES, TESS; tubicen, TVB; re
ranus, VET,—honesta missione, H · M, or—honesta missione missus, H · M · A vexillarius, VEX, VEXILL.

The following is the order of the lower stages of the *cursus militaris*, which may be inferred from inscriptions recording promotions from rank to rank, ending with that of *centurio*:

(1) Secutor tribuni; (2) singularis; (3) beneficiarius tribuni; (4) tes
rarius; (5) optio; (6) signifer or vexillarius (cohors vigilum); (7) curat fisci; (8) cornicularius; (9) beneficiarius praefecti praetorio; (10) cornic larius praefecti annona; (11) evocatus Augusti; (12) centurio1.

(b) Some of the more distinctive titles in the Roman N are faber duplarius (DVPL) or duplicarius; navarchus, N; pra fectus classis, PR, PRAE, PRAEF · CL, CLAS, CLASS; praeposit (PRAEP) classi; trierarchus, TR, TRIER.

(3) As a third class of subordinate officials we have the magistrates of the coloiae and municipia. The municipes consisted of three classes, (1) the ordo decurionum, or the local senate; (2) the ordo Augustalis, dating from the time of Augustus, and consist of six persons entrusted with the duty of providing public entertainments at their own expense; and (3) the plebs or populus.

The magistrates of the municipia were usually termed duovi (or quattuorviri) iure2 dicundo, II (or IIII) · V · I · D (or IVR · DIC aediles, and quaestores.


2 An old dat. for iuri.
(4) There are also numerous officials in the various collegia, or corporations, in which the official decuriones and honorati are contrasted with the ordinary members, the plebs collegii. Among special epithets applied to individuals are BIS(ellarius)¹; HON (oratus); IMM(unicus); e.g. IMM · II · HÓN · III²; and Quinquennales, Q, QQ, or QVINQ, used especially of an official ordinarily elected for five years, who, if elected for life, became a quinquennalis perpetuus, QQ · PER³.

For further details on Official Titles, see Mommsen, Römische Staatsrecht, vols. i³, ii³, iii¹ (1887 f), French transl.—1896; Otto Hirschfeld, Untersuchungen auf dem Gebiete der römischen Verwaltungsgeschichte, i (1877), and ed. 2, entitled Die kaiserlichen Verwaltungsbeamten bis auf Diocletian (1903); Die Rangtitel der römischen Kaiserzeit, in Kleine Schriften, 646–81; also Cagnat, 88–156⁴, or Egbert, 164–221, with Wilmanns, ii (indices) pp. 539–574 (res publica Romana), 575–609 (res militaris), 611–630 (res municipalis), and 631–644 (collegia), and Dessau, iii (indices) pp. 350–441 (res publica populi Romani), 442–506 (res militaris), 506–9 (officia classiaria), 665–709 (res municipalis), and 710–725 (collegia).

¹ Wilmanns, 2190, 'pater collegii bisellarius'; cp. p. 78 supra.
² Ib. 1739.
³ Ib. 1726. On collegia in general, cp. Waltzing's Étude historique, 4 vols. 1895–1900; Liebenam, Röm. Vereinswesen, 1890; and Kornemann in Pauly-Wissowa, s.v., with the literature thère quoted.
APPENDIX III

NAMES AND TITLES OF ROMAN EMPERORS

'Trajan erected many famous monuments and buildings, insomuch as Constantine the Great in emulation was wont to call him Parietaria, wallflower, because his name was upon so many walls.'


In Latin inscriptions, whenever a Roman emperor is mentioned during his life-time, his praenomen, nomen, and cognomen (or cognomina), are followed by his official titles arranged in a fixed order. The following inscription in honour of Trajan may be taken as a typical example:—IMP · CAESARI DIVI NERVAE F · NERVAE TRAIANO AVG · GERMANICO DACICO PONTIFICI MAXIMO TRIBVNIC · POT · VII · IMP · IIII · COS · V · P · P etc.:¹

The following are the eleven names or titles here found in the dative case:—

(1) Imperator occurs twice, in an abbreviated form, (1) in the place usually filled by the praenomen, and (2) at a later point, where it denotes the number of times that the emperor has been saluted by that title, including the salutation on the occasion of his being proclaimed emperor.

(2) Caesar, a cognomen of the gens Julia, is used by the emperors in lieu of the ordinary nomen gentile.

(3) Divi Nervae filio describes Trajan as the (adopted) son of the late emperor, the ‘deified’ Nerva, who gave M. Vipius Traianus the rank of Caesar, and the names of Nerva and Germanicus.

(4) Nerva Traianus formed part of Trajan’s name after his adoption even before his accession.

(5) Augustus, a title of honour, implying sanctity, decreed to Octavia by the Senate², and assumed by all his successors as a cognomen. Trajan

¹ A.D. 103; Dessau, i 286.
² Cp. Haverfield, in *J.R.S.* v (1915), 249 f.
name, even before his accession, was Imperator Caesar Nerva Traianus Augustus.

(6) Germanicus, the title conferred on Trajan, as well as Nerva, in 97; Dacicus was added late in 102.

(7) Pontifex Maximus, president of the college of pontiffs, a priestly dignity held by Caesar, and by Augustus, and granted to all his imperial successors.

(8) tribunicia potestate (or tribuniciae potestatis) VII. The tribunicia potestas, received by Augustus in 23 B.C., as the chief feature in the prerogative of the Princeps, and conferred on all his successors immediately on their elevation to the imperial dignity. It was a perpetual title, but it was formally renewed annually, thus indicating the year of the emperor's rule. With the successors of Augustus, down to Nerva (inclusive), the imperial year began with the actual date of accession. Trajan succeeded Nerva on 27 Oct. 97 A.D., when he first received the tribunicia potestas. It was probably on 10 Dec. in the same year that he received it for the second time; and he certainly received it on that date in every subsequent year. Thus the year of his seventh tribunicia potestas begins on 10 Dec. 102, and ends on 9 Dec. 103. This arrangement was continued by Hadrian and his successors, until Diocletian made the second and subsequent receptions of the tribunicia potestas fall on Jan. 1.

(9) Imperator IIII refers to the fourth occasion when Trajan was saluted as imperator, namely in 102, the second and third salutations having been granted in the same year.

(10) Consul V. Trajan's fifth consulship began on 1 Jan. 103 (after he had been Cos. designatus V for the whole or part of the previous year). This item determines the date of the inscription to be later than 1 Jan. 103, while item (8) shows that it is earlier than 10 Dec. 103. It was not until 112 that Trajan accepted the consulship for the sixth time.

(11) Pater patriae, a title accepted by Augustus in 2 B.C., and assumed by all succeeding emperors, except Tiberius, and Galba, Otho, Vitellius. It was accepted by Trajan after some slight delay. In the latter part of the time of Domitian, it became customary to place this title last in the list.

The title of censor was borne by Claudius, Vespasian, and Titus; and that of censor perpetuus by Domitian. That of pro-consul was occasionally taken by Trajan, Hadrian, and the Antonines, especially when they were absent from Italy, while

1 Suet. Aug. 27, 'tribuniciam potestatem perpetuam recepti' (with Shuckburgh's note).
3 Cp., in general, Mommsen, Staatsrecht, ii 763—785; Cagnat, 157—165; Liebenam, Fasti Consulares (1910), pp. 101-3.
it was almost always used by Septimius Severus and his successors, even when they were residing in Rome.

The title of divus was conferred, after death, on those of the emperors whose memory it was desired to honour. It was conferred first on Iulius Caesar, and afterwards on the fifty-five emperors mentioned below:


The same title was conferred on eleven, and that of diva on sixteen, members of the imperial house.

On the other hand, the names of certain persons were erased on monuments, in accordance with a decree of the Senate abolishing their memory. Such were the following emperors:

Caligula, Nero, Domitian, Commodus, Albinus, Geta, Macrinus, Diadumenianus, 'Heliogabalus' (under the name of Antoninus), Severus Alexander, Maximin I, Maximus I (these two names were never erased in Spain, and were restored in Africa), Gordian III (in C. J. L. iii 4644), Philip I, II, Traianus Decius, Herennius Etruscus, Hostilianus, Aemilianus, Gallienus, Aurelian (very rarely), Probus, Carus, Carinus, Numerianus, Diocletian (in Africa and Spain), Maximian I, II (Galerius), Flavius Severus, Maximin Daia, Maxentius, Licinius I, Constantine II, Constans I, Magnentius, Maximus II.

The names of twenty other persons were similarly erased, on account of their connexion with certain of the emperors, whose memory had been formally condemned.

The date of an inscription, which includes the names and titles of a Roman emperor, may be determined by noticing the number of the tribunicia potestas, and of the consulship, and of the imperial salutations, and also

1 Wilmanns, 940, n. 3.
3 List in Cagnat, 173 f. For erasures in the names of private persons, see ib. 175 f, and cp. in general the monograph of Zedler, De memoriae damnatione (1884), and Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. Damnatio memoriae.
the *cognomina* assumed in consequence of a victory. The following is an inscription found at Herculaneum:—

**IMP CAESAR VESPASIANVS AVG PONTIF MAX TRIB POT VII**

**IMP XVII P P COS VII DESIGN VIII TEMPLVM MATRIS DEV M TERRAE MOTV CONLAPSVM RESTITVIT** (Dessau, i 250).

The year of Vespasian’s seventh *tribunicia potestas* extended from 1 July 75 to 30 June 76; and he became *consul* for the seventh time on 1 Jan. 76. Hence the date of the inscription is between 1 Jan. and 30 June 76, probably late in the half-year, as he was saluted *imperator* three times (xvi, xvii, xviii) in the course of the year. See p. 239 infra.

The following inscription is in memory of Lucius Verus, ‘brother’ and colleague of Marcus Aurelius:—

**divo Vero Parth(ico) max(imo), fratri imp(eratoris) Caesaris M. Aureli Antonin(i) Aug(usti), Armeniac(i) Medic(i) Germ(anici) Parthic(i) max(imi), tribunic(iae) potestatis xxvi, imp(eratoris) V, p(atris) p(atriae), cos. iii, procos. etc.** (Dessau, i 370).

Lucius Verus had died in the winter of 169; his ‘brother’, Marcus Aurelius, assumed the title of Germanicus in 172, which was also the year of his 26th *tribunicia potestas*. Hence the date of the inscription is 172. All the other titles refer to earlier years. See p. 245 infra.

**LIST OF ROMAN EMP Emcors**, with examples of dated inscriptions relating to them.

**AUGUSTUS** (23 B.C.—14 A.D.)

*C. Octavius*, called after his adoption by C. Iulius Caesar, *C. Iulius Caesar Octavianus*, generally designated in inscriptions as **IMP · CAESAR · DIVI F · AVG**. Cp. Suet. *Aug.* 97, p. 12 f supra.

Imperator, 15 April, 43 B.C.; II Dec. 40; III 38?; IV 36; V 34 or 33; VI 31; VII 29; VIII 25 (for IX—XXI, see table).

Consul (1), 43 B.C.; (2), 33 B.C.; (3)–(11), annually, 31—23 B.C.; (12), 5 B.C.; (13), 2 B.C.

Augur, in or before 37 B.C.

XV vir sacris faciundis, between 37 and 34 B.C.

Augustus, 16 January, 27 B.C.

Tribunica potestas, 1 July, 23 B.C.; II 1 July 22—30 June, 21; III 1 July 21—30 June, 20.

VII vir epulonum, before 16 B.C.

Pontifex maximus, 12 B.C.

Pater patriae, 2 Feb. 2 B.C.
B.C. 23 1 Jan. .................. COS · XI IMP. VIII
       1 July I TRIB · POT
20 1 Jan. ................................ IX
       1 July IV
15 1 Jan. ................................ X
       1 July IX
13 1 Jan. ............................................... Tiberius COS
       1 July XI
12 1 Jan. ........................................ XI PONT · MAX
       1 July XII
11 1 Jan. ........................................ XII
       1 July XIII
9 1 Jan. .......................................... XIII Tiberius IMP
       1 July XV
8 1 Jan. ........................................ XIV Tiberius IMP · II
       1 July XVI
7 1 Jan. ............................................. Tiberius COS · II
       1 July XVII
6 1 Jan. ............................................. 27 June, Tiberius TR · P
       1 July XVIII
5 1 Jan. .......................... COS · XII
       1 July XIX
2 1 Jan. ..................... COS · XIII P(ater) P(atriae) Tiberius TR · P · V
       1 July XXII
A.D. 2 1 Jan. .......................... XV
       1 July XXV
4 1 Jan. .......................... XVI (?) Tiberius TR · P · VI
       1 July XXVII Tiberius TR · P · VIII
6 1 Jan. ........................................ XVII Tiberius TR · P · VIII
       1 IMP · III
       1 July XXIX
8 1 Jan. ........................................ XVIII Tiberius TR · P · X
       1 July XXXI
9 1 Jan. ...................................... XIX Tiberius TR · P · XI
       1 IMP · IV
       1 July XXXII
11 1 Jan. ...................................... XX Tiberius TR · P · XII
       1 IMP · V?, VI
       1 July XXXIV
14 1 Jan. ...................................... XXI Tiberius TR · P · XVI
       1 IMP · VII
       1 July XXXVII
14 19 Aug.  Death of Augustus.
The following example is taken from a milestone near Arles:


Pater patriae 2 B.C.; cos. XII 5 B.C.; cos. designatus XIII = the year before cos. XIII 2 B.C. = 3 B.C.; imp. XIII from 8 B.C.; trib. pot. XX = 4 B.C.

Here the decisive item is ‘cos. designatus XIII’ = 3 B.C. Hence the date of the ‘trib. pot.’ must be corrected into XXI, and ‘pater patriae’ must have been prefixed in the following year, in a separate line at the head of the inscription.

TIBERIUS (14—37)

Ti. Claudius Nero; after his adoption, Ti. Iulius Caesar; in inscriptions the correct form is Ti. CAESAR AVG, Tiberius having declined the official title of Imperator, though he was so saluted first in 9 B.C., II in 8 B.C., III in 6 A.D., IV in 9 A.D., V in 10—11, VI in 11, VII in 14, VIII in 21. He was Consul in 13 and 7 B.C., and in 18, 21, and 31 A.D. He declined the title of Pater Patriae.

From A.D. 4 onwards, the tribunician dates of Tiberius are always two numbers in advance of the year A.D.; hence, to find the year A.D., we must always deduct two from the tribunician date of this emperor.

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The following inscription is from the copy at Puteoli of the colossus erected in Rome by the cities of Asia in gratitude for their restoration by Tiberius after the earthquakes of A.D. 17, 23, 29; cp. Tacitus, Ann. ii 47, and iv 13.

Ti. Caesari divi | Augusti f(ilio), divi | Iuli n(epoti) Augusto | pontif(ici) maximo cosm. | imp. VIII, trib. potestat. | res publica | resstituit. Dessau, i 156.

‘Cos. III, imp. VIII’ places the date of the inscription after 1 Jan. 21 A.D., and ‘trib. potest. XXXII’ points to the second half of 30 A.D., before the 5th consulship of Tiberius, which began on 1 Jan. 31 A.D.
"CALIGULA" (37—41)

C. Iulius Caesar, son of Germanicus and grandson of Drusus (I), the younger brother of Tiberius; commonly called C. Caesar; nicknamed Caligula (Suet. C. Caligula 9); called in inscriptions C. CAESAR AVG. GERMANICVS (with or without AVG.). He was the adopted son of his father's elder brother, Tiberius, while Tiberius was the adopted son of his step-father, Augustus.

A.D. 37 18 March IMP. •, PONT. MAX. •, TRIB. • POT

1 July COS. • I (Claudius COS. • I)

38 1 Jan. P(ater) P(atriae) A.D. 40 1 Jan. COS. • III

18 March TRIB. • POT. • II 18 March TRIB. • POT. • III

39 1 Jan. COS. • II 41 1 Jan. COS. • III

18 March TRIB. • POT. • III 24 Jan. Death of Caligula

Inscription on a milestone at Cordova.

C. Caesar Germanicus, Germanici | Caesaris f(ilius), Ti(berii) Aug(usti) n(epos), divi Aug(usti) pron(epos), divi | Iuli abn(epos), Aug(ustus), pat(er) patr(iae), | cos. II, imp(erator), trib(unicia) potestate II, pontif(ex) max(imus), a Baete et Iano Augusto | ad Oceanum | ...| Dessau, i 193.

Caligula received the title of pater patriae about January, 38 A.D., the tribunica potestas for the second time on 18 March in the same year, and entered his second consulship on 1 Jan. 39. Hence the date of the inscription is between 1 Jan. and 18 March, 39, when he received the tribunica potestas for the third time.

CLAUDIUS (41—54)

Ti. Claudius Drusus (Suet. Claud. 2), or Ti. Claudius, Drusi Germanici f(ilius), Nero Germanicus; in inscriptions (as emperor), TI. CLAVDIVS DRVSI F. CAESAR AVGSTVS GERMANIVS, with or without DRVSI F. He was the younger son of Drusus (I), and the younger brother of Germanicus.

A.D. 41 25 Jan. IMP. • PONT. • MAX A.D. 47 1 Jan. COS. • IV • IMP. • XIV, TRIB. • POT*

IMP. • II 48 CENSOR, IMP. • XVI

1 Jan. COS. • II 49 IMP. • XVII, XVIII

6—12 Jan. P(ater) P(atriae) A.D. 50 IMP. • XIX—XXI

IMP. • III Adoption of Nero.

1 Jan. COS. • III 51 1 Jan. COS. • V

IMP. • IV—VIII 52 IMP. • XXII—XXV

IMP. • IX—XI 53 IMP. • XXVI—XXVII

IMP. • XII 54 13 Oct. Death of Claudius.

Renewed in each year on this date.
Inscription on the aqueduct of the *aqua Claudia* above the *porta Praenestina* (p. 130 supra).

Ti. Claudius Drusi f(ilius) Caesar Augustus Germanicus pontif(ex) maxim(us), | tribunicia potestate xii, cos. v, imperator xxvii, pater patriae etc. Dessau, i 218.

Claudius was cos. v from Jan. 1 of 51 A.D., and, in 52 A.D., attained his 27th salutation as imperator, a number also attained by Constantius II (337—361), son of Constantine the Great.

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**NERO (54—68).**

*L. Domitius Ahenobarbus*, on his adoption by Claudius, added to the name of his adoptive father, Ti. Claudius Caesar, that of his maternal great-grandfather, Nero Drusus Germanicus, and thus became *Ti. Claudius Nero Drusus Germanicus Caesar*. In 50 A.D. he appears once as *Ti. Claudius... Nero Caesar*. He is also called in 51—53 *Nero Claudius Caesar Drusus Germanicus* (with or without Drusus).

In inscriptions, his name is, generally, **NERO CLAVDIVS CAESAR AVGVSTVS GERMANICVS**. Occasionally, the *praenomen* Nero is preceded by the praenominal use of *IMP* for *imperator*, as in an inscription c. 66 A.D. (Dessau, 233).

The date of Nero’s accession was 13 Oct. 54 A.D., and, on that date in each year, from 54 to 59 inclusive, he received the *tribunicia potestas*; but, on 4 or 11 Dec. 59, he assumed it for a second time in the same year, and thenceforth reckoned his tribunicial year as beginning in December. We thus arrive at the following dates for the beginning of his later tribunicial years, 13 Oct. 59 (vi); 4—11 Dec. 59 (vii); Dec. 60 (viii); Dec. 61 (ix); Dec. 62 (x); Dec. 63 (xi); Dec. 64 (xii); Dec. 65 (xiii); Dec. 66 (xiv); Dec. 67 (xv).

A.D. 54 13 Oct. IMP PONT MAX A.D. 60 1 Jan. COS IV
55 1 Jan. COS IMP II 60 IMP VII
55 (late in year) P(ater) P(atriae) 61 IMP VIII IX
57 1 Jan. COS II 66 IMP X XI
57 IMP III, IV, V 67 IMP XII
58 1 Jan. COS III 68 1 Jan. COS V
58 IMP VI 68 9 June. Death of Nero.
On a military diploma of Nero, now in Vienna.

Nero Claudius divi Claudi f(ilius), Germanici Caesar(is) n(epos),
Ti. Caesaris Aug(usti) pron(epos), divi Aug(usti) abn(epos),
Caes(ar) Aug(ustus) Germ(anicus), pont(ifex) max(imus), trib(uniciae) pot(estatis) vii, imp(erator) vii, cos. iii etc. (Dessau, i 1987. All the three numerical data point to 60 A.D.)

GALBA (9 June 68—15 Jan. 69)

Servius Sulpicius Galba; Lucius Livius Ocelia Galba (Suet. Galba, 4);
Lucius Livius Sulpicius Galba (cp. C. I. G. 4957); in his military diplomas,
SER·GALBA·IMPERATOR CAESAR AVGSTVS (Dessau, i 1988).

OTHO (15 Jan.—25 April 69)

Marcus Salvius Otho; in the Acta of the fratres Avarales, 69 A.D.,
IMP·M·OTHO CAESAR AVGSTVS (Dessau, i 241 passim).

VITELLIUS (2 Jan.—20? Dec. 69)

Aulus Vitellius; A·VITELLIUS L·F·IMPERATOR (Dessau, i 242);

VESPAVIAN (69—23 June 79)

T. Flavius Vespasianus; in inscriptions, IMP·CAESAR VESPASIANVS AVG, or (less frequently) IMP·VESPASIANVS CAESAR AVG.

The years of Vespasian’s rule were reckoned from 1 July, 69, when he was proclaimed imperator by his soldiers, and his tribunicia potestas was renewed in each year on that day. On 1 July, 71, his son Titus was associated with him in the empire, and their tribunicial dates run parallel, the dates of Titus being always two years behind those of his father.

The first consulship of Vespasian was in Nov. Dec. 51. The title of pater patriae, offered 22 Dec. 69, was not accepted until April 71.

1 Tacitus, Hist. ii 79.

2 Egbert, p. 120. On the years 69 to 81 A.D., see esp. H. C. Newton, in Cornell Studies, xvi, The epigraphical evidence for the reigns of Vespasian and Titus, pp. 140 (Ithaca, 1901).
Inscription on an oblong pedestal, which formerly supported three busts, (1) Vespasian in the middle, (2) Titus to the left, and (3) Domitian to the right.

(1) Imp. Caesar Vespasiano Aug(usto), pontif(ici) max(imo), tr(ibuniciae) pot(estatis) iii, imp. viii, p(atri) p(atriae), cos. iii.

(2) T. Caesari Vespasiano imp. iii, pontif(ici), tr(ibuniciae) pot(estatis) ii, cos. ii.

(3) Caesari Aug(usti) f(ilio) Domitian, cos. destinato ii, principi iuventutis, etc. Dessau, i 246.
On 1 Jan. 72, Vespasian was consul IIII, and Titus consul II, and on 1 Jan. 73, Domitian was consul II. On 1 July 72, Vespasian received the trib. pot. IIII. Hence the date is between 1 July and 31 Dec. 72.

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TITUS (79—81)

T. Flavius Vespasianus; in inscriptions, generally, IMP·T· (or TITVS) CAESAR VESPASIANVS AVG.

On 1 July, 71, Titus was associated in the empire with Vespasian, received the tribunicia potestas, and renewed it on that day in each year, attaining the trib. pot. VIII during the life of Vespasian. The corresponding numbers in his own reign were A.D. 79 (trib. pot. ix); 80 (trib. pot. x); 81 (trib. pot. xi).

A.D. 79 24 June Sole Emperor, AVG
PONT·MAX, P·P
80 1 Jan. COS·VIII Domitian, COS·VII
IMP·XVI, XVII
81 13 Sept. Death of Titus.

Inscription near the thirteenth milestone of the Via Aurelia.


Titus was censor for the first time in April 73; ‘cos. VII’ corresponds to 79 A.D.; and ‘trib. pot. VIII’ begins on 1 July in that year.

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DOMITIAN (81—96)

T. Flavius Domitianus; the name on the monuments is generally IMP·CAESAR DOMITIANVS AVG, or, less frequently, IMP·DOMITIANVS CAESAR AVG. In the lex municipii Salpensani (before A.D. 84), the former title is found four times, but the latter occurs once, and also IMP·CAESAR AVG. DOMITIANVS (Dessau, ii 6088). In and after the first half of 84 the name ends with AVG·GERMANICVS.

Domitian takes the tribunicia potestas on his accession, 14 Sept. 81, and on that day in each year, ending with TR·P·XVI on 14 Sept. 96.

A.D. 81 14 Sept. IMP·AVG A.D. 85 1 Jan. COS·XI
PONT·MAX, P·P IMP·VIII, IX
82 1 Jan. COS·VIII 5 Sept. CENSOR
IMP·II, III IMP·X, XI
83 1 Jan. COS·IX 86 1 Jan. COS·XII
IMP·IV, V IMP·XII—XIV
84 1 Jan. COS·X 87 1 Jan. COS·XIII
GERMANICVS IMP·VI, VII
88 1 Jan. COS·XIV IMP·XV—XVIII
III] ROMAN EMP Emperors 241

A.D. 89 IMP • XIX—XXI A.D. 95 1 Jan. COS • XVII

90 1 Jan. COS • XV (Nerva, II) 96 18 Sept. Death of Domitian.

91 1 Jan. Trajan, COS • I

92 1 Jan. COS • XVI

IMP • XXII

Inscription from a milestone at Cordova.


The evidence of coins shows that the title Germanicus was taken by Domitian in 83 or 84 A.D., at the end of which year the consulship was decreed to him for ten years. 'cos. XV' points to 90 A.D. He had become 'censor perpetuus' 17 Feb. 86 A.D.

NERVA (96—98)

M. Cocceius Nerva; in inscriptions generally IMP • NERVA CAESAR AVG, or, less frequently, IMP • CAESAR NERVA AVG. The title GERMANICVS was added in October or November 97.

Nerva's first tribunicia potestas extended from 18 Sept. 96 to 17 Sept. 97, and the second would normally have extended from 18 Sept. 97 to Nerva's death. Hence some inscriptions combine 'trib. pot. II' with 'cos. IIII', early in 98 A.D. (Dessau, i 279).

But there is reason to believe that, like Nero, Nerva altered the date of the tribunicia potestas from the anniversary of his accession (18 Sept.) to that of the beginning of the tribunical year under the Republic (10 Dec.). Hence his second tribunicia potestas, strictly speaking, only lasted from 18 Sept. to 9 Dec. 97. Accordingly, 'trib. pot. III' may be combined with 'cos. IIII' (as in Dessau, 278), to denote a date between 10 Dec. and 31 Dec. 97; or with 'cos. IIII' (as in Dessau, 280) to denote a date between 10 Dec. 97 and the death of Nerva on 25 Jan. 98.

A.D. 96 18 Sept. IMP • CAESAR • AVG, PONT • MAX, TR • P, P(ater)
P(atriae)

97 1 Jan. COS • III

IMP • II

18 Sept. TR • P • II

27 Oct. Trajan, CAES • IMP, TR • P

GERMANICVS GERMANICVS

10 Dec. TR • P • III

98 1 Jan. COS • IIII

,, COS • II


From a milestone of the Via Appia, now in the Vatican Museum.

Imp. Nerva Caesar Augustus Germanicus pontifex maximus,
tribunicia potestate II, cos. III, designatus III, pater patriae, faciundum curavit. Dessau, i 277. The title Germanicus (with the other items) makes it probable that the date is Nov. 97.

TRAJAN (98—117)

M. Vipsius Traianus; in inscriptions, generally, IMP. CAESAR NERVA TRAIANVS AVGVSTVS GERMANICVS; sometimes—NERVA CAESAR TRAIANVS —, or — NERVA TRAIANVS CAESAR — —.

Under Trajan the custom of computing the tribuniciul year from a date in December (already begun by Nero and resumed by Nerva) became general. Trajan was invested with the tribuniciul power by Nerva on 27 Oct. 97, but he counted TR. P. II as beginning on 10 Dec. in the same year, and TR. P. III on 10 Dec. 98.

A.D. 98 25 Jan. IMP. CAES. AVG. PONT. MAX. 106 IMP. VI
P(ater) P(atriae) 112 1 Jan. COS. VI
100 1 Jan. COS. III OPTIMVS
101 1 Jan. COS. III IMP. VII
102 IMP. II, III, IIIII IMP. VIII, VIII
115 IMP. X, XI

By end of Aug. DACICVS PARTHICVS
116 IMP. XII, XIII
103 1 Jan. COS. V IMP. V
105 117 c. 10 Aug. Death of Trajan.

On a bridge of the Via Flaminia crossing the Metaurus.

Imp. Caesar, divi Nervae f., Nerva Traianus, Optimus, Aug(ustomus), Ger(anicus), Dacicus, tribunic(iae) potest(atis) XIX, imp. XI, cos. VI, p(ater) p(atriae), faciundum curavit. Dessau, i 299.

The date of the title ‘Germanicus’ is Oct. or Nov. 97 (before his accession); that of ‘Dacicus’ is late in 102; cos. VI corresponds to 112; ‘Optimus’ to July or Aug. 114; ‘imp. XI’ to 115; while ‘trib. poł. XIX’ places the inscription between 10 Dec. 114 and 9 Dec. 115.

Even before 114, we find optimi cognomen in Pliny’s Panegyricus, 2, 88 (100 A.D.); optimus princeps on coins and in inscriptions, from 105; and optimus in an inscription of 112 (Dessau, i 1293). Pliny, ib. 54, alludes to the ‘ingentes arcus excessuroque templorum fastigium titulos’ of Trajan’s predecessors, and says, of Trajan himself, ‘non trabibus aut saxis nomen tuum, sed monumentis aeternae laudis inciditur’. He adds, ib. 59, ‘cum arcus, cum tropaeu, cum statuas deprecariis, tribuenda est vereundiae tuae venia: illa enim sane tibi dicantur’. The date of the small ‘triumphal arch’ bearing his name at Alcântara, on the Tagus, is 104 A.D. (see p. 120 supra, and Baumeister, Denkmâler, iii, Tafel lxxxi i); those of the arches erected in his honour at Beneventum and Ancona are 114 and 115 A.D. (p. 125 supra).
HADRIAN (117—138)

P. Aelius Hadrianus; in inscriptions almost always IMP · CAESAR TRAIANVS HADRIANVS AVG.

Hadrian received the tribunici potestas on the death of Trajan in August 117, and renewed it on 10 December in the same year, and in all subsequent years.

In the summer of 136 he adopted L. Ceionius Commodus, who took the name of L. Aelius Commodus Verus, and appears in the monuments of 136—137 as L. AELIVS CAESAR. After the death of the latter on 1 Jan. 138, Hadrian adopted T. Aurelius Fulvus Boionius Arrius Antoninus, under the name of T. Aelius Caesar Antoninus, best known as Antoninus Pius.

Antoninus Pius thereupon adopted, as his ultimate joint successors, (1) his nephew, M. Annius Verus, who took the name of M. Aelius Aurelius Verus, best known as Marcus Aurelius, and (2) the son of L. Aelius Caesar above-mentioned, named L. Ceionius Commodus, who took the name of L. Aelius Aurelius Commodus, but is best known as Lucius Verus.

A.D. 117 11 Aug. IMP · CAES · AVG, PONT · MAX, TR · P
118 1 Jan. COS · II (108 COS · I)
119 1 Jan. COS · III
122
128 21 April P(ater) P(atriae)
135 IMP · II
136 1 Jan. Aelius, COS · II
137 1 Jan. CAES, TR · P, PONT · MAX
138 1 Jan. COS · II
10 July Death of Hadrian.

Inscription from Arrabona in Pannonia superior (Raab in Hungary).

Imp. Caes(ari) Traiano Hadriano Aug(usto), p(atri) p(atriae), trib(uniciae) pot(estatis) xxI, cos. III, imp. II, L. Aelius Caes(ar) fil(ius); trib(unicia) potestate, cos. II, procos., xvvir sacris faciund(is). Dessau, i 319.

Hadrian's 'trib. pot. xxI' was from 10 Dec. 136 to 9 Dec. 137. 1 Jan. 137 was the beginning of the second consulship of L. Aelius Caesar, 'Pannoniis dux ac rector impositus' (Vita Aeli, 3) cum imperio proconsulari.

ANTONINUS PIUS (138—161)

T. Aurelius Fulvus Boionius Arrius Antoninus, on his adoption by Hadrian, became IMP. T. Aelius Caesar Antoninus. In inscriptions he is usually named IMP · CAESAR T (or TITVS) AELIVS HADRIANVS ANTONINVS AVG · PIVS.
Epitaph of Antoninus Pius, including all his titles; formerly in the Mausoleum Hadriani.


'Trib. pot. xxiii' began 10 Dec. 160.

MARCUS AURELIUS (161—180). LUCIUS VERUS (161—169).

M. Annius Verus, on his adoption by his uncle, Antoninus Pius, 25 Feb. 138, became M. Aelius Aurelius Verus. The name Caesar was added 5 Dec. 139. After his accession in 161, he is usually designated on inscriptions, IMP·CAESAR M·AVRELIVS ANTONINVS AVG. He took the title Armeniacus in 164; Parthicus Maximus, and Medicus, in or after March, 166; pater patriae, in the middle of 166; Germanicus, in 172; and Sarmaticus in 175. On the death of his first colleague, Lucius Verus, in 169, he abandoned the general use of the first three of these titles.

Lucius Verus, the other adopted son of Antoninus Pius, was known, in his adoptive father's life-time, as L. Aelius Aurelius Commodus. After his accession, as the colleague of Marcus Aurelius, he is generally designated IMP·CAES·L·AVRELIVS VERVS AVG. He received the tribunicia potestas on his accession on 7 March, 161; his TR·P·II began 10 Dec. 161, and so on, in each subsequent year. He attained the title Armeniacus in 163, Parthicus Maximus in 165, Medicus in 166, and pater patriae at the end of 166. He died in 169.
Meanwhile Commodus, son of M. Aurelius, had been named a Caesar by his father in 166. He was named Germanicus in 172, Sarmaticus in 175. He received the tribunicia potestas on 27 Nov. 176; his TR • P • II began 10 Dec. 176; and so on in each subsequent year. On his father’s death in 180, he became Sole Emperor.

For his successive titles, see below, under Commodus.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A.D.</th>
<th>M. Aurelius</th>
<th>L. Verus</th>
<th>Commodus</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>161 7 March</td>
<td>IMP • AVG, P • M</td>
<td>IMP • AVG, P • M, TR • P</td>
<td>Born 31 Aug.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>163</td>
<td>IMP • II ARMENIACVS</td>
<td>ARMENIACVS, IMP • II</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>164</td>
<td>IMP • III</td>
<td>PARTH • MAX, IMP • III</td>
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<tr>
<td>165</td>
<td>PARTH • MAX MEDICVS</td>
<td>MEDICVS, IMP • IV</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>166</td>
<td>IMP • IV P(ater) P(atriae)</td>
<td>P(ater) P(atriae)</td>
<td>12 Oct. CAES</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>167 1 Jan.</td>
<td>IMP • V</td>
<td>COS • III IMP • V</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>169 midwinter</td>
<td>IMP • VI GERMANICVS</td>
<td>GERMANICVS</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>170 or 171</td>
<td>IMP • VII SARMATICVS</td>
<td>SARMATICVS</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>172</td>
<td>IMP • VIII</td>
<td></td>
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<td>174</td>
<td>IMP • IX</td>
<td>IMP • IX</td>
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<td>175</td>
<td>IMP • X</td>
<td>IMP • X</td>
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<td>176 27 Nov.</td>
<td>IMP • XI</td>
<td>IMP • XI</td>
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<tr>
<td>177 1 Jan.</td>
<td>IMP • XII AVG</td>
<td>IMP • XII AVG</td>
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<td>178</td>
<td>IMP • M, P • P</td>
<td>IMP • M, P • P</td>
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<tr>
<td>179 1 Jan.</td>
<td>IMP • III</td>
<td>IMP • III</td>
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<tr>
<td>180</td>
<td>IMP • IV</td>
<td>IMP • IV</td>
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Inscriptions of M. Aurelius and L. Verus, placed side by side, in columnar form, on one pedestal at Hydruntum (Otranto).

Imp. Caes. M. Aurelio Antonino Aug., trib. pot. xvi, cos. iii, divi Antonini f(ilio), divi Hadriani nep(oti), divi Traiani Par-
thi(i) pro(nepoti), divi Nervae abnepot(i), publice d(ecreto) d(ecurionum).


The tribunicia potestas in both cases begins on 10 Dec. 161 A.D.

COMMODUS (176—192), sole emperor, 180—192

L. (Aelius?) Aurelius Commodus appears on the monuments first as L. AVRELIVS COMMODVS CAES. (c. 166—175); next, as IMP. CAES. L. AVRELIVS COMMODVS AVG. 177—180; as IMP. CAESAR M. AVRELIUS COMMODVS ANTONINVS AVG. 180—190; and, lastly, once more as IMP. CAESAR L. AELIVS AVRELIVS COMMODVS AVG. He was Pater patriae and Pontifex maximus in 177; Pius in 183; Britannicus in 184; Felix in 185; and Invictus Romanus Hercules in 192.

Epitaph formerly in the Mausoleum Hadriani.

Imperator Caesari divi Marci Antonini Pii Germanici Sarmatici filio, divi Pii nepoti, divi Hadriani pronepoti, divi Traiani Parthici abnepoti, divi Nervae adnepoti


PERTINAX (193)

P. Helvius Pertinax, designated on the monuments IMP. CAES. P. HELVIVS PERTINAX AVG, succeeded Commodus 1 Jan., died 28 March, 193.

DIDIIUS IULIANUS (193)

M. Didius Severus Iulianus; described, on coins only, as IMP. CAES. M. DID. SEVER. IVLIAN. AVG; succeeded Pertinax 28 March 193, died 1 June, 193.
SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS (193—211)

L. Septimius Severus, usually styled in inscriptions IMP · CAES · L · SEPTIMIVS SEVERVS PERTINAX · AVG · (TR. P. I, May (?)—9 Dec. 193; TR. P. II 10 Dec. 193—194, etc.). He assumed the titles Pertinax 193, Pater patriae 194, Pius, Arabicus, Adiabenicus (both preceded by Parthicus) 195, Parthicus maximus 198, Britannicus maximus 210.

By 3 May, 198, his elder son, Septimius Bassianus (Caracalla), was made joint-emperor under the title IMP · CAESAR · M · AVRELIVS · ANTONIVS · AVG (TR. P. autumn—9 Dec. 198; TR. P. II 10 Dec., 198—199, etc.); and, in Sept. or Oct. 209, his younger son, L. Septimius Geta, as IMP · CAES · P · SEPTIMIVS · GETA · AVG (TR. P. —9 Dec. 209; TR. P. II 10 Dec. 209—210, etc.). Geta had, before his accession, been the first to receive the title NOBILISSIMVS CAESAR.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A.D.</th>
<th>May?</th>
<th>Severus</th>
<th>Caracalla</th>
<th>Geta</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>193</td>
<td>1 Jan.</td>
<td>IMP · CAES · AVG PONT · MAX</td>
<td>CAES PONTIFEX</td>
<td>CAES</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>194</td>
<td>COS · II, IMP · II IMP · III · IV, P(ater) P(atiae)</td>
<td>IMP · AVG, TR · P</td>
<td>IMP · V, VI, VII</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>195</td>
<td>PIVS (?) PARTHICVS ARABICVS ADIABENICVS</td>
<td>PARTHICVS · MAXIMVS, IMP · XI, XII?</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>196</td>
<td>IMP · VIII</td>
<td></td>
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<td>197</td>
<td>IMP · IX, X</td>
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<tr>
<td>198</td>
<td>PARTHICVS · MAXIMVS, IMP · XI, XII?</td>
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<td>202</td>
<td>1 Jan.</td>
<td>COS · III</td>
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<tr>
<td>205</td>
<td>1 Jan.</td>
<td>COS · II P(ater) P(atiae)</td>
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<tr>
<td>207</td>
<td>IMP · XII?</td>
<td>IMP · II</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>208</td>
<td>1 Jan.</td>
<td>COS · III</td>
<td>COS · II AVG, TR · P</td>
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<tr>
<td>209</td>
<td>BRITANNICVS IMP · XV? (Dessau, 431)</td>
<td>BRITANNICVS</td>
<td>BRITANNICVS</td>
<td>PIvs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>210</td>
<td>BRITANNICVS MAX · IMP · XIII (ib. 8917)</td>
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<tr>
<td>211</td>
<td>4 Feb.</td>
<td>Death of Severus</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

1 Also AVRELIVS before and after his accession.
'CARACALLA' (198—217).—GETA (209—212).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Caracalla</th>
<th>Geta</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A.D. 211 4 Feb.</td>
<td>PONT MAX, BRITANNICVS MAXIMVS</td>
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<tr>
<td>212 27 Feb.</td>
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<tr>
<td>213 1 Jan. Oct.</td>
<td>COS IV</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>IMP III GERMANICVS MAXIMVS ARABICVS ADIABENICVS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>214</td>
<td>IMP IV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>217 8 April</td>
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</table>

The inscription on the Arch of Septimius Severus, in the Roman Forum, originally included the name of Geta (‘et P. Septimii Getae nobilissimi Caesars’) as well as those of Septimius Severus, and Caracalla, who caused Geta to be put to death in 212, and ordered his name to be erased from all public monuments—(cp. p. 126 supra).

MACRINUS (11 April 217—8 June 218)

M. Opellius Macrinus appears on the monuments as IMP CAES M OPELLIVS SEVERVS MACRINVS (with or without PIVS FELIX) AVG and his son, Diadumenianus, as M. OPELLIVS ANTONINVS DIADV MINIANVS NOBILISSIMVS CAESAR PRINCEPS IVVENTVTIS. (Cp. Dessau, i 461-5.)

'HELIOGABALUS' (218—222)

'Heliogabalus' was the nickname of Varius Avitus, who was saluted by the soldiers as M. Aurelius Antoninus. On the monuments his name is IMP CAESAR M AVRELIVS ANTONINVS AVG. Henceforward all the emperors assume, on their accession, the titles Pius, Felix, Aug. (or Invictus, Aug.).

The tribunicia potestas I of 'Heliogabalus' ended on 9 Dec. 218; TR. POT. II etc. began on 10 Dec. 218, etc.

A.D. 218 16 May IMP CAES AVG, PONT MAX, COS P(ater) P(atiae) 17 May 219 1 Jan. COS II 220 1 Jan. COS III 221 10 July Severus Alexander, CAES 222 1 Jan. COS IV Severus Alexander, COS 11 March Death of 'Heliogabalus'.
SEVERUS ALEXANDER (222—235).

Alexianus Bassianus, adopted by 'Heliogabalus', 10 July 221, as Caesar and joint-emperor, appears first as M. Aurelius Alexander Caesar, and, after his accession, as IMP·CAES·M·AVRELIVS SEVERVS ALEXANDER AVG· (TR. P. II March—9 Dec. 222; TR. P. II etc. 10 Dec. 222—9 Dec. 223 etc.).

A.D. 222 II March, IMP·AVG, PONT·MAX, TR·P, P(ater P(atris); 226 1 Jan. COS·II; 229 1 Jan. COS·III; 231 proconsul; 235, 18 or 19 March, death of Severus Alexander.

MAXIMINUS (235—238)

C. Iulius Maximinus is styled; on his accession, IMP·CAES·C·IVLIVS VERVS MAXIMINVS AVG. Germanicus Maximus 236; Sarmaticus Maximus, Dacicus Maximus, 236 or 7; TR. P. I c. 25 March—9 Dec. 235; TR. P. II etc. 10 Dec.—9 Dec. 236 etc. Died June 238.

PUPIENUS (238)

M. Clodius Pupienus Maximus ruled for 99 days with Balbinus (1 March—mid. June 238). He appears on monuments as IMP·CAES·M·CLODIVS PVPIENIVS (on coins, PUPIENVS) MAXIMVS AVG. Died June 238.

BALBINUS (238)

D. Caelius Calvinus Balbinus, as joint ruler for 99 days with Pupienus, is styled IMP·CAES·D·CAELIVS CALVINVS BALBINVS AVG. Died June 238.

GORDIANUS I AND II (238)

M. Antonius Gordianus, and his son of the same name, ruled for 20—22 days in Feb. and March, as IMP·CAES·M·ANTONIVS GORDIANVS SEMPRONIANVS ROMANVS AFRICANVS AVG. The father alone was 'Pontifex Maximus'. Both died in March (?) 238. (On the chronology of 238, see Gibbon i 179, 456 ed. Bury 1896, and Pauly-Wissowa i 2623.)

GORDIANUS III (238—244)

M. Antonius Gordianus is styled, on his accession in June(?) 238, IMP·CAES·M·ANTONIVS GORDIANVS AVG· TR. P. June—9 Dec. 238; TR. P. II etc. 10 Dec. 238—9 Dec. 239 etc. Died Feb. or March 244.

PHILIPPUS (244—249)

M. Iulius Philippus is styled on monuments IMP·CAES·M·IVLIVS PHILIPPVS AVG· TR. P. March—9 Dec. 244; TR. P. II etc. 10 Dec. 244—

His son, of the same name (247–249), was styled *Caesar* in 244, *Augustus* in August (?) 246, and *Germanicus* and *Carpius* in 248. There are two ways of reckoning his TR. p, beginning either with that of his father, or with his own nomination as *Augustus*. Father and son died between 29 Aug. and 10 Oct. 249.

### DECIUS (249–251)

*C. Messius Decius* is styled, on his accession, IMP ∙ CAES ∙ C ∙ MESSIVS QUINTVS TRAIANVS DECIVS AVG. His sons *Herennius* and *Hostilianus* are styled (1) IMP ∙ CAES ∙ Q ∙ HERENNIVS ETRUSCVS MESSIVS DECIVS AVG. and (2) IMP ∙ CAES ∙ C ∙ VALENS HOSTILIANVS MESSIVS QUINTVS AVG. The father reckoned his first TR. p, either from the acclamation by the soldiers, or from his recognition by the Senate; the dates of renewal were on 1 Jan. Decius and his two sons had all died by the end of 251.

### GALLUS (251–253)

*C. Vibius Trebonianus Gallus* is styled IMP ∙ CAES ∙ C ∙ VIBIVS TREBONIANVS GALLVS AVG.; and his son, IMP ∙ CAES ∙ C ∙ VIBIVS AFINIVS GALLVS VELUVMANIANVS VOLVSIANVS AVG. The father's TR. p. I is probably Nov.—Dec. 251; TR. p. II, 252; TR. p. III (instead of III), 253; TR. p. III is only found on coins (cp. Liebenam, Fasti Cons. s.v. p. 114). Father and son both died before 22 Oct. 253 (possibly in Sept.).

### AEMILIANUS (June—Sept. 253)

*M. Aemilius Aemilianus* is styled IMP ∙ CAES ∙ M ∙ AEMILIVS AEMILIANVS AVG.

### VALERIAN (253–259).—GALLIENUS (253–268)


His son *Gallienus* (*Caesar* in 253), who shared his rule from 253 to 259, and was sole emperor in Rome until March 268, is styled IMP ∙ CAES ∙ P ∙ LICINIVS EGNATIVS GALLIENVS AVG.

Each of them is called *Germanicus Maximus*, in 256 or 257, and Gallienus is also called *Dacicus Maximus* in 257, *Parthicus Max.* in 264, and *Persicus Max.*
EMPERORS IN GAUL (258—273)

POSTUMUS (258—268); VICTORINUS (268—270); TETRICUS (270—273).

(1) M. Cassianus Latinius Postumus is styled IMP CAES M. CASSIANIVS LATINIIVS POSTVMVS AVG.
(2) M. Piavonius Victorinus, IMP CAES M. PIAVONIVS VICTORINVS AVG.
(3) C. Esuvius Tetricus Pius, IMP CAES C. PIVS ESVVIVS TETRICVS AVG.

CLAUDIUS II (268—270)

Before Sept. 268 M. Aurelius Claudius succeeded Gallienus as IMP CAES M. AVRELIVS CLAVDIVS AVG. He was entitled Germanicus Maximus early in 269; Gothicus Maximus, 269; Parthicus Maximus, 270. He ceased to be emperor before 29 Aug. 270.

QUINTILLUS (270)

The son of Claudius II, M. Aurelius Claudius Quintillus, ruled in August, 270, as IMP CAES M. AVRELIVS CLAVDIVS QVINTILLVS AVG.

AURELIAN (270—275)

L. Domitius Aurelianus ruled as IMP CAES L. DOMITIVS AVRELIANVS AVG. His titles were Germanicus Maximus, 270 or 271; Gothicus Max., 271 or 272; Parthicus Max., Carpicus Max., 272. He was occasionally described as Arabicus, Dacicus, Britannicus, Sarmaticus, Palmyrenicus, Max. This last (found in Dessau, i 579) commemorated his victory over Zenobia, queen of Palmyra; but the epithet is irregular, as Palmyra was part of the Roman Empire. In memory of the same victory, he is more correctly called Arabicus and Parthicus (ib. 576 f) by reason of the foreign forces (Persians and Saracens), which fought on the side of Palmyra. Of these two epithets, Parthicus has the better authority; it appears in inscriptions of 272—4 (Homo, Aurelien, p. 105 n. 2).

His tribunicial years correspond approximately to (1) 270; (2) 271; (3) 272; (4) 273; (5) 274; etc. so that (6) is 275. TR. P. VII on an inscription of Orleans (ib. 581) is possibly an error, as Aurelian probably died in August, 275. His consular years begin on 1 Jan. (1) 271; (2) 274; and (3) 275. Hence TR. P. V rightly corresponds to COS. II = 274 (Dessau, 578), and TR. P. VI to COS. III = 275 (ib. 580); but we have other inscriptions in which TR. P. III (272), IV (273), V (274) are wrongly combined with COS. IIII = 275 (ib. 576, 577, 579).

**TACITUS (275—276)**

In the autumn of 275 (about 25 Sept.) *M. Claudius Tacitus* became emperor under the style of *IMP. CAES. M. CLAVDIVS TACITVS AVG.* His second consulship and his second tribunicial year correspond to 276. Before his death, early in the April of that year, he attained the title of *Gothicus Maximus.*

**FLORIANUS (276)**

*M. Annius Florianus* succeeded as *IMP. CAES. M. ANNIVS FLORIANVS AVG.*, and died in July, after a reign of two months and twenty days.

**PROBUS (276—282)**

*M. Aurelius Probus* is styled *IMP. CAES. M. AVRELIVS PROBVS AVG.* His *TR. P.* begins in July 276, *TR. P. II* etc. = 10 Dec. 276—9 Dec. 277 etc., so that *TR. P. VII* = 10 Dec. 281 to his death in the autumn of 282. His consulships are (1) 277, (2) 278, (3) 279, (4) 281, (5) 282. In this reign, *TR. P.* not followed by any number, is sometimes combined with the consular years 277 or 279, thus ceasing to record any definite tribunicial date. There are coins of Probus bearing the inscription *VICTORIA GOTHIC.*, and *VICTORIA GERM.*; and inscriptions with the titles *Gothicus* (277; C. I. L. xii 5467) and *Germanicus Maximus* (279; ib. viii 11931). The following inscription of 280 from Valenti, in Spain, implies that he deserved these honours:—


Here ‘*trib. pot. V*’ = 10 Dec. 279—9 Dec. 280, and ‘*cos. III*’ covers 279 and 280, as his fourth consulship did not begin until 1 Jan. 281; hence the date is 280. As Probus was a blameless emperor, the mutilation of his name was probably due to some partisan in the western rebellion of Proclus and Bonosus. Cp. p. 18 *supra*, and Crees, *Probus* (1911), p. 126.
CARUS AND HIS SONS (282—285)

*M. Aurelius Carus* is styled *IMP. CAES. M. AVRELIUS CARVS AVG.* (Oct.? 282—Aug. 283). In 283 he was entitled *Germanicus,* and *Persicus,* *Max.*

His elder son *A. CARINVS* ruled from 283 to the summer of 285, and his younger son *NVMERIVS NVMERIANVS* from 283 to 29 Aug. 284. Besides sharing their father's titles in 283, each of them had the further title of *Britannicus* (*sic*) *Max.* (Dessau, i 608).

**DIOCLETIAN AND MAXIMIAN (284—305)**

*IMP. CAES. C. (or M. ) AVRELIUS VALERIVS DIOCLETIANVS AVG*

*IMP. CAES. M. AVRELIUS VALERIVS MAXIMIANVS AVG*

*M. (or C. ) FLAVIVS VALERIVS CONSTANTIVS NOBILISSIMVS CAES*

*C. GALERIVS VALERIVS MAXIMIANVS NOBILISSIMVS CAES*

Diocletian became emperor on 17 Nov. 284, and was joint-emperor with Maximian from 1 April 286 to 1 May 305, from which date they were called for a short time *Seniores Augusti.* Under their joint-rule Constantius (Chlorus) and Galerius were *Caesares* from 1 March 293, and became *Augusti* on the abdication of Diocletian in 305. Constantius died in July 306, and Galerius in May 311.

Diocletian and Maximian assumed the titles *Britannicus Max.* in 285—8, and 296; *Germanicus Max.* seven times in 285—302; *Sarmaticus Max.* four times in 289—299; *Persicus Max.* in 288, 297; and *Carpicus, Armeniacus, Medicus, Adiabenicus,* *Max.* in 297. The same titles were shared by the *Caesares,* Constantius and Galerius, in 293 ff.

Beginning with Diocletian, the numerals following the imperial title, *IMP,* cease to denote acclamations decreed in consequence of victories, but simply record the successive years of the reign. These numerals now become identical with those of the *tribunicia potestas,* which, in the case of Diocletian, begins on 17 Sept. (or Nov.) 284, and is continued on 1 Jan. in each later year, while in that of Maximian it begins in 285. The consulships of Diocletian are (1) 284, (2) 285, (3) 287, (4) 290, (5) 293, (6) 296, (7) 299, (8) 303, (9) 304; and those of Maximian (1) 287, (2) 288, (3) 290, (4) 293, (5) 297, (6) 299, (7) 303, (8) 304.

Diocletian assumed the short title *IOVIVS,* also used by Galerius, Maximinus Daia, and Licinius; similarly Maximian assumed that of *HERCVLIVS,* also used by Constantius (Chlorus). Cp. Appendix v (26, 28) infra.

The title *dominus* was forbidden by Augustus and Tiberius (Suet. *Aug.* 53, *Tib.* 27); that of *dominus et deus noster* was assumed by Domitian (*Dom.* 13). Pliny, in his Letters, addresses Trajan as *domine,* but, in his Panegyric, c. 2, he says of that emperor, 'non de domino sed de parente loquimur'. The
title *dominus noster* is applied to 'Heliogabalus' (Dessau, 2188, 2411, 2442); it was forbidden by his successor, Alexander Severus (Lampridius, c. 4), but is found in inscriptions in his honour (Dessau, 485 etc.). It becomes common under Diocletian and Maximian (*ib.* 628 f, 644); cp. Aur. Victor, *de Dio- cletiano*, 'primus post Caligulam et Domitianum dominum palam dici passus est, et adorari se appellarique uti deum'.

The edict of Diocletian *de pretiis rerum venalium* (301 A.D.) records the names and titles of the two *Augusti* and the two *Caesares* in the exordium, which is partially preserved only in the copy found in Egypt, and removed to Aix in Provence in 1807:


The tribunicial years of the two *Augusti* and the two *Caesares* above mentioned correspond to 301 A.D. On the dates of their several titles, see Wilmanns, no. 1061, and Mommsen, *Ges. Schriften*, ii 300 f.

Carausius (286—293) and Allectus (293—296) claimed the empire in Britain. *Flavius Severus* was emperor in 306—307; *Maximinus Daia* in 305—313; *Maxentius* in 307—312; and *Licinius* (*Sarmaticus* and *Germanicus max. 316*) in 308—324.

**CONSTANTINUS, I (306—337)**

*(C. or L. or M.)* *Flavius Valerius Constantinus* became *Caesar* on 25 July, 306, and *Augustus* on 31 March (?) 307. As emperor he is styled IMP • CAES • C • FLAVIVS VALERIVS CONSTANTINVS AVG. He assumed
the title *Maximus Augustus* on 29 Oct. 312; *Germanicus Max.* by 310, also in 314 f., 318; *Sarmaticus Max.*, 314; *Gothicus Max.*, 314 f.; *Medicus, Britannicus, Adiabenicus, Persicus, Max.*, 315; *Armeniacus Max.* 318; and *Carpicus Max.* 318 or 319. (Cp. Ferrero, *I titoli di vittoria di Costantino, in Atti d. R. Accad. di Torino*, 32 (1897) 657 ff.)

His consulships belong to the following dates:—(1) 307 or 309; (2) 312; (3) 313; (4) 315; (5) 319; (6) 320; (7) 326; (8) 329.


The following inscription was found at Sitifi in Mauretania:—


For the rest of the Roman Emperors, we confine ourselves mainly to those who assumed titles from victories over foreign foes:—

**CONSTANTINUS II (337—340)**

**IMP. CAES. FLAVIVS CLAVDIVS CONSTANTINVS IVNIOR AVG.**

Entitled (as Caesar) *Alamannicus Max.* 331; and *Germanicus or Gothicus, 332.*

**CONSTANS (337—350)**

**IMP. CAES. FLAVIVS IVLIVS CONSTANS AVG.**  *Sarmaticus, late in 338.*

**CONSTANTIUS II (337—361)**

**IMP. CAES. FLAVIVS IVLIVS CONSTANTIVS AVG.**

(As Caesar), *Germanicus Alamannicus Max.*, *Germanicus Max.* 323—332; *Gothicus Max.* 332; *Sarmaticus Max.* 335.

(As Augustus), *Adiabenicus Max.* 338; *Persicus (Max.*) between 338 and 340; *Sarmaticus Max.* II, 358.
Caesar, 6 Nov. 355; proclaimed Augustus in Gaul in the winter of 360; succeeded Constantius II as emperor, 3 Nov. 361. IMP. CAES. FLAVIVS CLAVDIVS IVLIANVS AVG.

His victorious progress from the West to the East is commemorated in an inscription of 362 found at Ancyra:

Domino totius orbis luliano Augusto ex Oceano Britannico vis (=viis) per barbaras gentes strage resistentium adusque Tigridem una aestate transvecto, Saturninus Secundus v(ir) c(ivarissimus) ⟨praefectus⟩ praet(orio), d(evotus) n(umini) m(aiestati)q(ue). (Dessau, 754.)

In the same year he is entitled

Pontifex maximus, Ger. maximus, Alaman. maximus, Fran. maximus, Sarm. maximus, imperator ⟨v⟩I, consul III, pater patriae, proconsul (ib. 8945).

An inscription, found near Pergamum, is dedicated to him as filiosophiae magistro (ib. 751), and another, in Numidia, as restitutori libertatis et Romanae religionis (ib. 752).

VALENTINIAN (364—375)

IMP. CAES. FLAVIVS VALENTINIANVS AVG.

Germanicus Max. 366–8; Alamannicus Max., Francicus Max. 368; Gothicus Max. 369.

THEODOSIUS THE GREAT (379—395)

Theodosius, who subdued the Goths in 382, derived no special title from that conquest, but he is described, in general terms, as dominus noster invictissimus (Dessau, i. 780). On his death in 395, the Empire was divided between his two sons, Arcadius ruling in the East (395—408) and Honorius in the West (395—423). Both of these are conventionally described as invictissimi principes (Dessau, 794, 797). The ‘Western Empire’ ended with Romulus Augustulus in 476.

Among the Latin Inscriptions of the Emperors of the East, which have been found in the West, is the latest of those of Justinian (527—565), describing the Gothic victory of Narses, vir gloriosissimus,...libertate urbis Romae ac totius Italiae restituta, as having been won imperante domino nostro piissimo ac triumphali semper Justiniano perpetuo Augusto (Dessau, i 832).

For Names and Titles of Roman Emperors, see Wilmanns, i pp. 276—350, with Index, ii pp. 499—537; Dessau, i pp. 22—187, with Index, iii (1) pp. 257—317; Liebenam, Fasti Consulares Imp. Romani, esp. pp. 101—124; also esp. Cagnat, 157—2504, and Egbert, 114—163, with select inscriptions.
APPENDIX IV

SIX HISTORICAL INSCRIPTIONS

(1) Senatus Consultum de Bacchanalibus, communicated to the Teurani in the Bruttian peninsula by the Consuls of 186 B.C. (see p. 161 f supra). Cp. Livy, xxxix 14; Cicero, de legibus, ii 37.


De Bacanalibus, quei⁸ foideratei esent, ita exdeicendum censuere:

'Ne quis⁹ eorum Bacanal¹⁰ habuise velet. Seiques¹¹ esent quei sibei delicerent necessus ese Bacanal habere, eis¹² utei ad pr(aitorem) urbanum Romam venirent, deque eis rebus, ubei eorum verba audita esent, utei senatus noster decerneret, dum ne minus senatoribus C adesent, quam ea res cosoleretur.¹³ Bacas vir nequis adiese¹⁴ velet ceivis Romanus neve nominus¹⁵ Latini nevesocium¹⁶ quisquam, nisei pr(aitorem) urbanum adiesent¹⁷, isque de senatuos¹⁸ sententiad¹⁹, dum ne minus senatoribus C adesent, quam ea res cosoleretur, iousiset.²⁰ Censuere.

Sacerdos nequis vir eset. Magister neque vir neque mulier quisquam eset; neve pecuniam quisquam eorum comoinem²¹ habuise velet; neve magistratum neve pro magistratu(d)²² neque virum

¹ An old abbreviation for 'Spurius'.
² 186 B.C.
³ Bellonae.
⁴ Scribendo adfuerunt.
⁵ For Claudius, Valerius, Minucius.
⁶ sc. eis(iis) qui.
⁷ Ne quis.
⁸ Not a festival, but a shrine of Bacchus.
⁹ Si qui.
¹⁰ ii.
¹¹ consuleretur.
¹² adiisse.
¹³ nominis.
¹⁴ sociorum.
¹⁵ adiissent.
¹⁶ sententia. For final d, see below passim.
¹⁷ iousisent.
¹⁸ Mommsen for 'iousisent'.
¹⁹ communem.
²⁰ magistratu.
²¹ For final d, see below passim.
²² S. L. I.
neque mulierem quisquam\(^1\) fecisse velet. Neve posthac inter sed\(^2\) coniurasse\(^3\) neve comovisse neve conspordisse neve compromississe velet, neve quisquam fidem inter sed\(^2\) dedisse velet. Sacra in oquolton\(^4\) ne quisquam facisse velet; neve in poplicod\(^5\) neve in preivatod neve extrad\(^6\) urbem sacra quisquam facisse velet, nisei pr(aitorem) urbanum adieset, isque de senatuos sententiad, dum ne minus senatoribus C adesent, qua res cosoleretur, ionesiset\(^7\).

Censuere.

Homines pious\(^8\) V oinvorsei\(^9\) virei atque muleres sacra ne quisquam facisse velet, neve inter ibei\(^10\) virei pious duobus, mulieribus pious tribus arfuise\(^11\) velent, nisei de pr(aitor) urbani adieset, atque senatuos sententiad, dum ne minus senatoribus C adesent, qua res cosoleretur, ionesiset.

Censuerunt.

Facsimile in Ritschl, tab. 18, Gradenwitz, no. 3, and Diehl, tab. 5; text in C. I. L. i 196; Dessau, i 18; with notes in Allen, pp. 28—31; Lindsay, 60—67; Ernout, 58—68.

(2) Res gestae divi Augusti, as recorded mainly in the Monumentum Ancyranum (Anc.), 14 A.D. (see p. 178 supra).

The inscription is divided into 35 unnumbered sections, and the Latin portion fills six columns.

The inscription is also divided into three parts; (1) the titles and honours conferred on Augustus; (2) his various gifts, and

\(^1\) qui/quam inscr. \(^2\) se. \(^3\) coniurasse. 
\(^4\) occulto. \(^5\) publico. \(^6\) extra. 
\(^7\) Mommsen for 'iousisent'. \(^8\) plus. \(^9\) universi. 
\(^10\) interibi. \(^11\) adfuisse. \(^12\) Haec. 
\(^13\) contione. \(^14\) adversum. \(^15\) hocce. \(^16\) aequum. 
\(^17\) utique eam figi iubeatis, ubi facillime nosci possit. \(^18\) tabellae. 
\(^19\) The archaic final \(d\), retained in the body of the legal document, is omitted in the address.
the buildings he restored and founded; (3) his acts, or res gestae. For topographical1, as well as historical purposes, this inscription is of special value. It has been described as 'the queen of Latin inscriptions'2, the titulus inter Latinos primarius, 'the incomparable monumentum Ancyranum, which is as unique as the man, whose honours...it records'. The inscription, originally incised on two columns of bronze in front of the Mausoleum of Augustus, is a document which defies any ordinary epigraphical classification. It has been variously viewed as an epitaph on a grand scale, or a sepulchral elogium3; as a formal statement of benefits received and conferred in a long-standing account between the Roman emperor and the Roman people4; as a political testament5; and even as a preliminary justification for an ultimate apotheosis6. On the whole, it may be fairly regarded as a posthumous political manifesto in the retrospective form of a dignified narrative of the emperor's public career.

The text is mainly that of Mommsen's second separate edition (1883), with some suggestions by Bormann (1884, 1895), Seeck (1884)7, J. Schmidt (1885–7), Wölflin (1886, 1896), and Geppert (1887), partly recorded by Cagnat and Lafaye (ed. 1902–6)8, and

3 Grabsschrift, or elogium sepulcrum; Bormann, (1) Bemerkungen zum schriftlichen Nachlaß des Kaisers Augustus, Marburg, 1884; (2) Verhandlungen der 43 Philol. Versammlung...in Köln (1893), pp. 184 ff; supported by J. Schmidt in Philologus (1885) 442–70, (1886) 393–410, (1887) 70 ff, and H. Nissen in Rheinisches Museum (1886) 481–99; and opposed by O. Hirschfeld in Wiener Studien (1885), reprinted in Kleine Schriften (1913) 829–34, by Mommsen, Der Rechenschaftsbericht des Augustus, in Hist. Zeitschrift (1887) 385–97 (Ges. Schriften, iv 247–58), and by Hübner, in Iwan Müller's Handbuch, (1892) 6882. See, in general, Gardthausen's Augustus, i 1279–95, ii 874–880.
4 Wölflin, in S. Ber. of Munich Academy (1886) 280, Rechnungsbuch, tabulae accepit et expensi.
5 O. Hirschfeld, in Wiener Studien (1881) 264.
6 Wilamowitz, in Hermes (1886) 623–7, supported by Norden, Die antike Kunstprosa (1898) 268.
8 Rp. 65—95 of the separately sold fasciculus i (1902) of vol. iii (1906) of Inscr. Graecae ad res Romanas pertinentes, with bibliography on p. 65. For Bormann and Schmidt, see note 3, supra; for Wölflin, note 1, p. 260.
by Diehl (ed. 1908, ’10). In the notes, M stands for Mommsen. The Greek version is not here reprinted except where the Latin original is entirely lost. The Latin and Greek texts have been reprinted and translated into English, with accurate notes, in a pamphlet of 91 pages, by Dr William Fairley, Philadelphia, 1898.

There was also a copy of the Greek version at Apollonia in Pisidia, unimportant portions of which have been identified, but with these we are not here concerned.

In June, 1914, a number of very small fragments of the original Latin text was discovered by Sir W. M. Ramsay at Antioch in Pisidia. This new evidence is quoted in the notes to §§ 8, 10, 22 as ‘ANT.’ For my first knowledge of this discovery I am indebted to Dr J. S. Reid and, for all details, to Sir W. M. Ramsay, whose article forms part of the Journal of Roman Studies, vol. vi, 1918.

I RERVM GESTARVM DIVI AVGVSTI QVIBVS ORBEM TER-
RARVM IMPERIO POPVLI ROMANI subiécit et impresarum quas in
rem publicam populumque Romanum fecit, incisarum in duabus
ahenaeis pilis, quae sunt Romae positae, exemplar subiectum.

(1) Annos undeviginti natus exercitum privatô consilio et
privata impensa comparavi, per quem rem publicam (do)minatione factionis oppressam in liber-
tatem vindica(vi). Quas ob res senatus decretis
honorisicis in ordinem suum m(e ad)legit C. Pansa A. Hirtio.


2 Mommsen, ed. 1883, p. xxxiv, and Domaszewski, in Philologus, 1911, p. 569 f.

3 Divi Augusti, in line 1, shows that this heading was prefixed after the emperor’s death. For facsimile, see p. 178 supra.

4 That of Antonius.

5 ‘Quas ob res’ Wöllflin (1886), cp. Cic. Phil. iii 37, viii 33, ix 15, and esp. v 46 ‘ob eas causas’ etc.; also § 4 l. 5 infra, ‘ob res a (me)—gestas—
decrévit senatus’: ‘Ob quae’ M; ‘Propter quae’ Borm., Schm.
consulibus, consulae rem locum s(ententiae dicendae) simul dans, et imperium mihi dedit. Res publica n(e quid detrimenti caperet, me) pro praetore simul cum, consulibus pro(videre iussit. Populus) autem eodem anno me consulem, cum (cos. uterque bello cecidisset), et trium virum rei publicae constituent( ae creavit).

(2) Qui parentem meum (interfectit) eos in exilium expulit iudiciis legitimis ultus eorum (fa)ci( nus, e) t postea bellum inerentis rei publicae, vici b(is a)cie.

(3) Bella terra et mari civilia exter naque toto in orbe terrarum saepe gessi victorque omnibus (veniam petentibus) civibus peperi. Exe( rnas) gentes, quibus tuto (ignosci potuit, conservare quam excidere m(alui). Millia civium Roma(norum adacta) sacramento meo fuerunt circiter quingen
ta. Ex quibus deduxi(xi in colonias aut remisi in municipia sua stipend(is dis emeri) tis millia aliquant(o7 plura qu) am trecenta et iis omnibus agros a(dsognavi) aut pecuniam pro p(raemii mil) itiae dedit. Naves cepi sescen(tas praeter) eas, si quae minore(s quam trir) emes fuerunt.

(4) (Bis) ovans triumpha(vi9, tris egi c) urulis triumhos et appella(tus sum viciens se) mel imperator. (Cum autem12 pluris triumphos mihi se(natus decrevisset, iis su) persedii. L(aurum de fascibus)14 deposui in Capitolo.

1 Cic. Phil. v 46, i 15, vii 15.
2 ë. d. simul dans' Diehl; -- 'mihi dans' Borm., Wölfl; 's(imul dans sen
tentiae ferendae)' M².
3 'consul uterque' Bormann (1895).
4 Hirtius and Pansa, at the battle of Mutina, 43 B.C.; 'cum ecidit fato consul uterque pari' (Tibullus ii 5, 18 and Ovid, Trist. iv 106).
5 Bormann (1895); 's(uscepi)', Mommsen (1883).
6 Hirschfeld, Seeck, Schm.: '(superstitib)us' M. 'aliquant(um)' M.
7 'a(dsognavi)—p(raemiis mil)itiae' Bergk, Borm., cp. § 16: 'a (me empto)—p(raediis a) me' M.
8 'is for es, as in tris and pluris.
10 Or 'deiddit' M; 'decerneret' Schm.
11 Wehofer, a pupil of Bormann (1895); 'I tem saepe laur' us, or 'I(s ex bellis laur)us' M. After 'deposui' Anc. has a mark of punctuation, which is best placed after 'Capitolo'.

Wars Veterans

Honours received
votis, quae) quoque bello nuncu(paveram, solu)tis. Ob res a (me aut per legatos) meos auspiciis¹ meis terra m(ariqu)e próspere gestas qu(inquagens and quin)quiens decrevit senatus supp(lica)n-dum esse dis immo(ralibus. Dies autem, pe)r quos ex senatus consulto supplicatum est, fuere dC(cclxxx). In triumphis meis) ducti sunt ante currum meum reges aut regum lib(eri novem. 

2 B.C. 

Consul fuer)am terdecien(s) cum (scribeba) (m) haec, (et agebam se)p(timum et trigensimum annum² tribun) nicae potestatis.

(5) (Dictatura)m et apsenta(i et præsenti mihi oblatam³ ab universo populo et senatu, M. Marce)llo et Ar-(runtio consulibus, non accep(t). Non recusavi in summa frumenti p)enuriam an(nonae, qu)am ita ad(ministravi, ut intra perpaucos die)s⁴ metu et peric(lo praesenti ⁵ populo)m un(iversam privata impensa⁶ liberare)m. Con(sulatum mihi obla)tum⁷ annum et perperum non accep(i).

(6) (Consulibus M. Vinucio et Q. Lucretio, et postea P.) et

Cn. L(entulis, et tertium Paulil Fabio Maximo et Q. Tuberon)e, senatu populo)u(e Romano con-sentientibus), ⁸in(a épiμε)λητής τῶν τε νόμων καὶ τῶν τρόπων é(πί τῆ με)γίστη (εξ)ουσία μοί) νοσ χειροτονηθῶ, ἀρχὴν ὀδεμί(α)ν πα(ρὰ τὰ πά)τρ(α) ε(θ)η διδομένην ἀνεδε-ξάμην. ἢ δὲ τότε δὲ ἐμοῦ ἢ σύνκλητος οἰκονομεῖον ἐβούλετο, τῆς δημαρχίκης εξο(ν)ισια ὃδων ἐνέτελε(να. κ)αὶ ταύτης αὐτῆς τῆς ἀρχῆς συνάρχοντα (αὐτ)ός ἀπὸ τῆς συνκλήτου π(ε)ν-tάκις αἰτήσας (ἐλ)αβον.

¹ For -iis. Cp. § 3, 7, 'stipendis'.
³ Wölflin, διδομένην, Suet. Aug. 52, 'dictatum et operente populo': 'datam a' M; '—ab universo' Diehl.
⁴ 'intra perpaucos dies' (Haverfield) fills the space better than 'intra paucos dies' Seeck, Schm., Wolff.; '..... paucis diebus' M, 'paucissimis diebus' Borm., εν ὀλγας ἡμέραις.
⁵ M²; 'quo erat' M³; τοῦ παρόντως φόβον.
⁶ Wolff, cp. § 1, 1: 'meis impensis' M; 'meis sumptibus' Schm.
⁷ Haug, τότε διδομένην; 'tum datum' M.
⁸-8 ἤν—δέκα. Preserved in the Greek translation only.
(7) τριῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐγενόμην δημοσίων πραγμάτων κατορθωτῆς συνεχέστιν ἔτεσιν δέκα 8. (Princeps senatus 1 fui usque ad eum diem, quo scrips)eram (haec, per annos quadraginta. Pontifex maximus 2, augur 3, quindecimvirum sacris (faciundis 4, septemvirum epulonum 5, frater arvalis, sodalis Titius, fetiali) 6 fui.


(9) (Vota pro valetudine mea suscipere 13 per cons)ules et sacerdotes qu(into) qu(oque anno, senatus decrevit. Ex iis) votis

8-8 ἱα—δέκα. Preserved in the Greek translation only.
1 28 B.C. 2 12 B.C. 3 41 or 40 B.C.
4 37—34 B.C. 5 Before 16—15 B.C. 6 32 B.C.
10 added by Schn. (Diehl), μου.
11 et multa Bormann, πολλα: multa M1; complura M2 (usually translated by πλεύστα); ANT. has M at beginning of line, implying that the line began with multa, not -mplura.

'(reduxi multa e)xempla m. ex. iam ex nost(ra civitate, et ipse proposui)—pos(teris)' M1; ' (multa revocavi e)xempla m. ex.—(ra civitate, et ipse de me)—pos(teris tradidi)' Bergk; ‘(complura e)xempla m. ex. iam ex nost(ro usu reduxi, et ipse)—pos(teris tradidi)' M2; ' nost(ro)' is confirmed by ANT., which has RO at the beginning of the line.

12 Bergk, Schm., Cagnat, Diehl; or restitui (Haug) or reduxi (M); δωρθω-σάμην, followed by καὶ αὖτος ('et ipse' is therefore indispensable).
13 Borm., ἀναλαμβάνειν; suscipi M.
saepe fecerunt vivo me (ludos, interdum sacerdotum) quattuor amplissima colle(gia², interdum consules. Privatim etiam et municipatim univer(si cives uno animo continentetr³ apud omnia pulvinaria pro vale(tudine mea sacrificaverunt).

(10) (Nomen meum senatus consulto inclusum est in Saliare carmen⁴ et, sacrosan(ctus ut essem perpetuo⁵, et, q)uoa(d) viverem, tribunicia potestas mihi (esset, per legem sanctum⁶ est. Pontifex maximus ne fierem in vivi (c)onle(gae locum, populo id-sace)rdotium deferente mihi, quod pater meus habuerat?, recusavi. ⁸Quod) sacerdotium aliquod⁹ post annos, eo mor(tuo demum¹⁰ qui tumultus⁸ occassione occupaverat, cuncta ex Italia (ad comitia mea¹¹ coeunte tanta mu)ltitudine, ¹² B.C. quanta Romae nunquam (antea fuisset narratur¹², suscepi,) P. Sulpicio C. Valgio consulibus.

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¹ interdum — interdum Wöllflin, ῥόρε μέν — ῥόρε δὲ: aliquotiens — aliquotiens M.
² Pontifices, augures, xv viri sacris faciundis, vii viri epulonum.
³ (uno animo continentet)—sacrificaverunt Witz, cp. Cicero, pro Fonteo, 46, ‘uno animo’, and Fügner, lex. Liv. p. 1124 (11 exx.); also Auctor ad Herennium, 21, ‘uno spiritu continenter multa dicere’; ὀμοθυμαδὼν ὀνειρῶς εἶθος: (sacrificia concordite)r—(fecerunt) Borm.; (sacrificaverunt sempér) M.
⁵ For in perpetuum (Bergk, Schm., cp. Oros. vi 18, 34), filling the space of at least eleven letters, Nitsche, in Berl. Phil. Woch. 1884, 1251, proposes perpetuo, eight letters (with ὅτα (del) lepós ὧ in the Greek; cp. Appian, B. C. v 132, ὡ δε). But Mommsen leaves space for only seven. This suggests semper (before esset), M being equivalent to two letters. Haverfield introduces ‘ipse’ before ‘essem’, implying (advós) in the Greek, as in §§ 8 and 24; this makes good sense, but does not account for more than four letters.
⁶ (lege sanctum) M, cp. Cicero, de Off. iii 69 etc., νόμῳ ἐκυρίωθη; (per lege) M S(anc tum) ANt., a probably unprecedented construction.
⁷ habuerat Bormann,—AT ANt., (ἐσχήκει; habuit M.
⁸—⁹ (Quod)—eo mor(tuo suscepi, qui id tumultus) Bormann (1884); (cepí id)—eo mor(tuo qui civilitis motus) M; (ἡ)ν—ἐν πολιτικάς ταραχαί, ἀνεληφα.
⁹ For aliquot.
¹⁰ VO D ANt. (or B or P or R, not S, or Q). For ‘mortuo demum’ (J. S. Reid) cp. Suet. Aug. 31, ‘Pontificatum maximum, quem nunquam vivo Lepido auffer sustinuerat, mortuo demum suscepit.’
¹¹ M: ‘propter mea comitia’, or ‘comitiorum caussa’, Borm. (the latter is preferred by Haverfield); ‘oeoente’ is placed next by Seeck, Schm., Haug.
¹² Diehl, who has no equivalent (such as cepi or suscepi) for ἀνεληφα; memoriae proditor Seeck; fertur, coeunte M; fertur, suscepi Witz.
(11) (Aram Fortunae Reducis\(^1\) iuxta ae)des Honoris et Virtutis ad portam (Capenam pro reditu meo se)natus consacrat\(^2\) in qua ponti(fices et virgines Vestales anni)versarium sacrificium facere (iussit eo die\(^3\); quo, consulibus Q. Luct)etio et (M. Vinuci)o, in urbem ex (Syria redieram\(^4\), et diem Augustali)a ex (c)o(gnomine nost)ro appellavit.

(12) Senatus consulto eodem tempor(e) pars (praetorum et tri)bunorum (plebi cum consule Q. Lucret)io et principibus (viris ob)viam mihi missa e(st in Cam-pan)ia(m, qui) honos (ad hoc tempus) nemini praeter (m)e e(st decretus. Cu)m ex H(ispa)nia Gal(liaque, rebus in his p)rovinciis prospere (gestis), R(omam redi\(^5\)) T. Nerone P. Qui(ntilio consulibu)s, aram (Pacis A)u(g)ust(ae senatus pro) reditu meo co(nsacrari\(^6\) censuit) ad cam(pum Marti-um, in qua ma)gistratus et sac(erdotes et virgines) V(est)a(les) anniversarium sacrific)ium facer(e iussit).

(13) (Ianum) Quirin(um, quem tum\(^7\) cl)aussum\(^8\) ess(e maiores nostri voluer)unt,(cum p)er totum i(mperium po)puli Roma(ni terra marique es)set parta vic(torii)s pax, cum, pr(ius quam) nascerer, (a condita) u(rb)e bis\(^9\) omnino clausum fuisse prodatur m(emori)ae, ter, me principe, sena-tus claudendum esse censuit.

III (14) (Fil)ios meos, quos iuv(enes mi)hi eripuit for-(tuna)\(^10\), Gaium et Lucium Caesares, honoris mei caussa senatus populusque Romanus annum quin-tum et decimum agentis consules designavit, ut eum magistratum inirent post quinquennium. Et ex eo die, quo deducti sunt in forum, ut interesser consilii publicis

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1 Bormann: \(\textit{reduci M.}\)
2 19 B.C.
3 Bormann (1884), \(\varepsilon\kappa\ell\epsilon\nu\sigma\varepsilon\nu \varepsilon\nu \varepsilon\kappa\ell\nu\gamma \tau\acute{\eta} \mu\acute{e} \rho\alpha\); \(i\\kappa\iota\varsigma\; \delta\iota\; M\); \(i\\kappa\iota\varsigma\; \delta\iota\; a\).\)
4 12 Oct. 19 B.C. \(\textit{redieram}, Bormann (1884), \varepsilon\π\alpha\nu\varepsilon\lambda\nu\lambda\theta\epsilon\varepsilon\nu\); \(\textit{redi} M.\)
5 For \(\textit{redi}.\)
6 Dedicated 30 Jan. 9 B.C.
7 \(\textit{tum}\) added by Schmidt to fill the total space of eleven letters.
8 For \(\textit{clausum}\) (1. 4); \(\textit{causa}\) (§ 14, 3) and \(\textit{causa}\).
9 Under Numa, and, after the First Punic War, 235 B.C.
10 2 and 4 A.D. \(\textit{Cp. p. 159 supra.}\)
decrevit senatus. Equites autem Romani universi principem iuventutis utrumque eorum parmis et hastis argenteis donatum appellaverunt.

(15) Plebei Romanae viritim HS trecenos numerari ex testamento patris mei, et nomine meo HS quadringenos ex bellorum manibiis consul quintum dedi; iterum autem in consulatu decimo ex patrimonio meo HS quadringenos congiari viritim pernumeravi, et consul undecimum duodecimum frumentationes frumentum privatim coemptum emensum sum, et tribunicia potestate duodecimum quadringenos nummos tertium viritim dedi. Quae mea congiaria pervenerunt ad (hominum) millia nunquam minus quinquaginta et ducenta. Tribuniciae potestatis duodevicensim, consul xii, trecentis et viginti millibus plebis urbanae sexagenos denarios viritim dedi. In colonis militum meorum consul quintum ex manibiis viritim millia nummum singula dedi; acceperunt id triumphale congiarium in colonis hominum circiter centum et viginti millia. Consul tertium decimum, sexagenos denarios plebei, quae tum frumentum publicum accipiebat, dedi; ea millia hominum paullo plura quam ducenta fuerunt.

(16) Pecuniæ (pro) agris, quos in consulatu meo quarto et postea, consulibus M. Cr(asso e)t Cn. Lentulo Augure, adsignavi militibus, solvi municipis. Ea (summa) sestertium circiter sexiens milliens fuit, quam pro Italici praed(iss) numeravi, et circiter bis milliensi et sescentiens, quod pro agris provincialibus solvi. Id primus

1 He distributed (i) to at least 250,000 citizens, (a) 300 HS apiece = 75,000,000 sesterces; (b), (c), (d), 400 HS apiece, on three occasions, = 300,000,000.
2 To 320,000 citizens, 600 denarii = HS 240 apiece, = 76,800,000.
3 For -iis.
4 To 120,000 colonists, at 1000 HS, = 120,000,000.
5 To 200,000 citizens, 600 denarii = 240 HS = 48,000,000.
6 600,000,000.
7 260,000,000.
et solus omnium, qui deduxerunt colonias militum in Italia aut in provincis\(^1\), ad memoriam aetatis meae feci. Et postea, Ti. Nerone et Cn. Pisone consulibus, itemque, C. Antistio et D. Lacio cos., et C. Calvisio et L. Pasieno consulibus, et L. Le(ntulo) et M. Messalla consulibus, et L. Caninio et Q. Fabricio cos., militibus, quos emeriteis stipendis\(^1\) in sua municipi(a deduxi)\(^2\), praem(ia n)umerata\(^3\) persolvi, quam in rem seste(rium) q(uater m)illien(s li)b(ente)r impendi\(^4\).

(17) Quater (pe)cunia mea iuvi aerarium, ita ut sestertium milliens et quing(en)t(ien)s\(^5\) ad eos, qui praeerant aerario, detulerim. Et, M. Lepido et L. Arruntio cos., in aerarium militare, quod ex consilio m(eo) co(nstitut)um est\(^6\), ex quo praemia darentur militibus, qui vicena (aut plu)ra sti(pendi)a emeruissent, HS milliens et septime(niens) ex pa)rtimonio m(eo detul)\(^7\).

(18) (Inde\(^8\) ab eo anno, q)uo Cn. et P. Lentuli c(ons)ules fuerunt, cum deficerent (vecti)g(alia\(^9\), tum) centum millibus h(omi)n)um, t(um pl)uribus\(^10\) (mul)to, fru(mentarias et n)umma(ria)s t(esseras ex aere) et pat(rimonio) meo (dedi)\(^10\).

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1. For -iis.
2. \((deduxi)i\) Haug, \(κατηγαγων\) : \(remis(i M.\)
3. In ready money.'
4. 400,000,000.
5. 150,000,000.
7. 170,000,000. Total recorded in §§ 15—17, = 2199,800,000 sesterces.
8. \(lam\) in\(de\) Wölflin.
9. \((vecti)g(alia)\) M (Cagnat, Diehl), but M himself admitted that the sole surviving letter (which is almost impossible to find in the \(facsimile\)) resembles C rather than G : \((opes\ publi)c(ae)\) Bergk ; \(\(publi)c(ani)\) Seeck ; \(\(publi)c(\)\(a...\)\) Schmidt. The position of \(c\), and the order of the Greek, \(\alpha\ \delta\mu\nu\sigma\sigmaις \pi\rho\sigma\sigmaο\) point, I think, to \((\(publi)c(\)\(ae\) \(opes\)), or \(\(publi)c(\)\(i\) \(reditus\)).
10—10 Schmidt (1887) ; i(n)\(al\)to fru(mento vel ad n)umma(rio)s t(rubus ex agro) et pat(rimonio) m(eo) (opem tuli) M ; \(\sigmaε\tauικ\ας\ και\ \αργυρικ\ας\ \(σω\tau\alphaε\)\epsilon\(ικ\)\(ε\)\(κ\)\(τις\ \epsilon\)\(μ\)\(ης\ \ups\)\(αρ\)\(ξε\)\(υ\)\(ς\ \\epsilon\)\(θωκ\)a. Rostovzev (quoted in Berl. Phil. Woch. 1904, 151) prefers \(gratuito\) to \(mul\)to in the following form of the text : — \(\(mul\)to fru(mentum et aes per n)umma(ria)s t(esseras ex agris)—dedi\(^1\). Cp. Suet. \(Aug.\) 41, \(\text{'frumentum...in annonae difficultatibus saepe levissimo, interdum nullo pretio viriliter admensus est tesseraque nummarias duplicavit.'}\) This passage led Bergk (in 1873) to introduce the phrase \(\text{‘ad frumentarias tesseras’};\) it also
IV (19) Curiam¹ et continens ei Chalcidicum, templumque Apollinis in Palatio² cum porticibus, aedem divi Iuli, Lupercal, porticum ad circum Flaminium, quam sum appellari passus ex nomine eius, qui priorem eodem in solo fecerat⁸, Octaviam, pulvinar⁴ ad circum maximum, aedes in Capitolio Iovis. Feretri et Iovis Tonantis⁵, aedem Quirini⁶, aedes Minervae⁷ et Iunonis Reginae⁸ et Iovis Libertatis⁹ in Aventino, aedem Larum¹⁰ in summa sacra via, aedem deum Penatium in Velia¹¹, aedem Iuventatis¹², aedem Matris Magnae¹² in Palatio feci.

(20) Capitolium¹³ et Pompeium theatrum¹⁴ utrumque opus impensa grandi refeci sine ulla inscriptione nominis mei. Rivos aquarum compluribus locis, vetustate labentes, refeci¹⁵, et aquam, quae Marcia appellatur, duplicavi fonte novo in rivum eius inmisso¹⁶. Forum Iulium et basilicam¹⁷, quae fuit inter aedem Castoris et aedem Saturni, coepta profligataque opera a patre meo, perfeci, et eandem basilicam consumptam incendio, ampliato eius solo, sub titulo nominis filiorum m(eorum i)ncohavi et, si vivus non per-

led Wolfflin to suggest (in 1886) 'i(nl)ato fru(mento atque n)umma(riis t(esseris divisis) ex pat(rimonio) m(e)o (subveni)'. Schmidt (in 1887), agreeing that 'nummaria tessera ea tantum dici potest, qua tradita quis pecuniam accipiebat', proposed 'frumentarias et nummarias tesseras', which has been accepted by Cagnat and Diehl, and in the text.

¹ Dedicated 29 B.C. ² 28 B.C.
³ Cn. Octavius, conqueror of Perseus, king of Macedonia, 168 B.C.
⁴ The imperial box, Suet. Aug. 45 init.
⁵ 22 B.C. ⁶ 16 B.C.
⁷ Ovid, Fasti, vi 728 (19 June).
⁸ Originally dedicated by Camillus.
¹⁰ Ovid, Fasti, vi 791.
¹¹ Livy, xlv 16 § 5.
¹² Dedicated by the duumvir C. Licinius Lucullus in 191 B.C., and subsequently destroyed by fire.
¹³ Restoration begun in 28 B.C.
¹⁴ Theatrum Aug(ustum) Pompeianum, 55 B.C.
¹⁵ Frontinus, de aquis, 125.
¹⁷ Restored 12 A.D.
fecissent, perfici ab heredib(us iussi). Duo et octaginta templaque
deum in urbe, consul sex(tum, ex decreto) senatus refeci, nullo praetermisso, quod e(o) temp(ore refici
debebat); consul septimum, viam Flaminiam¹ a(b urbe), Ari(minum et pontes in ea²) omnes praeter Mulvium et Minucium.

(21) In privato solo Martis Vltoris templum³ forumque Augustum⁴ (ex mani)biis feci. Theatrum ad aedem Apollinis in solo magna ex parte a p(r)i(v)atis empto feci, quod sub nomine M. Marcelli, generi mei, esset⁵. Don(a e)x manibii in Capitolio et in aede divi Iuli et in aede Apollinis et in aede Vestae et in templo Martis Vltoris consacravi, quae mihi constiterunt HS circiter milliens⁶. Auri coronari⁷ pondo triginta et quinque millia, municipiiis et coloniis⁸ Italiae conferenti-bus ad triumphos meos, quintum consul remisi, et postea, quotienscumque imperator a(ppe)llatus sum, aurum coronarium non accepi, decernentibus municipiiis et colonis⁸ aeque beneigne atque antea decreverant.

ⁱ p. 121 supra.
² 'viam Flaminiam—Ari(minum feci et pontes) omnes' M (Diehl); but Augustus only repaired the via Flaminia, and the summary of this chapter (§ 3, p. 276 infra) begins with refeci and ends with viam Flaminiam. Hence, after Ariminum, we must here understand refeci from the previous sentence, and fill the space with 'et pontes in ea' (Wölfflin, followed by Cagnat). This corresponds closely to the Greek version, γεφύρας τε τάς ἐν αὐτῇ πάσας ἔξω δυνεὶς τῶν μὴ ἐπιδειμένων ἐπισκευῆς ἐπόνα (probably meaning ἐπισκεύασα, which is possibly avoided owing to the preceding word, ἐπισκεύης). After 'Minucium', instead of understanding refeci, Hoeing adds 'munivi', Cl. Philology, 1908, p. 87 f. (cp. Suet. Aug. 50, and p. 121 ult.); but the facsimile shows that, at the end of this §, a space of more than 20 letters is left entirely blank.
³ Dedicated 1 Aug. 2 B.C.
⁴ p. 97 supra.
⁵ Dedicated 11 B.C.
⁶ 100,000,000 HS; Suet. Aug. 30.
⁷ 'Vetusto more civitatis, ad quas victoria aliqua pertineret, imperatori triumphaturo ex auro coronas offerebant....Sed a coronis a certis civitatibus imperatori oblatiis different coronae obdatae imperatori triumphaturo a populo universo tributim, qui honor primum habitus est L. Antonio triumphanti a. 713 (41 B.C.)...ut eidem posuerunt statuum “quinque et triginta tribus patrono”...Id ipsum rursus decretum esse, cum instaret triumphus Actiacus, summa auri clare ostenditi, oblati scilicet a singulis tribus auti pondo singulis milibus. Hanc collationem et tum et postea Augustus recusavit, de reliquo auro coronario nihil mutans' (Mommsen).
⁸ For -iiis.
(22) T(e)r munus gladiatorium dedi meo nomine et quinquens (sic) filiorum meorum aut nepotum nomine; quibus muneribus depugnaverunt hominum circiter decem millia. Bis athletarum undique accitorum spectaculis pulo praebui meo nomine et tertium nepotium mei nomine. Ludos feci m(eo no)m(ine) quater, alienor autem m(agist)ratu(um) vicem ter et viciens. (P)reconlegio xv virorum magis(ter cons)legi(i), collega M. Agrippa, lud(os)aecl(ar)e)s, C. Furnio C. (S)ilano cos., (feci). (C)on(sul xiii), ludos Mar(tia)les pr(imus feci), qu(os) p(ost) i(dem) tempus deinceps ins(equen)ti(bus ann(is) (senatus consulto mecum) fecerunt co(n)ses. (V)en(n)i(o)n(um es) best(iarum Africanarum meo nomine aut filiorum meorum et nepotum in circo aut in foro aut in amphitheatris popul(o d)edi sexiens et viciens, quibus confecta sunt bestiarum circiter tria millia et quingentae.

(23) Navalis proeli spectaculum populo de(di tr)ans Tiberim, in quo loco nunc nemus est Caesarum, cavato (solo) in longitudinem mille et octingentos pedes, in latitudinem(m ille) et ducenti (sic). In quo triginta rostratae naves triremes aut biremes, plures autem minores, inter se conflixerunt. Quibus in classibus pugnaverunt praeter remiges millia homo(minum tr)ia circiter.

(24) In templis omnium civitatum pr(ovinci)ae Asiae victor ornamenta reposui, quae spoliatis templis (sic), cum quo bellum gesseram, privatim possederat. Statuae (mea)e pedestres et equestres et in quadrigeis argenteae steterunt in urbe xxcc circiter, quas ipse sustuli, exque ea pecunia dona aurea in aede Apollinis meo nomine et illorum, qui mihi statuarum honorem habuerunt, posui.

1 Suet. Aug. 43.
2 ANT. here has (spec)TACVLV(m); cp., however, 'spectaculum', below, in § 23, 1, and 'saeclares' in § 22, 9.
3 Adopted in Willemsen's Lat. Inschr. 1913, p. 35; (s. c. mecum) approximately fills the space of 9 letters in the Latin, and δ(υγατα συνκαλητον σων ετοι) that of 20 letters in the Greek (proposed by Wirtz, 1912).
4 2 B.C.; Tac. Ann. xii 56, xiv 15; Suet. Aug. 43, 'circa Tiberim cavato solo'; (solo) is confirmed by ANT., which has (S)OLO.
6 (quad)RIGIS ANT.
V (25) Mare pacavi a praedonibus. Eo bello servorum, qui fugerant a dominis suis et arma contra rem publicam ceperant, triginta fere millia capta dominis ad supplicium sumendum tradidit. Iuravit in mea verba tota Italia sponte sua, et me be(lli), quo vici ad Actium, ducem depoposcit. Iuraverunt in eadem verba Galliae Hispaniae Africa Sicilia Sardinia. Qui sub (signis meis tum) militaverint, fuerunt senatores plures quam dcc, in ii(consulares et qui pos)tea consules facti sunt ad eum diem quo scripta su(nt haec, LXXXIII, sacerdo)tes circiter CLXX.

(26) Omnia prov(inciarum populi Romani), quibus finitimae fuerunt gentes, quae n(on parerent imperio nos) tro, fines auxi. Gallias et Hispanias provinci(a(s, item Germaniam, qua clau)dit Oceanus, a Gadibus ad ostium Albis fum(inis pacavi). Alpes a re)gione ea, quae proxima est Hadriano mari, (ad Tuscum pacificav)i, nulli genti bello per inuriam inlato. Cla(ssis mea per Oceanum) ab ostio Rheni ad solis orientis regionem usque ad f(nes Cimbroru)m navigavit, quo neque terra neque mari quisquam Romanus ante id tempus adit, Cimbrique et Charydes et Semnones et eiusdem tractus aliis Germanorum populi per legatos amicitiam meam et populi Romani petierunt. Meo iussu et auspicio ducti sunt (duo) exercitus eodem fere tempore in Aethiopiam et in Arabiam, quae appel(latur) euðaemon, (maxim)aque hostium gentis utriusque copiae caesae sunt in acie et (c)om(plur)a oppida capta. In Aethiopiam usque

1 Schmidt (Cagnat); (qui vel anteα vel poνεa M (Diehl).
2 item—claudit Wölflin (Cagnat), ὃνομιῶ δὲ καὶ—περικλεῖει; et—includit M (Diehl).
3 Expeditions of Augustus against the Gauls and the Cantabri (27—25 B.C.), of C. Carrinas against the Morini (28), and of M. Messalla against the Aquitani (27), besides several expeditions against the Germani.
4 Cp. the Tropaeum Augusta in Plin. iii 136 (pp. 10, 19, 122, supra).
5 Wölflin (Cagnat); εἰρηνεύεσθαι πεπολнятиα, pacari ject M (Diehl).
6 For adiit.
7 The expedition of C. Petronius against queen Candace the Ethiopian in 24—20 B.C., and that of Aelius Gallus against Arabia in 25—24 B.C. (Hor. Carm. i 29).
ad oppidum Nabata perventum est, cui proxima est Meroë. In Arabiam usque in fines Sabaeorum pro(cess)it exercitus ad oppidum Mariba.

(27) Aegyptum imperio populi Romani adieci. Armeniam maiorem, interfecit rege eius Artaxe, cum possem facere provinciam, malui maiorum nostrorum exemplo regnum id Tigrani regis Artavasdis\(^1\) filio, nepoti autem Tigranis regis, per T(i. Ne)ronem\(^2\) tradere, qui tum mihi privignus erat. Et eandem gentem postea d(esc)iscentem et rebellantem domitam per Gaium\(^2\) filium meum, regi Ario(barz)ani, regis Medorum Artaba(zi)\(^1\) filio, regendam tradidi, et post e(ius) mortem filio eius Artavasdi\(^1\). Quo (inte)rfecto (Tigra)nm, qui erat ex regio genere Armeniorum oriundus, in id re(gnum) misi. Provincias omnis, quae trans Hadrianum mare vergun(t a)d orientem, Cyrenasque, iam ex parte magna regibus eas possidentibus, et antea Siciliam et Sardiniam\(^3\), occupatas bello servili, recuperavi.

(28) Colonias in Afri(ca Sicilia M)acedonia, utraque Hispania, Achaia Asia Syria, Gallia Narb(onensi, Pisidia) militum deduxi. Italia autem xxviii (colo)niias, quae vivo me celeberrimae et frequentissimae fuerunt, me(is auspiciis\(^4\)) deductas habet.

(29) Signa militaria complur(a per) alios duces am(issa), devicti(s hostibu)s, re(cipe)ravi ex Hispania et (Gallia et a Dalm)ateis\(^5\). Parthos trium exercitum\(^6\) Romanorum spolia et signa\(^7\) re(ddere) mihi supplicium amictiam populi Romani petere coegi. Ea

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1 See Addendum on p. 285.
3 In 36 and 38 B.C. respectively.
4 For -iis. me(auctoritate) Wolflin.
5 The standards lost in Dalmatia during the Civil War by Gabinius (48 B.C.) and Vatinius (44), and surrendered to Augustus (23). Other standards were recovered from the Cantabri, and in Gaul.
6 A rare contraction for exercituum, as in C. I. L. vi 414, and v.l. for ‘duorum exercituum’ in Livy, x 44; 3; xxviii 25, 6 (Neue-Wagener, Form. i 548). Cp. Dessau, iii (2), p. 850, gen. pl.
7 The standards lost by Crassus in 53 B.C., and Antonius in 40 and 36, and recovered in 20 by Augustus, or rather by his legate Tiberius.
utem si(go)n a in penetrali, quod est in templo Martis Vltoris, eposui.

(30) Pannoniorum gentes, quas ante me principem populi Romani exercitus nunquam ad(i)t\(^1\), devictas per \(\Gamma\). (Ne)ronem\(^2\), qui tum erat privignus et legatus neus, imperio populi Romani s(ubie)ci protulique ines Illyrici ad r(ip)am fluminis Dan(u)i\(^3\). Citra quod (D)a(co-)u(m tr)an(s)gressus exercitus meis a(u)sp(icis)\(^4\) victus profligatusque (est, et) pos(tea tran)s Dan(u)-/ium ductus ex(ercitus me)u(s) Da(cor)um gentes m(peria populi Romani perferre\(^5\) coegit).

(31) Ad me ex In(dia regum legationes saepe missae sunt, nunquam antea visae) apud qu(em)q(uam) R(omanorum du)cem. Nostram am(icitiam petierunt) per legat(os) Bastarn(ae Scythae)que et Sarmatarum \(\gamma\)(ui sunt citra flu)m en Tanaim (et) ultra reg(es, Alba)norumque rex et Hiber(orum et Medorum).

(32) Ad me supplices confug(erunt) reges Parthorum Tiri-da(tes\(^6\) et postea) Phrat(es)\(^7\), regis Phrat(i)s filius); Medorum \textbf{VI} (Artavasdes\(^8\); Adiabenorum A)rtaxares; Britan-

\(^1\) For \textit{adiiit}.
\(^2\) ‘prignus’ in 12—9 B.C.; ‘filius’ during the Pannonian rebellion of 6—9 A.D.
\(^3\) After a trace of part of D, the Mon. Ancyrarum has AN\(\cdot\)AN\(\cdot\)ON\(\cdot\)1, for which Mommsen prints Dan(u)i, the short form of the normal prose genitive Danuvi (C. I. L. iii suppl. 13813 d). Danuvi (ib. x 3553) is also found as the genitive of the name of a trireme in the Roman navy, which is elsewhere called Danuio (ib. x 3508), as well as Danuviu (ib. x 3546; xi 67). Similarly, Pacuvi is sometimes written Pacui or Pacvi (Neue-Wagener, Form. i 149). In inscriptions V normally stands for \(\nu\) as well as \(v\).
\(^4\) For -iis.
\(^6\) Hor. Carm. i 26, 5.
\(^7\) ib. ii 2, 17.
\(^8\) 30 B.C., after the defeat of Antonius. See Addendum, p. 285 infra.

S. L. I.
nor um Dumn obellau(nus)¹ et Ti z(commius)²; (Sugambr)orum; Marcomanorum Sue boru(m Tud merus)⁴. (Ad me rex) Par thor um Ph rat es⁵, Oro dis filius, filios suos nepo t(esque omnes misit) in Ital ian, non bello supe ratus, sed amicitiam nostram per (liberorum) suorum pignora petens. Plurimaeque aliae gentes exper(tae sunt p. R.) fidem me pr incipe, quibus ante a cum populo Roman(o nullum extitera)" legationum et amicitiae commercium.

(33) A me gentes Par thor um et Med oru(m per legatos) prin cipes earum gentium reges petitos acceperunt Par(thi Vononem, regis Phr)atis filium, regis Orodis nepotem⁸; Medi Ar(iobarzanem), regis Art avazdis⁹ filium, regis Ariobarznis nep(otem).

¹ Dub novellaunos on coins.
² et Tim M, followed by a space for six (or seven) letters (ed. 1883, p. 135). ET TIM rests solely on the authority of Chishull's copy (1728) of one of Tournefort's transcripts of the Mon. Ancyr., confirmed by KAI T in the subsequently deciphered Greek version. The person meant is almost certainly TINCOMMIVS, Commi filius. Commius is known to us from Caesar's B. G. iv 21, vii 76, and Dio, xl 42 f, as a chieftain in Gaul and South Britain (Sir) John Evans, Coins of the Ancient Britons (1864) 158—170, and Supplement (1890) 496—507, figures and discusses at least 15 coins, found mainly near the coast of Sussex, and bearing legends such as TINC COMMI F, or TINCOM, or TINCOM COMMI. One of these closely resembles a small brass coin of Augustus (Cohen, ed. 2, no. 29). The evidence in the Supplement was necessarily unknown to Mommsen, when he published his final edition of the Mon. Ancryanum in 1883. See the present editor's paper in Numismatic Chronicle, 1918 (2), pp. 97—110, with Plate IV.
⁴ ...rus (M), -pos in the Greek: (Segime)rus Wolff.; (Tudme)rus Vigfusson. Oxf. Philol. Soc. Trans. (1885) 32 f. He also proposed in Tac. Germ. 42 'Marcomanis Quadisque—reges manserunt nobile Marobodui et Tud(me)r genus'. But Tud(me)rus was apparently king of the Quadi, while the king of the Marcomani was Maroboduus. (Strabo, p. 290; Velleius, ii 108—119) Hence we cannot assume that, in the text, any king of the Marcomani was named Tudmerus. We may however accept the termination -m erosion, often found in the names of these German kings. We may even, provisionally, accept Tudmerus. The king of the Quadi may have besought Augustus as head of a Romanising faction among the neighbouring Marcomani.
⁵ Phraates IV, 10 B.C.; Tac. Ann. ii 1. ⁶ populi Romani.
(34) In consulatu sexto et septimo, b(ella ubi civilia) extinx-eram, per consensum universorum (potitus rerum omnium), rem publicam ex mea potestate in sena-
(us populeque Romani a)rbritium transtuli. Quo pro merito neo senatu(s consulto Augustus appe)llatus sum, et laureis postes aedium meorum v(estiti publice) coronaque civica super ianuam meam fixa est, (clupeusque aureus) n curia Iulia positus, quem mihi senatum (populumque Romanum) lare virtutis clem(entia)e iustitia(e pieta
tis) testatum) est. Post id tem(pus, Principatus)

(35) Tertium decimum consulatu(m cum gerebam, senatus et equ)ester ordo populusque Romanus universus appellavit me patrem patriae, idque in vestibu(lo)edium meorum inscriben(dum esse et in curia et) a foro Aug. 8 sub quadrigis, quae mihi (ex) s.c. pos(itae sunt, lecrevit.

Cum scri(psi) haec, annum agebam septuagens-

Here follows a summary written in inferior Latin by some provincial Greek:

(1) Summa pecuniae, quam ded(it in aerarium vel plebei Romanae vel i)missis militibus; denarium se(xii)e(ns milli
is) = 600,000,000 denarii = 2,400,000,000 sesterces. The sums in §§ 15—17 mount to 2,199,800,000 sesterces.
(2) Opera fecit nova, aedem Martis, (Iovis Tonantis et Feretri, Apollinis, divi Iuli, Quirini, Minervae, (Iunonis Reginae, Iovis Libertatis,) Larum, deum Penatium, Iuv(entatis, Matris deum, Lupercal, pulvina)r ad circunm, curiam cum Ch(alcidico, forum Augustum, basilica)m Iuliam, theatrum Marcelli, (p)or(ti cus .................... 1", nemus trans T)iberim Caesarum.

(3) Refecit Capito(lium sacra)sque aedes (nu)m(ero octoginta) duas, thea(t)rum Pompei, aqu(arum rivos, vi)am Flamin(iam).

(4) Impensa (praestita in spect)acul(a scaenica et munera) gladiatorum at(que athleteas et vationes et naum)ach(iam) et donata pe(c)unia a² (c municipis³ oppidis in provinciis⁴ ter)rae motu incendioque consumpt(is) a(ut viritim a(micis senatu)oribusque, quorum census explevit, in)numera(bili)«.

Ed. Mommsen in C. I. L. iii (2) 769—799 (1873), and separately in 186; and (with eleven facsimile plates) in 1883; also by Cagnat and Lafaye, Inscr Graecae ad res Romanas pertinentes, in fasc. i (1902) of vol. iii (1906) 65—95 and by Diehl (1908, '10). For other editions, see p. 179 n. 1, and p. 259.

(3) **Speech of Claudius in the Senate in 48 A.D., on the admission of Gallic citizens to public office (p. 179 supra).** ‘This genuine transcript of the emperor’s words’ may be compared with ‘the paraphrase of Tacitus, Ann. xi 24’ (Merrivale, *History of the Romans under the Empire*, c. 49, vol. vi, p. 120 n.). See also H. Pelham in *Classical Review*, 1895, 441-3, and *Essays*, 1911, 152-7; E. G. Hardy, *Three Spanish Charters* (and *Roman Laws and Charters*), 1912, 133–154; and J. S. Reid, *The Municipalities of the Roman Empire*, 1913, 189–192.

Claudius was advised by Livy to attempt historical composition⁵, and the present speech resembles, in certain points, that of Canuleius in favour of granting *conubium* to the *plebs*⁶.

I **Lacuna** at the beginning of column i

Equidem primam omnium illam cogitationem hominum quam maxime primam occurras mihi provideo, deprecor, ne quasi novam istam rem introduci exhorrescatis, sed illa potius cogiteticis, quam multa in hac civitate novata sint, et quidem statim ab origine

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2 Possibly a mark of punctuation.
3 For -iis.
4–4 (28 letters) Diehl; ἀποκλαίεις πόλεων ἐν Ιταλίᾳ, πόλεων ἐν ἐπαρχεῖασ; the most obvious equivalent, *coloniiis in Italia*, *oppidis in provinciis* (in M’s note, exceeds the space of about 27 letters).
5 Suet. *Claud. 41*.
6 Livy, iv 3–6.
urbi nostrae in quod\(^1\) formas statusque res p(ublica) nostra d\(\text{-}\)ducta sit.

Quondam reges hanc tenuere urbem, nec tamen domesticis\(^2\) successoribus eam tradere contigit. Supervenere alieni et quidam externi, ut Numa Romulo successerit ex Sabinis veniens, vicinus quidem, sed tunc externus; ut Anco Marcio Priscus Tarquinius. (Is) propter temeratum sanguinem\(^3\), quod patre Demaratho Corinthio natus erat et Tarquiniensi matre, generosa, sed inopi, ut quae tali marito necesse habuerit succumbere, cum domi\(^4\) repelleretur a gerendis honoribus, postquam Romam migravit, regnum adeptus est. Huic quoque et filio nepotive eius—nam et hoc inter auctores discrepat—insertus Servius Tullius, si nostros sequimur, captiva natus Ocresia\(^5\), si Tuscos, Caeli quondam Vivennae sodalis fidelissimus omnisque eius casus comes, postquam varia fortuna exactus cum omnibus reliquis\(^7\) Caeliani exercitus Etruria excessit, montem Caelium occupavit et a duce suo Caelio ita appellavit, mutatoque nomine—nam Tusce Mastarna ei nomen erat\(^9\)—ita appellatus est, ut dixi, et regnum summa cum rei p(ublicae) utilitate optinuit. Deinde postquam Tarquini Superbi mores invisii civitati nostrae esse coeperunt, qua ipsius qua filiorum ei(us), nempe pertaesum est mentes regni, et ad consules, annuos magistratus, administratio rei p(ublicae) translata est.

Quid nunc commemorem dictatae hoc ipso consulari imperium valentius repertum apud maiores nostros, quo in asperioribus bellis aut in civili motu difficiliores uterentur? aut in auxilium plebis creatos tribunos plebei? quid a consulibus ad decemviro translatum imperium, solutoque postea decemviri regno ad consules rusus\(^{10}\) reditum? quid in pluris distributum consulare impe-

\(^1\) i.e. *quot*. ‘How many different forms of constitution our state has successively undergone’.
\(^2\) Members of their own royal family, in contrast with *alieni—externi* below.
\(^3\) Tainted, or mixed, origin; his parents having belonged to two different states. Livy, i 34 f.
\(^4\) At Tarquini.
\(^6\) Livy, i 46, 4.
\(^7\) i.e. *reliquiiis.*
\(^8\) Niebuhr for *appellatus*.
\(^9\) Claudius wrote a work in twenty books on *Tyrrhenica*, Suet. *Claud*. 42.
\(^10\) i.e. *rursus.*
rium tribunosque militum consulari imperio appellatos, qui seni e saepe octoni crearentur? quid communicatos postremo cum plebe honores, non imperi solum, sed sacerdotiorum quoque?

Iam si narrem bella, a quibus coeperint maiores nostri, et quo processerimus, vereor, ne nimio insolentior esse videar, et quaeissis iactationem gloriae prolati imperi ultra Oceanum¹. Sed illo potius revertar. Civitat(em)...[lacuna at end of col. i followed by (po)test near the end of line 1 of col. ii.]

II Sane novo m(ore) et divus Aug(ustus, av)onc(ulus m)eus, e patruus Ti. Caesar² omnem florem ubique coloniarum et munici piorum, honorum scilicet virorum et locupletium, in hac curia esse voluit. Quid ergo? non Italicus senator provinciali potio est? Iam vobis, cum hanc partem censurae meae³ adprobaro coepero, quid de ea re sentiam, rebus ostendam. Sed ne provinciales quidem, si modo ornare curiam poterint, reiciendos puto.

Ornatissima ecce colonia valentissimaque Viennensium⁴, quan longo iam tempore senatores huic curiae confert! Ex qua colonia inter paucos equestris ordinis ornamentum L. Vestinum⁵ familia rissime diligo et hodieque in rebus meis detineo⁶, cuius liber fruantur queso⁷ primo sacerdotiorum gradu, post modo cum anni promoturi dignitatis suae incrementa; ut dirum nomen latronice⁸ taceam, et odi illud palaestricum prodigium, quod ante in domum consulatum intulit, quam colonia sua solidum civitatis Romanae benificium consecuta est. Idem de fratre eius possum dicere

¹ Tacitus, Ann. xii 31 f; and inscr. in honour of Claudius ‘quod...gente barbaras trans Oceanum primus in dicionem populi Romani redegerit’ (Dessau i 216).
² Claudius was the son of Drusus, the younger brother of Tiberius, step son of Augustus.
³ Claudius was censor in 48 A.D. (Tacitus, Ann. xi 25—27).
⁴ This eulogy, which is preserved in the present inscription of Lyon, is still a source of pride to her ancient rival, Vienne on the Rhone.
⁵ Entrusted by Vespasian with the restoration of the Capitolium in 70 A.D Tac. Hist. iv 53.
⁶ As procurator.
⁷ A modest form of request; the members of the priestly colleges were really nominated by the emperor.
⁸ Valerius Asiaticus of Vienna, who had been ‘twice consul’ (Tac. Ann. : 1—3; Merivale, vi 154 f).
miserabili quidem indignissimoque hoc casu, ut vobis utilis senator esse non possit.—

Tempus est iam, Ti. Caesar Germanicæ, detegere te patribus conscriptis, quo tendat oratio tua; iam enim ad extremos fines Galliae Narbonensis venisti¹.

Tot ecce insignes iuvenes², quot intueor, non magis sunt paenitendi senatores, quam paenitet Persicum³, nobilissimum virum, amicum meum, inter imagines maiorum suorum Allobrogici⁴ nomen legere. Quod si haec ita esse consentitis, quid ultra desideratis, quam ut vobis digito demonstrem, solum ipsum ultra fines provinciae Narbonensis iam vobis senatores mittere, quando ex Luguduno⁵ habere nos nostri ordinis viros non paenitet? Timide quidem, p(atres) c(onscripti), egressus adsuetos familiares—vobis provinciarum terminos sum, sed destrictè iam Comatae Galliae⁶ causa agenda est, in qua, si quis hoc intuetur, quod bello per decem annos⁷ exercuerunt divom Iulium, idem opponat centum annorum⁸ immobilem fidem obsequiumque multis trepidís rebus nostris plus quam expertum. Illi patri meo Druso Germaniam subigenti tutam quiete sua securamque a tergo pacem praestiterunt, et quidem cum a⁹ census novo tum opere et in—adsueto Gallis ad bellum advocatus esset; quod opus quam arduum sit nobis, nunc cum maxime, quamvis nihil ultra, quam

¹ These words are generally assigned to Claudius himself; but Mommsen (Eph. Ep. vii 394; Ges. Schriften, viii 506) ascribes them to the senators. This opinion is, however, refuted in Bull. Corr. Hell. 1896, p. 342, n. 3, by Th. Reinach, who quotes Pliny, Paneg. 75.

² Probably youths from Gaul, who may have formed part of a deputation applying for the ius honorum.

³ Q. Fabius Maximus, the conqueror of the Allobroges; consul in 121 B.C.

⁴ The birth-place of Claudius, founded as a Roman military colony in 43 B.C.

⁵ The Tres Galliae, contrasted with Gallia Togata, the latter including Gallia Cisalpina and the Provincia Narbonensis.

⁶ 58—50 B.C.

⁷ 50 B.C. to 48 A.D. The rebellion of Florus and Sacrovir in 21 A.D. (Tac. Ann. iii 40) is here ignored.

⁸ The inscription hæs ad. Cp. Tac. Ann. i 31, 'regimen summæ rei penes Germanicum [son of Drusus, and younger brother of Claudius], agendo Galliarum censui tum intentum'.
ut publice notae sint facultates nostrae, exquiratur, nimis magno experimento cognoscimus.

C. I. L. xiii 1668; Dessau, i 212.

The above speech was delivered in the Senate House of Rome, and the large bronze tablet containing the local transcript of the same was preserved at Lugudunum near the altar of Rome and Augustus, the most important public site in the three provinces of ancient Gaul. Facsimile in Boissieu, *Inscr. ant. de Lyon*, p. 132 ff, and in Allmer et Dissard, *Musée de Lyon*, i (1888) facing p. 70.

(4) *Lex de imperio Vespasiani*, 70 A.D. Formerly in the Church of St John Lateran (pp. 21, 158, *supra*), now in the Capitoline Museum, Rome. Facsimile in Gradenwitz, *Simulacra*, xvi.

This is the only extant example of the possibly single legal enactment, whereby the emperor was invested with his various constitutional powers. It has been assumed that the earlier clauses, which are now lost, conferred the *imperium* and the *tribunicia potestas*. The document, as a whole, is repeatedly described as a *lex*, but its several clauses are in the form of a *senatus consultum*, each of them being introduced by *uti*, dependent on *consuerunt*. See especially H. Pelham, *On some disputed points connected with the Imperium of Augustus and his successors*, *Journal of Philology* xvii (1888) 27—52, and *Essays*, 60—88; and G. McN. Rushforth, *Latin Historical Inscriptions* (1893), 82—87. It is now, however, generally agreed that Mommsen and some of his predecessors were right in holding that the *imperium* was conferred by a *senatus consultum* (or by the army, with the subsequent approval of the Senate); and the *tribunicia potestas* by what is nominally a *lex*, presented to a sham assembly (*Staatsrecht*, ii3 789, 841 ff, 874 ff). The present *lex* gives proof of the gradual evolution of imperial authority by the accumulation of precedents (J. S. Reid).

(1) ...foedusve cum quibus volet facere liceat, ita uti licuit divo Aug(usto), Ti(berio) Iulio Caesari Aug(usto), Tiberioque Claudio Caesari Aug(usto) Germanico;

(2) utique ei senatum habere1, relationem facere2, remittere3, senatus consulta per relationem discesionemque4 facere liceat,

1 Paragraphs 2 and 3 refer to the Emperor's rights as to holding meetings of the Senate.

2 *relationem facere*, equivalent to *referre*.

3 Tac. *Ann.* iii 10, ' (Tiberius) integram causam ad senatum remittit'.

4 The reference to the Senate (*relatio*) was a necessary preliminary to its dividing on the subject (*discessio*). See Mommsen, *Staatsrecht*, iii 983, n. 4.
ita uti licuit divo Aug(usto), Ti(berio) Iulio Caesari Aug(usto),
Ti(berio) Claudio Caesari Augusto Germanico;

(3) utique, cum ex voluntate auctoritateve iussu mandatuve
eius praesenteve eo senatus habebitur, omnium rerum ius perinde
habeatur servetur, ac si e lege senatus edictus esset haberetur-
que;

(4) utique, quos magistrum potestatem imperium curatio-
enve cuius rei petentes senatui populoque Romano commen-
daverit, quibusque suffragationem suam dederit promiserit, eorum
comitis quibusque extra ordinem ratio habeatur;

(5) utique ei fines pomerii proferre promovere, cum ex re-
publica censebit esse, liceat, ita uti licuit Ti(berio) Claudio
Caesari Aug(usto) Germanico;

(6) utique, quaecunque ex usu reipublicae maiestate divi-
narum humanarumque publicarum privatarumque rerum esse
censebit, ei agere facere ius potestasque sit, ita uti divo Aug(usto),
Tiberioque Iulio Caesari Aug(usto), Tiberioque Claudio Caesari
Aug(usto) Germanico fuit;

(7) utique, quibus legibus plebeive scitis scriptum fuit, ne
divus Aug(ustus), Tiberiusve Iulius Caesar Aug(ustus), Tiberi-
usque Claudius Caesar Aug(ustus) Germanicus tenerentur, iis legibus
plebisque scitis imp(erator) Caesar Vespasianus solutus sit, quaeque
ex quaque lege rogatione divum Aug(ustum), Tiberiumve Iulium
Caesarem Aug(ustum), Tiberiumve Claudium Caesarem Aug(ustum)
Germanicum facere oportuit, ea omnia imp(eratori) Caesari
Vespasiano Aug(usto) facere liceat.

(8) utique, quae ante hanc legem rogatam acta gesta decreta
imperata ab imperatore Caesare Vespasiano Aug(usto), iussu
mandatuve eius, a quoque sunt, ea perinde iusta rataq(ue) sint, ac
si populi plebisve iussu acta essent.

1 i.e. comitiis; here quibusque is abl. of quisque; in the previous line it
means et quibus.

2 Claudius, 'auctis populi Romani finibus, pomerium ampliavit termi-
navitque' (Dessau, i 213). Tacitus (Ann. xii 23 ult.) says the same of
Augustus, but this is not said, either in the text, or by Augustus himself in the
Monumentum Ancyranum.
Sanctio¹

(9) Si quis huiusce legis ergo² adversus leges rogatione plebisve scita senatusve consulta fecit fecerit, sive, quod³ eun ex lege rogatione plebisve scito s(enatus)ve c(onsulto) facer oportebit, non fecerit huius legis ergo, id ei ne fraudi esto, nev quit⁴ ob eam rem populo dare debeto, neve cui de ea re actio neve iudicatio esto, neve quis⁵ de ea re apud se agi sinito.

C. I. L. vi 930; Wilmanns, 917; Dessän, i 244; Rushforth, no. 7c pp. 82–87.

(5) Hadriani adlocutio ad exercitum Africanum.

From the speeches addressed by Hadrian to different contingents of the army in North Africa, during a visit paid in 128 A.D. in the course of one of his extensive tours in distant parts of the Roman Empire. The present passage commends certain soldiers for their prompt and energetic fortification of the camp, probably the temporary camp two kilometres west of the prae torium at Lambæsis. The speeches in question were found inscribed on pedestal at the centre of the site of the temporary camp. The date is about July 1; cp. Cagnat, L’Armée Romaine d’Afrique, 2nd ed. (1913) 146, 149.

(Munitiones, quas) alii (per) plures dies divisissent, eas un die peregristis; murum longi operis et qualis mansuris hiber naculis fieri solet, non multo diutius extrucxistis, quam caespit exstruitur, qui, modulo pari caesus, et vehitur facile et tractatur et sine molestia struitur, ut mollis et planus pro natura sua: vo lapidibus grandibus gravibus inaequalibus, quos neque veher neque attollere neque locare quis possit, nisi ut inaequalitate inter se conpareant. Fossam glaria² durum scabramque rect percussistis et radendo levem reddidistis. Opere probato introgressi castra, raptim et cibum et arma cepistis; equitem emissur secuti, magno clamore revertentem per (portam excepistis⁷).

Lambaesis (now in the Louvre), C. I. L. viii 2 (1881) 2332 p. 288, an Sup. ii (1894) 8042 p. 1725; Dessau, i 2487.

¹ Usually, ‘a penal clause’; here, a proviso as to an existing penal enactment, and therefore, virtually, ‘an exemption from penalty’. Cp. Cicero, Att. iii 23, 2 and Mommsen, l.c.-\-362, n. 1.
² ‘In virtue of this law’.
³ sc. id quod.
⁴ sc. praetor.
⁵ i.e. quid (for aliquid).
⁶ i.e. glarea, ‘gravel
⁷ Here conjecturally added to complete the sense. Wilmanns, C. I. l viii (2) p. 289, added nearly a whole line, ‘per avia excepistis hostem quinsequentem repressistis’,
(6) DIOCLETIANI EDICTUM DE PRETIIS RERUM VENALIUM; 301 A.D. (p. 180, supra).

Under the rule of Diocletian it was ascertained that, notwithstanding plenteous harvests, prices and wages had gone up. Soldiers, in particular, being unable to purchase provisions out of their pay, were obliged to draw on their savings. Accordingly, an imperial edict was promulgated by Diocletian and his colleagues, fixing a maximum price for provisions and other articles of commerce, and a maximum rate of wages. Instead of being communicated, in precise terms to the public officials, it is addressed in grandiloquent language to the provincials themselves. The articles mentioned in it include cereals, wine, oil, meat, vegetables, fruits, skins, leather, furs, foot-gear, timber, carpets, articles of dress; and the wages etc. range from those of the ordinary labourer to those of the professional advocate. The unit of money is the denarius of Diocletian, a copper coin worth either one farthing, or three-fifths of a penny. The absolute equivalent is, however, difficult to determine; the modern interest of the list lies mainly in the relative values. The edict was only enforced for a few years, and, although ostensibly intended for the whole of the Empire (universo orbi), was, apparently, practically operative only in the provinces ruled directly by Diocletian. The result was that many traders were ruined.

Partial copies have been discovered in Egypt, and at Stratonicea in Caria, and, subsequently, at Plataea and Megalopolis (the last two by the American and the British Schools respectively). The most complete editions of the text are those in C. I. L. iii (2), pp. 801—841 (1873) and Suppl., fasc. iii, pp. 1909—1953 (1893). A commentary on the details of the subject-matter is included in the separate editions of Waddington (1864), and of Mommsen and Blümner (1893). See also Blümner’s article in Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. Edictum Dioc. v 1948—57 (1905), and his Römische Privat-Allertimer (1911), pp. 604—8, and the reprint of Mommsen’s papers of 1851 and 1890 in Ges. Schriften, ii (1905), 252—322, and 323—340 respectively. The names of the

1 So Blümner (in Pauly-Wissowa, v 1954), who infers from cap. 30, where one pound of fine gold is worth 50,000 denarii, that the denarius was then equivalent to 18.27 Pfennig. Cp. Mommsen, Ges. Schr. ii 331—340.
2 Waddington made it equivalent to 6.7 centimes.
3 Cp. Lactantius, de mortibus persecutorum, c. 7, Diocletianus, ‘cum variis iniquitatibus immensam faceret caritatem, legem pretii rerum venalium statuere conatus est. Tunc ob exigua et vilia multus sanguis effusus, nec venale quicquam metu apparebat, et caritas multo deterius exarisset, donec lex necessitate ipsa post multorum exitium solveretur’. Cp. Appendix 23 at end of vol. i of Bury’s Gibbon, ed. 1896. The edict promulgated for the same purpose at Antioch in 362 by Julian the apostate was equally unfortunate (see Ammianus Marcellinus, xxii 14, 1, and Gibbon, c. xxiv.
emperors at the head of the edict have been printed on p. 254, supra; the following passages are quoted from the preamble.

...Quis enim adeo optumsi¹ pectoris et a sensu humanitatis extorris² est, qui ignorare possit, immo non senserit in venalibus rebus, quae vel in mercimoniiis aguntur, vel diurna urbium conversatione tractantur³, in tantam se licentiam diffusisse⁴ pretiorum, ut effrenata livido⁵ rapiendi nec rerum copia nec annorum ubertatibus mitigaretur?...

His omnibus, quae supra comprehensa sunt, iuste ac merito permoti, cum iam ipsa humanitas deprecari videretur, non praetia⁶ venalium rerum—neque enim fieri id iustum putatur, cum plurimae interdum provinciae felicitate optatae vilitatis et velut quodam afluxientiae privilegio glorientur—sed modum statuendum esse consuimus, ut, cum vis aliqua caritatisemergeret⁷,—quod dii omen averterent!—avaritia, quae velut campis quadam insensitate diffusis teneri non poterat, statuti nostri finibus et moderatae légis terminis stringeretur. Placet igitur ea pretia, quae subditi brevis⁸ scriptum designat, ita totius orbis nostri observantia contineri, ut omnes intellegent egrediendi eadem licentiam sibi esse praecisam, non inpedita utique in his locis, ubi copia rerum perspicietur afluere, vilitatis baetitudine, cui maxime providetur, dum praefinita avaritia conpescitur....

Quia igitur et apud maiores nostros hanc ferendarum legum constat fuisse rationem, ut praescripto metu conpesceretur audacia—quod rarum admodum est humanam condicionem sponte beneficam deprehendi, et senper praeceptor metus iustissimus officiorum inventur esse moderator—placet, ut, siquis contra forinam statuti huius conixus fuerit audentia⁹, capitali periculo¹⁰ subiugetur....

¹ i.e. obtusi or obtusi.
² 'estranged'.
³ In wholesale or retail dealings.
⁴ For diffusisse, cp. afluentiae, seven lines lower down.
⁵ Libido. Cp. p. 198, n. 6, supra.
⁶ Elsewhere correctly spelt pretia in the same document.
⁷ The Plataean portion 'ends with this word.
⁸ 'The subjoined summary'.
⁹ 'Shall have rashly disobeyed the terms of this statute'.
¹⁰ Justinian, Inst. iv 18, 2, '(iudicia) capitalia dicimus, quae ultimo supplicio afficiunt, vel aquae et ignis interdictione, vel deportatione, vel metallo'.

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284 LATIN INSCRIPTIONS

[APP.]
Quae pretia (in singularum rerum venditionibus ex)cedere nemini licitum sit, hic infra oste(nditur).

C. I. L. iii (2) pp. 824–6, and Suppl. fasc. iii, pp. 1928 f.; Dessau, i 642 (one and a half pages).*

Here follow the maximum prices of cereals, wine, oil, meat, vegetables, and fruit. Next comes c. vii

de mercedibus operariorum

Operario rustico pasto diurni
lapidario structori ut supra diurni
fabro coctori
marmorario
musaeario
(tessell)ario
pictori parietario
pictori imaginario

*X vinginti quinque
— quinquaginta
— quinquaginta
— quinquaginta
— sexaginta
— sexaginta
— qu(inquaginta)
— septuaginta quinque
— centum quinquaginta

(followed by many other items of wages, and of prices).

Death, or deportation, is the ordinary alternative recorded in the Sententiae of Julius Paulus (fl. 222 A.D.), e.g. tit. xxi 2.

1. For a farm-labourer, who also receives his food; for the day's work, 25 denarii'. The other labourers may be identified as 'stone-mason', 'joiner', 'lime-burner', 'worker in marble', 'worker in mosaic', 'tessellated pavement maker', 'wall-painter', and 'designer of wall-paintings'.

ADDENDUM

TO NOTES ON 'RES GESTAE DIVI AUGUSTI', pp. 272–4.

We have to distinguish between four kings named Artavasdes. A. I (§ 27, 4), son of the Armenian king Tigranes I (d. 54 B.C.), and father of Artaxes and of Tigranes II (whom Augustus made king of Armenia in 20 B.C.), and grandfather of Tigranes III. He deserted Antonius in 36, and was slain in 31 by Cleopatra, who sent his head to his enemy, the Median king, Artavasdes II. A. II (§§ 32, 33), called Artabazus in § 27, 9, son of Ariobarzanes I. In 30 B.C. he fled to Augustus, who made him king of Armenia (29–20), and his son and successor, the Median king, Ariobarzanes II, king of Armenia about 1 A.D., in succession to Tigranes III. A. III, son (?) of A. I, died c. 1 B.C., but is not named by Augustus. A. IV (§ 27, 10), son of Ariobarzanes II, was king of Media and Armenia, and died before 11 A.D. See Gardthausen's Augustus, ii 151, 166, and 409, 474.
APPENDIX V

SIXTY INSCRIPTIONS EXEMPLIFYING ABBREVIATED PHRASES

La principale difficulté de l'épigraphie latine consiste dans les abréviations. Salomon Reinach, Manuel de Philologie Classique, i 107.

In Latin inscriptions, the initial letter is constantly used as an abbreviation for a single word in the case of praenomina in general, and of terms of relationship, such as filius, nepos, etc. (pp. 208, 214 supra). By an extension of this principle, a series of initial letters may be used instead of the successive words in certain conventional phrases. On abbreviations in general, see introduction to Appendix vi, infra.

The inscriptions given below are arranged under the first four customary classes, beginning in each class with the easier examples, and going on with the more difficult. For the full form of each phrase, see the subsequent List of Abbreviations.

(I) tituli sepulcrales

(1) D • M | HELIO • AFIN(IANO) | PVB • AVG | SEXTIA • PSYCHE | CONIVGI • B • M. Wilmanns, 1334 a.

(2) D • M | OPTATO • FILIO | DVLOISS • V • A • I • M • II | D • XVIII. ib. 471.

(3) D M S | LOLLIVS • VIC|TOR LIBRATOR | LEG • III • AVG | STIPENDIOR | XI ANN XXXIII | MAT • F • F • CAR.

Lambaesi; ib. 1553.

(4) M • COMINIVS | L • F • POL | MILES • LEG • I | NA • AN • L • MIL | AN • XIII • H • S • E | H • EX • T • F • C.

Bonnae; ib. 1422.

(5) Q • FABIVS • Q • F • QVIRINA | FABIANVS • ILVRCONEN SIS • IDEM • PATRICIEN|SIS • ANN • XXXXIII • PIVS | IN SVIS • H • S • E • S • T • T • L.

Hispalis; ib. 184.

(6) CAESIA • L • F • CELSA | AN • LXV • H • S • E
TE ROGO PRAETERIENS DICAS | S • T • T • L • | Q • Q • V • L • P • XII.

In Hispania; ib. 586.
(7) L · M | FLAVIORVM | QQ · V · P · L.

Aquiliae; Dessau, ii (2) 8318.

(8) T · FLAVIVS | AVG · L · CELADVS | TABULARIVS | MARMORVM | LVNEN-SIVM | V · A · XXXVII H · S · E | (in angulis) O · T · B · Q. (infra) T · T · L · S.

Prophe Romann: Dessau, i 1599.

(9) D · M | SILIO VICTORI FILIO | ET · NAEBIAE AMOEBE | COIVGI · ET · SILIAE · VICTORIAE | FILIAE SVAE | P · SILIVS VICTOR | TRITOR · ARGENTARIVS | F · S · ET S | L · L · POSTERISQVE · EO · RVMA.

Wilmanns, 2574.

(10) L · CAESIVS · L · F | CAM · BASSVS | DOMO · PISAVRI | VET · LEG · VII · C · P · F · AN · LIII · STIP · XXXIII H · S · E · T · F · I · H · P · IN · F · P · VI · IN · A · P · X.

Salinis; ib. 1438.

(11) D · M | FORTVNA TO | IVLI · FRONTO · NIS · ACTORI | PATRATA · CONIVX | BENE MERENTI | ET FILI · FECERVNT | IN · F · P · XX · IN · AGR · P · XXV | M · H · N · S.

Poleae; ib. 280.

(12) M · ALLIO · M · F · FESTO | FILIO | HOSTILIAE · C · L · SEVERAE | N · F · F · N · S · N · C.

Patavii; Dessau, ii (2) 8164.

(13) D · M | ET · MEMORIAE · AETERNAE · | CVLATTI · MELEGRAI · IIIII | VIR · AVG · | C · C · C · AVG · LVG · PATRONO · IEVSDEM · | CORPOR · ITEM · PATRONO · OANIVM · | CORPOR · LVG · LICITE · COEVNTIVM · | MEMMIA CASSIANA · CONIVNX · SARCOFAGO · CONDIDIT · ET · S · A · D.

Lugduni; Wilmanns, 2226.

(14) Q · IVLIO | SERVANO | SEVIR · AVG · C · I · P · C · N · M | LICINIA · PALLAS | MARITO · OPTIMO | INLATIS · ARCAE | SEVIR · OB · TVITIONEM · STATVAE · HS · N · O | L · D · D · D · SEVIR.

Narbonne; ib. 195.

(15) C · MATIVS · AMPHIO · PATRONVS | PRAECO · EX · TRIBVS · DECVRIS · QVI · COS · CENS · PR · APPARERE · SOLENT · APPARVIT · CAESARI · AVGSTO · MATIA · C · C · C · L · IVCVNDA · VXOR · C · MATIVS · VRBANVS · CONLIBERTVS · ARBITRATV · C · MATI · VRBANI · CONLIBERTI.

Dessau, i 1933.

(II) tituli sacri

(16) CARMINIA · L · F | PRISCA · HISTRIA · TERRAE · V · S · L · M.

In Histrin; Wilmanns, 53.

(17) INCHOATVM · EST · SACRVM · IIII · NONAS · MAIAS · CONSVMMA · TVM NONIS · EISDEM | T · Sextio · LATERANO · L · CVSPIO · RVFINO · COS · L · D · D · D.

Lugduni; 197 A.D., ib. 122.

(18) Q · VIBIVS · L · F | DIANA · V · S · EISDEM | ARAM · D · S · F · C.

Narona in Dalmatia; ib. 52.

1 idem.

(19) DIANA · AVG | P · IVLIVS | LIBERALIS · SAICERDOTALIS · P · A · II · VI(R) · I · ET · QQ · P · I · D · IN · COL · THYS | DITANA · F · P · NOMINE · FILIARVM · SVARVM I | LIARVM · DEIDIT · IDEMQ · DEDIC · D · D.

Thamugade; ib. 2358.

(20) IN · H · DD | SANCT · DIANA · ARAM | CVM · SIGNO AE · TETVS · AVGG · N · N · LIB · PP · STAT · MAIENS · XXXX · GALL · DEDIC · ID · AVG · PRAESENTE · C.

Tirol; 180 A.D.; ib. 1397.
(21) HERCVLES | INVICTE SAC|TE SILVANI NERPOS
HIC ADVE|NISTI NE QVID | HIC FIAT MALI
G • P • R • F.

Roma, in via Appia; Dessau, ii 3469.

(22) HERCVLI | INVICTO | P • LVCILIVS P • F | OV• | SVCCES,SOR • MEDIOLAN
QVOT | VOTVM | FECERAT CENTVRIO | P • P • SOL • L • M.

Tibure; ib. i 2642.

1 quod.

(23) H • V • V • S | C • IVLIVS C • F | PAL • RVFVS | TRIB • MILIVTM BIS | FAN
CVRATOR | V • Q • AB AERARIO SATVRNI.

Tibure; ib. ii 3416.

(24) I • O • M • DOL • Q • POBLICIVS MODESTIVNS | (VI VI)R ET CLAVD
CENATORVM P • S • F • L • D • D • D.

Bononiae; ib. ii 4313.

(25) I • O • M • D | ET I • O • M • H | AVR•LIVS DOMITTIVS QVM FL • CAS
TORE ET AVR • MAXIMIV FRATRIBVS EIX IVSO NVMINIS V • S • L • M.

Laibach; ib. ii 4296.

(26) I O M ET | G • H • L • PRO | SALVVE DD | NN IOVIO | ET HERCVLIO
AVGG NN.

Sirmii in Pannonia; Wilmanns, 1059.

(27) I • O • M | ET • G • M • N | G • VIB • POM • IA|NVARIVS | B • F • COS • LEG
I • ADI • V • S • L • M | II VIRIS • Q • Q • AVRR | MAXIMO • ET • ANNEO.

Novis in Dalmatia; ib. 66.

(28) D • S • I • M | FAVTORI IMPERII SVI | IOVII ET HERCVLII | RELIGIOSIS
SIMI | AVGVSTI ET CAESARES | SACRARIVM | RESTITVVERTNT.

Carnunti; Dessau, i 659 (p. 91 supra).

(29) M • D • M • I | ET ATTIDI MENO | TYRANNO CONSE|RIVATORIBVS SVI
CAE|LIVS HILARIANVS • V • C | DVODECIMBYR (sic) VRBIS ROMÆ | P • S • E
HIEROCERYX | I • M • S • D • L • S • D | HECATE | D • N • GRATIANO • AVG • E
MEROBAVDE | CONSS • III • IDVS | MAIAS.

Roma in fundamentis basilicae Vaticanae, 377 A.D.; Wilmanns, 114.

(30) SALVTI EX VOTO | Q • PLAVTIVS IVSTVS AEDIL • ARIM • N • S • ET
CASSIAE • THREPTES • C • S • ET | Q • PLAVTI • VEREVCVNDI • F • S • AEDEM • S
A • DED | H • A • S • A • H • L • L • Q • D • R • IN A.

Arimini; ib. 102.

(III) tituli honorarii

(31) GENIO | M • CASSII | M • SATRIVS | VITVLVS • H • C.

Taurinis; Wilmanns, 239.

(32) L • SEPTIMIO | MANNO | C • V • • CONCILIVM | P • H • C.

Tarracone; ib. 656.

(33) CN • BAEBIO • CN • F • TAMPOLO • VALAE | NVMONIANO • Q • PR • PRO
COS • III • VIR • A • A • A • F • F.

ib. 1117; Dessau, i 903.

(34) C • IVLIO C • F • CAESARI | IMP • TRIMVIRO R • P • C • PATRONO | D • E
In Samnio; Dessau, i 76.

(35) LIBERTATI • AB • IMP • NERVA • CA(ES)ARE • AVG • ANNO • AB • VRBE
CONDITA • DCCCXXXIX • XIII • K • OCT • RESTITV(TAE) | S • P • Q • R.

Wilmanns, 64.

(36) M • AVRELO | CAESARI | D • D • P • P.

Thamugade; ib. 677.
(37) FORTISSIMO ET CLEMENTISSIMO IMP. CAES. M. AVR. CARO | INVICTO AVG. P. M. T. P. COS. II. P. P. PROCONSVL. M. AVR. VALENTINIANVS V. C. P. P. | HISP. CIT. LEG. AVG. PR. PR. D. N. M. Q. | EVS.

Tarracone; Dessau, i 599.

(38) IM. CAES. T. AELIO | HADRIANO | ANTONINO | AVG. PIO. P. P. | M. CAELIVS | M. F. HORATAIA | SATVRNINV. OB HOMOR. QQ. I. N. LAT. SVM. | HONORARIA EX H. V. N. POSVIT | IDEMQ. DED. D. D.

Thamugadi; Wilmanns, 681.

(39) Q. POMPEIO | Q. F. QVIR. SENECION} | ——PRAEF. | FERIARVM. LAT. NARVM. QQ. PATRONO | MVNICIPII. SALIO. CVRATORI. FANI. H. V. | S. P. Q. T.

Tibur; ib. 1194.

(40) MEMOR. P. TERENTI | L. F. CLA. AED. II. VIR. | T. VETTVS. GNE. SIVS. | IN OPVS. ORNAMENT. | H. S. CCCD. DED. XX P. R. D.

Concordiae in Venetia; ib. 2141.

(41) Q. LARONIVS. Q. F. (AVGVR. | L. LIBERTIVS C. F. PONT. MAX. IIII V. D. C. P. EX. S. C. | CON. IIS—

Vibone; Dessau, ii 6463.

(42) CAMVRENAE. C. F. | CERELINAE. FLAM. FERON. MVNICIPI. SEPTEM. P. EDANORVM. MVNICIPE. ET INCOLAE. TVF. (ICENSES). VTRIVSQ. SEXVS | OB. MERITA. EIVS. H. A. I. R.

Tusici in Umbria; Wilmanns, 683.

(43) L. AFILANO. L. F. | AN. PROVINCIAL. | EQVO. P. ORNAT. | LVPERCO DESIG. | HVIC ORDO. STATV. IAM. DECREVIT. L. AFILANVS. VERECVN. | DVS. H. V. S. R.

Astile in Latio; Dessau, ii 4946.

(44) A. VETTVIVM. FIRMVM. | AED. O. V. F. D. R. P. O. V. F. PILICREP. | FACITE.

Pompeiis; Wilmanns, 1955 g.

(45) CALIBVS. IN CVRIA. TORQ. (VATIANA). VITR. (ASIANA). SCRIB. ADF. | TI. CL. FELIX. TI. CL. CALENVS. Q. SER. | PRISCVS.


ib. 605.

(IV) tituli operum publicorum

(46) ANSIA. TARVI. F. | RVFA. EX. D. D. CIRC. | LVCVM. MACER. ET. MVCM. ET. IANV. D. S. P. F. C.

In Lucania; Dessau, ii 5430.

(47) EXCVBITORIVM. AD. TVTTEL. | SIGNOR. ET. IMAGIN. | SACRAR. P. TVR. RAN. FIRMANVS. VET. EX. | CORNIC. LEG. | II. ADI. ANTO. NINIANE. P. S. A. SOLO. RES. | SABINO. II. ET. ANVLLINO. C.

Aquinci in Pannonia; 216 A.D.; Wilmanns, 736.

(48) L. ANINIVS. L. F. CAPRA. IIII VIR. ITER. | APOLLINIS. AED. ET. CIRCVM. AEDEM. | MVROS. D. S. P. R. C.

Setiae; Dessau, ii 5397.

S. L. I.

19
(49) M · ACILIVS A · F · VOT · — — | PRAEF · AERARI MILITAR · PONTIF
VOLCANI ET AEDIVM | SACRAR · P · C · CLVPEVM ARGENT · CVM IMAGINI
AVREA D · D · L · D · D · D.

Ostiae; ib. 5451.

(50) M · LVVCIVS · M · F · C · VEIENVS · C · F · IIII · VIR · I · D · S · C · PONTEM
FACIV · CVR · PROBARYNTQ.

Snoleti; Wilmanus, 792.

(51) CN · CORNELIVS · L · F · GAL · CINNA · II · VIR · MVRVM LONG · P · CII · E
D · D · F · C · I · Q · P.

Carthagine nova in Hispania; Dessau, ii 5332.

(52) T · AIENVS · V · F · M(ENO)PIL · L · LVCIDIVS · L · L · BILLO · Q · CAESI
ENVS · C · F · POST · C · OPISIVS · C · F · | M(AG) · (P)A(G) · I · D · V · S · F · C
I · Q · P.

Furfone in Vestinis; Wilmanus, 705.

(53) C · FAESASIVS T · F · | P · APPEDIVS P · F · | AQUILA CVR · FAN · | PORTI
CVM ALAM · D · PAG · S · F · C · ID · Q · P.

In Vestinis; Dessau, ii 5545.

(54) M · TERENTIVS · M · F · VARRO · LVCVLLVS · PRO · PR · TERMINOS · RE
STITVENDOS · EX · S · C · COERAVIT · QVA · P · LICIIVS · AP · CLAVDIVS · C ·
GRACCVS · III · VIR · A · D · A · I · STATVERVT.

Inter Pias unrum et Fannum; Wilmanns, 861; cp. Dessau, i 26.

(55) IMP · CAESAR DIVI F · AVGYSTVS PONTIFEX MAXIMVS TRIBVNIC · PO
TEST · XVII · EX · S · C · TERMINAVIT (In latere dextro) R · R · PROX · CIPP · PED
XXIV · (In postico) R · R · PROX · CIPP · PED · CCV.

Romae, in dextra ripa Tiberis, Dessau, ii 5924 b.

(56) IMP · CAES · DIVI HADRIANIVS F · ANTONINO AVG · PIO P · P · SEXTILIVS
DEXTRI FIL · CELSVS ARCV · A FYNDAMENTIS CVM GRADIVS ET STATVA
S · P · F · ID · Q · DED · D · D.

In Africa; ib. ii 5569.

(57) IVNIA D · F · RVSTICA SACERDOS · |... PORTICVS ... · D · P · S · D · D
STATVAS SIBI ET C · FABIO | IVNIANO F · SVO AB ORDINE CARTIMITANORVM
DECRETAS · | REMISSA IMPENSA IITEM STATVAM C · FABIO Fabiano Viro SVC
D · P · S · F · D.

Cartimae in Baetica; ib. ii 5512.

(58) MELIA ANNIANA IN MEMOR · Q · LAEPICI Q · F · SERG · BASSI MARIT
SVI EMPORIVM STEERNI ET ARCV · FIERI ET STATVAS SVERPONI TEST
IVSS · EX HS · DC · D · XX · P · R.

Zarae in Dalmatia; ib. ii 5598.

(59) CN · MELISSAEO CN · F · APRO M · STAIO M · F · RVFO II · VIR · ITER
I · D · LABRVM EX D · D · EX P · P · F · C · CONSTAT IIS DCCL.

Pompes; ib. ii 5726.

(a) NE QVIS IN OPPIDO COLON · IVL · AEDIFICVMA DETEGITO NEW
DEMOLITO NEVE DISTVRBATI NISI SI PRAEDES IIVIR · ARBITRATV DEDERIU
SE RERAEDIFICATVRVM (sic) AVT NISI DECVRIONES DECREDERINT DVM NI
MINVS L · ADSINT CVM E · R · CONSVLATVR SI QVIS AVERSVS EA FECE · Q
E · R · E · T · P · C · G · I · D · D · E · EIVSQ · PECVniae QUI VOLET PETITIK
PERSECVTIOQ · EX H · L · ESTO.

(b) IVS IVRANDVUM ADIGITO PER IOVEM DEOSQVE PENATES SESE PECV
NIAM PVBLICAM EIVS COLON · CONVSTODITVRVM RATIONESQVE VERA!
HABITVRVM ESSE V · Q · R · F · E · V · S · D · M · NEQVE SE FRAVDEM PEI
LITTERAS FACTVRVM ESSE SC · D · M.

Lex coloniae Genetiviae Iuliae; ib. ii 6087, §§ 73, 81.
APPENDIX VI

ABBREVIATIONS

The brevity and the conventionality characteristic of Latin inscriptions are exemplified by the constant use of shortened forms for words of frequent occurrence. Abbreviations used in Roman laws are contained in a treatise by Valerius Probus (a grammarian of the first century of our era), first printed by Mommsen in 1853, and reprinted by him, with several similar treatises, in 1864. It begins with the words: est etiam circa perscribendas vel paucioribus litteris notandas voces studium necessarium. Hence it has been supposed that it probably formed a part of a general treatise De notis. There were also special forms used in the superscriptions of letters.

These abbreviations were anciently known as notae, or litterae singulares (or singulariae), and in later Latin as siglae, the term sigla being used in the nominative singular in the sense of littera singula. They usually consist of the first letter, or of the first two or five consecutive letters of the word. Thus T stands for Titus, " or TIB for Tiberius; and PR, PRAE or PRAEF for praefectus.

Originally there was no distinction of number, H stood for heres or for heredes. But, early in our era, it became customary to denote the plural of a praenomen by doubling it. Thus, under Tiberius, we have C · PEDANIVS · C · C · L, Gaius Pedanius Gaio-

2 List in Roby, Latin Grammar, i 462.
3 Festus, s.v.... 'litterae singulae aut binae'.
4 Gellius, xvii 9, 1.
rum duorum libertus. C · C soon became CC, and, in the second century, this reduplication was extended to the final consonant of the abbreviations for Augustus and consul, AVGG standing for Augusti duo, and COSS for consules duo. It was also extended to the titles and epithets of emperors, such as DD · NN for domi nostri, and IMP, CAESS, AVGG for imperatores, Caesares, Augusti. Similarly AVGGG stand for Augusti tres, and even DDDD NNN FFFF LLLL, for dominis nostris Flaviis quattuor, 'our four Flavian emperors'. The same principle was sometimes carried still further.

 Compound words may be expressed by the first letter (or letter of the whole word, or of each of its component parts. The beneficiarius may appear either as B, or as B · F, and praepositus as PRAEP or as P · P. For purposes of abbreviation, the enclitique and ve are generally treated as separate words; populusque becomes P · Q. The above principles were maintained until about 300 A.D., when a certain amount of confusion was introduced by treating simple words as compounds; and by using non-consecutive letters for their abbreviations, as Q · D for quondam, PBL for publicus, and MCP for municipii.

 Some abbreviations are in general use, those denoting praemana being found in ordinary Latin literature. Others, which are seldom or never used in literature, are found in all classes of inscriptions, while some are characteristic of particular classes, or are confined to special regions. Certain exceptionally ambiguous abbreviations of names of places (such as C · B and C · N) are only intended for local use. But, for the most part, the same abbreviations are found in inscriptions representing widely distant districts of the ancient Roman world.

1 C. I. L. vi 4397.
2 ib. viii 27, cp. Dessau, iii (2) pp. 795 f.
5 P · P, for permisso proconsulis, is only found in Africa, and is very doubtful.
6 Cp. Mommsen, l.c., 131 (Ges. Schr. vii 210), 'Formeln...die nur dure den Ort wo sie sich ursprünglich fanden, und auch dann nur für Eingeweiht verständlich waren.'
In Latin inscriptions, in general, the conventional element is peculiarly prominent. The same facts are usually stated in the same phrases or *formulae*, or expressed in brief by means of the same abbreviations. Thus, in epitaphs, we have the widely extended use of the same conventional phrase, *sit tibi terra evis*, and of the corresponding abbreviation, S·T·T·L. This widely extended use of similar phrases, and similar abbreviations, suggests the probable existence of professional manuals for the guidance of makers of inscriptions.

Lists of abbreviations have been collected in Zell's *Handbuch der römischen Epigraphik*, Orelli-Henzen's *Inscriptiones Latinae*, in the *indices* of the several volumes of the *Corpus Inscriptionum*, and in the *Exempla* of Wilmanns. One of the most complete lists in any single work is that supplied by Cagnat in his *Cours d'Épigraphie*, which has been followed by Egbert and by Ricci. The accompanying index, in which the practical needs of the student have been primarily kept in view, has been founded mainly on that of Wilmanns, with some necessary additions from Cagnat's list, and from that of Dessau. It also includes references to abbreviations quoted in the course of the present work.


2 This *formula* is frequently used either separately, or as part of a verse. In Bücheler's *Carmina Epigraphica* (1897) out of 34 examples of the latter, we find 7 in Rome (1040, 1269, 1456, 1460, 1462 f., 1537); 8 in the rest of Italy (1075, 1088, 1101, 1130, 1308, 1318, 1324, 1482); 11 in Spain (1103, 123, 1193 f., 1316, 1451-4, 1457, 1566), where it is sometimes abbreviated; 1 in Germany (1082, 1100, 1104, 1461); and 4 in Africa (1328-30, 1455). On the other hand, O·B·Q, *ossa bone quiescent* (with its variations), is common in Africa, but rare elsewhere (Wilmanns, 186 n).


4 i (1850) 443-8, and ii (1852) 55-8, 142-5, 168 f., 176 f., 193-6.

5 ii 710-737. The *litterae singulares et scripturae compendia* in Hübner's *Exempla*, p. Ixxii f., are limited to the initial letters which are either inverted, or have lines drawn above or across them. (Cp. Cagnat, 405 f.)

6 pp. 408-73, founded largely on the *Indices of the Corpus*.

7 iii ii (1916), pp. 752-851.

8 References such as *App. v 55* denote the numbers of the several inscriptions in Appendix V.
ABBREVIATIONS

A S a solo, — F fecerunt; — F C faciundum curavit, -verunt: also amico suo (or sanctissimo); a sa- crisis; a senatu

ASC ascia

AV augur; Augustus; Aulus; Aurelius; aurum

A V ædiles vici; amphora vini; argentia unciae; ave (vix ave vale); agens, vices, — L legati; — P prae- sidis

AVG augur (p. 223), Augustalis (App. v 13), Augustus (-a), pp. 138, 140; Augustodunum

AVG N Augustus noster, p. 219, AVGG NN Augusti nostri, Augustorum nostrorum (App. v 20)

AVR Aurelius, AVR (App. v 27)

B

B beneficia, beneficiarius; bonus

B B bonis bene (Dessau, 445, 4493, 8137, perscr. 8428), — M M malis male (C.I. viii 8739)

BBVV boni viri, — QQ — quinquen- nales

B D Bona dea; — R Bona dea restituta vel -trix (Dessau, 3501 f)

B D S M bene de se merenti

B F beneficiarius (App. v 27), bonum factum; bona fortuna; bos feminina

B F A IVNCT boves feminac cu auro 

BIS VI AVG bisellarius (pp. 78, 229) sevir Augustalis

B M(a) bene merenti (p. 62, App. v 1), merito-ae; — F fecit; — F C faciundum curavit; — F D S fecerunt de suo; — M C memoriae causa; — P posuit; — P C ponendum cu- ravit

B M(b) bona mens; bonae mem-oriae; (c) bos mas

B Q bene quiescat, p. 64

BR Britannia, Britannicus, p. 154

BRIT(O) Brittones, Britones

BRIT(T) Brit(it)anicus

B R P N bono rei publicae natus

B V bene valeas (Cagnat, perscr. Dessau, 6156; bene vale

B V IX bene vixit (Cagnat)

B V C, BVC (IN) buccinator

B V V balnea vina Venus (Dessau, 8157)

C

C Caesar; Gaius, pp. 35, 60; Kalen- dae; candidatus; castra; cen- suere; centurio; cives, civitas; clarissimus, p. 117; Claudius -a; cohors; colonia; comitialis, p. 173; coniux; consule, App. v 20; curator, curavit ·verunt, curante -tibus; curia

C Gaia, pp. 60, 219; coniux, fe- mina; centuria, centurio; con- scriptor

CA candidatus; carissimus -a

C A colonia Agrippinensis (Cologne); curam agenter; custos armorum, p. 208

C A A M colonia Aelia (? Augusta Mediolanium (Milan)

C A AQ colonia Aurelia Aquen- sium (Baden-Baden), Wilm. 842

C A D A I colonis agrorum dan- dorum adsignandorum isus

CAE(S) N Caesar noster, p. 219

CAM(IL) Camilla (tribu), p. 215, App. v 10

C A N colonia Augusta Nemausus (Nimes)

C A V centuria accensorum vel- torum

CAP IT capitalis

C AQ civis Aquensis

CAR M Carpicus maximus

C B colonia Beneventana

C BEL civis Bellovacus (Beuvais)

C B M coniugi bene merui, — F fecit, — P posuit

CC Caesares; Gai duo

CC ducenarius, p. 226

C C censorum cuncti; certa con- stans (legio); collegium cento- nariorum; colonia Claudia; (ex) conscriptor consulto; (agens) curam carceris

C C A colonia Caesaar Augusta (Saro- gossa); caius curam agit

C C A A colonia Claudia ara Agrippi- pinensis (Cologne)

C C A A coloni coloniae Augustae Alexandrianae Abellinatum (Abellinum)

C C C tres Gai — L trium Gaio- rum liberta (App. v 15); coire convocari cogi; colonia Copia Claudia (Lyon); cum consilio col-locutus, — D dixit

C C C trecenarius, p. 226
C.·C.·C. AVG·LVG(VD) colonia
Copía Claudia Augusta Lugdunum, p. 197 (Lyon)
C.·C.·C.·IVL coloni coloniae Claritatis Iuliae (sc. Vcubitanorum in Hispania Baetica)
C.·C.·G·I(VL) (App. v 60) colonis coloniae Genetivae Iuliae, p. 158 (Urso, Osuna)
CC·II clarissimi iuvenes
C.·C.·I·K colonia Concordia Iulia Karthago
C.·C.·P coloni coloniae Patriciae (Corduba)
C.·C.·P clarissimi pueri
C.·C.·R coloni coloniae Romulensis (Hispalis (Seville)); curator civium Romanorum
CC·VV (vel C·C·V·V) clarissimi viri (pl.)
C·D compositi; conscriptorum decreto; consulto decurionum
C·D·D cultor domus divinae
C·E coniux eius; curam egit
C·E·B·Q cineres eius bene quiescant
CEN(S), CES censor; CENS censuit, -erunt
C·F Gai filius (filiam); carissima filia; clarissima femina; coniux fecit
C·F·C coniux facundum curavit; censores curaverunt
CH, COH, CHOR cohors
C·I clarissimus juvenis (p. 193)
C·I·F·S colonia Iulia Felix Sinope
C·I·K colonia Iulia Karthago
C·I·P·A colonia Iulia Paterna Arelate (Arles)
C·I·P·C·N·M colonia Iulia Paterna Claudia Narbo Martius (App. v 14, Narbonne)
C·L cives Latini; colonia Lambae sitana
CL clarissimus, p. 193 f; classis, p. 154; Claudius, -a (tribu), p. 215
C·L Gai libertus (a) (App. v 12)
C·L mulieris libertus, — J — liberta
CLA (App. v 40) Claudia (tribu); classis
CL·AS·PR classis praetoria; — MIS(S) Misenatum
CLAVD (App. v 24) Claudialis
CL·BR classis Britannica
CL·F clarissima femina
CL·G·P·F classis Germanica pia fidelis
CL·PR(AET) classis praetoria
CL·V clarissimus vir, p. 193; CL V Clustumina (tribu), p. 215
C·M·V clarissimae memoriae vir; — F femina; — P puer
CN Gnaeus (pp. 35, 60, 208)
C·N Caesar noster; colonia nostra — Nemausensium (Nimes); civitas Nattabutum (Africa), Dessau 6804
COD·TR codicillarius tribuni
COER coeravit, -erunt
COH cohors; COHH cohortes
COH·I·C·R cohors I civium Romanorum; COH·I·F(L)·D(AMAS)
C·E·Q·SAG cohors I Flavia Da mascenorum milliaria equitata sa gittariorum, Dessau, 215
COH·PR cohors praetoria, — VIC vigilum; — VRB urbana
COIR coiraverunt
COL collega, collegium; Collina colonia, p. 220; columbarium
COL·BEN colonia Beneventum, — DAC — Dacia, — FL·AVG — Flavia Augusta (Puteoli); — HEL — Heliolopolitanum; Helvetium, — IVL·G — Italia Gemina (Accis ve Acci, Wilm. 1056, Guadix), — I·V·T — Italia Victrix Triumphi (Tarraconensis), — SAR(M) — Sar mizegetusa, — SARN·MILEV — Sarniensis Milevitana (Numidia) — SEP — Septimia (Africa), — SIP — Sipontinorum (Sipontum) — TARR — Tarraconensis, — VAL — Valeria, — VEN — Veneria (Rusicade, Cirta), — VEN COR — Veneria Cornelia (Pompeii) — VLP·OESC — Vlpii Oscensis (in Moesia); COL·SEF coloniae servus
COL·CENT collegium centonario rum; — FAB — fabrum
COL·HORR coloniae horrearius, — L(IB) — libertus(-a)
COLL Collina (tribu, p. 215); collegium, — AER — aerarium; — CENT — centonarium, — FAB(R) — fabrum; — S·S — supra scriptum
COM comes, — S·C — sacri con sistorii; COM commentariensis — L — commentariorum loco.
COM commilitonis; CO·M cum omnibus meis
CON constat (App. v 41); coniugi;
— B·M — bene merenti, — KAR
— carissimo (ae)
COND conductor, -ductio
CONL conlegium
CONS consul (cent. 3); — ORD —
ordinarius; consularis, — MEM·V
consularis memoriae vir; CONSS
console, -ibus (in or after Dioclet-
tian)
COR co(ho)rtis, -te
COR Cornelia (tribu, p. 215); -us;
COR Cornelia
COR corona, — AVR — aurea,
— CLASS — classica, — MVR —
muralis, — VALL — vallaris
COR(N) vel CORNIC (App. v 47)
cornicularius, — PR — praefecti,
— S·PR — subpraefecti, —
TR(IB) — tribuni
CORP·CUST corporis custos
CORR corrector (p. 224)
COS consul (pp. 135, 194, 223), con-
sulibus, consularis; COS·AMPL
— amplissimus, — ORD — ordi-
narius; COS·A·A·S·E·V con-
sul alter ambobe si eis videretur;
COS consulis
COS·AD·LEG·II·AD, (C·R cives
Romani) consistentes ad legionem
II adiutricem (Wilm. 2411)
C·P Castor (et) Pollux; castra pere-
grina; censoria potestate; clarissi-
mus puer (p. 193); coniugi pient-
tissimae; — Q·K clarissimus puer
quaestor candidatus (Wilm. 1230d)
C·P·F (legio) Claudia pia fidelis
(App. v 10)
C·P·P conductus publicus portorii
C·R civis(es) Romanus(i), civitas
Romana
C·R·M cives Romani Mogontiaci
(Mayence, Mainz)
C·R·P curator rei publicae
CRV Crust. (vel Clust.)-umina (tribu)
C·S carus suis (p. 64); coniugi(s)
suae (App. v 30); cum suis
C·S·O cum suis omnibus
C·T civitas Tolosa (Toulonse)
C·T(R) codicillarius tribuni; C·
TR(E) civitas Treverorum (Tônes,
Trier)
C·V clarissimus vir (p. 193, App. v
32); civitas (vel colonia) Viennens-
is; civitas Vipcia
CV (C·V) cura, curator
CVB (IC or ICV) cubicularius
CVR curavit, curaverunt, curante,
curantibus, curator -tores (p. 224;
App. v 53); curia.
CVR·AER curator aerarii, — ALV·
TIB alvei Tiberis, — ANN anno-
nae, — IVV juventutis, — MIN Mi-
niciae, — P·P pecuniae publicae, —
R·P rei publicae, — VIAR —
viarum (p. 120)
CVR·AG curam agent
CVST custos
C·V·T·P colonia Vlpia Traiana
Petovio (Pannonia superior, Pet-
tau)
CYR Cyrene, Cyrenaia (legio)

D

D Dacia; Decimus; decreto; de-
curia, decurio(nes); dat, dedit,
p. 86, dederunt, datum; defunctus,
denarius; designatus; deus, dea;
dies, die, diebus; discens; divus;
dixit; dominus; Domitius; domo;
donum, donat, donatus; duplarius;
dux
B defunctus; quingentaria (ala); di-
cit; dies; domo
D·A defunctus annorum ...; deae
Augustae; deo aeterno
DAC Dacia, Dacicus; DA·M Da-
cicus maximus
DAT·COLL·S·S datum collegio
supra scripto
D·C decreto conscriptorum; decu-
ritionum consulta (vel consensu);
decurio civitatis, coloniae
D·C·R·MOC decurio civium Ro-
manorum Mogontiaci; cp. C·R·M
D·C(O LL)·S de collegii sententia
D·C·S de conscriptum (vel con-
sili) sententia
D·C·S·C de conscriptum senten-
tia curaverunt
DD dedicatum
D·D damnas damnates; dare de-
bebit; dea Dia; dea Diana; de-
creto decurionum (p. 109; App.
v 19, 34, 38, 46, 56, 59); dedit, de-
dicavit; dis deabus; donum (vel
dono) dedit etc. (pp. 85 f); domini
duo; dominus divina (App. v 20):
decreto decurionum et dono dat in
eodem titulo Dessau, 5918
D·D·D datum decreto decurionum; deo donum dedit; domini tres; dono dedit dedicavit (p. 86); duplum dare debeto

D·D·ADL vel ALLECT decreto decurionum decurio adlectus

D·D·E·S dare damna (damnates) esto (suntio), cp. App. v 60

DDNNN domini nostri tres

D·D·H·C decreto decurionum hic consecravit

D·L·D·D·D dono dedit (vel dedicate) loco dato decreto decurionum (App. v 49)

D·D·L·M dono dedit libens merito

DDNN domini nostri duo

D·D·P decreto decurionum publice, — P(EC)·P(VB) pecunia publica (App. v 36); — P·P permissu proconsulis (?); p. 292, n. 5

D·D·Q dedicavitque

D·D·S de decurionum sententia; — F·C faciendum curavit

D·D·S·P dedit de sua pecunia

D·D·V·L·L·M dono dedit votum laetus libens merito (Wilm. 1572)

DEC decessit; decreto; decuria, -allis; decurio, -ones, -onatus; DECC decuriones; DEC·DEC decurialis decuriae; decurionum decreto

DE·CONL·SENT de collegii sententia

DE·C·S de consili sententia

DED dedit; DED(IC) dedicavit, dedicatus etc.

DED·XX·P·R·D (App. v 40) deducta vigesima populi Romani dedit

DEF defunctus (p. 196)

DEP depositus

DE·PAG·SEN·FAC·COER (cp. App. v 53) de pagi sententia faciendum coerarunt

D·E·R de ea re, — I·C ita censerunt

DES designatus

DE·S·P de sua pecunia

DE·S(EN)·S(ENT) de senatus sententia

D·F dare facere; decima facta; de figlínis; dulcisimae filiae; dabit fisco

DIC dicavit; DIC·N·M·Q dicatus numini maiestatique —

DIC(T) dictator

DIF(F) diffusum (vinum) p. 155

DIG(N) dignus

D·I·M dis inferis Manibus

D·I(NV)·M deo invicto Mithrae (p. 91)

DIM dimidia; DIS(P) dispensator

D·M·P dolus malus: — A abesto, — ET·I·C et ius civile, perscr. C.I.L. vi (2) 8862 = Bruns, Fontes, 141, 4 (Gradenwitz, Simulacra, xxxi b); vel iuris consultus, perscr. Dessau, 8365: domino meo (collar. serv.); Bruns, 159, 2 (Gradenwitz, xxiv)

D(IS)·M(AN) dis Manibus (pp. 62, 64, 77); — ET·M et memoriae; — S sacrum (p. 62, App. v 3)

DISP dispensator; dispurator

D·L dat libens

D·M·ID (mater) deum magna Idae (cf.)

D·N dominus noster, -na nostra

D·N·M(Al)·E vel M(Al)·Q(VE)·E(IVS) devotus numini maiestatique eius (App. v 37)

DO domesticus; domino; donum, donatus

DOL doliaris; Dolichenus (p. 60)

DON donavit; DON DON donis donatus

D·P de praedidis; de pecunia; dis penatibus; donum posuit

D·P·E devotus pietati eius

D·P·P de pecunia publica

D·P(AG)·S de pagi sententia (App. v 53)

D·P·S de pecunia sua (p. 88), — D dedit vel dedicavit, — D·D dono dedit, vel dedicat (App. v 27); — F·D factam dedit (ib.), — P posuit

D·Q·C decurio quaestor

D·Q·L·S·T·T·L dic qui legis: sit tibi terra levis (Spain and Africa, Wilmanns, 180 n); p. 293

D·R·P dignum rei publicae (App. v 44)

D·S de suo, — D dedit; D·D dono (-num) dedit (vel dedicavit, vel dedicavit); EX·V·P ex votis posuit; — F fecit, — F·C (App. v 18) faciendum curavit, — L·L·N laetus libens merito; — P posuit — L·D·D·D loco dato decreto decurionum; — R restituerunt

D·S·L·M (p. 91; App. v 28) Dec Soli invicto Mithrae

D·S·P de sua pecunia; — D dedit — D·D dono dedit; — EX·D·C ex decreto decurionum; — F fecit

DIG(A)·S(donum) de usu decreto decurionum
FEL·IVL·OLIS Felicitas Iulia Oli-

sipo, perscr. Wilm. 973 (Lisbon)
FER·LAT feriae Latinae
F·ET·F filii et filiae
F·F faustus felix; filius (filia) fecit,
filii fecerunt; Flavia felix (legio); 
fiscus frumentarius
F·I fieri iussit
FID(EL) fidelis (legio)
FIG(L) figulus, figilinae (p. 153)
FL Flavius
FL(AM) flamen (p. 223); FLAM-
AVG flamen Augustalis, vel flami-
nica Augustae (Wilmanns, 2209);
— CLAVD flamen Claudialis, —
MART Martialis, — P(ER)P per-
petuus, — QVIR Quirinalis, —
— ROM·ET·AVG Romae et
Augusti
F·LOC faciendum locarunt
F·L·P funus locum publice, Dessau,
6473 (ep. Wilmanns, 296 n)
FORT·HÖRR Fortunae horreorum
F·P (a) flamen perpetuus; (b) fru-
mentum publicum; (c) funus pub-
licum; (d) Fortuna primigenia
F·P·C filius ponendum curavit
F·P·D·D Fortunae Primigeniae do-
num dant
F·P·V fundus possessoris veteris
FR (a) frater, — ARV Arvalis (p.
223); (b) frumentarius
FR(ET) (legio) Fretensis
FRVM frumentum, -tarius
F·S (App. v 30) filii sui
F·S·A (ala) Flavia singulariorum
Antoniniana
F·S·ET·S fecit sibi et suis, —
L·L·P·Q·E libertis libertabur
posteirice (App. v 9)
F·S·S fit summa summarum
FVL Fulvius
FVL·CON·P fulgur conditum pub-
lice
FVL(M)·C·C (legio) Fulminata
certa constans
FVN funus

G

G Gaius (p. 89; App. v 27, Hübner
in C.I.L. ii p. 715; Wilmanns,
66; Genius; (legio) Gallica;
(legio) Gemina, G·F Gemina felix,
G·M·V Gemina Martia victrix,
G·P·F Gemina pia fides

GAL Galatia; Galeria (tribu, App.
v 51); GAL(L) Gallia, Gallia-
rum (ib. 20); GALL (legio) Gallica
GE(M) (legio) Gemina, — P·F pia
fides; SEV Severiana
GEN Genius; GEN·ET·HON genio
et honori (p. 109)
GER(M) vel GERMAN Germania,
Germanicus (App. v 26)
G·H·L Genius huius loci; G·M
Genius municipii; G·M·N Genius
municipii Novensium (Buonovich);
G·P·R Geno populi Romani
(p. 83); — F feliciter (App. v 21)
G·S Germania superior

H

H Hercules; heres, heredes; His-
paina; homo, homines; hora
H·A haec ara (p. 64); h. aram,
domus h. aeterna (Dessau, 8180,
8192)
H·ADQ (vel AQ) hic adquiescit
H·A·H·N·S haec ara heredem non
sequetur
H·A·I·R (p. 110; App. v 42) ho-
nore accepto impensam remisit,
cp. Wilmanns, 301 n 2
H·A·S·A·H·L·L·Q·D·R·I·N·A
(App. v 30) habet aedes Salutis
Augustae hoc loco leges quas
Dianae Romae in Aventino
HAS·PR hastatus prior, — primus,
HAST·POS(TER) hastatus pos-
terior
H·B·M·F heres bene merenti fecit
H·B·Q hic bene quiescit
H·C hic conditus (vel cubat); His-
paina cietor (App. v 32); honoris
causa (p. 109; App. v 31); honor
centus, H·C·I·R — impen-
sam remisit; H·C·E hic conditus
est; H·C·S·P·P — sua pecunia
possit (p. 110), — C·E·B·Q
cineres eius bene quiescant
H·E·N·H heredem exterum non
habebit, H·E·N·S — non se-
quetur, p. 64
HER heres, hereditates; HER·B·M
heres bene merenti: — P possit
H·E·S hic est situs...
H·E(X)·T·F heres ex testamento
fecit, H·E(X)·T·F·C — faciun-
dum curavit (App. v 4)
H·F heres fecit, H·F·C faciundum curavit; H·H·Q heres heredesque; H·P heres posuit, heredes posuerunt; H·P·C heres ponendum curavit.

H·F honore functus; honesta femina.

H·H·Q heres heredesque.

His(P) Hispana, Hispania.

H·L hac lege (App. v 60); hic locus (p. 64), huius loci; H·L·D·M·A huic dolus malus abesto (p. 64 f); H·L hic locus (vel H·L·E·T·M hic locus et monumentum, vel H·L·S hic locus sepultrae, H·N·S) heredem non sequetur.

H·L·I·R·Q hac lege ius ratumque (esto).

H·L·O (uti) hac lege oportebit.

H·L·R (ante) hanc legem rogatam.

H·M hoc monumentum, — A·H·N·P ad heredem non pertinent, — F·C·E·T·S·A·D faciundum curavit et sub ascia dedicavit, — H·N·S heredem non sequetur (p. 64, App. v 11; cp. Wilmanns, 280 n; paene perscr. Dessau, 8401, cp. 8281), — H·E·N·S heredem exterum non sequetur, — S·S·H·N·S sive sepulcrum heredem non sequitur; H·M·D·M·A huic monumento dolus malus abesto; H·M·S·D·M·C hoc monumentum sine dolo malo: cp. Bruns, Fontes, 172, iura sepulcrorum, §§ 1—22.

H·M·S·M honesta missione missus (p. 228).

H·N·S heredem non sequetur.

H·N·S heredem non sequetur.

H·N·S heredem non sequetur.

H·N·S heredem non sequetur.

H·N·S heredem non sequetur.

H·N·S heredem non sequetur.

H·N·S heredem non sequetur.

H·N·S heredem non sequetur.

H·N·S heredem non sequetur.

H·R·I·R honore recepto impensam remisit: cp. H·A·L·R.

H·S hic situs; H·S·B·Q hic situs bene quiescas; H·S·T·F·I hic situs testamento fieri iussit; H·S·E hic situs est (p. 60, App. v 4, 5, 6, 8, 10), — H·E·X·T·F·C heres ex testamento faciundum curavit, — H·F heres fecit, — H·F heredes posuerunt, — O·T·B·Q ossa tua bene quiescant, — O·V·B·Q ossa volo bene quiescant, — S·T·T·L sit tibi terra levis, — T·F·I·H·F·C titulum fieri iussit, heres faciundum curavit (vel H·P heres posuit).

H·S·D·M·A huic sepulcro dolus malus abesto.

H·S·H·N·S hoc sepulcrum heredem non sequetur; H·S·N·S heredem secundum non sequetur.

H·S·N (App. v 14), or HS·N·V sestertium humnum.

H·S·S hic siti sunt.

H·T·B·Q hic tumulus bene quiescas; H·T·H·N·S hic tumulus heredem non sequetur.

H·T·F·C heredes testamento fieri curaverunt.

H·V (a) Hercules Victor (App. v 39), H·V·V·S (ib. 23) Herculi Victoris votum solvit; (b) honore usus, H·V·I·R — impensam remisit, — S·R sumptum remisit (ib. 43).

I

I invictus (Mithras), p. 91.

I, IN, or INL in humiliis (pp. 117, 185).

I·A·GR in agro, I·A·P in agro pedes (p. 64; App. v 10, 11).

I·C·A ius civile (vel iuris consultus) abesto (Wilmanns, 271); cp. D·M·A.

I·D (a) iure (old dat. for iuri, Dessau, 2227) dicundo (App. v 40, 59), I·D·Q·C·P iure dicundo quinquennalis censoriae potestatis, I·D·Q·P iure dicundo quinquennalis.

I·D (b) Iuppiter Dolichenus, I·D·D·Iovi Dolichenos dono dedit ded(e)cativum, p. 90; App. v 56.

I·D·P iure dicundo praest, —erit, —sunt, —erunt.

I·D·Q·P idemque probarunt (App. v 53), cp. pp. 118 ff.

I·F in fronte; I·F·P in fronte pedes, p. 64.

I·H·M·I·A·S·C·F in hoc monumentum itum aditum sacrorum causa facere; cp. Bruns, Fontes, 175, 45—53.

I·L·H ius liberorum habens.

I·M invictus Mithras, p. 91; App. v 29.

I·M·A imaginifer; I·M·C — cohortis.

I·M·M immolaverunt; immunis (p. 228).
IM(P) (a) imperator; IMP·P·Q·R imperium populisque Romanus; (b) IMP(ET) impetum; (c) IM·PP immo quis perpetuum
IN·A(G) vel AGR·P in agro pedes
INC·FR·PVBL incus frumento publico (relatus in numerum eorum qui frumentum publicum accipiebant, Dessau, 2163, 6065)
IN-F(R) vel FRONT·P in fronte pedes (App. v 10, 11; Augustan, Wilmaons, 188 n; p. 64 supra)
IN·H·D·D (p. 88, App. v 20) in honorem domus divinae
IN(L) inluxis (pp. 117, 185)
INV(l) vel INVICT invictus
I·O·D Iuppiter optimus Dolichenus
I·O·M Iuppiter optimus maximus (p. 83, App. v 27), — CVL Cuminumis, — D Depulsor (Wilmanns 1406), Dolichenus (p. 90, App. v 24 f), — FVLM·FVL Fuminator Fulgurator, — H Heliovopolitanus (ib. 23), — A Augustus, — E Sussualius; — C·O·D·I ceterique omnes di immortalis
I·O·S·P·D Iovi optimo Soli praestantissimo digno, Dessau, 4320
I·Q·P (App. v 51, 52) idemque probavit (-verunt), cp. pp. 2 n., 118 ff
I·S infra scriptus
I·S·M·R Tunus Sospes mater regina
IT itegn; IT(ER) iterum (App. v 48, 59)
IVD iudicans, iudex
I·V·E·E·R·P·F·S·V·E ita uteui eis et re publica fideve sua videbitur esse
IVN·REG Inno Regina
IVR iuridicus
IVS iussu

K

K (a) Kaeso; (b) calendae; (c) candidatus; (d) castellum
KAL calendae
KAR carissimus, -a; K·S carus suis (Spain and Africa, Wilmaons, 184 n)
K·K calumniae causa

L

L latum; legio; leuga; libens; libertus(-a) p. 74, 219 f; librarius; locus(-o); longum; Lucius; Lugdunum
L·A (Dessau, 3864) 'libens animo'

LAT(AN), vel LC laticlavus, p. 223
LAVR·LAV(IN) Laurens Lavinas
L·D·D·C·F·C loco dato decreto collegiis fabrum centurionarum; L·D·D·D (pp. 64, 88, 112; App. v 17, 24) — decurionum (cp. Wilmanns, 50 n); L·D·D·P — decreto decurionum publice; L·D·DEC·N·R — nautarum Rhodani-corum
L·D·P loco dato publice, L·D·P·P·D — pecunia publica, decreto decurionum; L·D·S·C — senatus consulto
LEG legatus (p. 224); legavit; legio
LEG·AVG legatus Augusti, — CENS·ACC census accipiendis (p. 224), — P(R)·P(R) pro praetore; LEG·IVR legatus iuridicus;
LEG·LEG legatus legionis (p. 224); LEG·S·C legatus senatus consulto; LEG·S·S legio supra scripta
LEG·COR legi Cornelius
LEM Lemonia (tribu, p. 215)
LIB libellorum; Liber; libertus; libertus (p. 219); librarius; liburna
LIB·AN (Dessau, 3659), LIB·ANIMO ib. 3390 f, libens (non libenti) aetatis
LIBR libris; LIBR·COMM libriius commentariensis
L·L laetus libens; Laurens Lavinas (vel Laurentes Livinates, p. 227); Lucius libertus; liberti libertus
L·L·M laetus libens merito
L·L·P·E (vel P·Q·E) libertus liberatus posterisque eorum (p. 65)
L·M libens merito (Plautus, Persa, ii 3, 1; App. v 22), — V·S — vatum solvit: libertus meus; locus monumenti (p. 64); ludus Magnus
LO(C) locus; LOC·DAT·D·D locus datus decreto decurionum; LOC·EMP — emptus; LOC·MONVM — monumenti; LOC·SEP — sepulturae (p. 64); LOC·ACCEP·D·D loco acceotodecreto decurionum; LOC·D loco dato; L·PVBL loco publico; L(OC)·P(VBL)·P(ERSEQ) locorum publicorum persequerendorum
L·P·Q locus pedum quadratorum;
L·Q·P locus quadratus pedes —
L·S locus sepulturae
ABBREVIATIONS

L · S · PR librarius subpraefecti; L · T(R) — tribuni
LV Lucius
LVC Lycia; LVC(IL) Lucilla
LVG(VD) Lug(udunum, -duensis
L · V · M · S libens votum merito solvit

M
M (legio) Macedonica, Martinia; magister; maestas; maior; Marcus; mares; maximus; memoriae; menses, -ibus; metalla; miles; mille, millia; Mithras (App. v 28); modii; monumentum; mortua; muliebri; municipium; murmillo
Maucius (pp. 38, 60, 100 n. 1, 120, 171, 208), Mania
M · A · A municipium Aurelium Apulum, Wilm. 2419, Apulum in Dacia; M · A · C — Aelium Cetium ib. 2462, Cetium in Noricum
MAC Macedonia; (legio) Macedonica
MAE(C) Maecia (tribu, p. 215)
MAG magister, -trium, -tratus; MAG·AVG magister Augustalis; MAG·COL magister collegii; MAGG magistri, -tratus; MAG·QQ (vel QVIN) magister quinquennalis; MAG·VIC magister vici
MAM Mamercus (p. 209)
MART·VICT (legio) Martia Victrix
MAT mater; MAT·F·F·CAR — fecit filio carissimo (App. v 3); MATR matri
MAV Mavortius
M · A · V municipium Aelium Vimiancium (in Moesia)
MAVR·CAES Mauretania Caesariensis
MAX maximus
M · B (a) mihi bene (Mommsen in Dessau, 4493, al. alis bene, propter errorem (ut videtur) in C.I.L. viii 9182, b. b. et mal. b.; cp. B · B)
(b) municipium Bergomatum, Wilm. 2178 (Bergamo)
M · C · mater castrorum; matri carissimae; Mauretania Caesariensis; memoriae causa; miles cohortis —; municipii cultoribus
M · D mater deum; M · D · M mater deum magna; M · D · M · I{D} mater deum magna Idaea (App. v 29)
MED Medicus; medicus; Mediolanum
MEM(OR) memoria, -am (App. v 58)
MEN(EN) Menenia (tribu, p. 215)
MEN mensa; mensur
MEN{S} vel MES menses -ibus
M · EQ milliaria equitata (cohors)
MER merita
MET metalla
M · F (a) miles factus; (b) munere functus; (c) municipium Flavianum (e.g. Arva in Spain, Wilm. 2320)
M · H · M missus{i} honesta missione
MIL miles, militavit (App. v 4); MIL(L) millia
MIN (legio) Minienia; minister, -tri; minor; minus
MIN{IC} Miniciae, p. 224
MISS missio; missus, MISS·HON·M missus honesta missione
M · M Marci duo; M · M malis male (cp. B · B); mater magna; municipi municipii
M · N millia nummuni
MOD modii
MOG Mogontiacum, Mayence
MON monetalis; MON(V) monumentum (for synonyms, see Wilmanns, 211 n); MON·SAC monitor sacrorum
MONT·P·C (cohors) montanorum pia constans
M · P millia passuum (pp. 55; 138, 197); memoriam (monumentum) posuit; maior pars
M · P · F (legio) Mineria pia fidelis
M · V municipium Verulanum, Wilm. 2077, Verulae (Hernicorum)
M · VIC municipium Vicetinorum (Vicenza)
M · V · F monumentum vivus fecit,
uxori fecit; maritus uxori fecit
M · LIB mulier libertas
MVL mulier
MVL XX multis (votis) vicennalibus,
Dessau, 695 (cp. p. 127 supra)
MVN munere; municipium
MVR murmillo
MVT Mutinenses

N
N natalis; natione, natus; nauta;
Nemausensis; nepos; niger; nominate; nonis; noster; numeren;
LATIN INSCRIPTIONS

Numerius (p. 160); numerus, numer- no; numerat; Numidia; num- mus, -i, -im (App. v 38)
NA(T) natus (App. v 4); natione
N.C Numidia Constantina, — Cir- tensis
N.D.A.N.M(OR) nullum dolorem
acperi nisi morte (cp. Orelli, 4640,
C.I.L. ii 2994; cp. p. 205)
N.D.N.AVG numen domini nostri
Augusti
NEG negotiator, — FRV frumen-
tarius, — PAENVL paenularis,
— STIP-ARG stipis argentarii
NEM Nemausus (Nimes)
NEP Nepos
N.E.S.D numini eius semper devo-
tus
N.F.(F.)N.S.N.C non fui, (fui),
non sum, non curo (App. v 12,
Dessau, 8162 n)
N.M.Q.E.D numini maiestaticque
eius dicatissimus (perscr. Dessau,
570 vel devotus
NN nostri; N.N numerus noster
NOB-CAES nobilissimus Caesar;
NOBB-CAESS nobilissimi Cae-
sares; NOB·FEM nobilissima
femina
NON nonae
NP nefas, feriae publicae, p. 173 n. 1
N.P nobilissima puella
N.R(HOD) nauta Rhodanicus
N.S (App. v 30) nomine suo
N.S.S numerus supra scriptus
N.S.S.I.M numini sancto Solis in-
victi Mithrae (Dessau, 4207), p. 91
NVM Numerius; Numerus; -o; num-
mum
OFF officina (-nator); OFF·PA(Pi:
— Papiri: OFF·RAT— ratio-
num
OFF·PVB officium publicum
O·H·S ossa hic sita; O·H·S·S —
sunt
OL(L) olla; OLL·D ollas dedit
O·M ob memoriam; optime merito
optimus maximus
O·M·C·P·F·V·C·C·T·VE oppi-
do, municipio, colonia, praefec-
tura, foro, vico, concilabulo, cas-
tello, territoriove (lex Rubria)
O·N·F omnium nomine faciundun
O·O(RN)D(EC) ornatus ornamen-
tis decurionalibus
OP(T) optio; OP·CO — cohortis
OP·PR — principis
OP·D(O) vel DOL opus doliare (p
153)
OPER·PVB operum publicorum (p
224)
OPT optimus, -a
ORD ordinarius; ORD·N ordo nos-
ter
O·REST orbis restitutor (of Con-
stantius, 305 f A.D.)
ORN ornatus, ornamenta; ORN
DEC ornamenta decurionalia
OST Ostiensis, -es
O·S·T·T·L opto sit tibi terra levi
O·T (vel V) B·Q ossa tibi (vobis ve-
volo) bene quiescant (App. v 8)
O·V (1) optimus vir; (2) ornatus vir
(3) oro vos; O·V·F oro vos faci-
atis (p. 161); O·V·F·D·R·l
— dignum re publica (on Pon-
peian election placards, p. 161
App. v 44)
OVF (pp. 196, 215; App. v 2:
Oufentina (tribu))

P

P pagus; passus (p. 138); pate-
 patronus; pecunia; pedes (p
131, 138, 160); periiit; plus, pie-
tissimus; pondo (p. 143); populo
posuit (p. 86), -urunt; praefectu
p. 225; (legio) primigenia; pr
 curator; provincia; publice, -u
-a; Publius; pugnarum
P·A (App. v 19) provinciae Afr:
PAG pagus, pagani; pagina
PAL(AT) Palatina (tribu, p. 21
App. v 23); PAL palatinum; p
 lium

OFEN Oufentina (tribu)
ABBREVIATIONS

PAN(N) Pannonia; PAN·INF — inferior
PAP Papiria (tribu, p. 215)
PAR parentes; Parentium; Parilia
PAR·M Parthicus maximus; PAR·T(H) vel PARTHIC Parthicus
PAT (a) patricius; (b) patronus, PAT·COL — coloniae, PAT·ET·CVR — et curator, PAT·MVN — municipi
PATR patronus, PATR O — centuriae, — COL coloniae, — COL·R·P·R coloniae rei publicae Rici-niensis, — MVN municipii
PATRIC patricii
P·B·B·M·T·I patri bono bene menti testamento iussus
P·B·P(R) principalis beneficiarius praefecti
P·C patres conscripti; patronus clivitatis (vel coloniae, Aпп. v 49); (legio vel cohors) pia constans; ponendum curavit (pp. 65, 109); potestate censoria; post consula-tum
P·COL patronus coloniae
P·D·D publice decreto decurionum (p. 109)
P·D·D·E populo dare damnas esto
P·D·S posuerunt de suo
P·E puer egregius (p. 194); posteri eius
PEC (vel PEQ) pecunia
PED pedes; pedites, peditata (cohors)
P·E·Q·R·M patronus (eques Ro-manus) municipii
PER Percennius; peregrinus; permisso
PERP perpexus
PERS(IC) Persicus
P·F (legio vel cohors) pia fidelis (p. 154); P·F·C·R (cohors) pia fidelis civium Romanorum; P·F pia fel-lix (p. 154); P·F·F pia fidelis; P·F·F·ET — aceterna
P·F(EL) Pius Felix (imperator), Commodus, 'Caracalla', 'Heliogabalus' etc.
P·F·V Pius Felix Victor (imp.)
P·G·N provincia Gallia Narbonensis.
PHAL phalerae
P·H·C (Aпп. v 32) provinciae His-paniae citerioris
P·H·O·ADQ·E·R·P·V placere huic ordini adque et re publica videri
PI pius, PI·F·F (legio) pia fidelis; P·I poni iussit; Pannonia inferior
PIC Picens
P·I·D praefectus iure dicundo
PIL pilus; PIL·POST pilus posterior
PIS Pisaurenses
P·I·S pius in suos (p. 64; Spain and Africa, Wilmanns, 184 n)
P·K praetor candidatus
PL placuit
P·L provincia Lugdunensis
P·L·L posuit lactus libens
PL·M(IN) plus minus
PL(VE) SC plebei(ve) scita
P·M patronus municipii; plus minus, p. 63; pontifex maior vel maxinum (Aпп. v 37)
P·M·C provincia Mauretania Cae-sariensis
P·M·F patri merenti facit
P·N provincia Numidia; P·N·C — Constantina
P·O princeps optimus
POB Poblilia (tribu), p. 215
POL Pollia (tribu), p. 215
POM (Aпп. v 27) Pompina (tribu)
PON·CENS vel CVR ponendum censuit vel curavit
PONT(IF) pontifex; PONT·MAX — maximus (p. 223); PONT·M·M — municipium municipii
POP populus; — S populi servus
PORT porticus; raro portus (COR Cornelii, Dessau, 8660)
POS posuit; POS·D·S posuerunt de suo
POST Postumus
P·P pater patriae (Aпп. v 37, 38, 56); pater patrum; pecunia publica; permisso proconsulis; pendent pondo; praefectus praetorio (p. 183); praesae provinciae; populus Parmensis; primus pilus (id. 22), primipilus, -laris; pro parte; pro piate (p. 64); pro praetore; provincia Pannonia; publicum portorum
PP perpexus; praepositus (Aпп. v 20)
P·P·F (legio) primigenia pia fidelis
P·P·F·C pecunia publica faciendum curavit; P·P·F·D·D — fecerunt dedicarat
P·P·L Publliorum duorum libertus; praesae provinciae Lusitaniae
P·P·N praeses provinciae Numidiae; — M·C Mauretaniae Caesarisii
PPO praefectus praetorio
P·P·P proconsul, pater patriae; propria pecunia posuerunt; pecunia publica posuit
P·P·P·C primipilars, patronus coloniae
P·P·R praeses provinciae Raetiae
P·P·S provincia Pannonia superior
PP·VV perfectissimi viri; piae vindices (legiones)
P·Q pedes quadrati; populusque
P·Q·Q·V pedes quoquo versus
P·Q·R populusque Romanus
P·R populus Romanus; post relictum vel pro reditum (Wilmanns, 2445)
PR praedium; praefectus (pp. 223, 225); praetor (App. v 33); praetores; praetorius, -oria; pridie; (legio) primigenia; primus; pro; probante; procurator; promotus; provincia
P·R provincia Raetia
PRAEF praefectus, pp. 223, 225, 227; App. v 39; PRAEF·AEG — Aegypti, AER — aerarii, — ANN — annaeae, — CAP · CVM — Capum Cumaras, — CL — classis, p. 228, — F · D frumenti dandi, p. 225, — I · D — iure dicundo; — PRAET — praetorio, p. 225, — TIR — tironum, — V · RB — urbi, — VIG — vigilium; PRAEFF — praefecti
PR · BR · LON (publicani) provinciae Britanniae Londiinenses, p. 154
PRAEP praesidus; PRAEP · P · FRVM — publici frumenti vel pecuniae frumentariae
PR · AER praefectus aerarii; praetor aerarii (p. 223)
PR · ARES praeses; praesentes
PRAET praetor, — orius(a); PRAETT praetoriae
PRAT pratum
PR · CER · I (VR) · D (IC) · QQ praetor cerialis iure dicundo quinquennalis (at Beneventum)
P · R · C · A post Romam conditam anno (Dessau, 5025)
PR · CAN praetor candidatus
PR · COS proconsul
PR · C · R praetoria civium Romanorum (ala)
PR · DES praetor designatus
PRI pridie; prima; princeps
PR · I · D praefectus (praetor) iure dicundo
PRI(MIG) (legio) primigenia (p. 154)
PRINC princeps; principalis
PRINC · PRAET princeps praetorii; PRINC · PERG — peregrinorum
PR · IV praetor iuventutis; PR · IV (EN) princeps iuventutis
PR · K praetor candidatus; PR · K · TVT — tutelaris; PR · PER — peregrinus; PR · VRB — urbanus (p. 223)
PRO proconsul; procurator; pronepos; proficiscetur, Wilm. 1482
PROB probavit, -erunt; probante
PROC vel PROCO vel PROCOS
· (App. v 33) vel PROCOSS proconsul
PROC procurator; PROC · AD · E — ad bona; — P · V — portus utriusque; — IIII P · A — quartuor publicorum Africae
PRO · M processum meritus; PROM promotus
PRON pronepos (pp. 72, 214)
PR · PR propraetor (·App. v 54)
PR · PR · EX · S · C pro praetore ex senatus consulto
PROQ proquaestor
PRO · S pro salute, p. 88
PROT protector
PROV provincia; provocator, PROV · SP provocator spectavit (vel spectator), Dessau, 5084
PROX · CIPP proximus cippus
PR · PER praetor peregrinus
PR · P · R praetor populi Romani
PR · POS(T) princeps posterior
PR · P · F (legio) primigenia pia fidei
PR · PR praefectus praetorio; pro praetore (p. 224; App. v 37)
PR · P · V (cohors) praetoria pia vinde
PR · R · Q populus Romanus Quiritium (p. 223)
PR · V praefectus vigilum
PR · VRB praetor urbanus
PR · XX · LIB procurator vigesima libertatis
PS Pannonia superior; pater sacrum (App. v 29); pecunia sua (ib. 47); provincia Sicilia; P · S · I (ib. 24); pecunia sua fecit; P · S · F · C — faciendum curavit, P · S · P posit, P · S · P · D — posit dedicavi
ABBREVIATIONS

P • S pro salute, p. 88 — D • D — domus divinae; — D • N — domini nostri; P • S • S • P — sua posuit; — S • S — sua (et) suorum

P • V perfectissimus vir; (legio, cohors, classis) pia vindex; praefectus urbi (pp. 185, 193); praetor urbanus; portus uterque

P • V • A pius vixit annis

PVB (l) publicus, -ca, -ce

PVB Publlilia (tribu, p. 215)

PVB • P • R • Q (augur) publicus populi Romani Quiritium (Dessau, 4153)

PVP Pupinia (tribu, p. 215); Pupus

Q quae tor (p. 223, App. v 33); quaestorius; quando; que; qui; quinquennalis; Quintus; Quirina (tribu); quondam

Q • A quon annis

Q • A(Er) quaestor aerarii; Q • ALIM alimentorum; Q • C • V coloniae Vienne

Q • B • F • F quod bonum felix faustum (sit)

Q • D quondam, p. 392

Q • D • A qua vel qui quis de agitur

Q • (D • E • R) • P • D • E • R • I • C quid (de ea re) fieri placet, de ea re ita censuerunt (p. 161, App. v 45)

Q • D • R qua de re; — A agitur

Q • E qui (quaest) est

Q • E • R • E • T • P (App. v 60) quan- ti ea res erit, tantam pecuni

Q • F qui fuit; quo facto

Q • F • P • D • E • R • I • C quid fieri placeret, de ea re ita censuere

Q • I(NF) • S • S quae infra scripta sunt

Q • K quaestor candidatus

Q • M quo minus

Q • M(IL) qui militavit; Q • M • C qui militare cooperunt

Q • P • P quaestor pecuniae publicae

Q • PR quaestor provinciae—(p. 223; Q • PR • PR quaestor pro praetore (ib.))

Q • Q (App. v 27) Quinti; QQ(Q • Q) quinquennalis (-es) (ib. 39), p. 197; quinquennalitas (App. v 38); — C • M — corporis mensorum; — C • P censoria potestate (ib. 41); P (ib. 19) praefectus; — P • P(Per) — perpetuus(-i), p. 228

QQ(Q • Q) • V • P quoquo versus pedes; — L • P locus pedum; (App. v 6, 7)

Q • R • C • F quando rex comitavit, fas (p. 173)

Q • R • T • P • D • S • T • T • L qui rogat te, praetriens dicas; sit tibi terra levis

Q • S qui (qua) supra

Q • S • P • P • S qui sacris publicis prae- sto sunt

Q • S • S • S qui subscripti (vel supra scripti) sunt

Q • V • (vel VIX) A qui (qua) vixit annis — (p. 63)

QVADR quadrigae

QVAE(S) vel QVAEST quaestor;

QVAEST • SAC • P • ALIM quaes- tor sacrae pecuniae alimentariae

QVAEST • IVD quaestor iudex

QVANTI • E • R • E • T • P quanti ea res erit, tantam pecuni

Q • V • F • S quod verba facta sunt

QVI(R) (App. v 39) Quirina (tribu, pp. 215, 218); QVIR Quirites

QVIN quinquennium, -alis, -alitas

QVINQ quinques; quinquennalis

Q • V RB quaestor urbanus (p. 223)

QVM cum (App. v 25)

R ratio; restituit; retiarius; revoca- tus; Romanus; rubrica; rubrum; rufus; russata (factio)

RA vel RAP (legio) rapax

RAT ratio (rationalis); R • D • A ratio dominica Augusta

R • C reficiendum curaverunt

RE regiae (p. 83)

REBELLES • H • H • P • P rebelles hostes publicos (Haverfield in Dessau, iii (2), 1140)

REC • PROV rector provinciae

REF refect; REFIC • D • C • S • C re- fiendae de conscriptorum senten- tia curaverunt

REG regio

RES(T) restituit (App. v 47)

RES • P res publica; RES • P • C • L • F res publica coloniae Lambaesitanae fecit

RET retiarius

REVOC revocatus

RHOD Rhodanici

ROG rogat, rogant

ROM Romanus; Romilia (tribu, p. 215)

ROS rosalia (Dessau, 6719)
VI \ ABBREVIATIONS

SOL·L·M solvit libens merito (App. v 22)
SP(E), or SPECT spectavit, specta-
tor, spectatus (p. 147 f)
SP Spurius (pp. 60, 208); SP·F
Spurii filius (pp. 209, 216)
S·P subpraefectus; sua pecunia,
S·P·D·D sua pecunia dono dedit,
S·P·F — faciundum curavit,
S·P·P — posuit (p. 112); —
D·D — dedicavit
SPEC speculator (p. 228)
S·P·L senatus populusque Lanuvi-

SPL splendidus (-dissimus); SPL·
EQ·R splendidus eques Romanus
S·P·P·Q·R senatus populus plebes-
que Romanus
S·P·P·S sacris publicis praesto sunt
S·P·P·S·F solo privato pecunia sua
facit (Dessau, 5612)
S·P·Q senatus populusque, p. 108,
— A Anagninus, C Carsiolitanus,
F Ferentinus, R Romanus (App.
v 35), T Tiburs (ib. 39)
S·PR sine pretio
S·P·R sua pecunia restituit
SPR subpraefectus
S·Q·H·A·P·E·S·S·A·V·D·F si
quis hanc arcam post excessum su-
pra scriptorum, aperire voluerit,
dabit fisco — Cp. Bruns, Fontes,
172 § 17
SS sestértius
S·S senatus sententia; subscriptus;
supra scriptus; sumptu suo
S·S·DD·NN salvis dominis nostris
(duosub)
S·S·S sicut supra scripta; summa
supra scripta; supra scripta sunt
ST vel STR secutor tribuni (p. 228)
STA( ) Status; ST stipendia
STAT statio (App. v 20); statua
STEL(L) vel STELL Stellatina (tri-
bu, p. 215)
STIP stipendia (App. v 10)
STL(IT)·IVD(IC) stiltibus indicandis
S·T·T·L sit tibi terra levis (pp. 15,
63, 293; App. v 5, 6)
S·V spectatus (?) victor (Dessau,
5092)
SVB subheres
SVB·A(SC)·D(ED) sub ascia dedi-
cavit (pp. 78–82; App. v 13)
SVB·PR subpraefectus
SVBSEQ subsequens
SVC Suburana (tribu, p. 215)
S·VE·C senatusve consulto (App.
iv 4 § 9)
SVM summa (App. v 38); SVM·
SVM summa summarum
SVMP sumptarius
SVPR·S supra scriptum
S·V·Q sine ulla querella (cp. Wil-
manns, 196 n)
S·V·T·L sit vobis (vel volo) terra
levis

T

T tabula, p. 183; (ala) Tampiana;
‘e; testamentum; tiro; titulus;
Titus; tribunus; tumultus; turma
T·A taurus auratus
TAB tabula; tabulatio; TAB(VL)
tabularius
TAVR taurobolium
TER Teretina (tribu, p. 215); Ter-
minalia; terminus; Tertia; tertiae
TES(S) tesserarius (p. 228)
TEST·IVSS testamento iussit (App.
v 58)
T·F·I·H·F·C testamento fieri iussit,
heres faciundum curavit; — H·P
heres posuit (App. v 10)
THAMV Thamugadina (advocatio)
THIB Thibursicum
THR Threx
T·I·A (de nostris ann. auget) tibi
Juppiter annos (Dessau, 451)
TI(B) Tiberius; TIB Tibur
TIG(N) tignarii
TIR tiro
TIT titulus
T·M Threx murillo
T·M·Q·F·E·REV tene me quia
fugi, et revoca (cp. Dessau, 8726–
33; Bruns, Fontes, 159 § 2; Gra-
denwitz, Simulaca, xxiv)
T·P tanta pecunia; termini positi;
tituluni posuit; tribunicia potes-
tate (App. v 37)
T·P·I testamento poni iussit; T·P·
IVSITT·H·F — heres fecit
T·Q·D totiusque domus
TR Threx; Trebius; tribunus; —
L·C laticlavius; trierarcha (p.
228); Tromentina (tribu, p. 215);
Trajanopolis; Traianus
TR·M(IL), tribunus militum (p. 223),
— PL plebis; TR·POT tribu-
nicia, -ae, potestate, -is
TR(A) · FOR (legio) Traiana fortis
TRAM tramare (= trans mare, Dessau, 2354)
TRI trierarcha (p. 228)
TRIB tribus; tribunus, — P(L) plebis (p. 223)
TRI(B) · LAT(IC) vel LATICL tribunus laticlavius; TR(II) · MIL · A-P(OP) tribunus militum a populo
TRIB · P(OT) vel PT, vel TR · POT, tribunicia potestate
TRIB · SVC tribu Succusana
TRIP Triponium
TRIMVF vel TRIVMP triumphator
TRO Tretomina (tribu)
T · R · P · D · S · T · T · L te rogo prae- teriens dicas, sit tibi terra levis
T · T · L · S terra tibi levis sit (App. v 8); perscr. Dessau, 7286
T · V titulo usus; ture vino
TVB · SAC · P · R tubicen sacrorum populi Romani (p. 227)
TVDER Tudertini
TVL Tullus
TVM tumulus
TVR turma; TVRR turres

V

V Valerius; verna; Vibius; vicit; victrix (legio); Vienna; vir; vivus -a; vivit; vixit; utere; valeat (Diehl, Pomp. Wandinschr. 559)
V · A vices agens (V · A · L — legati); vivit annis (p. 73; cp. Wilmanns, 168 n)
VAL Valens; Valerius; Valerianus; valetudinarius -um
V · A · S · (ACR) · P · P(ROC) viis aedibus sacris publicis procurandis (Dessau, 6357 n)
V · B vir bonus (p. 161); V · B · D · R · P — dignus re publica; V · B · O · V · F virum bonum, oro vos faciatis, p. 161, App. v 44
V · B · M · P voto (?) bene merenti posuit (Dessau, 1594)
V · C vir clarissimus, pp. 108, 185, 193, 205; App. v 29; — D · D — dedit dedicavit; — CONS · P · N — consularis provinciae Numidiae; — P · P — pater patrum; — Q · K — quaestor candidatus; — ET INL — et inlustris, p. 194
V(T) · D · P · R · L · P ut de plano recte legi possit (Dessau, 608 li, lxiii)
V · E vir egregius (p. 194); V · E · A · V · P — agens vicem praesidis; V · E · EQ · R — eques Romanus; V · E · PP — primipilarius
VEC vectura; VEC(T) vel VECTIG vectigal
VEL velarius; Velina (tribu, p. 215); velites
V · EM vir eminentissimus
VER(N) verna
VERB verbeces
VERC Vercellenses
VET veteranus (App. v 10); Veturia (tribu)
VEX(I) vel (LI) vel (ILL) vexillarius; vexillatio, p. 58
V · F verba fecit (App. v 45); vivus (-a, -o) fecit, p. 61, vel vivi fece-runt; — S · E · S — sibi et suis
V · I vir inlustris, p. 194
VIAT viator, viatorium, viaticum
VI(C) · AVG Victoria Augusta
VIB Vibius
VIC Vicetia, Wilm. 2151, Vicenza; vicit; victimarius; victoria (p. 148); vicus, vicani
VICE · S · C vice sacra cognoscens
VICIIM vicimagistri (Wilmanns, 2112, = Dessau, 7364)
VIC · N victoriantus nummus
VIC · POR vicani Portuenses, Ostia
VICT(R) (legio) victrix
VIG vigiles
VIL vilicus
VIND(EL) Vindelicii (cohors)
V · INL vir inlustris, p. 194; V · INL · COM — comes
VIN · VRB · ET · OST vinarii urbani et Ostiensis
V · I · S verba infra scripta
VIS visu
VIV vivit; VIX vixit
V · L veteranus legionis; vir laudabilis
V · L · A · S votum libens animo solvit
V · L · M votum libens merito; V · L · S — solvit; V · L · P — posuit
VNC(T) unctor
VO Volusus; Vopiscus, Wilmannts, p. 402; p. 209 supra
VOC Vocontii
VI)

ABBREVIATIONS

VOL(T) Voltinia (tribu, p. 215)
VOL volunrarii (cohors); VOL . C . R = cives Romani
VOT Voturia (tribu), p. 215 (App. v. 49)
VOT . X (XX) votis decennalibus (vicennialibus), p. 127
VOTI C . D voti compos dat
V . P vir perfectissimus, p. 193;
MAVR . SITIF — praeses provinciae Mauretaniae Sitifensis;
N . M — Norici mediterranei (Dessau, 4107); — N — —
Numidiae; — R — Raetiae
V . P (a) votum posuit (vota posuerunt); — L . M libens merito;
— M merito; (b) vivus posuit
V . Q viator quaestorius (App. v 23)
V . R urbs Roma
VRB urbanus; VRBB urbanae (cohors)
VS vir spectabilis

NUMERALS (cp. pp. 54 f, 132, 134, 136; Roby's Latin Grammar, i 441, 447—9; and Mommsen, Ges. Schriften, vii 765—791).

, 1, 50. C 100. B 500, half of ɐ, 0, 1000. 3, 100, III 5000,
half of ɐ, CC|CC, III|IIII 10,000. ɐ, 50,000, half of ɐ, 100,000 (p. 96).

| | 1,000,000. | XI | 1,100,000. | XVI | 1,600,000. |

NUMERICAL ABBREVIATIONS.

IIS (duo asses et semis, 2½ asses = semis-tertius) sestertius (App. v 41). To show that these three signs were used not as letters but as numerals, a short horizontal line was drawn across the middle of all three, making IIS resemble HS, the equivalent used for convenience in modern print. Similarly, from X for 'decem' is derived the crossed X (X), for 'denarius' (p. 285).

In inscr. relating to officials) II bis, iterum (p. 137); II . V (IR) duumvir (App. v 19, 51, 59), in Pompeian election placards II sometimes stands for 'duumvir'; III tertium; III . V (IR) triumvir (ib. 54); III . VIR quattuorvir (ib. 41, 48, 50); V . VIR quinquevir; VI (vel IIIIII) VIR sevir (ib. 13); VII . VIR septemvir; X . V (IR) decemvir; XV . VIR quindecimvir; XX . VIRI viginti viri; C . V centumvir.

LX sexagenarius; Ĉ centenarius; CCC ducenarius; CCC trecen. (p. 226 f).
(Galleys) III trieris; IIII quadrieris; V penteris; VI hexeris.
(Taxes) XX vicesima (sc. pars), — HER — hereditatium; — LIB — libertatis; — P . R — populi Romani (App. v 40); XXXX . G quadragesima Galliarum.
Ċ vel 0 centesima.
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