## Reflections of Roman Life and Living



To the authors and friends
of our house,
New Year 2004

## 150 YEARS <br> OF THE <br> CORPVS INSCRIPTIONVM LATINARVM

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# Reflections of Roman Life and Living 

Clichés from the Archive of the Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum, selected and with a commentary

## by

Manfred G. Schmidt

## The Archive

Since the founding of the 'Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum' (CIL) in 1853 by the Königlich Preussische Akademie der Wissenschaften (Royal Prussian Academy of Sciences), basic research into inscriptions inherited from the Roman Empire has brought forth more than the sheer textual-critical edition of nearly 80 volumes. Rather, the legacy of this large-scale academic project also includes the CIL's collection of squeezes, a veritable 'monument' of epigraphic field work which is still being expanded today: In over 150 years of work on the 'Corpus', generations of researchers have collated a unique treasure-trove, whose real value we have not come to appreciate until today's age of virtual libraries and archives. Towards the end of the 19th century it was Emil Hübner, editor of the inscriptions from Hispania and Britannia, who noted that already there were more than 4,000 ectypa in the CIL's archive (Exempla scripturae epigraphicae Latinae, Berlin 1885, p. XX).

The world's most comprehensive collection of clichés of Latin inscriptions now comprises around 20,000 specimens. They originate from Rome, Italy and the various provinces of the Roman Empire - thus essentially from the Mediterranean area, Western Europe and the countries along the River Danube. The majority of these stocks comprise paper and latex squeezes, graphite rubbings, as well as silver-foil clichés, drawings on foil and several plaster casts. Not only Theodor Mommsen and his co-workers, but especially epigraphers and archaeologists from the countries in which the finds were made have contributed in their own way to this scientific archive, and continue to do so. Emil Hübner honours the work done by previous researchers in the preface to his aforementioned palaeographic work (p. XVIII), which is essentially based on this collection. But what actual purpose do clichés serve?

## Epigraphers do it with a Squeeze

Epigraphers utilise various documentation techniques to make a copy of their find that will serve as a complete and reliable basis for restoring and editing the text, of which usually only fragments remain. Sometimes, however, after returning from an epigraphic field trip, the researcher's work at his desk, the striving for the text, takes an unexpected turn, and the find needs to be re-examined: Perhaps adding to a text by conjecture means the reading, which initially seemed completely obvious, now does not stand up to subsequent scrutiny; perhaps doubt is subsequently cast on a reading previously believed to be absolutely certain. Often it is only then that the unity of fragments is recognised - if, for example, notes made on adjacent fragments are discovered lying next to one another in the folder, while the originals are kept at different locations. A fraction of a dedication my be housed in an epigraphic depot, while the altar itself bearing the rest of the inscription has been set up in the courtyard of a museum. It can be helpful to draw on the aid of a photograph in this case. Yet it is much more beneficial if the epigrapher has clichés at his disposal, for thus, should the occasion arise, squeezes of various fragments can be joined together. Often a reading is impossible until the squeeze itself is at hand. While a paper cliché can be read in favourable lighting conditions at any time, with the sun's rays falling at an angle to show the contours of letters in the desired clarity, a photograph only shows the relief at a moment in time and can on occasion distort the appearance of the actual find. The squeeze is indeed even superior to the original in cases where the original bearing the inscription is standing in the shade and cannot be moved on account of its great weight.

An authentic copy of the inscription can only be made when applying techniques such as rubbing, done with a pencil or graphite dust on paper (cf. No. 13) - a method which most of us will recall from our childhood. The plaster cast is another such technique (cf. No. 10), although it is hardly ever used today because it involves a very laborious process. The result is an extremely fragile replica which is hardly suited to mass storage but which is now and again used to reproduce particularly important monuments. For example, the Antikensammlung in Berlin is in possession of casts of the Res gestae divi Augusti nearly 200 plaster plaques cast in 1882/83 of the square stone blocks of the Monumentum Ancyranum which almost completely document the Achievements of the Emperor Augustus, and have been called the "Queen of Inscriptions" (Th. Mommsen).

The squeeze has successfully asserted its authority over the plaster cast as a reliable method of reproduction - despite the competition from photography. A squeeze (German: Abklatsch, Latin: ectypum, Spanish/Italian: calco, French: estampage) is so very simple to produce that it is "wholly superfluous to employ sculptors, plaster casters or bricklayers who charge disproportionate amount of money for this unusual, but simple task." (Emil Hübner, Über mechanische Copieen von Inschriften, Berlin 1881, p. 6). After cleaning the stone bearing the inscription, removing any crusts, moss or lichen, a sheet of non-sized paper is dipped in water and placed flat and cleanly over the inscription. Strong, even blows using a brush with a spring allow the moist paper to penetrate the depressions on the surface and create a 'negative' of the inscription which can be removed after the paper has dried.

## Mirror Images

The 'mirror image' which this method produces has been known to epigraphers for some time. The oldest such example is probably the impression of a Latin inscription from Peltuinum Vestinum, Italy (CIL IX 3429 = ILS 6110), which has been retained in the Codex Pighianus Berolinensis (16th century). Underneath a reduced-scale drawing of the inscription one sees a full-size copy of it, in mirror image and with raised lettering - an ectypum.

To aid legibility, the photographs of the following squeezes are themselves mirror images, in contrast to the original of the squeeze shown here.

Squeezes, however, are not only 'mirror images' in the original sense of the meaning: the inscriptions themselves rather reflect the thou-

sand years of Roman history, Rome's provinces and its people. As an immediate testimony of antiquity they are one of the most important sources for wide-ranging research into Roman life and history and, as an omnipresent medium, they mirror all the facets of social communication. Whether that be a dedication or a funerary inscription, a plaque in honour of a patron, an inscription to honour a republican commander or the imperial house, whether an inscription on a public building or on a domestic tool - nothing brings one closer to Roman everyday life, the vita cottidiana, than this.

Epigraphic testimonials from different periods and social contexts necessitate a special form of representation which is more differentiated than the traditional instrumentarium of philological textual criticism. Deviations from so-called classical Latin are not infrequent: unusual abbreviations and spellings, linguistic idiosyncrasies, vulgarisms, influences from other languages in the orbis, orthographic and grammatical mistakes, etc. In their attempt to provide a complete and understandable text, editors must thus provide explanations, which may also pertain to the inscription's appearance. The reader's attention has been drawn to such deviations as follows (the letters $a b c$ stand for a random text):

| $a b \mid c$ | - line space |
| :--- | :--- |
| $a b \\| c$ | - text outside of the inscribed field or displaced |
| $($ vac. $)$ | - vacant (vacat) |
| $a \circ b c$ | - punctuation (punctum, hedera = leaf motif) |
| $\llbracket a b c \rrbracket$ | - antique deletion (rasura) |
| $\langle a b c\rangle$ | - antique text on erased background (litura) |
| $\hat{a} b c$ | - ligature, e.g. Æ (ligatura) |
| $a b c(!)$ | - antique error, misspelling, irregularity |
| $a b c$ | - uncertainty, letter deduced from the context |
| $a b c(?), a(b c ?)$ | - uncertain reading, uncertain full form of abbreviation |
| $a(b c),(a b c)$ | - full form of abbreviation, explanation of special characters |
| $a[b c],{ }^{\circ} a^{\prime} b c$ | - editor's addition, change to text |
| $\{a b c\}$ | - editor's deletion of text |
| $\underline{a b c}$ | - letters read by previous editors but lost today |

## An epigraphic tour of the Roman Empire


N.B.: To aid legibility, the photographs of the clichés shown below are themselves mirror images (except in the case of No. 7). Please also note that the cliché of an inscription chiselled in stone will always show raised lettering.

## Gallery of Ectypa



## i. A Dedication to the Goddess of Revenge

Marble plaque with frame (cymatium inversum); $20.5 \times 26.5 \mathrm{~cm}$; broken top left; letters coloured in modern times. Since 1773 in the Vatican Museums, today housed there in the Galleria lapidaria. Paper squeeze: CIL, Inv. No. EC0004647.
 $\circ{ }^{\circ}{ }^{7}$ 'rbis $\mid$ ex visu $\mid$ Hermes $\circ$ Aug(usti) $\circ$ lib(ertus) $\circ$ vilicus $\mid$ eiusdem $\circ$ loci $\circ$ aram $\circ($ vac. $)$ et $\mid$ crateram cum basi $\circ$ bicapite $\mid d($ ono $) \circ d($ edit) $\circ$
„Great Nemesis, who rules over the world! Great avenger, Queen of the Globe! Driven by a vision, Hermes, freedman of the Emperor, administrator of that place, as a gift (to her) provided an altar and a mixing vessel with a two-headed pedestal."

$$
\text { CIL VI } 532=I L S 3738=I G \text { XIV } 1012
$$



The inscription begins with an invocation to the goddess of revenge in Greek and Latin - presumably in the hope of increasing the dedicator's chances of being heard. Whilst, however, in Greek Nemesis is addressed as ruler over the world ( тои̃ кóбиоu), in the corresponding Latin phrase she is only called regina urbis, "Queen of the City", surely a misspelling of orbis (= тои̃ ко́бцои).

Of the listed gifts, the mixing vessel with an apparently separate base is most striking (cf. CIL VI 327, where a bronze vessel with a base and an additional hypobasis made out of marble is mentioned).

Literature: I. di Stefano Manzella, Index inscriptionum Musei Vaticani 1. Ambulacrum Iulianum, Città del Vaticano 1995, 183 fig. 18 a, No. 54; basic for Dea Nemesis Regina: B. Schweitzer, Jahrbuch des Dt. Archäol. Inst. 46, 1931, 175-246, esp. 179 f.

## 2. Leisure, Liquor and Libido

Marble memorial slab with diagonal fissure, the left half of which is missing today; $25.5 \times 41.5 \mathrm{~cm}$. The complete text has only been retained on the squeeze. Found in 1783 along the street to Ostia not far from the city. Now kept in the Museo Nazionale di Napoli. Paper squeeze: CIL, Inv. No. EC0004650.

$D$ (is) $M$ (anibus) $\mid\{C\} C($ ai) Domiti Primi $\mid$ Hoc o ego su(m) in tumulo Primus notissi|mus ille $\circ$ vixi Lucrinis potabi saepe Fallernum $\circ$ balnia(!) vina Venus $\circ$ mecum $\mid$ senuere per annos $h($ a)ec ego si potui $\mid$ sit mihi terra lebis et tamen ad Ma|nes. Foenix me serbat in ara qui me|cum properat se reparare sibi $\mid \underline{l}($ ocus $) \underline{d}($ atus $)$ funeri $C(a i) \circ D o m i t i \circ$ Primi $\circ$ a tribus $\circ$ Messis Hermerote Pia et Pio
„To the Infernal Spirits of Caius Domitius Primus. In this grave I lie, who was well known as Primus. I lived on Lucrine oysters, often drank Falernian wine. The pleasures of bathing, wine and love aged with me over the years. If I have been able to do this, let the earth cover me gently! And yet:

Phoenix keeps me with the Infernal Spirits in the funerary altar, and he hastens to be surrected with me.
(Smaller script:) The final resting place for Caius Domitius Primus was given by the three Messii Hermeros, Pia and Pius."

$$
\text { CIL XIV } 914 \text { = CLE } 1318
$$

This is a very idiosyncratic text littered with vulgarisms written by a braggart whom we can indeed recognise in the poem's 'I'. Worldly delights aged with him (not the other way around); and anyone who lives such a life will not dread death when it comes. The arrogance of the vision of being jointly resurrected with Phoenix (the symbol of immortality) robs the text of its last vestiges of seriousness.

Literature: H. Liesko, in: Catalogo delle iscrizioni latine del Museo Nazionale di Napoli I. Roma e Latium, Naples 2000, No. 567; cf. I. Kajanto, Balnea, vina, Venus, in: Hommage à Marcel Renard II, Brussels 1969, 357-367; E. Courtney, Musa lapidaria. A Selection of Latin Verse Inscriptions, Atlanta 1995, No. 171.


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## 3. The ‘Godfather’ of the Mountain Farmers

Bronze plaque with a tab at the top; $15.5 \times 13 \mathrm{~cm}$; originally with small bust set on the top. From Tolentinum (present-day Tolentino), most probably 3rd century AD. Formerly in the Altes Museum in Berlin (Inv. No. 2502), subsequently lost (during World War II). Paper squeeze, late 19th century: CIL, Inv. No. EC0004640.


Tesseram $\circ$ paga $\mid n i c a m \circ L(u c i u s) \circ$ Veraltius Felicissi $\mid m u s \circ$ patronus $\mid$ paganis $\circ$ pagi $\circ \mid$ Tolentine(n)s(is) $\circ$ hos $\mid t i a s \circ \operatorname{lustr}($ avit) et $\circ$ tessêr $(a m) \mid$ aer(eam) $\circ$ ex $\circ$ voto $\circ l($ ibens $) \circ d(e d i t) d(e d i c a v i t) \| V \circ I d(u s) M(a i ?) \circ a s$ - felicit(er)
„A plaque for the district (given) by their patron Lucius Veratius Felicissimus to the inhabitants of the district of Tolentinum. He made an expiatory sacrifice and gladly gave and dedicated the bronze plaque to honour his vow. On the fifth day before the Ides of May (or March). Good fortune."

CIL IX 5565 cf. XI 664* $=$ ILS 6119

The small plaque commemorates L. Veratius Felicissimus, who was patron of the inhabitants of an area in the mountainous region of Picenum. It was probably hung somewhere where it would be visible to everyone - perhaps in a local shrine (cf. the lustratio mentioned). A picture of the bronze in the 'Thesaurus Brandenburgicus' shows that the plaque was crowned by a 7 cm tall female bust (Iuno?), whose genuineness was not doubted until the volume CIL IX was in print (in 1883). It had been removed even before the squeeze was done and has thus presumably been lost along with the plaque.


Literature: C. Friedrich, Berlins antike Bildwerke II. Geräthe und Broncen im Alten Museum, Düsseldorf 1871, 509 No. 2502; drawing from: Thesaurus Brandenburgicus Bd. III, ed. by L. Beger, Coloniae Marchicae [Cölln a. d. Spree] 1701, pl. 331.

## 4. Recycling Inscriptions: A Dedication to the Genius of the Company

Sandstone pedestal with a few remnants of a statue (only the feet have survived); the inscription has been added over a previous inscription; $21 \times 37 \mathrm{~cm}$. Formerly in the museum in Homburg, today in the Kastell Saalburg. Paper squeeze (before 1902) by Karl Zangemeister, editor of the inscriptions from Pompeii (CIL IV) and the inscriptions from the province Germania superior (CIL XIII): CIL, Inv. No. EC0004643.


Previous inscription (highlighted in red):
In $\circ$ h(onorem) $\circ d($ omus $) \circ d($ ivinae $) \circ$ Genio $\mid[c] e \hat{n t u r i a e ~} \circ$ Sattololn $[i] u s \circ$ Aeneas $\circ($ centurio) po(suit)
„In honour of the divine house. To the genius of the company, the centurion Sattonius Aeneas erected (this statue)."

$$
\text { CIL XIII } 7448 \text { cf. fasc. IV p. } 126
$$

In cases in which an altar, a pedestal for a statue, a milestone or a funerary stele was reused in ancient times and new writing added on top of the old, the epigrapher's task can become a veritable jigsaw puzzle. In the case of this erased stone (lapis deleticius), for instance, the field on which the inscription was written was not completely chiselled off. In fact the first line of the earlier inscription has been retained because it fitted in with the later inscription; the second and
third lines have been written over and a fourth added．Stucco or colour was used to cover those parts of the old inscription which were no longer wanted：In 。 $h$（onorem）$\circ d($ omus $) \circ d($ ivinae $) \circ$ Genio $\mid 《[($ centuriae $)] C(a i) S o(s i i) C u p i t i \mid$ Primius Auso》｜optio pos（u）it．


Since the middle of the 2 nd century AD dedicatory inscriptions in Germania superior were often preceded by a dedication to the＇divine＇imperial house，in order to honour the ruler together with the deity：In honorem domus divinae． The symbol $\rangle$ ，often in the form of our number seven $(7,7)$ ，here stands for cen－ turia or centurio．

Literature：For the formula in h（onorem）d（omus）d（ivinae）cf．M．－Th．Raepsaet－Charlier，in： H．Temporini（ed．），Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt II 3，Berlin－New York 1975， 232－282．

## 5. Appearances can be Deceiving the Youth of Magdalensberg

Life-size bronze statue of the famous 'Youth of Magdalensberg', 183.5 cm ; with inscription on right thigh. The original was found on the Magdalensberg (Virunum) in 1505 and kept in Salzburg for a long time. In 1551 King Ferdinand I came into possession of the bronze, although a cast remained in Salzburg. This replica has been on display in Vienna since 1806, latterly in the Wiener Antikensammlung, passing as the original until finally it was recently shown to be a cast made in Renaissance times. The antique object was lost in the mid-19th century in Spain (Aranjuez). Ectypa by Robert von Schneider: CIL, Inv. No. EC0004186 (plaster cast); Inv. No. EC0004641 (paper squeeze).


A(ulus) $\circ$ Poblicius $\circ D($ ecimi $) \circ l($ ibertus $) \circ$ Antioc $(u s) \mid$ Ti(berius $) \circ$ Bar bius $\circ Q(u i n t i) \circ P(u b l i) l($ ibertus $) \circ$ Tiber(ianus?)
„Aulus Poblicius Antiochus, freedman of Decimus, Tiberius Barbius Tiberianus, freedman of Quintus and Publius."

CIL III 4815 cf. p. $2328^{44}=I^{2} 3467$

It is to one's surprise that one reads in Mommsen's description of the inscription (CIL III 4815): „litteris deorsum versus decurrentibus iisque optimis nec Augusta certe aetate posterioribus" - an inscription running downwards along the thigh and in clear, good writing, dated from no later than the Augustan era. It was not until being urged by Robert von Schneider that Mommsen carried out a further autopsy in 1892 and drastically revised his judgement of the inscription (which - as becomes obvious even at first glance - is a modern imitation of an ancient inscription): „renewed careful examination of the original with Mr Schneider, as well as closer examination of the plaster cast and paper
cliché [published here] which he sent to me have convinced myself and my friend Otto Hirschfeld that, in our opinion, the inscription was written in the 16 th century."

Anyone who accepts the statue to be a cast made in the Renaissance ought to be reminded that the inscription was not 'copied' in the cast. Rather, it is a modern addition, most probably a copy of the antique text. Traces of an original ancient carved inscription beneath the modern one, of which allegedly one piece of punctuation has survived between the letters P and L , are, however, but a figment of the reader's imagination (Bormann in CIL III p. $2328^{44}$ ad 4815).

Literature: Th. Mommsen, in: R. v. SchneiDER, Die Erzstatue vom Helenenberge, Jahrb. d. kunsthist. Sammlungen, Vienna 1893, esp. $118 \mathrm{ff} . ;$ K. Gschwantler, in: Griechische und römische Statuetten und Großbronzen. Akten der 9. Internat. Tagung über antike Bronzen (Wien 21.-25. April 1986), Vienna 1988, 17 ff.


## 6. A Club House for Tradesmen

Marble block; $30 \times 31 \times 29 \mathrm{~cm}$; found in 1877 in the ruins of Sarmizegetusa (Várhely), the former capital of the province of Dacia (Romania), since then housed in the archaeological collection in the episcopal Museum of Lugoj. Paper squeeze (late 19th century) by Alfred von Domaszewski, editor of the inscriptions from Illyricum (CIL III): CIL, Inv. No. EC0004657.


Tib(erius) $\circ$ Cl(audius) $\circ$ Ianuarius $\mid$ Aug(ustalis) $\circ$ col(oniae) $\circ$ patr(onus) $\circ$ dec(uriae) $\circ I \circ \mid$ picturam porticus $\mid$ et accubitum $\circ$ item $\circ \mid$ Cl(audius) 。 Verus filius eius $\mid$ ob honorem dupli| proporticum et culi|nam et frontalem $1 \circ$ ex suo fecerunt
„Tiberius Claudius Ianuarius, Augustan priest of the colony, patron of the first division, had the wall paintings in the columned hall and the bench made, likewise his son, Claudius Verus, for the double honour, had the entrance hall, the kitchen and the front (?) made, using their own funds."

$$
\text { CIL III } 7960=I L S 5548
$$

If we believed that Vitruvius' work On Architecture solved all the terminological issues of Roman architecture, this epigraphic testimony bears witness to the fact that we were wrong (cf. also No. 10 below). It shows us how meagrely the multifarious specialist terminology has been chronicled in our literary tradition. The inscription on the building lists three terms for parts of a building that are mentioned rarely or not at all anywhere else, for example accubitus or accubitum, probably referring to a bench, the proporticus, presumably the entrance to the columned hall, and finally - apart from the kitchen (culina) - the frontalis, perhaps the front side of the building facing the street.

The carefully executed inscription from Sarmizegetusa was once set in the building that served as a club house for tradesmen, a so-called schola. Tiberius Claudius Ianuarius and his son Claudius Verus both had the honour of being master guildsmen as it were in the trades, which were divided into divisions ( $p a$ tronus decuriae). In order to give thanks for this honour they both contributed to enhancing the beauty of the club house, using their own funds.

Literature: I. Russu, Inscriptiones Daciae Romanae III 2, Bucharest 1980, No. 13.; U. EgelhaafGaiser, Kulträume im römischen Alltag, Stuttgart 2000, 503 ff . (ancient technical terminology).

## 7. Bread for the Games

Baking mould (?) with framed inscription field, gladiators and palm branches in negative relief; $11 \times 22 \mathrm{~cm}$. Found near Split (Croatia), and kept there in the museum. Paper squeeze (1884) by F. Bulić, the then director of the museum: CIL, Inv. No. EC0004644.


Miscenius | Ampliatus | facit | Salonas(!).
„Miscenius Ampliatus makes (this) in Salonae."
CIL III 8831
Commercial mould of Miscenius (otherwise: Mescenius) Ampliatus. It was presumably used for making bread or cakes which were sold during gladiator games - ad panem pingere, „print on bread", for instance, was written on the so-called Eisenberg bread stamp (Historisches Museum der Pfalz, Speyer).

That is also why the relief is a negative and mirror image, in which, though, the N in Salonas has been reversed by mistake. Besides, Salonas should be interpreted as a misspelling of Salonis (ablative), referring to the place where it was made (Salonae or Salona) near Split. The gladiators depicted on either side are flanked by palm branches, the symbol of victory in a gladiatorial fight (sometimes wreaths, too, as in inscription No. 13).

Literature: F. Bulić, Inscriptiones quae in C. R. Museo Arch. Salonitano Spalati asservantur, Split 1886, 83 No. 826.

## 8. On Business in Greece

Limestone pedestal; inscription field: $20 \times 65 \mathrm{~cm}$. Set into a wall in Merbaka (Peloponnes) in the façade of the Panagia church. Paper squeeze (1885): CIL, Inv. No. EC0004632.

$Q($ uinto $) \circ$ Caecilio $\circ C($ ai) $\circ f($ ilio $) \circ$ Metêllo $\mid$ imperatori $\circ$ Italici $\mid$ quei $\circ$ Argeis $\circ$ negotianṭt(ur)
„The Italici, who trade in Argos, (erected this statue) to the Commander Quintus Caecilius Metellus, son of Caius."

$$
\text { CIL III } 531=\mathrm{I}^{2} 746 \text { cf. p. } 944=I L S 867
$$

That this is a titulus honorarius is clear both from the formula and from the design of the front. However, all trace has been lost of the statue, the original honour. Also, because the pedestal is set into a wall, no evidence can be seen of any tell-tale 'footprints' or plug holes which were used to fix a statue onto the pedestal.

According to Th. Mommsen, the honour was apparently due Q. Caecilius Metellus Creticus, who routed out nests of Cretan pirates with three legions during his consulship in 69 BC , pacified the island turning her into a province and thus ensured the safety of the Aegean trade routes.

Literature: D. van Berchem, Bull. de Correspondance Hellénique 86, 1962, 305 ff.; ibid. 87, 1963, 322 ff .

## 9. In the Shadow of the Great Temple

Small altar with prominent base and crown; $19 \times 14 \mathrm{~cm}$. Around 1900 it was still preserved in Baalbek „in a farmhouse" according to a note made on the squeeze. Presumably only the paper squeeze remains. Ectypum by Отто Pиснstein, the well-travelled archaeologist, who was Secretary General of the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut from 1905 onwards: CIL, Inv. No. EC0004659.

$I($ ovi $) \circ \mathrm{O}($ ptimo $) \circ M($ aximo $) \circ H($ eliopolitano $) \circ \|$ Ti(berius) $\circ$ Pontius Cl(audius) | Bruṭtienus(?) pro| salute 's'ua et Tilberinae filiae | et Ìuventiae $\mid$ uxoris $\circ \| v($ otum $) \circ s($ olvit $) \circ$
„Tiberius Pontius Claudius Bruttienus, honours his vow to Jupiter of Heliopolis, the best and the greatest, for his health, that of his daughter Tiberina and of his wife Iuventia."

The Temple of Jupiter in Baalbek, close to which archaeological excavations were done under the patronage of Emperor Wilhelm II in 1900/1901, is one of the most imposing buildings of antiquity. Built on a colossal podium, its columns today still reach up to the cornice.


The small altar is likewise dedicated to this Jupiter - one of the many testimonials of personal piety which were often shown a deity in thanks for help in times of trouble.

In antiquity the shrine became famous as a place where the oracle was consulted (cf. Macrobius, Saturnalia 1, 23, 10).

Literature: J.-P. Rey-Coquais, Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie VI. Baalbek et Beqa‘, Paris 1967, No. 2720.

## io. A ‘Solarium’ for the Town of Karpis

Small marble plaque with frame (cymatium inversum) and inscription field sunk in; $10.5 \times 13 \times 2 \mathrm{~cm}$. Found in Korbous, the ancient colonia Iulia Karpis; previously kept in Tunis (Musée du Bardo), now lost. One of the oldest inscriptions on a building from the province Africa proconsularis, probably around the middle of the 1 st century BC. Plaster cast made in 1908 by Alfred Merlin, the long-time editor of the 'Année épigraphique' and of the 'Inscriptions latines de la Tunisie' (ILTun). Plaster cast: CIL, Inv. No. EC 0004321.

$D($ ecimus $) \circ$ Laelius $\circ D($ ecimi $) \circ f($ ilius $) \mid$ Balbus $\circ q($ uaestor $) \circ$ pro $\circ \mid$ pr(aetore) $\circ$ assa $\circ$ destrictar(ium) solariumque $\mid$ faciundu(m) $\circ$ coerav(it)
„Decimus Laelius Balbus, son of Decimus, praetorian quaestor, had steam baths, a scraping room and a sun terrace built."

$$
\text { CIL VIII } 24106=\text { ILS } 9367=\text { ILTun } 852
$$

Solarium is the term both for a sun dial and a sun terrace. The latter meaning, however, seems the more obvious here in connection with the term assa, which, otherwise, we know only from a letter by Cicero to his brother (cf. Cicero, Ad Quintum fratrem 3, 1, 2). Assa refers to a cabin for a steam bath, after which one went to a destrictarium to scrape oil and sweat from one's skin. The curiously small inscription must have been set in the building itself.

The donor, Decimus Laelius Balbus, governed the province of Africa vetus as quaestor together with the proconsul Q . Cornificius and died in the civil war against the governor of Numidia, Titus Sextius (in 42 BC).

Literature: Z. Benzina Ben Abdallah, Catalogue des inscriptions latines païennes du musée du Bardo, Rome 1988, 203 No. 520 among the „inscriptions non retrouvées".


## if．Grieving over the Death of a Child

Funerary stele，with gable and aedicula； $40 \times 29 \mathrm{~cm}$ ；inscription on a field in the shape of a so－called tabula ansata（„plaque with handles＂）．In the niche one can see in relief a child dressed in a toga，with an apple in its left hand and a bunch of grapes in its right hand；1st century AD．In the museum of Cherchel（Caesa－ rea）．Paper squeeze by Gustav Wilmans，who travelled across North Africa in 1873－76 in service of the＇Corpus＇．Squeeze and pencil rubbing：CIL，Inv．No． EC0001057 and EC0001058．

Hóc $\circ$ tumuló positum（！）。est Ingenui fi（lia）Flora $\mid$ annó quae vixsit 。 mensibus atq（ue）$\circ$ VIIII｜et quas exsequias $\circ$ debebat nata parentì $\circ$ has pater adversis cásibus ipse dedit $\mid$ terra precor fecunda levis super ossa residas｜aéstuet infantis ne gravitate cinis。
„In this grave lies Flora，daughter of Ingenuus；she lived for one year and nine months．The funeral which the daughter owed her father now the father，dealt a heavy blow by fate，held himself．Fertile earth，I beg of you， rest lightly upon her bones，so that the child＇s ashes do not fly into a rage under the burden．＂

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\text { CIL VIII } 9473 \text { cf. p. } 1984 \text { = CLE } 1153
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The poem on the gravestone is composed in distichs（hexameters and pentame－ ters），each verse filling a separate line；the long vowels are sometimes marked by an apex（a diagonal stroke above the letter）．

In the poem Ingenuus，little Flora＇s father，laments his fate of having to bury his own daughter and hopes that her mortal remains will rest in peace．Surely， the large number of similar testimonies shows that these are very common themes in sepulchral poetry．Nevertheless，this doesn＇t lessen the reader＇s sym－ pathy for the individual bitter fate．

Literature：Ph．Leveau，Caesarea de Maurétanie．Une ville romaine et ses campagnes，Rome 1984， esp． 82 f．with fig．32；R．Lattimore，Themes in Greek and Latin Epitaphs，Urbana／Ill．1942， 187 ff ．


## i2. Herennius, Slave of the City

Small funerary altar (arula) with gable and so-called pulvini („cushions"), toruslike decoration on both sides of the covering slab; $29.5 \times 19 \times 9.5 \mathrm{~cm}$. Preserved in the Museum of Mérida, Badajoz province (Spain), without information regarding origin. Paper squeeze (early 20th century): CIL, Inv. No. EC0004649.

On the gable / the ends of the pulvini: $D$ (is) M(anibus) ș(acrum)
On the front of the body of the altar: Herennius $\circ \mid$ col(oniae) $\circ$ Emer(itae) $\operatorname{ser}(v u s) \circ \mid$ annor(um) $\circ$ XXVII $\mid$ b(ic) $\circ s(i t u s) \circ e(s t) \circ s(i t) \circ t(i b i) \circ t($ erra $)$ l(evis) $\mid$ Lucceia Herennia | mater fec(it)
„To the Infernal Spirits. Here lies Herennius, slave of the city of Colonia Emerita, 27 years old. May the earth rest lightly upon you! His mother Lucceia Herennia erected (this altar)."
P. Battle Huguet, Epigrafía latina, Barcelona $1963^{2}$, Antología No. 62


Slaves are chiefly known to us as the personal property of their master. Nevertheless, slaves belonging to the state, corporate bodies or even cities were no rarity. The small altar bears the epitaph of a slave of the colonia Augusta Emerita, the capital of the province of Lusitania in the south-west of the Iberian peninsula. A „Publicia Graecula, freedwoman of the Colonia" is also known to have hailed from there (AE 1998, 747).

Literature: For the forms of altars known from the city of Emerita Augusta cf. G. Gamer, Formen römischer Altäre auf der Hispanischen Halbinsel, Mainz 1989, 63 ff.

## i3. A Fencing Master’s Final Service

Funerary stele with semicircular top; $49 \times 35 \mathrm{~cm}$; inscription field sunk in and shaped like a tabula ansata. Found in the vicinity of the amphitheatre in Nîmes, now kept in the museum there. Coal rubbing (second half of the 19th century) by Auguste Allmer, the French epigrapher, who gained recognition for his documentation of the inscriptions from Vienne: CIL, Inv. No. EC0003210.
$\operatorname{Tr}($ aeci $\| \mid Q($ uinto $) \circ V e t t i o ~ G r a c i l i \circ$ cor(onarum) $\circ$ trium $\circ \mid$ annorum。 $X X V \mid$ natione $\circ \operatorname{Hispan}(o) \mid$ donavit $\circ L(u c i u s) \circ$ Sestius $\mid$ Latinus $\circ \| d$ (octor)
„To the Thracian Quintus Vettius Gracilis, who (won) three wreaths, aged 25, Hispanic by birth, Lucius Sestius Latinus, his fencing master, presented (this stele)."

CIL XII 3332 cf. p. $837=$ ILS 5087


Gracilis was victorious three times in the arena. As a 'Thracian' he would have been armed with a crescent-shaped sword (sica), a helmet, greaves and a small shield and preferred to fight a murmillo. He presumably died in the nearby amphitheatre of the city of Nemausus (Nîmes). Cf. also No. 7 above.

Literature: A. García y Bellido, Lápidas funerarias de gladiadores de Hispania, Archivo Español de Archeología 33, 1960, 123 ff., esp. 143 f.; G. Ville, La gladiature en occident des origines à la mort de Domitien, Rome 1981, esp. 305.

## i4. Minerva on the Edge of the World

Lavishly decorated limestone altar; $109 \times 38 \mathrm{~cm}$. Found near a Roman military camp in Birrens (Blatobulgium). Now kept in Dumfries Burgh Museum. Paper squeeze (early 20th century): CIL, Inv. No. EC0003396. Drawing by R. G. Collingwood (in 1922).


- Deae $\circ \mid$ Minervae $\mid$ coh(ors) $\circ \overline{I I} \circ$ Tun $\mid$ grorum | mil(liaria) $\circ$ eq(uitata) $\circ c($ ivium $) \circ$ $L($ atinorum $) \circ \mid$ cui $\circ$ prâeest $\circ C(a i u s)$ Sillvius) | Auspex $\circ$ prâef(ectus)
„To the goddess Minerva, the second (partly) equestrian cohort of the Tungrians with one thousand men, citizens of Latin rights, under the command of the prefect Caius Silvinus Auspex (dedicated this altar)."

CIL VII 1071 cf. EE VII p. 333 n. 1090 = RIB 2104
Beyond Hadrian's Wall, which in fact demarcated the most northerly border of Roman Britain, lay the military camp of Birrens. The outpost fort located in inhospitable Scotland was continuously under threat from attack by Caledonians and at times even abandoned. The Cohors II Tungrorum were stationed there from the end of the 2 nd into the 3 rd century AD. It was the only auxiliary unit to our knowledge which was awarded Latin rights (civium Latinorum); it was rather common to raise soldiers in auxiliary troops to the status of cives Romani.
Against the background of interpretatio Romana, this dedication to Minerva is not surprising for a Gallic unit such as the Tungrians, since through her, they worshipped their Celtic deity.


Literature: P. Salway, The Oxford Illustrated History of Roman Britain, Oxford - New York 1993, esp. 157; J. Spaul, Cohors ${ }^{2}$, Oxford 2000, 228 ff . (where the unlikely solution $c$ (ivium) l(iberorum) is preferred).

Bibliographic abbreviations for collections of insriptions used:
$A E=$ L'Année épigraphique, Paris 1888 ff .
CIL $=$ Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum, Berlin 1863ff.
$C L E=$ F. Bücheler - E. Lommatzsch, Carmina Latina Epigraphica, Leipzig 1895-1926
$E E=$ Ephemeris Epigraphica, Berlin 1872-1913
$I G=$ Inscriptiones Graecae, Berlin 1873ff.
$I L S=H$. Dessau, Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae, Berlin 1892-1916
ILTun = A. Merlin, Inscriptions latines de la Tunisie, Paris 1944
$R I B=$ R. G. Collingwood - R. P. Wright al., Roman Inscriptions of Britain, London 1965 ff .

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