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The Oxford Handbook *of*
ROMAN
EPIGRAPHY

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THE OXFORD HANDBOOK OF

ROMAN

EPIGRAPHY

Edited by

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Preface

Inscriptions are important for anyone interested in the Roman world and Roman culture, whether they regard themselves as literary scholars, historians, archaeologists, anthropologists, religious scholars or work in a field that touches on the Roman world from *c.* 500 BCE to 500 CE and beyond. The two editors of this Handbook and most of the contributors are Roman historians, but the content is intended for a much wider audience than just historians. We have worked on this book inspired by the belief that anyone will benefit in their research or studies from knowing what inscriptions have to offer.

Classicists in the anglophone world study ancient inscriptions to a lesser degree than do scholars working in the other major European traditions. There are many reasons for this situation. To name just one, only in the United Kingdom, among English-speaking countries, are Roman inscriptions part of local and national history. In contrast, all around the Mediterranean and in large parts of Central Europe, Roman inscriptions can be found in the local museum, inscribed potsherds can turn up when digging the foundations for a new school, and a favourite uncle may sport a fragmentary Latin text above the fireplace in his living-room. Inscriptions are physically present in a way that they are not, for instance, in North America outside a few major museum collections such as those in New York, Boston, Los Angeles, San Antonio, Montreal, or Toronto.

A major goal of our endeavour is to show why inscriptions matter. Equally important is a desire to demonstrate to classicists and ancient historians, their graduate students, and advanced undergraduates how scholars can work with epigraphic sources. A number of important principles underpin this entire work:

- The phrase "Roman epigraphy" in the title of this Oxford Handbook was the result of a deliberate choice. We prefer "Roman" over "Latin," since it is our hope that this volume can serve Roman studies in general. Many inscriptions important for understanding Roman culture are in Greek, and this aspect is neglected if one limits oneself to Latin epigraphy. We have not refrained from including a number of Greek inscriptions, although it has been impossible to dedicate an equal amount of attention to the epigraphy of Greek texts as to the field of Latin inscriptions. For a complete understanding of the traditions and conventions of Greek epigraphy, readers will still need to consult works such as Margherita Guarducci's masterly four-volume handbook, *Epigrafia greca* (Rome 1967–78) or A.G. Woodhead's briefer *The Study of Greek Inscriptions* (2nd ed., Cambridge 1981).

- Roman epigraphy is a truly international scholarly field and this is reflected both in the background of our contributors and in the scholarly literature cited in the various chapters. Roman studies is a polyglot enterprise and cutting-edge scholarship continues to be published in several other languages besides English, in particular in French, German, Italian, and Spanish.
- We hope that every reader will benefit from the Handbook, but it is aimed less at the "militant epigrapher" than at Roman students and scholars interested in the Roman world in general. By "militant epigrapher," we mean someone fortunate enough to be part of a project that has permission to publish a newly discovered text, or someone who is entrusted with the republication of previously found inscriptions. We expect few of our readers to be asking a museum for permission to take a squeeze of one of its inscriptions, although we will be among the first to congratulate anyone who does so. Yet, in order to carry out such hands-on work competently, the militant epigrapher will have taken specialized university courses, will have served an apprenticeship in the field, and will consult the standard epigraphic manuals that provide much more technical detail and specialized discussion than was possible and meaningful to include here.

It was with these goals in mind that we decided to structure the contents as we have done. Many epigraphic manuals place a major emphasis on typology. The classification of inscriptions according to type (such as epitaphs, dedications, or honorific inscriptions) and subtype (for instance, senatorial epitaphs, military epitaphs, verse epitaphs) constitutes a clear and straightforward method, and it is indeed important to be aware of the typology of Roman inscriptions. A chapter on this topic (Ch. 6) is to be found in the first of the three main parts of this Handbook, which are, in general, structured thematically. Part I is devoted to a historiographic overview of the development of epigraphy as a discipline and to broad general methodological questions such as how to edit and date an inscription. It also seeks to provide guidance about the main epigraphic publications, both in print and in digital form (Chs. 1–5). Part II emphasizes that inscriptions should be considered as physical artifacts rather than just texts, and looks at the place of such inscribed monuments and objects—of what has been known since Ramsey MacMullen's coinage of the term in 1982 as the "epigraphic habit"—within Roman society, including a brief exploration of how texts were carved and could be obtained (Chs. 6–8).

Part III considers the importance of inscriptions for our understanding of many aspects of the Roman world. It begins by considering Roman public life from the early Republic to Late Antiquity (Chs. 9–18). This section focuses in particular on the Roman state, its government, and its hierarchical structures. After a discussion of Republican epigraphy (Ch. 9), it then provides detailed coverage of the imperial period. From an analysis of how Roman emperors and the imperial family can be studied in inscriptions (Ch. 10), the treatment moves via senators and *equites Romani* to the local elites of Italy and the provinces in the West and the East (Chs. 11–13), and then focuses structurally on Roman government, lawgiving and legal matters, and the Roman army before

considering how inscriptions contribute to our knowledge of military and political events in Roman history (Chs. 14–17). The final chapter surveys some of distinctive features of the epigraphy (both Latin and Greek) of the late antique world (Ch. 18).

The next section considers how Roman inscriptions are useful for the study of religious matters, looking separately at Rome and Italy, the Roman provinces, and so-called Christian epigraphy (Chs. 19–21). Inscriptions are just as valuable for throwing light on social and economic history, as chapters on the city of Rome, social life in town and country, euergetism, spectacle, the family, women, slaves, death and burial, travel, and economic life demonstrate (Chs. 22–31). The chapters in the concluding section (Chs. 32–35) explore the spread of some of the many languages spoken and inscribed across the Roman world, the various levels and types of Latin found in these, not least verse inscriptions, and the general issue of what they can reveal about literacy. They demonstrate how our understanding of some key aspects of the culture of the Roman Empire can be enhanced by the use of epigraphic evidence.

Cross-references between chapters abound, and we are much obliged to our contributors, who have gracefully agreed to having their texts, footnotes, and bibliographies abbreviated, sometimes considerably, by the insertion of cross-references to other chapters where the same or similar material is discussed or illustrated. As a result, the volume is intended to be used as an integrated whole, and the various chapters support each other.

from the Collaborative Programme in Ancient History (ColPAH) run jointly by the University of Toronto and York University who have helped in preparing this volume: Alex Cushing, Mary Franks, Angela Hug, and Tommaso Leoni. Theodora Bruun and Barry Torch lent their considerable graphics skills to the preparation of various line-drawings and graphs. Special thanks are owed to Alison Keith, former Chair of the Classics Department, University of Toronto, for facilitating the editing of the Handbook.

Last but not least, in fact most of all, we wish to express our sincere gratitude to all our contributors who worked so hard, assisted in various ways in finding illustrations and in acquiring the required permissions to publish them, and patiently waited for the volume to appear. We have learned much in the editing of this volume and we trust that it will prove useful to readers.

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List of Figures, Maps, and Tables

Maps

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List of Abbreviations

ABAW	Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse
Acta IRF	Acta Instituti Romani Finlandiae
AE	*L'Année Epigraphique*
AEspA	*Archivo español de Arqueología*
AHB	*The Ancient History Bulletin*
AHR	*The American Historical Review*
AIEGL	Association Internationale d'Epigraphie Grecque et Latine
AIRRS	Acta Instituti Romani Regni Sueciae
AJAH	*American Journal of Ancient History*
AJPh	*American Journal of Philology*
ala2004	*Aphrodisias in Late Antiquity* (digital version: cf. Appendix VII)
AM	*Athenische Mitteilungen*
AnatStud	*Anatolian Studies*
AncSoc	*Ancient Society*
AnnalesESC	*Annales: Economies, Sociétés, Civilisations*
AnnalesHSS	*Annales: Histoire, Sciences Sociales*
ANRW	*Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt*, eds. H. Temporini and W. Haase. Berlin and New York 1972–
AntAfr	*Antiquités Africaines*
AntClass	*L'Antiquité Classique*
AntTard	*Antiquité Tardive*
ArchClass	*Archeologia Classica*
ArchLaz	*Archeologia Laziale*
ARID	*Analecta Romana Instituti Danici*
ASNP	*Annali della Scuola Normale di Pisa*
ASRSP	*Archivio della Società Romana di Storia Patria*
BAR Brit. S.	British Archaeological Reports British Series
BAR Int. S.	British Archaeological Reports International Series
BAV	Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana
BCAR	*Bullettino Comunale Archeologico di Roma*
BCH	*Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*
BEFAR	Bibliothèque des Ecoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome
BICS	*Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies*

BIFAO	*Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale*
BJ	*Bonner Jahrbücher*
BMCR	*Bryn Mawr Classical Review*
BMCRE	*Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum*, ed. H. Mattingly et al. London 1923–
BollArch	*Bollettino di archeologia*
Bull.ép.	*Bulletin épigraphique* (published annually in *REG*)
CAH	*The Cambridge Ancient History*
CCET	*Corpus cultus equitis Thracii*. 4 vols. Leiden 1978–84
CCGG	*Cahiers du Centre Gustave Glotz*
CEFR	Collection de l'Ecole française de Rome
CFA	*Commentarii fratrum Arvalium*, ed. J. Scheid. Rome 1998
CIE	*Corpus Inscriptionum Etruscarum*. Leipzig, Florence, Rome 1893–
CIG	*Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*, ed. A. Boeckh. 4 vols. Berlin 1828–43
CIIP	*Corpus Inscriptionum Iudaeae/Palaestinae,* eds. H.M. Cotton et al. Berlin 2010–
CIJ	*Corpus Inscriptionum Judaicarum*, ed. J.B. Frey. 2 vols. Vatican City 1936–52
CIL	*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*. Berlin 1863–
CILA	*Corpus de inscripciones latinas de Andalucía*. Seville 1989–
CIMRM	*Corpus Inscriptionum et Monumentorum Religionis Mithriacae*, ed. M.J. Vermaseren. 2 vols. The Hague 1956–60
CIRG	*Corpus de inscricións romanas de Galicia*. Santiago de Compostela 1991–
CJ	*Classical Journal*
ClAnt	*Classical Antiquity*
CLE	*Carmina Latina Epigraphica*
CommHumLitt	Commentationes Humanarum Litterarum
CPh	*Classical Philology*
CQ	*Classical Quarterly*
CR	*Classical Review*
CRAI	*Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*
CRRS	*Corpus der römischen Rechtsquellen zur antiken Sklaverei*, eds. T.J. Chiusi, J. Filip-Fröschl, and J.M. Rainer. Stuttgart 1999–
CSCA	*California Studies in Classical Antiquity*
CTh	*Codex Theodosianus*
DialArch	*Dialoghi di Archeologia*
DizEpig	*Dizionario Epigrafico di antichità romane*, ed. E. de Ruggiero. Rome 1895–
EAOR	*Epigrafia anfiteatrale dell'Occidente romano*, eds. P. Sabbatini Tumolesi, G.L. Gregori. Rome 1988–
EDB	*Epigraphic Database Bari*

EDCS	*Epigraphic Database Clauss-Slaby*
EDH	*Epigraphische Datenbank Heidelberg*
EDR	*Epigraphic Database Roma*
ELRH	*Epigrafía latina republicana de Hispania*, ed. B. Díaz Ariño. Barcelona 2008
EOS	*Epigrafia e ordine senatorio: Atti del Colloquio internazionale AIEGL.* 2 vols. Rome 1982
EphEp	*Ephemeris Epigraphica*
EpigAnat	*Epigraphica Anatolica*
EPRO	Etudes préliminaires aux réligions orientales dans l'empire romain
ERAvila	*Epigrafía romana de Ávila*, ed. M. Hernando Sobrino. Bordeaux and Madrid 2005
ET	*Etruskische Texte: editio minor*, eds. H. Rix et al. Tübingen 1991
FaS	Forschungen zur antiken Sklaverei
FD	*Fouilles de Delphes* III. *Epigraphie*, Paris 1909–85
FIRA	*Fontes iuris Romani anteiustiniani*, eds. F. Riccobono and V. Arangio Ruiz. 3 vols. 2nd ed. Florence 1940–43
GDI	*Sammlung der griechischen Dialekt-Inschriften*, eds. H. Collitz et al. 4 vols. Göttingen 1884–1915
Glad. paria	Gladiatorum paria. *Annunci di spettacoli gladiatorii a Pompei*, ed. P. Sabbatini Tumolesi. Rome 1980
GLIAnkara	*The Greek and Latin Inscriptions of Ankara (Ancyra)*, eds. S. Mitchell and D. French. Vestigia 62. Munich 2012–
G&R	*Greece and Rome*
GRBS	*Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies*
HAE	*Hispania Antiqua Epigraphica*
HEp	*Hispania Epigraphica*
HSCPh	*Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*
IAM	*Inscriptions antiques du Maroc.* 2 vols. Paris 1966–2003
IAph2007	*Inscriptions of Aphrodisias* (digital version: cf. Appendix VII)
I.Aquileia	*Inscriptiones Aquileiae*, ed. J.B. Brusin. 3 vols. Udine 1991–93
I.Beroia	*Ἐπιγραφές Κάτω Μακεδονίας* 1. *Ἐπιγραφές Βέροιας*, eds. L. Gounaropoulou and M.B. Hatzopoulos. Athens 1998
ICERV	*Inscripciones cristianas de la España romana y visigoda*, ed. J. Vives. Barcelona 1969
ICI	*Inscriptiones Christianae Italiae septimo saeculo antiquiores.* Bari 1985–
ICO	*Le inscrizioni fenicie e puniche delle colonie in Occidente*, ed. M.G. Guzzo Amadasi. Rome 1967
ICUR	*Inscriptiones Christianae Urbis Romae. Nova series*, eds. A. Silvagni, A. Ferrua, et al. Rome 1922–
I.Didyma	*Didyma* II. *Die Inschriften*, ed. A. Rehm. Berlin 1958
IDR	*Inscriptiones Daciae Romanae*, eds. I.I. Russo et al. Bucarest 1975–

I.Ephesos	*Die Inschriften von Ephesos*, eds. H. Wankel et al. Bonn 1979–84 (IK 11–17)
IG	*Inscriptiones Graecae*. Berlin 1903–
IGBulg	*Inscriptiones Graecae in Bulgaria repertae*, ed. G. Mihailov. Sofia 1958–97
IGI	*Iscrizioni Greche d'Italia*. Rome 1984–
IGLNovae	*Inscriptions grecques et latines de Novae (Mésie inférieure)*, eds. J. Kolendo and V. Božilova. Bordeaux 1997
IGLS	*Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie*. Paris 1929–
IGRR	*Inscriptiones Graecae ad res romanas pertinentes*, ed. R. Cagnat. 3 vols. Paris 1906–27
IGUR	*Inscriptiones Graecae Urbis Romae*, ed. L. Moretti. 4 vols. Rome 1968–90
IHC	*Inscriptiones Hispaniae Christianae*, ed. E. Hübner. Berlin 1871–1900
I.Iasos	*Die Inschriften von Iasos*, ed. W. Blümel. 2 vols. Bonn 1985 (IK 28.1–2)
IJO	*Inscriptiones Judaicae Orientis*, ed. W. Ameling. 3 vols. Tübingen 2004
IK	Inschriften griechischer Städte Kleinasiens
I.Knidos	*Die Inschriften von Knidos*, ed. W. Blümel. Bonn 1992– (IK 41)
I.Köln	*Die römischen Steininschriften aus Köln*, eds. B. and H. Galsterer, Cologne 1975
I.Kyme	*Die Inschriften von Kyme*, ed. H. Engelmann. Bonn 1976 (IK 5)
ILA	*Inscriptions latines d'Aquitaine*. Bordeaux 1991–
ILAfr	*Inscriptions latines d'Afrique*, eds. R. Cagnat, A. Merlin, and L. Chatelain. Paris 1923
ILAlg	*Inscriptions latines d'Algérie*, eds. S. Gsell and H.-G. Pflaum. Paris, Algiers 1922–2003
ILB²	*Nouveau recueil des inscriptions latines de Belgique*, eds. A. Deman and M.-T. Raepsaet Charlier. Brussels 2002
ILCV	*Inscriptiones Latinae Christianae Veteres*, ed. E. Diehl. 4 vols. Berlin 1925–67
ILJug	*Inscriptiones Latinae quae in Iugoslavia . . . repertae et editae sunt*, eds. A. and J. Šašel. 3 vols., Ljubljana 1963–86
ILLPRON	*Inscriptiones lapidariarum Latinarum provinciae Norici*, ed. M. Hainzmann. Berlin 1986–
ILLRP	*Inscriptiones Latinae liberae rei publicae*, ed. A. Degrassi. 2 vols. Florence 1957–63
ILLRP-S	"Inscriptiones Latinae liberae rei publicae" in *Epigrafia. Actes du colloque international d'épigraphie latine en mémoire de'Attilio Degrassi*, ed. S. Panciera, 241–491. CEFR 143. Rome 1991
ILMN	*Catalogo delle Iscrizioni Latine del Museo di Napoli*, eds. G. Camodeca, H. Solin, et al. Naples 2000–
ILN	*Inscriptions latines de Narbonnaise*. Paris 1985–

ILPBardo	*Catalogue des inscriptions latines païennes du musée du Bardo*, ed. Z.B. Ben Abdallah. CEFR 92. Rome 1986
ILS	*Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, ed. H. Dessau. Berlin 1892–1916
ILTun	*Inscriptions latines de la Tunisie*, ed. A. Merlin. Paris 1944
Imagines	*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum. Auctarium. Inscriptiones Latinae liberae rei publicae. Imagines*, ed. A. Degrassi. Berlin 1965
Imag. It.	*Imagines Italicae: A Corpus of Italic Inscriptions*, eds. M.H. Crawford et al. *BICS* Suppl. 110. 3 vols. London 2011
I.Milet	*Milet* VI. *Inschriften von Milet*, ed. P. Hermann. Berlin 1997–2006
IMS	*Inscriptions de la Mésie Supérieure*, eds. M. Mirkovič et al. Belgrade 1976–
IMU	*Italia medioevale e umanistica*
Inscr.It.	*Inscriptiones Italiae.* Rome 1931–
I.Olympia	*Die Inschriften von Olympia*, eds. W. Dittenberger and K. Purgold. Berlin 1896
I.Pergamum	*Die Inschriften von Pergamon*, eds. M. Fränkel, C. Habicht. Berlin 1890–1969
IPO	*Inscriptions du port d'Ostie*, ed. H. Thylander. Lund 1952
I.Priene	*Inschriften von Priene*, ed. F. Hiller von Gaertringen. Berlin 1906
IPT	*Iscrizioni puniche della Tripolitania*, ed. G. Levi della Vida. Rome 1987
IRC	*Inscriptions romaines de Catalogne*, eds. G. Fabre, M. Mayer, I. Rodà. Bordeaux and Barcelona 1984–2002
IRCP	*Inscrições romanas do Conventus Pacensis*, ed. J. d'Encarnação. 2 vols. Coimbra 1984
IRN	*Inscriptiones Regni Neapolitani Latinae*, ed. T. Mommsen. Leipzig 1852
IRT	*Inscriptions of Roman Tripolitania*, eds. J.M. Reynolds and J.B. Ward-Perkins. Rome 1952
IScM	*Inscriptiones Scythiae Minoris Graecae et Latinae*, eds. D.M. Pippidi et al. Bucarest 1980–99
I.Smyrna	*Die Inschriften von Smyrna*, ed. G. Petzl. 2 vols. Bonn 1982–90 (IK 23–24)
ISS	Inscriptiones Sanctae Sedis
I.Tralleis	*Die Inschriften von Tralleis*, ed. F.B. Poljakov. Bonn 1989 (IK 36)
I.Tyana	*Tyana. Archäologisch-historische Untersuchungen zum südwestlichen Kappadokien* 1.5, ed. J. Nollé. Bonn 2000 (IK 55)
JIWE	*Jewish Inscriptions of Western Europe*, ed. D. Noy. 2 vols. Cambridge 1993–95
JLA	*Journal of Late Antiquity*
JSJ	*Journal for the Study of Judaism*
KAI	*Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften*, eds. H. Donner and W. Röllig. 2nd ed. 3 vols. Wiesbaden 1966–69
KP	*Der Kleine Pauly. Lexicon der Antike.* 5 vols. Stuttgart 1962–75

LICS	*Latin Inscriptions from Central Spain*, ed. R.C. Knapp. Berkeley 1992
LF	*Listy Filologické*
JRA	*Journal of Roman Archaeology*
JRS	*Journal of Roman Studies*
LTUR	*Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae*, ed. E.M. Steinby. 6 vols. Rome 1993–2000
MAAR	*Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome*
MAL	*Memorie della Accademia dei Lincei*
MAMA	*Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua*. 1928–
MEFRA	*Mélanges de l'Ecole française de Rome: Antiquité*
MEFRM	*Mélanges de l'Ecole française de Rome: Moyen Age*
MinEpPap	*Minima Epigraphica et Papyrologica*
MiscGrRom	*Miscellanea greca e romana*
MLH	*Monumenta Linguarum Hispanicarum*, ed. J. Untermann. Wiesbaden 1975–2000
MPAA	*Memorie della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia*
MusHelv	*Museum Helveticum*
NP	*Der Neue Pauly. Enzyklopädie der Antike*, eds. H. Cancik and H. Schneider. Stuttgart 1996–2003 (Engl. transl. *Brill's New Pauly: Encyclopaedia of the Ancient World*. Leiden 2002–11)
NSA	*Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità*
O.BuNjem	*Les ostraca de Bu Njem*, ed. R. Marichal. Tripoli 1992
OCD	*Oxford Classical Dictionary*
OGIS	*Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae*, ed. W. Dittenberger. 2 vols. Leipzig 1903–5
OLD	*Oxford Latin Dictionary*
Oliver, *Gk. Const.*	J.H. Oliver, *Greek Constitutions of Early Roman Emperors from Inscriptions and Papyri,* ed. K. Clinton. Mem. Amer. Philosoph. Soc. 178, Philadelphia, 1989
OpIRF	*Opuscula Instituti Romani Finlandiae*
OpRom	*Opuscula Romana*
PBSR	*Papers of the British School at Rome*
PCPhS	*Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society*
PIR	*Prosopographia Imperii Romani. Saec. I. II. III*. 1st ed. Berlin 1897–98. 2nd ed. Berlin 1933–
PLRE	*The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*, eds. A.H.M. Jones, J.R. Martindale, and J. Morris. 3 vols. Cambridge 1971–92
P. Ross.-Georg.	*Papyri russischer und georgischer Sammlungen*
RAC	*Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*. Stuttgart 1950–
RACr	*Rivista di Archeologia Cristiana*
RAL	*Rendiconti dell'Accademia dei Lincei*
RAN	*Revue archéologique de Narbonnaise*

RBPh	*Revue Belge de Philologie*
RDGE	*Roman Documents of the Greek East. Senatus Consulta and* Epistulae *to the Age of Augustus*, ed. R.K. Sherk. Baltimore 1969
RE	*Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, eds. A. Pauly, G. Wissowa, W. Kroll, et al. 2nd ed. Stuttgart 1894–1980
REA	*Revue des Etudes Anciennes*
REE	*Rivista di Epigrafia Etrusca* (in the journal *Studi Etruschi*)
REG	*Revue des Etudes Grecques*
REL	*Revue des Etudes Latines*
RG	*Res Gestae divi Augusti*
RGRW	*Religions of the Graeco-Roman World*
RHDFE	*Revue historique de droit français et étranger*
RhM	*Rheinisches Museum*
RIB	*Roman Inscriptions of Britain*, eds. R.G. Collingwood, R.P. Wright, et al. 3 vols. Oxford 1965–2009
RICG	*Recueil des inscriptions chrétiennes de la Gaule antérieures à la Renaissance carolingienne*, ed. H.I. Marrou. Paris 1975–
RIDA	*Revue internationale des droits de l'antiquité*
RIG	*Recueil des inscriptions gauloises.* 1985–
RIL	*Recueil des inscriptions libyques*, ed. J.-B. Chabot. Paris 1940–41
RIU	*Die römischen Inschriften Ungarns.* Budapest 1972–
RM	*Römische Mitteilungen*
RMD	*Roman Military Diplomas*, eds. M.M. Roxan, P.A. Holder. London 1978–
RPAA	*Rivista della Pontificia Accademia di Archeologia*
RPh	*Revue de philologie, de literature et d'histoire ancienne*
RS	*Roman Statutes*, ed. M.H. Crawford. *BICS* Suppl. 64. London 1996
Salona IV	*Salona IV. Inscriptions de Salone chrétienne, IVe—VIIe siècles*, eds. N. Gauthier, E. Marin, and F. Prévot. CEFR 194. Rome 2010
SCI	*Scripta Classica Israelica*
SCO	*Scripta Classica et Orientalia*
SDHI	*Studia et Documenta Historiae et Iuris*
SEG	*Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*
SIG[3]	*Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*, 3rd ed., ed. W. Dittenberger. 4 vols. Leipzig 1915–24
ST	*Sabellische Texte. Die Texte des Oskischen, Umbrischen und Südpikenischen*, ed. H. Rix. Heidelberg 2002
Suppl.It.	*Supplementa Italica.* Rome 1981–
Tab. Vindol.	*Tabulae Vindolandenses: The Vindolanda Writing-tablets*, eds. A.K. Bowman and J.D. Thomas. London 1983–
Tab. Vindon.	*Tabulae Vindonissenses*
TAM	*Tituli Asiae Minoris.* Vienna 1901–
TAPA	*Transactions of the American Philological Association*
TH	*Tabulae Herculanenses* (cf. Table 15.4)

ThesCRA	*Thesaurus Cultus et Rituum Antiquorum*, 8 vols. Los Angeles and Basel 2004–11
TPSulp	*Tabulae Pompeianae Sulpiciorum*, ed. G. Camodeca. Rome 1999
VetChrist	*Vetera Christianorum*
Vetter	E. Vetter, *Handbuch der italischen Dialekte.* Heidelberg 1953
YCS	*Yale Classical Studies*
ZPE	*Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*
ZRG	*Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte: Römische Abteilung*

Readers should note also the following common abbreviations:

cos.	consul
HS	*sestertii* (sesterces)
lex col. Gen.	*lex coloniae Genitivae Iuliae* (often imprecisely called the *lex Ursonensis*)
lex Flav. mun.	*lex Flavia municipalis*
SC	*senatus consultum*
SCPiso	*SC de Cn Pisone patre*

MAP 1 Italy

MAP 2 The Roman Empire under Marcus Aurelius and Commodus

Legionary base (normally a single legion)
Principal settlement with legionary base adjacent
Not all legions' bases are known.
Bases and provinces (boundaries, names)
around A.D. 200 are shown.

SARMATIANS

Black Sea

DACIA
Apulum
Sarmizegetusa
ARMENIA
nincum
rcisa
IAZYGES
Singidunum
Novae
Viminacium
Durostorum
Sinope
Satala
Amastris
MOESIA INFERIOR
Odessus
MOESIA
SUPERIOR
THRACIA
Serdica
Byzantium
Nicomedia
Nicaea
BITHYNIA-PONTUS
Ancyra
GALATIA
CAPPADOCIA
Amida
Melitene
MESOPOTAMIA
Tigris
Samosata
Resaina
Carrhae
OSROENE
MACEDONIA
Thessalonica
Cyzicus
Pergamum
Mytilene
ASIA
Smyrna
Hierapolis
Ephesus
Aphrodisias
LYCIA
Oinoanda
Issus
Tarsus
CILICIA
Antioch
SYRIA COELE
Palmyra
Dura
Europos
Euphrates
Ctesiphon
Seleucia
PARTHIA
EPIRUS
ACHAIA
Nicopolis
(Actium)
Corinth
Athens
Olympia
Patara
Myra
CYPRUS
Paphos
Emesa
SYRIA
PHOENICE
Berytus
AMORGOS
CRETA
Gortyn
Tyre
Caesarea
SYRIA
PALAESTINA
Aelia Capitolina
Bostra
ARABIA PETRAEA
nean Sea
Alexandria
Petra
Cyrene
Nile
AEGYPTUS
CYRENAICA

ROMAN EPIGRAPHY: EPIGRAPHIC METHODS AND HISTORY OF THE DISCIPLINE

CHAPTER 1

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THE EPIGRAPHER AT WORK

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CHRISTER BRUUN AND JONATHAN EDMONDSON

First Contact

One day in 1952 the renowned epigrapher Hans-Georg Pflaum (1902–79) and his French colleague Erwan Marec (1888–1968), director of the excavations at Hippo Regius in Algeria, sent off the proofs of an article to be published in the renowned journal of the *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* in Paris.[1] On the basis of a paper they had presented on 15 January the same year at a meeting of that learned society, they were on the verge of causing quite a commotion among Roman historians and classicists. Who has not heard of Suetonius, the imperial biographer? His scholarly and somewhat sensationalist lives of the twelve Caesars from Julius Caesar to Domitian have influenced later Roman writers, the Middle Ages, and common modern perceptions of these Roman *principes*.[2]

Like many of the Roman authors we know so well from the literature they wrote, Suetonius used to be completely unknown outside of his own work, except for seven references to him in correspondence of the younger Pliny (*Ep.* 1.18; 1.24.1; 3.8.1; 5.10.3; 9.34; 10.94–95) and a few further remarks in some other later sources (cf. *PIR*[2] S 959). Imagine the excitement, therefore, when the two French scholars in 1950 came upon a long lost inscription during excavations at Roman Hippo Regius, a coastal town in eastern Algeria (now Annaba, formerly Bone), which seems to give details of the life of the author Suetonius!

To illustrate how epigraphers work with inscriptions, we shall reconstruct the steps that Pflaum and Marec might well have taken before finally sending off their corrected proofs to the journal *CRAI*. The description of their work is followed by an up-to-date checklist for the contemporary epigrapher, in which we outline current best practices

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[1] Marec and Pflaum 1952 = *AE* 1953, 73.
[2] Pflaum 1960–61: 1.219-224 no. 96. In general, Wallace-Hadrill 1983; Gascou 1984.

in the discipline of epigraphy for editing Roman inscriptions, including the use of technological aids such as the internet and digital photography.

When Pflaum and Marec discovered the Suetonius inscription at Hippo in 1950 during excavations of an *exedra* in the portico on the E. side of the forum, lying face down, it was badly damaged. Of the original moulded plaque, just sixteen fragments survived. After a long and thoughtful discussion, Pflaum and Marec restored the text conservatively as follows (*AE* 1953, 73; Fig. 1.1):

> *C(aio) Suetoni[o] / [. fil(io)…(tribu)] Tra[nquillo] / [f]lami[ni–c. 10 letters–] / [adlecto i]nt[er selectos a di]vo Tr[a]/[iano Parthico p]ont(ifici) Volca[nali] / [–c. 16 letters– a] studiis a byblio[thecis] / [ab e]pistulis / [Imp(eratoris) Caes(aris) Trai]ani Hadr[i]an[i Aug(usti)] / [Hipponenses Re]gii [d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)] p(ecunia) p(ublica)*

To C. Suetonius Tranquillus [son of ?, of the voting-tribe ?], priest of [??], chosen as a jury-panel member (?) by the Deified Trajan, *pontifex* of the cult of Vulcan, *a studiis* (in charge of literary and cultural pursuits), in charge of the libraries, in charge of correspondence of the emperor Hadrian. The inhabitants of Hippo Regius (erected this monument) with public funds by decree of the town council.

Enough survived of the text to stimulate the curiosity of the discoverers: in particular, the name in the first line. Names are always useful in inscriptions for a variety of reasons. In this case, C. SVETONI and TRA must have seemed so fascinating that

FIG. 1.1 Fragmented moulded plaque honouring the biographer Suetonius from Hippo Regius, North Africa.

Marec and Pflaum may well for a minute have neglected the important task of physically recording the stone and its full text. Instead they probably hurried off to consult standard works of reference in order to find out whether they could draw any conclusions from that name. Could it really be…*the* Suetonius, who is known from his own transmitted works and from Pliny to have borne the *cognomen* Tranquillus?

Before they could entertain the hypothesis of identifying the honorand with the famous imperial biographer, some background research on Roman naming practices needed to be carried out. In today's North America, there are many men called William Clinton, not just the former U.S. President, and few of the Clintons one might encounter will even be related to the Bill Clinton known the world over. How could they find out about the distinctiveness of the name *Suetonius* in the Roman world?

The various corpora of Latin inscriptions include extensive indices of all the individuals mentioned, with separate lists of family-names (*gentilicia*) and surnames (*cognomina*). Similar indices can be found in the annual volumes of *L'Année Épigraphique* (*AE*) and the *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum* (*SEG*), which register new discoveries and noteworthy discussions of previously found Latin or Greek inscriptions (Ch. 4). Today the various epigraphic databases (Ch. 5) allow for a rapid search of names, with the proviso that a name may appear in various grammatical cases and that such an automated search may not catch variant spellings.

A consultation of the indices of *CIL* VIII (covering North Africa) and *Inscriptions latines d'Algérie* I (1922) showed our scholars that the name Suetonius is indeed rather rare in the region; just three or four Suetonii are attested (*ILAlg* 3374–75, 3843, and possibly 3105). Exhilarated by their discovery, we may presume, Marec and Pflaum then turned to a serious investigation of the fragmentary plaque they had discovered.

Autopsy, Recording, Interpretation

It is the task of a "militant epigrapher" such as Hans-Georg Pflaum—if we may introduce this term to characterize someone who has the opportunity to work with the actual physical objects that inscriptions are—to study and record carefully the archaeological context of a new discovery and to present an exhaustive description of the text and the object on which it was inscribed. In their attention to the materiality of inscriptions, epigraphers are no different from archaeologists, literary scholars who work with medieval manuscripts, or equally "militant" papyrologists. All future studies involving the text need to rely on the *editio princeps*. This famed "first edition," therefore, should include as much information as possible for the benefit of future generations of scholars. Marec and Pflaum appropriately included in their initial publication a photograph of the conditions in which the fragmentary plaque was found (Fig. 1.1), as well as a full description of the surviving fragments, including detailed measurements of them and the height of the inscribed letters. To help readers gain a better understanding of the text, they also included a line drawing (Fig. 1.2), which contains a centimetre scale and
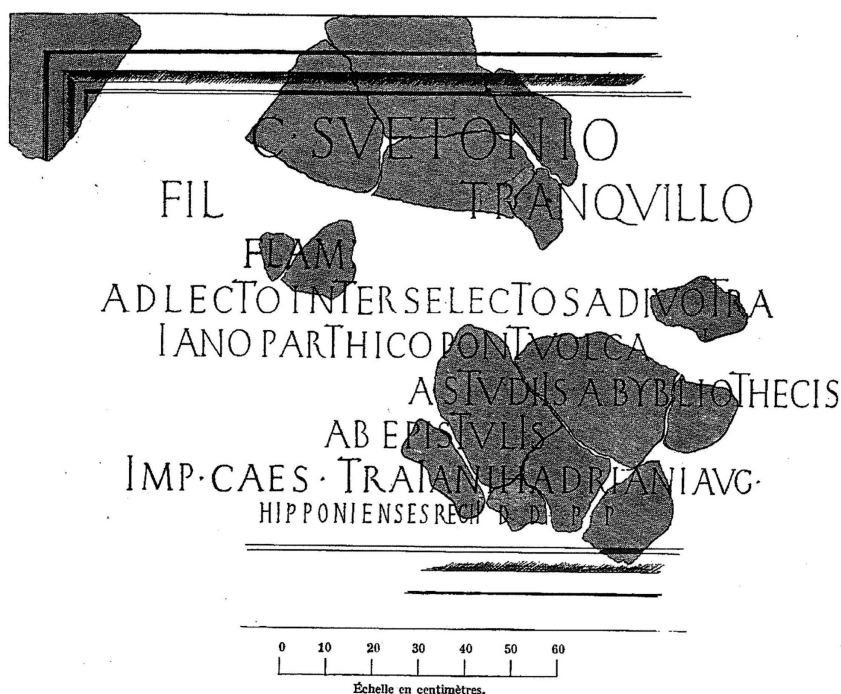
FIG. 1.2 Line-drawing by E. Marec and H.-G. Pflaum of the plaque honouring Suetonius from Hippo Regius.

a suggested reconstruction of how the sixteen fragments fit into the overall layout of the text.[3] A central principle guiding their reconstruction was their realization that the gap on the stone to the right of the surviving text of line 7, *[ab e]pistulis,* indicates that this title was centred on the plaque. This discovery and the letters that survived from the other lines allowed them to estimate the approximate width of each line.

In retrospect, it is somewhat disconcerting that the line-drawing does not quite correspond with the edition of the text that the two scholars published in their article (given above) and so it needs to be treated with due caution. In the line-drawing small traces of letters appear that in the edited text Marec and Pflaum preferred, more conservatively, to leave within square brackets: for example, in line 2 the left-hand vertical of the N of *Tranquillo* appears in the line-drawing, whereas in their edition it is within square brackets, to denote that it is no longer survives on the stone and is an editorial restoration. Somewhat surprisingly, the small traces of letters that appear in the line-drawing were taken over in the edition of the text that appeared as *AE* 1953, 73. It is safer, therefore, to use Pflaum's and Marec's original text (given above), which is reproduced in Pflaum's *magnum opus* on equestrian procuratorial careers[4] (but compare

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[3]   Marec and Pflaum 1952: 76–80.
[4]   Pflaum 1960–61: 220.

our new edition of the text, p. 18). This throws into high relief the relative importance of autopsy, a photograph of an inscription, and an editor's line-drawing (p. 8–9). Since Mommsen, epigraphers accept that the greatest authority should be attributed to readings based on autopsy (Ch. 4).

Publishing an Inscription: A Check-list of Best Practices

There are a number of stages that an epigrapher needs to follow when preparing the *editio princeps* of an inscription or undertaking a new edition of a previously published text.[5] Knowledge of the proper procedure is valuable not only for anyone who has ambitions to be a militant epigrapher, but also for any scholar using inscriptions. It is important to be able to judge whether the publication of an inscription answers all the questions one might reasonably pose and if the presentation of the text corresponds to current standards.

Provenance

A careful description of the physical conditions in which the inscription was discovered is essential. If the text was found in an archaeological context, one needs to determine whether this was its original situation or whether it had been reused and/or moved there either in antiquity or more recently. The epigrapher's task is more straightforward if the text was found in situ and this was its original, primary location. If one encounters an inscription out of context, one needs to ask what information, if any, is available about its original findspot. Were photos taken or drawings made? If the provenance is said to be unknown, as is often the case with objects that form part of museum or private collections, consultation of the museum's inventory or archival documents may reveal some useful data.

Detailed Physical Study: Text and Context

The inscription and the surface on which the text is inscribed need detailed scrutiny, as does the object itself, when one is dealing with a freestanding artifact such as a

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[5] Useful handbooks: Cagnat 1914; Sandys 1919; Gordon 1983; Di Stefano Manzella 1987; Calabi Limentani 1991; Keppie 1991; Schmidt 2004; Cebeillac-Gervasoni, Caldelli, and Zevi 2006; Lassère 2007; Buonopane 2009; Cooley 2012.

votive altar, tombstone, or amphora sherd. This should result in a classification of the inscribed object, i.e., establishing whether the text appears on a building or on a movable object such as an altar (*ara*), *cippus*, base, on a smaller votive object, or on a piece of brick, tile, or pipe (*instrumentum domesticum*). Any particular features pertaining to the process of inscribing should be recorded, such as any guidelines the stonecutter used or any erasures in the text (Ch. 7). Furthermore, when studying large monumental building inscriptions, it may sometimes be possible to reconstruct the original text by scrutinizing the surviving holes by means of which bronze letters were once fastened onto the stone, as Géza Alföldy has demonstrated in a series of legendary studies.[6] The physical features of the inscribed object can also be of value. Clamp-holes on the back of a plaque may reveal how it was originally displayed, as will the fact that an otherwise beautifully carved statue base has an unfinished rear side. The typology of an amphora and the chemical composition of its clay help to provide important data on its origin and date.

Squeezes

There are many ways in which the object and its text may be recorded for its initial publication and for the benefit of future study. Taking a squeeze represents the most faithful means of recording an epigraphic text. The inscribed area is covered with a sheet of dampened squeeze-paper (i.e., chemical filter paper).[7] A squeeze brush is then used to press the paper into the grooves of the text. Once the paper has dried, the squeeze can be removed from the stone. Its underside preserves an exact impression of the text, though retrograde. This can be read in different lighting conditions and often helps to resolve the reading of poorly preserved letters. For certain types of inscriptions, especially where the letters are in raised relief (such as lead pipes or brick-stamps), rubbings using charcoal or soft pencil on tracing paper can also be helpful. Squeeze collections, such as the substantial one in the *CIL* archives in Berlin, often contain records of many inscriptions that have been lost after they were first studied and a squeeze taken (Fig. 1.3, photograph of the retrograde underside inverted to ease legibility).

Line-drawings

As we have seen in the case of the Suetonius inscription (Fig. 1.2), a good line-drawing can be useful and occasionally this is the only (or the best) way to represent a discovery visually, especially when dealing with fragmentary inscriptions. Line-drawings are helpful for epigraphers but it must be remembered that every drawing involves an element of subjective interpretation.

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[6] Alföldy 1995, 1997, 2012.

[7] Latex rubber can also be used, but it is more expensive and difficult to handle.
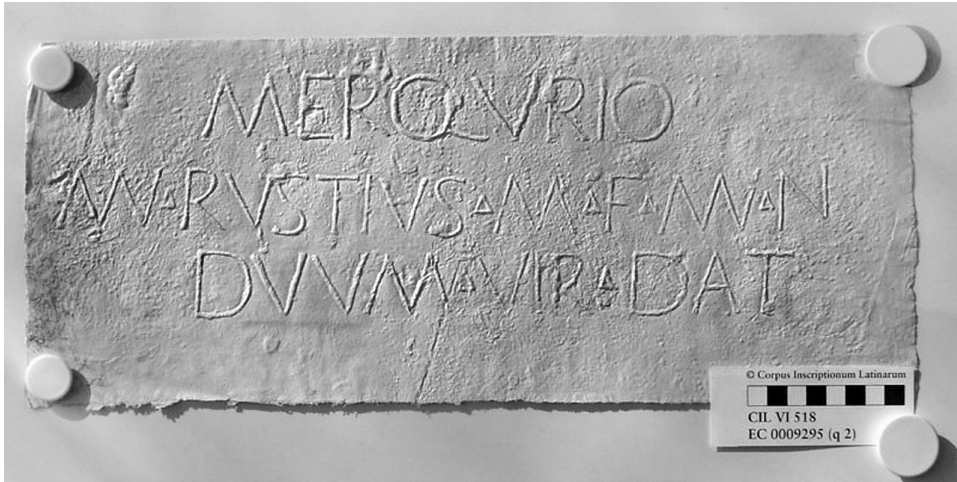
FIG. 1.3 Paper squeeze (retrograde underside inverted) of a Republican dedication to Mercury from Antium (*CIL* I² 992 = Fig. 9.2). BBAW-*CIL* archives (EC 0009295).

Photography

Taking photographs is an obvious method of recording a text, and much effort should go into creating the best conditions for this. The text should be evenly lit, and a light source from the side (i.e., raking light) is helpful in creating contrasts that better reveal the grooves of the carved letters. When taking photographs for the *editio princeps*, a metric scale should be fixed to the object so that its size can easily be assessed (as in Figs. 11.2 or 24.5). Photographs can be deceptive, since they sometimes fail to show traces of letters visible to the naked eye and even occasionally give the impression of a letter that is not actually there. The widespread use of digital cameras now allows epigraphers to take an almost infinite number of images from all possible angles, and the results can be processed with software programmes such as Adobe Photoshop. These can considerably enhance photographs taken in poor light, but there is a danger that the results may distort the original text.[8]

The use of computers to help analyze photographs offers a new and sometimes vastly superior way for epigraphers to decipher a poorly preserved text. The photographic process known as Reflectance Transformation Imaging (RTI) captures multiple views of the surface of an object taken from different angles under varying lighting conditions and these can be processed using the Polynomial Texture Mapping (PTM) program to create a "textured" composite image, with the result that traces too faint to see with the naked eye are often revealed.[9]

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[8] Bodel 2012: esp. 287–291.
[9] Bodel 2012: 289–290. Examples: Bowman, Tomlin, and Worp 2009: 158–159; Earl, Beale, and Keay 2011: 108–111; Bevan, Lehoux, and Talbert 2013.

Publishing the Text: First Steps

In ideal conditions, the first steps towards publishing a text should occur at the same time as the recording process. With more difficult, fragmentary inscriptions, it may be necessary to return to look at the stone a second time, once one has become more aware of the problems it raises. "Could this be a very badly executed T?" "Can we exclude the possibility that the stonecutter could have fitted the letters EI in that space?" Often a scholar may start working in earnest on publishing the text only once she has returned to her home base, which is why it is essential to record every detail in the field with as much precision as possible. On the other hand, even if one has the opportunity to remain at the site of the discovery for a longer period, the scholarly tools an epigrapher needs may not be available, although the growth of the internet has facilitated easier access to some of them.

The first question to ask is whether the text, or one similar to it, has already been published, in which case the previous publication and any ensuing discussion obviously need to be taken into account. This is less straightforward than it may seem. Even for an inscription straight out of the soil there is some work to be done: for instance, if it is a religious dedication, an inscription closely resembling it may already be known from the vicinity, and sometimes multiple copies of the same epitaph were produced in the Roman period. In particular, when dealing with texts on everyday objects such as amphorae, lamps, or lead pipes (*instrumentum domesticum*), many previous examples of the same text or stamp may already be known.

Searching for previously known examples of the same or similar texts is now facilitated thanks to the Epigraphic Database Clauss Slaby (EDCS) and other digital databases (Ch. 5; Appendix VII), although one needs to remember that electronic repositories are not devoid of errors and do not include every published text. It will also be necessary to consult local or regional corpora and epigraphic publications, and, if relevant texts are found in a database, to consult the original printed publications for more precise information on them. (For the conundrums that can occur when consulting the electronic entry for a much-debated inscription, see p. 80–81 and Fig. 5.1.)

Support from Epigraphic Manuscripts

When one is publishing a text that has been known for some time, much assistance may be derived from archival sources. As mentioned above, a museum archive may contain information about an inscription's provenance, while a squeeze may allow an improved reading of the text. Sometimes the inscribed object has been known for centuries, and a record of one or more earlier observations of it may exist, for instance, in an early printed work or Renaissance manuscript (Ch. 2). Details no longer present may thus be revealed, as occurs in the case of a funerary monument from Rome, now in the Louvre (*CIL* VI 20674 = *CLE* 436). A drawing published in 1719 by Bernard de Montfaucon shows that the monument was subsequently recut, which resulted in the

FIG. 1.4 Early eighteenth-century engraving by B. de Montfaucon of a funerary monument from Rome with portraits of Iulia Secunda and Cornelia Tyche (*CIL* VI 20674), showing the complete monument including a section now lost. The original is now in the Louvre.

removal of about three-quarters of the poetic text (*carmen epigraphicum*) on its side (Fig. 1.4).[10] Care must always be taken when using earlier representations, since forgeries were not uncommon during the Renaissance and later (Ch. 3).

Presenting the Inscription

If an inscription is complete and every letter legible, the task of presenting the text is a fairly straightforward one. The scholar needs to follow the international conventions

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[10] Montfaucon 1719: 79 and pl. LVII.

for publishing epigraphic texts. During the past century standards have varied, but since the 1980s the so-called Leiden conventions (the "Leiden system"), initially designed for editing papyri, have been adopted by epigraphers (Appendix I).[11] The main purpose of this system is to make absolutely clear the layout and state of preservation of the ancient text. Even a photograph cannot necessarily convey all aspects, and in any case a good edition of the text removes the need for spending much time on deciphering an image, which nonetheless should still accompany the *editio princeps*.

In the nineteenth and for much of the twentieth century, the principles for presenting epigraphic texts differed considerably from the modern Leiden system, which needs to be remembered when using older publications. So, for instance, extant letters could be printed in capitals, while missing letters or expansions of abbreviations might appear in lower-case lettering or in italics, whereas under the Leiden system they should appear within square brackets or round parentheses respectively. Recent *CIL* volumes conform to the Leiden system. Originally the *CIL* printed surviving text in capital letters, a natural choice given that Latin inscriptions were predominantly carved in capitals, but all the new fascicles use lower case italics throughout (Fig. 1.5).

Frequently texts are difficult to read or fragmentary, and in such situations adherence to the Leiden convention becomes crucial. Some of main diacritical signs used include:

- all abbreviated words should be expanded within round brackets: *M(arci) f(ilius)*.[12]
- if parts of the text cannot be read because the surface is damaged or missing, restored letters are indicated by using square brackets: *Cic[ero]*.
- in cases where some words were purposely removed in antiquity, such as when a person had suffered *damnatio memoriae* (cf. Ch. 10), and when the letters can nevertheless be read or restored, this is indicated by placing them within double square brackets: *[[Neronis]]*.
- when new text was inscribed where previous text had been erased, as in Figs. 8.1 and 35.4, this is indicated with double pointed brackets: *<<Pup(inia tribu)>>*.
- superfluous words or letters included by mistake by the stonecutter are identified by being placed inside curly brackets: *Cor{r}nelia*.

An epigrapher has to expend much effort before a text is ready to be fully laid out using the Leiden system. When facing a poorly preserved text, he/she must first form an opinion about the type of inscription under consideration. The more one understands about the topic(s) that the text deals with, the more of its content will become clear through a dialectical process in which the identification of patterns that can be recognized in similar texts permits the reconstruction of the Latin in the particular inscription under study. This further enhances the overall understanding of the text.

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[11] Panciera 2006.
[12] Sometimes editors, for reasons of space, prefer not to expand all abbreviations. In this case, a full-stop (i.e., a period) must be used to avoid any ambiguity.

6096 Tarracone, in museo n. 84, olim in aedibus Calvet, *calle de los Caballeros*; basis magna litteris optimis saeculi primi exeuntis.

```
           ₚ      q    c
         Q · HERENNIO
         Q · F · ANIENSI
           A Q V I L A E
     5   OMNIB · HONORIB
         INRE · P · SVA · FVNCTO
         INTER · DECVRIAS
         IVDICVM · ROMAE
         ADLECTO · FLAMINI ·
               P · H · C
```

Descripsi a. 1884 et contuli a. 1886. Hernandez *el indicador arqueológico de T.* p. 100.

V. 6 Qualis res publica eius fuerit indicare omisit aut is qui titulum concepit aut quadratarius.

[P(rovincia)] Ḥ(ispania) ∘ c(iterior)
Q(uinto) ∘ Herennio
Q(uinti) ∘ f(ilio) ∘ Aniensi
Aquilae
5 omnib(us) ∘ honorib(us)
in re ∘ p(ublica) ∘ sua ∘ functo
inter ∘ decurias
iudicum ∘ Romae
adlecto ∘ flamini
p(rovinciae) ∘ H(ispaniae) ∘ c(iterioris)

Im. phot. ex neg. D-DAI-MAD-WIT-12-69-12.
Im. del. a B. Hernández Sanahuja d. 10 m. Aug. a. 1866 Academiae Matritensi missa apud Abascal – Gimeno 2000, 236-237 n. 430a; Hernández 1867, 100; Hübner II 6096, qui descripsit a. 1881 et ectypum sumpsit a. 1886 (Vives, *ILER* 1632); Hernández – del Arco 1894, 109 n. 779; Alföldy 1975, 283 cum im. phot. (inde et ex Hübner sumpsit Rodríguez Neila 1978, 37). – Cf. Étienne 1958, 131. 137; Alföldy 1973, 73–74 n. 31; Wiegels 1985, 101; Demougin 1988, 488 n. 67; Curchin 1990, 190 n. 506; Caballos 1999, 479 et 487 n. T 49; F. Beltrán, in: F. Beltrán – Martín-Bueno – Pina 2000, 107. 109 cum im. phot.; Fishwick 2002b, 115 n. 44; Mayer 2006b, 456–457; Ortiz 2006, 80; Gutiérrez 2009a, 216.

Litt. Q cum cauda longa.
1 [P] H ∘ C Hübner, *[p(rovincia) H(ispania)] c(iterior)* Alföldy 1975; litt. H pars exigua superest.

Virum ex Aniensi tribu veri simillime Caesaraugustanum fuisse demonstravi Alföldy ll. ll; consentiunt Auctores posteriores omnes. De Caesaraugusta et de tribu civium eius cf. ad titulum n. 14, 1128.

Saec. I ex. tribuerunt Hübner, Étienne, l. l., sine idonea causa. Ex formula *omnibus honoribus in re publica sua functo* non ante circ. a. 120 (cf. ad titulum n. 14, 1114), ex litterarum formis non post circ. a. 150.   G. A.

14, 1143 (= II 6096) tit. honorarius flaminis provinciae

Parallelepipedum ex lapide calcario (*pedra de Santa Tecla*) i. e. pars media basis statuae olim ex tribus partibus compositae, superne et in angulis inferioribus sinistro anteriore item in parte postica dextra fracta, ab utroque latere levigata sed adesa, a tergo perquam scabra (84) × 60 × 57. In facie sursum versa a sinistra in usum posteriorem resecta, praeterea ex eodem usu foramen rotundum terebratum. Area titulo inscribendo destinata non excavata expolita fissuris fracturisque laesa cymatio cincta inverso, quod periit superne. Versus congruenter ac concinne ordinati. Litt. accurate insculptae 5 (v. 1), 4,7 (v. 2–3), 4,2 (v. 4), 3,7 (v. 5), 3,5 (v. 6, litt. T longa 4), 3,2 (v. 7), 3 (c. 8), 2,5 (v. 9), 4–5 (v. 10). Puncta triangularia deorsum directa. Notus inde ab a. 1866, cf. infra. Extabat "in aedibus Calvet, *calle de los Caballeros*" Hübner (i. e. in domo n. 2 vel 4 huius viae, vide ad titulum n. 14, 1118). Servatur in *M.N.A.T.* (inv. n. 779), ubi descripsi a. 1969 im. phot. a P. W. sumpta; in horto Musei Palaeochristiani collocatum recognovi a. 1985 et iterum a. 1997.

FIG. 1.5 Statue base honouring a provincial priest of Hispania Citerior found in Tarraco. Editions by Emil Hübner, 1892 (*CIL* II 6096) and Géza Alföldy, 2011 (*CIL* II²/14, 1143), illustrating the editorial principles of the first and second editions of *CIL* II.

Paying attention to epigraphic patterns is of crucial significance, since formulae are very common in Latin inscriptions. For instance, if the text seems to be a building inscription recording the action of an emperor, the first task is to look for elements of imperial titulature and compare them with the manner in which Roman emperors were normally referred to in inscriptions, preferably of the same type. Then again, if the text is carved on a *cippus* of low-quality stone with the letters M S clearly legible in the first line, it is a safe bet that we are dealing with an epitaph introduced by the common formula *[D(is)] M(anibus) s(acrum)*. The next step is to look for the typical elements in such an inscription: the name of the deceased, of the dedicator(s), terms of endearment and personal relationship, and the lifespan of the deceased (*vixit annis…*). Access to a good list of Latin epigraphic abbreviations will help to explicate the text (see Appendix II).

In reconstructing a damaged text, it is often useful to bear in mind that better quality Roman inscriptions were laid out in a symmetrical fashion. Lines were often of the same length, while sometimes parts of a text were emphasized by being centred, with gaps left to either side. Editors should indicate these gaps with the term "vac" (for "vacat"). This often allows an editor to estimate with some precision the original number of letters in each line and how many, therefore, need to be restored in gaps in the text, as in the Suetonius text discussed above.

As soon as the general theme of an inscription has been identified, editors then need to consult specialized literature, depending on what needs to be clarified. In the case of the Suetonius inscription, it was a question of consulting onomastic scholarship, in order to evaluate the likelihood that the inscription concerned the imperial biographer. If a text deals with military matters, one needs to read up on the Roman army (legions, cohorts, *alae*, the navy, special units), while if the inscription is a dedication to a deity whose cult originated in the E. Mediterranean, one turns to the appropriate volumes in the series *Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'Empire romain* (EPRO) and *Religions in the Graeco-Roman World* (RGRW).

Sound knowledge of epigraphic Latin and the possibility of referring to comparable elements from other inscriptions of similar type will finally allow the epigrapher to complete lacunae in the text by restoring missing letters or words. To do so in the formula *[D.] M. s.* is a restoration of the most straightforward kind. At other times, supplements can be much more complicated, as we have seen in the Suetonius inscription (cf. the discussion of Fig. 11.2, p. 211–214). The general rule is that any suggested restoration must have an epigraphic parallel to give it authority. Finding textual comparanda is now simplified thanks to the increasing availability of epigraphic databases (Appendix VII).

Dating the Inscription

Epigraphy is, like many disciplines in the humanities, profoundly historical in its overall approach. Epigraphic patterns and practices changed over time and it is important

to establish the date of an inscription for it to be as useful as possible for enhancing our understanding of classical antiquity. Correspondingly, for the restoration of a damaged text and for its interpretation, it is helpful to know to which period it belongs. Hence, every textual edition should be accompanied by at least a tentative attempt at dating, even if no precise chronological indicators can be found.

In a few fortunate cases dating presents little problem, namely when a consular date is given or a reference to a known local era appears (cf. Ch. 18). Sometimes the mention of officials or magistrates either of the Roman state or of local municipalities, for whom the date of their holding of office is known, help date an inscription accurately. The occurrence of an emperor's name and titulature is always useful, as the *tribunicia potestas* and the imperial acclamations may allow us to date the text to a precise year, and at the very least the text's chronology may be narrowed down to the reign of the emperor mentioned (Ch. 10).

In the vast majority of inscriptions such helpful elements are unfortunately lacking. Nevertheless, after much scholarly discussion, which is still ongoing, some generally acknowledged dating principles have been established.[13] As a result, editors often have to be satisfied with very approximate suggestions for a text's date, such as "second/third century CE" or a *terminus post quem*, indicating that it belongs to the period after a certain event or emperor's reign. Some of the most useful criteria are:

- the formula *D. M.* or *D. M. s.*, which is very common in funerary inscriptions, does not (with exceedingly rare exceptions) appear in Italy before the mid-first century CE and in the western provinces before late in that century.
- the appearance of known historical figures or events help to provide chronological orientation, as do the titles of Roman military units, which evolved over time and the history of which has been reconstructed from other sources.
- the appearance of imperial freedmen is helpful, as the beginning of the reign of the emperor who manumitted them is an obvious *terminus post quem*. However, it needs to be remembered that an *Aug(usti) lib(ertus)* may have lived on for up to fifty years after the death of the emperor in question.
- personal names can provide useful chronological hints (Appendix III). If a common Roman bears no *cognomen*, the text dates to before *c.* 50 CE, likely to the Republican or perhaps the Augustan period. Filiation started to be omitted with greater frequency as the Principate progressed, while in the Republic it was more common (Ch. 9). The use of *supernomina* or *signa* (marked by the connectives *qui et* or *sive*) is a sign of a late date: second or, more likely, third/fourth century (Ch. 18).
- the massive appearance of individuals bearing an imperial *gentilicium* such as *Flavius, Ulpius*, or *Aelius* is probably an indication that the text dates to a period after the reign of the emperor(s) in question. These individuals are likely to be

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[13] Di Stefano Manzella 1987: ch. 20.

descendants of manumitted imperial freedmen or newly enfranchised citizens who took the *gentilicium* of the reigning emperor or their descendants. In many parts of the Empire, the name *Aurelius* became particularly common after Caracalla's grant of citizenship to all freeborn inhabitants of the Empire in 212 CE.

- in Rome, Italy, and the Hispanic provinces, the practice of using marble for inscribing a text is Augustan or later. In other regions the use of certain materials may also be a chronological indicator.
- the decorative elements of the monument on which the inscription was carved may help to date the text on archaeological or stylistic grounds: for instance, in the case of funerary monuments with portrait-busts, the hairstyles of those depicted can provide some chronological orientation.[14]
- the circumstances of an inscription's discovery may assist with its dating. The archaeological layer in which it was found or the construction to which it belonged may have been dated by the excavators. It is important to be aware of the danger of a vicious circle here. Archaeologists are sometimes keen on using epigraphic evidence for dating sites and archaeological strata, even just in a preliminary, tentative, and hypothetical way. When epigraphers subsequently base their dating on this foundation, little has in reality been achieved.

Lastly, letter-forms (Ch. 7) are often used as a dating criterion. For identifying Republican inscriptions, the older forms of several letters are useful (Ch. 9 with Figs. 9.1–3). The Augustan period was a watershed in the development of monumental Latin letter forms. When comparing certain public inscriptions of the Severan period, which are often written in elongated librarial script (also known as actuarial) (Fig. 10.4), with "classically" elegant Augustan inscriptions from two centuries earlier (Fig. 10.6), it might appear that there was a continuous development of Latin epigraphic script, the phases of which are easily identifiable. Yet scholars are now much more circumspect than before when using letter-forms as a dating criterion, for a variety of reasons.

First, even though some monumental texts of the second and third centuries are written in styles which were not used during the early Principate, Augustan square capitals, with slight modifications, continued in use (Fig. 11.1, reign of Antoninus Pius) and are found as late as under Constantine the Great, as on his arch in Rome (*CIL* VI 1139 = *ILS* 694).[15] Often only a very experienced eye will be able to date accurately a monumental fragment with the text *Imp. Caes.* based solely on the letter-forms. Second, the surface used for inscribing the text may affect the letter-forms, and above all the purpose of the text and the party who commissioned it will have had a major impact on its style (Ch. 7). Third, there are, as always, regional differences, and only profound

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[14] Boschung 1987.
[15] This is easily traced in Gordon and Gordon 1958–65.

knowledge of local conditions will enable an epigrapher to offer a well-founded suggestion for the date of an inscription based on the letter-forms.[16]

INTERPRETATION

The author of the *editio princeps* of an inscription is duty bound to attempt to provide a historical interpretation of the new text in the initial publication. If the epigrapher is fortunate, the discovery and deciphering of the new text will have immediate consequences for our understanding of some aspect or aspects of Roman society and history, as was the case when the Suetonius inscription was found at Hippo. However, like many newly discovered texts, it raised several problems of historical interpretation: (a) What were the precise priesthoods and equestrian positions that Suetonius held, mentioned in lines 3–6? (b) Why was Suetonius honoured at Hippo? Was he a local man or a visiting dignitary? (c) What impact does the text have on our understanding of the chronology of Suetonius' career? If he was just visiting Hippo, did he come with Hadrian in 128? If so, this would mean that he was still in Hadrian's favour some years after it is usually assumed he had been dismissed from imperial service.[17]

Such issues of historical interpretation, always essential in a journal article publishing an epigraphic text, are now even addressed succinctly in entries to the most recent fascicles of the revised edition of the *CIL* (Fig. 1.5). Each entry now contains: (a) a short description of the monument, including its material and dimensions; (b) a description of the inscribed field, together with an indication of the size (in centimetres) and type of the letters and the nature of any interpuncts; (c) details of the findspot and current location of the object, if known; (d) a full text with all abbreviations and lacunae expanded, where possible; (e) an indication of date (precise or approximate); (f) bibliography of previous editions and major discussions of the text; (g) a brief commentary on its significance; (h) a photograph of the inscription, if extant, or if not, an earlier squeeze or drawing, where available.

To illustrate this and the editorial principles of the *CIL* more broadly, we present in Fig. 1.6 a putative entry for the Suetonius inscription, which might appear in a future fascicle of *CIL* VIII covering Hippo Regius. The text of the entry is completely in Latin, as has been traditional since the inception of the *CIL*. (For brevity's sake, we have omitted the full dimensions of each fragment, a full commentary, and comprehensive bibliography.)

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[16] Audin and Burnand 1969; Lassère 1973; Stylow 1998: esp. 112–120.
[17] For the debate, Crook 1956–57; Pflaum 1960–61: 221; Gascou 1978; Syme 1980; Wardle 2002.

Fig. 1.6 Putative *CIL* VIII entry for the inscription from Hippo Regius honouring Suetonius

Tabulae marmoreae magnae cymatio inverso cinctae (diam. 14 cm) fragmenta sedecim cum aliis undecim fragmentis sine litterarum vestigiis. Fragmenta inscripta in quinque partes (a-e) coniungi possunt. In ed. pr. Marec et Pflaum a. 1952 proposuerunt tabulam integram altitudine c. 120 et latitudine c. 200 cm esse. Id veri simillime videtur, etsi quantum texti et quot versus inter partes b et c desint incertum est.

Litterae quadratae eleganter insculptae 7 (v. 1), 6 (v. 2), 5 (v. 3), 4.5 (vv. 4–8, litt. T longae vv. 4, 6, et 7; litt. I longae vv. 6, 7; litt. Y longa v. 6), 3.5 (v. 9). Ultimo versu litterae minus elegantes partim ad librarias accedentes. Punctum triangulare in v. 1 post praenomen C(aium) conservatur.

Reperta a. 1950 Hippone Regio qui erat *colonia civium Romanorum* in provincia Africa Proconsulari (hodie *Annaba*, olim *Bone,* nunc in Algeria sita) in effossionibus exedrae in peristylio locatae quod in orientali fori latere situm est. Recentioribus temporibus tabula in pavimentum inserta est, latere inscripto ad solum inclinato. Titulum non vidimus. Ubi servetur, nescimus. Descriptionem et im. phot. et exemplum tituli ex Marec-Pflaum 1952 transtulimus.

<div style="margin-left:2em">

(vac) *C(aio)* • *Suetoni[o]* (vac)
[. fil(io) . . . (tribu)] (vac) *Tra[nquillo]*
[f]lami̧[ni –c.10–]
[adlecto] iṇt̞[er selectos a di]vo Tr[a]-
5 *[iano Parthico p]on[t(ifici)] Volca[n]i̧*
[–c.16– a] studiìs • *a byblio[thecis]*
[(vac) ab e]p̣istulis (vac)
[Imp(eratoris) Caes(aris) Trai]ani Hadrian[i Aug(usti)]
[Hipponenses Re]gii d̞(ecreto) d(ecurionum) p(ecunia) p(ublica)

</div>

APPARATUS CRITICUS

v. 1: Suetoni(o), Marec; Grosso. v. 5: Volca[nal]i, Marec-Pflaum; Marec; Pflaum. Volca[ni], Grosso. v. 7: [Hipponienses] ex im. del., Marec-Pflaum; Marec

C. Suetonius [- fil.] Tranquillus cum praeclaro vitarum duodecim Caesarum auctore identificari debet. Hic titulus a civibus Hipponensibus *p(ecunia) p(ublica)* donatus testimonia novissima nobis praebet de Suetoni cursu honorum: si accepimus texti restitutionem supra propositam, de eius adlectione inter selectos (i.e. in decurias iudicum) ab Imp. Traiano, qui divus Traianus in titulo (vv. 4–5) post mortem suam appellatus est, de pontificatu dei Volcani, et praesertim de tribus officiis notabilioribus viris equestris ordinis reservatis in Palatio functis—a studiis, a bibliothecis, et ab epistulis—hoc ultimo sine dubio Imp. Hadriani aetate, duobus aliis sub Imp. Traiano vel sub Imp. Hadriano. In lacuna fere 16 litt. v. 6 ad sinistram latet nescimus quid alium officium equestre (fortasse centenarium) a Suetonio habitum initio cursus publici aetate imp. Traiani.

Titulus Imp. Hadriani aetati certe tribuendus est ex officio *[ab e]pistulis [Imp. Caes. Trai]ani Hadrian[i Aug.],* ex usu nominis Divi Traiani, formis litterarum consonantibus et haud dubie ante Suetoni dimissionem ab officio ab epistulis, id quod nos certiores facit SHA *Hadr.* 11.3.

Marec-Pflaum 1952 cum im. phot. et im. del. (inde *AE* 1953, 73); Marec 1954: 391–392, no. 7 cum im. phot. (cf. *AE* 1955, 151); Crook 1956–57; Grosso 1959 cum. im. del. (*AE* 1960, 275); Townend 1961 (*AE* 1961, 177); Pflaum 1960–61: 219–224, no. 96; cf. 968; Gascou 1978 (*AE* 1978, 884); Syme 1980: 126–127; Wardle 2002 (*AE* 2002, 105).

On other occasions, a text may not lead to a revision of previously held ideas or its significance may become apparent only when considered in conjunction with other inscriptions and other types of evidence. Scholars bring their own interests and knowledge to bear and may discern elements in a text that have been ignored in previous discussions. As a result, it is futile to believe that any one single scholar can answer all questions raised by a particular inscription; there will always be fresh insights to be drawn. What the possibilities are in such cases, how to go about eliciting information from epigraphic texts, and how to write history and study Roman culture with the help of Roman inscriptions, that is the theme of the following chapters.

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EPIGRAPHIC RESEARCH FROM ITS INCEPTION: THE CONTRIBUTION OF MANUSCRIPTS

MARCO BUONOCORE

EPIGRAPHY AND PHILOLOGY: MANUSCRIPT SOURCES

WHEN Theodor Mommsen was planning the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* (*CIL*), he realized that to achieve a level of accuracy beyond that of the existing printed collections of inscriptions, it would be necessary to take account of the entire manuscript tradition which, from the Carolingian age down to the nineteenth century, had collected and preserved important information about epigraphic texts (Ch. 3). [1] He knew that for the many no longer surviving inscriptions the only available source was what could be found in a parchment or paper *codex*. It would not be sufficient, however, merely to record the existence of an inscription in a particular manuscript; one would need to work in exactly the same way as when preparing a philological edition of a literary text; i.e., consider the textual tradition of each inscription, paying attention to textual variants and attempting to explain the differences. Above all, one would need to identify, if possible, the author of the manuscript and to assess his overall reliability by evaluating his modus operandi. Mommsen thus found himself facing an unprecedented task, which required a detailed inventory of the manuscript holdings and archives of the most important European libraries. Every *CIL* collaborator was instructed to pay the closest attention to this matter. Giovanni Battista de Rossi (1822–94), who worked

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[1] Valuable biographical information on many Italian humanists and epigraphers may be found in the *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* (1960–).

at one of the most renowned libraries in the world, the Vatican Library (Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, BAV), became a cornerstone of this project. Not only was he in daily contact with the formidably rich manuscript holdings of the BAV, but also, because of his long experience, he was often contacted for advice by the many collaborators on the project. So highly was his contribution valued that Mommsen frequently invited him to compile a *Bibliotheca epigraphica manuscriptorum* or a *Bibliographia codicum epigraphicorum*, and de Rossi made a fundamental contribution in 1888 in the *praefatio* to the second volume of his *Inscriptiones Christianae Urbis Romae* (*ICUR*).[2]

An enormous quantity of information relating to the manuscript tradition was included in the various *CIL* volumes both in the introductory chapter of each, dedicated to a *conspectus auctorum*, and in the preface to each single town. At the end of the nineteenth century, then, an impressively varied picture of this fundamental aspect of epigraphic studies was available. The whole project, as devised by Mommsen, was inspired by the German philological methods developed for the editing of the texts of Greek and Latin authors.

Over a century since the first volumes of the *CIL*, new archival discoveries, a better understanding of the manuscript tradition, and improved interpretative methods have much increased our knowledge in this field. We are now in a better position to recover from these manuscripts information about inscriptions that would otherwise remain unknown. A fully rounded epigrapher, therefore, must also be a good philologist and, when editing an inscription, especially if the original text no longer survives for inspection, must consider as closely as possible the manuscript tradition (and even early printed works), attempting to explain the differing readings and renderings of the text that these sources provide. This detailed work is time-consuming, but thanks to the availability of modern library catalogues and inventories (sometimes on the internet), the task is much easier than it was for the nineteenth-century pioneers.

The Earliest Collections of Inscriptions

In addition to late Classical texts such as descriptions of the city of Rome (as, for instance, in the *Expositio totius mundi et gentium*), regionary catalogues, and *breviaria*, which appeared from the Constantinian period onwards, and later works such as the *Mirabilia Urbis Romae*, prepared for the use of Christian pilgrims, it became common to copy epigraphic documents in the form in which the observer had read and understood them or, more frequently, had copied them from earlier accounts.[3]

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[2] Rebenich 1995; Buonocore 2003; Gran-Aymerich 2008; Miranda Vallés et al. 2011.

[3] Valentini and Zucchetti 1940-53: 1.63–258 (regionary catalogues), 259–265 (*expositio*), 3.1–65, 137–167 (*mirabilia*); cf. Nordh 1949; Accame Lanzillotta 1996; Kritzer 2010.

Currently the oldest known *codex* that contains a collection of inscriptions from Rome is preserved in the library of the Benedictine monastery of Einsiedeln in Switzerland (Stiftsbibliothek, *326*). It was written in the third quarter of the ninth century at Fulda, though it preserves traces of a tradition going back to the fifth century.[4] Even though it takes the form of an itinerary intended as a guide for pilgrims, the text seems to address readers far away from Rome who wanted an image of the city and its main pagan and Christian monuments through epigraphic "captions." Among these, the reference to Constantine inscribed on his triumphal arch (*CIL* VI 1139 = *ILS* 694) was to have a particular rhetorical impact on all the later descriptions of Rome (Fig. 2.1). Normally following a heading that provides an introduction to a site or monument, the *titulus* (inscription) is given in black lower-case letters, with abbreviations often expanded to
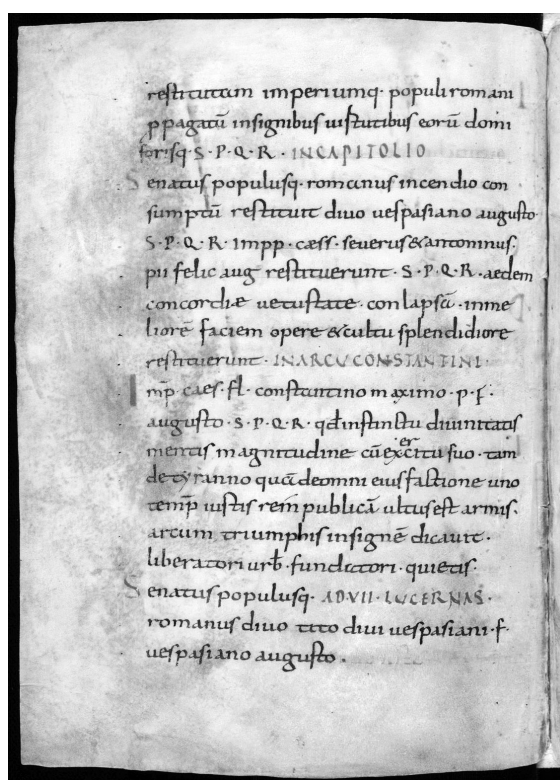
FIG. 2.1 Extract from the epigraphic sylloge in the Codex Einsidlensis (Stiftsbibliothek *326*, f. 72v), with various inscriptions from Rome: (a) IN CAPITOLIO (*CIL* VI 937, 938, 89): inscriptions from the temples of Saturn, Divus Vespasianus, and Concordia beneath the Capitol; (b) IN ARCV CONSTANTINI (*CIL* VI 1139): on the Arch of Constantine; (c) AD VII LVCERNAS (*CIL* VI 945): on the Arch of Titus (the toponym refers to the seven-branched menorah on the inside of the arch).

4 Walser 1987.

the best of the author's ability rather than faithfully reproduced in the form in which they appear on the monument.

A similar *modus operandi* is found in another product of a Carolingian *scriptorium*, the well-known *Corpus Laureshamense* (the "Sylloge from Lorsch"), transmitted on ff. 26r–82r of the *codex* (now BAV, *Pal. lat. 833*). The name derives from the fact that it was written by hand in the abbey at Lorsch during the first half of the ninth century, although like the *Einsidlensis* it was compiled on the basis of earlier epigraphic collections going back at least to the seventh century. This sylloge is divided into four sections: (1) Christian inscriptions from the basilicas of Rome (ff. 27r–35r); (2) thirteen documents relating to popes buried in the atrium of St. Peter's (ff. 36r–41r); (3) thirty-six inscriptions from cities in northern Italy (ff. 41r–54r); (4) a rich collection of metrical inscriptions, largely Christian, written in a different hand, above all from monuments in Rome, although Ravenna and Spoleto are also represented (ff. 55v–82r).[5]

The fundamental importance of these two manuscripts derives from the fact that many inscriptions described in them have not been seen since, and in such cases the transcriptions provided by the *codices* constitute our only source of knowledge not only for important aspects of the topography and archaeology of Rome, but also for the prosopography of the Late Empire and above all for Latin verse inscriptions (Ch. 35). The number of inscriptions from the Lorsch *codex* included in modern collections of *carmina Latina epigraphica* shows the real importance of this work. This is the case, for instance, with the five distichs (*CIL* VI 41421 = *CLE* 1408) dedicated to Sex. Petronius Probus, perhaps the consul of 371 CE, which include the expressions *sollers ingenio, carmine doctiloquus*, and *praeconia falsa*, providing echoes of Tacitus, Ennius, and Lucan.

At least two other collections from the ninth century are important: one manuscript, originally from Corbie, is preserved in St. Petersburg (Rossijskaja Nacional'naja Biblioteka, *F.XIV.1*), while another is in the Bibliothèque Municipale of Verdun (*45*). In addition, there was once the *membrana vetusta*, dated to between the mid-sixth and the end of the eighth century and containing pagan inscriptions from Rome, Ravenna, Rimini, and Trier, which was available up to the times of Joseph Scaliger (1540–1609), who managed to transcribe part of its contents.[6] For a certain period, various collections of inscriptions enjoyed a fairly wide circulation. It is not always easy to discern the degree to which they were based on autopsy as opposed to being copied from earlier collections of texts, which was the way in which medieval *florilegia* originated.[7]

In the next phrase, from the eleventh to thirteenth centuries, there was a lack of interest in producing this type of collection, mainly because it was difficult to interpret the many abbreviations and formulas which abound in Roman inscriptions. Contrary to the predominant view, it was not the case that scholars of this period could not read the actual characters used to inscribe the texts.[8] The poor comprehension of classical

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[5] Vircillo Franklin 1998.
[6] Other ninth-century collections: Silvagni 1921; Scaliger: Grafton 1983–94.
[7] Silvagni 1938, 1943.
[8] Calabi Limentani 1970.

Latin inscriptions was compounded by the state of neglect that the ancient monuments had suffered; the texts were found "*inter virgulta et rubos*" ("among bushes and brambles"), as medieval authors often complained. Famously Boncompagno of Signa, professor at Bologna, referred in 1213 in his *Rhetorica vetus* to the fact that it was common knowledge that his contemporaries were unable to comprehend the "*litterae punctatae*," while he certainly did not claim that they could not decipher the actual letters: "*olim fiebant sculpturae mirabiles in marmoribus electissimis cum litteris punctatis, quas hodie plenarie legere vel intelligere non valemus*" ("In the past marvellous sculptures were crafted on the choicest marble with chiseled letters. Today we do not have the skills to read or understand them fully."). There are also the words of Magister Gregorius ("Master Gregory"), the learned English traveller who came to Rome at the end of the twelfth century and the beginning of the thirteenth: "*in hac tabula plura legi sed pauca intellexi*" ("On this plaque I have read many letters, but could understand few of them.").[9]

Nevertheless, it is not uncommon to find in the margins of manuscripts from this period transcriptions of epigraphic texts which the author himself or someone who had copied it had inserted, reproducing with care the original layout, to lend an air of authenticity to a particular passage in the work at hand, or simply out of pure antiquarian pleasure. Discoveries of such insertions have multiplied in the recent past. These manuscripts are of fundamental importance when the text is unpublished or when it is known only from a more recent manuscript. Thus, for instance, in a *codex* from the ninth/tenth century now in Leiden (Bibl. der Rijksuniversitet, *Voss. Lat. Q. 101*), in the margins of the text of Justinus on f. 136v there is the transcription, dating to the same period as the main text, of two inscriptions from Rome (*CIL* VI 939 and 3518). In the *Homiliarium* written at Luxueil in the late-ninth century, now in the John Rylands Library in Manchester (*lat. 12*), an eleventh-century hand copied an inscription which is known only thanks to this manuscript (*CIL* XIII 5426 = *ILS* 4680). In a *codex* from the abbey of Farfa (BAV, *Vat. lat. 6808*), dated to the second half of the eleventh century, at f. 113r a later hand has transcribed an inscription from Lucus Feroniae (*CIL* XI 3938 = *ILS* 6589). Finally, an inscription honouring Hadrian, never previously included in any epigraphic corpus, has been discovered in a twelfth-century *codex* in the British Library (*Royal 12 B XXII*), which transmits Calcidius' Latin translation of Plato's *Timaeus*.[10]

Humanism and the Renaissance

From the start of the fourteenth century, and inspired first by the humanism that flourished at Padua and then by Petrarch (Francesco Petrarca), the growing interest in the

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9 Valentini and Zucchetti 1940-53: 3.167 (text); Osborne 1987; Carlettini 2008.
10 Petoletti 2002; Monti 1979, 1984.

ancient world and its sources encouraged scholars and those interested in antiquity to pay greater attention to inscriptions.[11] For example, Giovanni Dondi dall'Orologio (*c.* 1330–88), a physician and scholar from Padua, included transcriptions of epigraphic texts in his *Iter Romanum*, an account of a journey he made to Rome in 1375, even if they were not always correctly recorded (Biblioteca Marciana, Venice, *Lat. XIV 223 (4340)*).

All of this renewed interest occurred in conjunction with a paleographic revolution. Poggio Bracciolini (1380–1459) is considered the inventor of humanist script. Although his mentor Coluccio Salutati (1331–1406) made use of this script already in 1403, inscribed capitals probably did not make their official appearance until after 1430.[12] In the age of humanism, the rejuvenation of inscriptions as a literary accomplishment was more profound than that of any other literary form. Ancient inscriptions also inspired new letter-forms for the Latin alphabet, influenced above all by those of the Augustan period.[13]

From Italy this model spread across Europe. A major figure in these developments was Felice Feliciano (1433–78), who copied the sylloge of Publio Licinio (perhaps to be identified with Lorenzo de Lallis) in *Vat. lat. 3616* and wrote a treatise on the geometric construction of monumental capitals, the well-known *Alphabetum Romanum* preserved in the *codex* BAV, *Vat. lat. 6852*.[14] Poggio was also the author of an important sylloge containing eighty-six inscriptions, written around 1430 but now lost. To some extent that collection can be restored with the help of two copies, both from the fifteenth/sixteenth century (BAV, *Vat. lat. 9152*; Rome, Biblioteca Angelica, *430*).

The first large collection of classical inscriptions that has been preserved is the one commonly called the "Sylloge Signoriliana," because it is attributed to Niccolò Signorili, even though the collection has been connected to no less a figure than Cola di Rienzo (1313/14–54) or even to Poggio himself.[15] Its first redaction, which is anonymous, is dated to 1409, and it appears on ff. 170r–175 of the *codex* BAV, *Barb. lat. 1952* (Fig. 2.2), from which derive ff. 103r–115v of the *codex lat. XIV 264 (4296)* of the Biblioteca Marciana in Venice. Somewhat later Signorili, commissioned by Pope Martin V (1417–31), created a *Descriptio urbis Romae*, in which he inserted a fuller collection of inscriptions. The increase can easily be detected from copies of the second redaction, including the oldest, now at Subiaco (Biblioteca del Monumento Nazionale di Santa Scolastica, *Archivio Colonna II. A. 50*), and at least three in the BAV, namely *Chig. I.VI.204*, from which derives *Chig. I.V.168*, and *Vat. lat. 10687*. This collection then circulated independently, that is without the *Descriptio*, which led to a third redaction (for example, BAV, *Ott. lat. 2970*). It has, however, been suggested that there is a document even older than the first version of the "Sylloge Signoriliana," namely f. 311rv of the

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[11] Ziebarth 1905; Weiss 1969; Kajanto 1982; Campana 2005; Guzmán Almagro 2008; Buonocore 2012.

[12] Kajanto 1985; Gionta forthcoming (b); Bianca 2010.

[13] Campana 2005.

[14] Licinio: Hülsen 1923: 138–157; Feliciano: Contò and Quaquarelli 1993; Benedetti 2004.

[15] Silvagni 1924; Petoletti 2003.
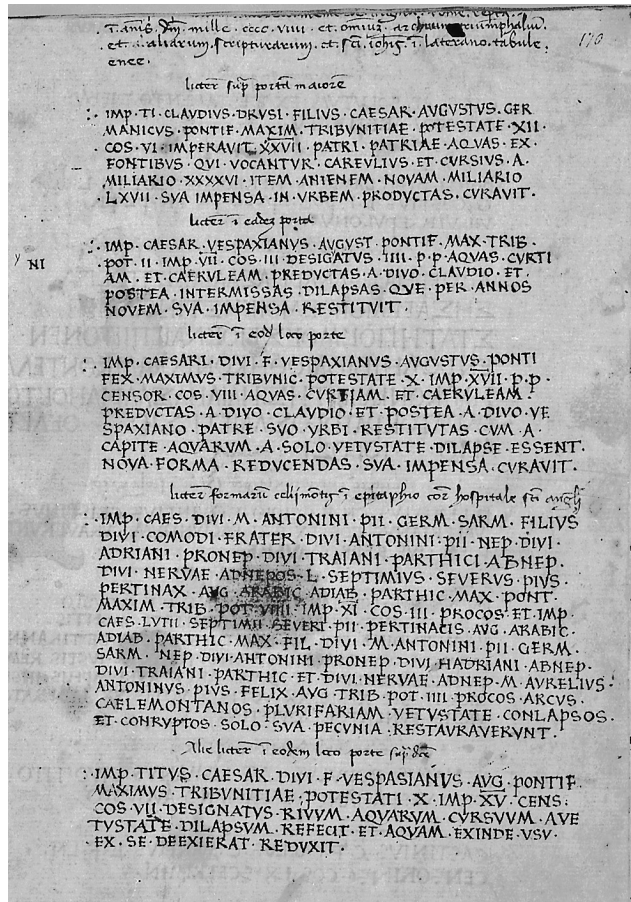
FIG. 2.2 A page from the Sylloge Signoriliana (1409) (BAV, *Barb. lat. 1952*, f. 170r), with five monumental inscriptions attesting improvements in Rome's water supply by several emperors (*CIL* VI 1256–59, 1246 = *ILS* 218a–c, 424, 98c).

codex Add. 34758 in the British Library.[16] On palaeographic grounds it belongs to the late thirteenth/early fourteenth century, and it contains eight inscriptions from Rome (*CIL* VI 882, 945, 984, 985, 991, 992, 1033, 1139 = *ILS* 265, 322, 329, 369, 401, 425, 694) and two from Arezzo (the famous *elogia* of Q. Fabius Maximus and Gaius Marius: *CIL* XI 1828, 1831 = *ILS* 56, 59), which are present also in Signorili's collection. If this document is indeed older than the one made by Signorili, it likely derives from another source that he also used independently.

During the whole of the fifteenth century similar collections continued to be produced, with the primary purpose of promulgating knowledge about Roman antiquities. Among the many that could be cited, one may mention a recently discovered

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16 Petoletti 2003.

manuscript containing a collection of 185 inscriptions, almost all from Rome (written in *scriptio continua*), created in 1465 by the *scriptor apostolicus* Timoteo Balbani (Biblioteca Laurenziana, Florence, *Fondo Martelli 73*).[17] The importance of this sylloge derives from the fact that the author does not seem to have relied on earlier or contemporary collections in any major way. For inscriptions included in other collections he often gives different locations or, in cases where he gives the same location, he differs in the description of the monument. For many inscriptions not mentioned by Signorili or Poggio but present in later collections, the Balbani *codex* is undoubtedly the most important source from the fifteenth century. Moreover, for inscriptions for which he gives a different location compared to other earlier sources he provides important information on their provenance, for instance, regarding medieval churches that have since disappeared. A particularly important detail in this *codex* is the inclusion of fourteen inscriptions from Rome (*AE* 2005, 235–248) which do not seem to have been included in *CIL* VI or in any later edition.[18] The sheer quantity and precision of the epigraphic information it provides make the Balbani sylloge in many ways unique in the context of the mid-fifteenth century.

Another important collection, by Pietro Sabino (*floruit* late 15th/early 16th century), covered ancient Roman pagan and Christian inscriptions. Perhaps the largest corpus of the humanist period, it had a proper editorial program, which for unknown reasons (perhaps the premature death of the author) was never completed. Recent research has allowed six complete copies of his collection of inscriptions to be identified: Carpentras, Bibl. Inguimbertine, *607*; Florence, Bibl. degli Uffizi, *V.2.7b*, which can be attributed to the hand of Ludovico Regio; Venezia, Bibl. Nazionale Marciana, *lat. X. 195 (3453)*; BAV, *Chigi I.V.168, Ott. lat. 2015*, and *Vat. lat. 6040*. The last of these almost certainly seems to have been written by Sabino himself.[19]

Three autograph manuscripts by the Florentine Battista Brunelleschi, a relative of the famous architect Filippo Brunelleschi, are known: one in Florence (Bibl. Marucelliana *A. 78.1*), another in the BAV (*Vat. lat. 6041*), and a third in Berlin (Staatsbibliothek–Preussischer Kulturbesitz, *lat. fol. 61 a d*).[20] Even though he appears to have been a compiler who gathered his material from other sources, occasionally he personally copied some inscriptions from Rome, which he visited from 1511 to 1513. In the Berlin *codex*, in particular, there are transcriptions—carried out in a very elegant way in lower-case letters and respecting line-divisions—of more than a thousand inscriptions (among them about one hundred unpublished ones), although in many cases there is a suspicion that we are dealing with fakes (Ch. 3). Most of them come from Rome, although there are some texts from other Italian cities and from Spain, Gaul, and even from Greece and Asia Minor. Other notable *codices* include: BAV, *Vat. lat. 3311* by Pomponio Leto (1428–97),[21] the sylloge of Bartolomeo Fonzio now in the Bodleian Library at Oxford

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[17]   Gionta 2005: 17–105; cf. Buonocore 2007a.
[18]   Buonocore 2007a: 463–465.
[19]   Gionta 2005: 107–187.
[20]   Solin 2007.
[21]   Magister 1998, 2003; Cassiani and Chiabò 2007; Stenhouse 2011; Modigliani 2011.

(*Lat. Misc. d. 85*), and the manuscript *Redi 77* in the Biblioteca Nazionale of Florence, attributed to Alessandro Strozzi ("Anonymus Redianus"), in which besides pagan and Christian inscriptions from Rome there are also texts from other cities in Italy and the rest of Europe.[22]

Some of the inscriptions recorded in these epigraphic collections, especially metrical ones, enjoyed an extraordinary popularity: for instance, the inscription from the Temple of the Dioscuri at Naples (*IG* XIV 714 = *IGI Napoli* 1), and the funerary *cippus* of Atimetus and Omonea (*CIL* VI 12652 = *IGUR* III 1250).[23]

Ciriaco d'Ancona and Fra Giocondo

A decisive change in approach occurred with the epigraphic collection assembled by Ciriaco dei Pizzicolli from Ancona (1391–1452), famously called by Mommsen "homo garrulus et fastosus, scriptor tumidus et ineptus et cum multa doctrinae affectatione parum eruditus" (*CIL* III, p. xxiii: "a garrulous and profligate individual, a bloated and inept writer, and although he made great claims about his learning, not very erudite"). Ciriaco d'Ancona, who came from a family of merchants and was one himself, transcribed an enormous number of inscriptions that he himself had seen not only in Italy, but also during his travels in Sicily, Dalmatia, Epirus, Greece, Asia Minor, and Egypt.[24] It was the first attempt to put together an epigraphic corpus of truly vast proportions, and with Ciriaco a new literary genre came into being: the epigraphic antiquarian manuscript. His texts are basically trustworthy. They were honestly copied; he did not let personal interpretations affect his readings; and he completed his work at the place he inspected the inscribed monuments. He also had considerable skills as a draftsman.

Unfortunately this huge mass of documents, which were put together as *Commentarii* in several volumes, in which Ciriaco also recopied the collections of Poggio and Signorili, is believed to have been destroyed in the fire of the Sforza library in Pesaro in 1514. Luckily, before this unfortunate loss these volumes had already circulated among scholars and many future compilers of epigraphic corpora had made much use of them, thus indirectly transmitting material that otherwise would have remained unknown: for instance, BAV, *Vat. lat. 6875* and *Redi 77* (in the Biblioteca Nazionale of Florence), written at Venice in 1474 by the Florentine exile Alessandro Strozzi, as well as the lesser copy BAV, *Vat. lat. 5250* (ff. 87r–171v).

After Ciriaco's work epigraphic collections began to appear that did not focus solely on Rome but had a wider geographical focus, with an emphasis most of all on Italy. These collections still made much use of earlier works, but also included

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[22] Hülsen 1923.
[23] Campana 1973–74; Buonocore 2004: 139–144, 195–196.
[24] Paci and Sconocchia 1998; Rocchi and Robino 2008.

previously unknown inscriptions, leading to a remarkable growth in antiquarian and archaeological knowledge. Autopsy (personal inspection) of the actual monument was now felt to be indispensable for a proper edition of an inscription, and a drawing was often presented as well, although sometimes fanciful elements were added. This development led to the collections of Giovanni Marcanova (1410/17–67), Michele Fabrizio Ferrarini (*c.* 1450–92), Felice Feliciano (1433–79), and Hartmann Schedel (1440–1514).[25]

Marcanova, a physician and intellectual who lived for the most part in Padua, was the author of at least two collections, one dating to the period 1457 to 1460 (Bern, Bürgerbibliothek, *ms. B.42*), another to 1465 (Modena, Biblioteca Estense, *ms. α. L. 515* olim *lat. 992*); other copies derive from these two. He included some inscriptions from his own times, a section dedicated to *Urbis quaedam antiquitatum fragmenta* ("Some fragments of antiquities from the city of Rome"), and some texts from other localities, occasionally accompanied by valuable drawings. Ferrarini's principal manuscript is in the Biblioteca Comunale of Reggio Emilia (*C. 398*); there are copies at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France in Paris (*Lat. 6128*), at the Biblioteca Estense in Modena (*lat. 413*), the Universiteitsbibliotheek in Utrecht (*ms. 57*), and two at the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (*Vat. lat. 5243* and *Cappon. 209*). The epigraphic collection of Feliciano, dedicated to the Renaissance artist Andrea Mantegna, was completed in 1463/64 and was organized geographically. The German humanist Schedel included an epigraphic section in his *Opus de antiquitatibus*, which was written during a visit to Padua and is preserved in a manuscript at Munich (Bayerische Staatsbibliothek *CLM 716*).

In this period of renewed activity, the collection of Latin and Greek inscriptions (*Collectio inscriptionum Latinarum et Graecarum*) by Giovanni Giocondo of Verona, commonly known as Fra Giocondo (1435–1515), enjoyed great success.[26] The reason which caused him to complete this work, dedicated to Lorenzo the Magnificent ("il Magnifico") in 1489, was, as his long introduction explains, the abandoned state of the ancient monuments: "ruinae tamen ipsius urbis multae sunt, ex quibus item novae ruinae in dies fiunt" ("However, there are many ruins in that famous city, from which yet more ruins are created day by day."). He copied down what still remained of their texts: "tamen praeter quae uidi quaeque accurate exscripsi in hoc volumen nihil congessi" ("However, I have included in this volume no texts except those I have observed and accurately copied."). Three redactions of the text are known, dated to 1475/92, 1497/98, and *c.* 1502. Of these, the third had the largest circulation in Italy, as can be seen in Table 2.1.

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[25] Marcanova: Barile, Clarke, and Nordio 2006; Espluga 2012; Gionta forthcoming (a). Ferrarini: Tassono Olivieri 1989; Buonocore 2004: 181–182; Espluga 2008. Feliciano: see n. 14. Schedel: Kikuchi 2010.

[26] Ciapponi 1979; de la Mare and Nuvoloni 2009; Buonocore forthcoming.

Table 2.1 The three redactions of Fra Giocondo, *Collectio inscriptionum Latinarum et Graecarum*

First redaction (with additions from 1489/92)	• *ms. 270*, Bibl. Capitolare, Verona • *Borg. lat. 336*, BAV (transcribed by the German humanist Jacob Aurelius Questenberg, who moved to Rome in 1485) • *Vat. lat. 10228*, BAV (written in splendid capitals by Bartolomeo Sanvito, who was active at Rome and had close connections to Giocondo) (Fig. 2.3-4) • *Lat. Class. e. 29*, Bodleian Library, Oxford (copied by Protasio Crivelli in 1498) • *Ashburnham 905*, Bibl. Laurenziana, Florence
Second redaction	• *lat. XIV. 171 (4665)*, Bibl. Marciana (of which ff. 191–215v are thought to be in Giocondo's hand) • perhaps *Magl. 28. 5*, Bibl. Nazionale in Florence (hand-written by Sanvito)
Third redaction	• *Stowe 1016*, British Library (in Sanvito's hand), • Chatsworth House ("Collection of the Duke of Devonshire"), s. n. • *ms. 10096*, Bibl. Nacional, Madrid (likewise by Sanvito) • *ms. 1632*, Bibl. Correr, Venice • *Magl. 28.34*, Bibl. Nazionale in Florence • *ms. 6*, Bibl. della Sovrintendenza in Florence • *Vat. lat. 5326*, BAV (written by Sanvito) • *Vat. lat. 8494*, BAV: the final leaves 309r–354v (which once belonged to Angelo Colocci, 1474–1549) • *Reg. lat. 2064*, BAV (which seems to be in Sanvito's hand) • *Barb. lat. 2098*, BAV (dated by the watermark to after 1528)

Manuscripts and Printed Editions

Other important epigraphic collections were produced during the sixteenth century by illustrious Renaissance figures, but never printed: for example, Mariangelo Accursio (1489–1546);[27] Andrea Alciato (1492–1550), author of the first sylloge which contains a comment on every text it presents;[28] Antonio Agustín (1517–86);[29] Pietro Bembo (1470–1547);[30] Konrad Peutinger (1465–1547);[31] Onofrio Panvinio (1530–86);[32] Giovanni Antonio Dosi/Dosio (*c.* 1533–*post* 1610);[33] and Jean Matal (Metellus, 1520–97).[34] Among

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[27] Campana 1960.
[28] De Camilli Soffredi 1974; Ferrua 1990, 1991; Vuilleumier and Laurens 1994; Belloni et al. 1999.
[29] Crawford 1993a; Alcina Rovira and Salvadó Recasens 2007.
[30] Beltramini, Gasparotto, and Tura 2013
[31] Ott 2002: 97–116, 2009; Künast and Zäh 2006; Talbert 2010.
[32] Ferrary 1996.
[33] Tedeschi Grisanti and Solin 2011.
[34] Hobson 1975; Crawford 1993b; Ferrary 1996: 108–110, 238–242; Vagenheim 2006a.
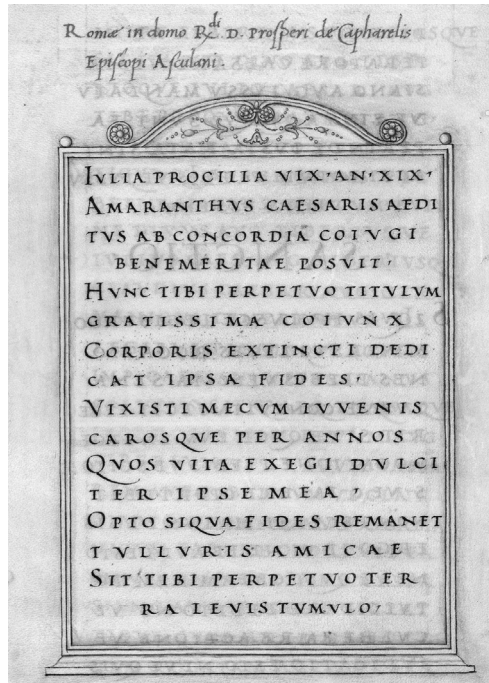
FIG. 2.3 Epitaph of Iulia Procilla from Rome (*CIL* VI 8703 = *CLE* 1028) from a manuscript written in elegant capitals by Bartolomeo Sanvito (BAV, *Vat. lat. 10228*, f. 5v).

the manuscripts of Metellus, a particularly important one is BAV, *Vat. lat. 6034*, since it includes famous epigraphic texts, with drawings, such as the *Fasti Maffeiani* (*Inscr. It.* XIII.2, no. 10) at ff. 1–2, Claudius' speech from Lyon on entry to the senate for Gauls (*CIL* XIII 1668 = *ILS* 212; Fig. 17.3) at ff. 3–4, the *lex Antonia de Termessibus* (*CIL* I² 589 = *RS* 19) at f. 5, a *tabula patronatus* from Peltuinum (*CIL* IX 3429 = *ILS* 6110) at ff. 6–7, the *lex Cornelia de XX quaestoribus* (*CIL* I² 587 = *RS* 14) at f. 8, the *sententia Minuciorum* (*CIL* I² 584 = *ILS* 5946 = *ILLRP* 517) at f. 9, and the *ara* of the *vicomagistri* (*CIL* VI 975 = *ILS* 6073) at ff. 10–12. Equally deserving of mention are Étienne Winand (1520–1604) or, in Flemish, Stefan Pigghe (Pighius);[35] Maartin de Smet (Smetius; *c.* 1525–78);[36] Pirro Ligorio (1512/3–83), whose often maligned work needs to be scrutinized more closely than has often been the case (Ch. 3);[37] Aldo Manuzio the Younger (1547–97);[38] Celso Cittadini (1553–1627);[39] Alonso Chacón (1530–99), author, among other

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[35] Roersch 1903.
[36] Verbogen 1985; Vagenheim 2006b.
[37] Vagenheim 1987, 1994; Solin 1994; Orlandi 2008.
[38] Koortbojian 2001.
[39] Di Franco Lilli 1970.

FIG. 2.4 Altar of Iulia Procilla from Rome. Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden. Compare the difference in the appearance of the text on the monument and in Sanvito's drawing (Fig. 2.3).

manuscripts, of *Chig. I. V. 167* in the BAV, in *CIL* considered the work of an anonymous Spanish scholar ("Anonymus Hispanus").[40]

All this enormous productivity was not due solely to a fascination with antiquity. By now it was clear that an epigraphic document, if correctly interpreted, could also be a historical source of great importance. Commentaries on ancient authors from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries show how the philologists of the period were fully aware of the value of Latin inscriptions as historical sources.[41] Since they were direct survivals from antiquity, it was considered possible with their help to correct the spelling of a word that had been corrupted in the manuscript tradition and also to illustrate the cultural context in which such a term was used in antiquity.

The invention of the printing-press soon led to the appearance of epigraphic publications. At the very moment when Fra Giocondo dedicated his epigraphic manuscript to Lorenzo the Magnificent, in Venice on 4 September 1489 Desiderio Spreti published a sylloge of inscriptions from Ravenna entitled *De amplitudine, de vastatione et de instauratione Urbis Ravennae* ("On the size, devastation, and restoration of the city of

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[40] Recio Veganzones 2002.
[41] Vagenheim 2003; Stenhouse 2005.

Ravenna"). It is considered the first printed work in the field of Roman epigraphy, as Bormann observed at *CIL* XI, p. 1. The first anthologies soon followed, for instance, the collection of epigrams by Lorenzo Abstemio, which appeared in three editions between 1505 and 1515. The anthology contains numerous inscriptions from Rome, Rimini, and Fano, and the inscription from the tunnel of Furlo on the Via Flaminia together with humanist epigrams, sundry classical and medieval poetry, and the translation of six Greek epigrams by Giacomo Costanzi.[42]

The first really focused collection was devoted to inscriptions from the city of Rome. Entitled *Epigrammata antiquae Urbis*, it was published in Rome in 1521 by Jacopus Mazochius (Giacomo Mazzocchi). The work is anonymous, for only the publisher, Mazzocchi, is named.[43] Francesco Albertini or Andrea Fulvio have been suggested as authors. The work seems to have been printed thanks to the munificence of Angelo Colocci, as emerges from a note of the archaeologist Emiliano Sarti (1795–1849) in his copy of the *Epigrammata* (now in the BAV), which originally belonged to J.B.L.G. Seroux D'Agincourt (1730–1814). Mazzocchi's publication included the collection of inscriptions prepared by Albertini in 1510–15 but never published and the fruits of Mazzocchi's collaboration with the artist Raphael, beginning in 1515, which aimed at producing an inventory of the antiquities of Rome. The work enjoyed enormous success and all the antiquarians of the time aimed to have a copy of their own, in which they often added marginal notes and corrections. A famous example is the copy that belonged to Agustín and afterwards to Metello (now BAV, *Vat. lat. 8495*; Fig. 2.5).

Larger and richer collections soon followed.[44] Of great historical importance was the volume *Inscriptiones sacrosanctae vetustatis non illae quidem Romanae sed totius fere orbis* by Peter Bienewitz (Apianus) and Bartholomäeus Pelten (Amantius) dating to 1534, since it represents the first printed general collection of classical inscriptions. It is not, however, very trustworthy due to its disorganization, arbitrariness, and the many fake inscriptions it contains. Fifty years later in 1588, the *Inscriptiones Antiquae* by Smetius was posthumously printed by Justus Lipsius (1547–1606).[45] A major work of this period is the corpus of Gruterus (Jan Gruter, 1560–1627), published in 1601, which likewise included over twelve thousand inscriptions from all over the Roman world. The "Supplements" to Gruterus, i.e., the *Syntagma inscriptionum antiquitatum* by Thomas Reinesius (1587–1667), was published posthumously in Leipzig in 1682. Also worth mentioning are the *Marmora Felsinea* by Count Carlo Cesare Malvasia (1616–93), published in Bologna in 1690; the *Inscriptiones antiquae* by Raffaele Fabretti (1618–1700), published in two volumes between 1699 and 1702; the *Inscriptiones antiquae nunc primae editae* by Giovanni Battista Doni (1593–1647), published posthumously by Antonio Francesco Gori (1691–1757), who in turn also published three volumes of

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[42] Bertalot 1946; Avesani 2001.
[43] Buonocore 2006; Vagenheim 2008; Bianca 2009.
[44] Calabi Limentani 1966, 1996; Stenhouse 2002, 2005; Buonocore 2004.
[45] Laureys 1998; Vagenheim 2006b.

CAPVT . X . DE THERMIS.

In Thermis Dioclitianis:

D . D . N , N . DIOCLITIANVS ET MAXIMIANVS INVICTI SE
NIORES AVGVSTI PATRES IMPEPERATORVM ET CAESARVM ET
CONSTANTIVS ET MAXIMIANVS INVICTI AVGG . ET SEVERVS
ET MAXIMIANVS NOBILISS . CAESARES THERMAS FELICES DIO
CLITIANI AVG . FRATRIS SVI NOMINE CONSECRAVIT COEPTIS
AEDIFICIIS PRO TANTI OPERIS MAGNITVDINE OMNI CVLTV
PERFECTAS ROMANIS SVIS DEDICA

In Thermis Constantini

PETRONIVS PERPENNA MAGNVS QVADRATIANVS V C
PRAEF VRB THERMAS CONSTANTINIANAS LONGA INIVRIA
ET ABOLENDAE CIVILIS VEL POTIVS FVNESTALIS CLADIS VASTA
TIONE VEHEMENTER AFFLICTAS ITA AGNITIONE SVI EX OM
NI PARTE PERDITA DESPERATIONE CVNCTIS REPARATIONIS
ADFERENT DEPVTATO AB AMPLISSIMO ORDINE PARVO SVM
PTV QVANTVM PVBLICAE PATIEBANTVR ANGVSTIAE AB EX
TERNO VINDICAVIT ET PROVISIONE LARGISSIMA IN PRISTI
NAM FACIEM SPLENDOREMQVE RESTITVIT

CAPVT . XI . DE TABVLIS: DECRETIS ET PRIVILEGIIS.

In Tabula Aenea in : S : Ioanne Laterano: apud tabernaculum sacratissimi Corporis Christi.

FIG. 2.5 A page from *Epigrammata antiquae Urbis* (1521), showing two inscriptions concerning the Baths of Diocletian (*CIL* VI 1130 = *ILS* 646) and the Baths of Constantine (*CIL* VI 1750 = *ILS* 5703) and the start of a section on decrees on bronze tablets, with copious marginal comments (BAV, *Vat. lat. 8495*, p. xiiii).

Inscriptiones antiquae in Etruriae urbibus extantes, which appeared between 1726 and 1743.[46]

The first half of the eighteenth century saw the publication of the *Antiquae inscriptiones* by Marquard Gude (1635–89), published posthumously in 1731 by Joannes Kool, Franz Hessel (*c.* 1730), and Johann Georg Graevius (1632–1703). The second edition of Gruterus' work appeared in 1707 with a preface by Pieter Burman (1668–1741), while the impressive *Novus thesaurus veterum inscriptionum* by Lodovico Antonio Muratori (1672–1750) was published in four volumes in Milan between 1739 and 1742. The *Museum Veronense* by Marquis Scipione Maffei (1675–1755) was published in Verona in 1749, and the same author also wrote *Ars critica lapidaria*, an important treatise on epigraphy completed in 1749, but published posthumously in 1765. Finally, *De stilo inscriptionum Latinarum* by Stefano Antonio Morcelli (1737–1821) appeared in three volumes in 1781.[47] Due notice was taken of this impressive tradition of printed epigraphic works in the various volumes of the *CIL*.

THE MODERN PERIOD

Regardless of the fact that printed books made such an impact on antiquarian circles, the tradition of preparing epigraphic manuscripts did not die out. From the seventeenth almost into the twentieth century, handwritten collections of inscriptions, comprising documents from individual cities, or notes on local history and archaeology in which inscriptions feature, continued to be produced. These often contained new information about an ancient town or region. All these handwritten treasures deserve to be part of the history of the epigraphic tradition, and they are slowly being rescued from undeserved oblivion by the efforts of modern scholars. We are dealing with a very large tradition here and this is not the place for a list of even the most important sources; readers will need to consult recently published volumes of the *CIL* and the new series of the *Supplementa Italica*.

One particular collection stands out above all others, not least because it is still regularly consulted by scholars, even though it has never been printed: the *Inscriptiones Christianae Latinae et Graecae aevi milliari* by Gaetano Marini (1742–1815), a work that fills four *codices* in the BAV (*Vat. lat. 9071–74*).[48] This monumental collection, the richness and importance of which was first underlined by Angelo Mai in the fifth volume of his *Scriptorum veterum nova collectio*, is an irreplaceable source for the study of Latin and Greek inscriptions from the beginnings of epigraphy to the turn of the first millennium CE. If it had been published in its own time, it would have had a major impact both on classical studies and even more on Christian epigraphy.

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[46] Cagianelli 2008; Gambaro 2008; Gialluca 2008.
[47] Maffei: Romagnini 1998; Marchi and Pál 2010. Morcelli: Calabi Limentani 1987; *Morcelli* 1990.
[48] Ferrua 1994: 168–171; Buonocore 2001, 2004: esp. 86–92, 228–238, 256–274, 2007b, 2011.

As Mommsen and De Rossi already emphasized in the nineteenth century, the study of epigraphic manuscripts is a crucial part of classical epigraphy. The enormous number of manuscripts both in libraries and in public and private archives makes it ever more urgent to initiate a global inventory of this irreplaceable source of information for the study of Roman and Christian epigraphy and ancient society in its many dimensions.

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CHAPTER 3

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FORGERIES AND FAKES

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SILVIA ORLANDI, MARIA LETIZIA CALDELLI, AND
GIAN LUCA GREGORI

THE issue of epigraphic forgeries is closely connected not only to the history of epigraphy, but also to the rediscovery and reuse of antiquity in the Middle Ages.[1] Forgery is a field of study still in its infancy. For example, we lack an electronic database of all forged texts. Forgeries were already produced in the Roman period, as were copies of genuine texts made long after the original had been inscribed: for example, the so-called *elogium* of Gaius Duilius (*CIL* I[2] 25 = VI 1300 = *ILS* 65 = *ILLRP* 319; see p. 345–348 and Fig. 19.1) or the dedicatory inscription on the Pantheon by Agrippa, re-inscribed during the restoration of the temple under Hadrian (*CIL* VI 896 = *ILS* 129).[2] A good example of forgery is provided by the fake inscriptions in Latin carved during the Renaissance on the bases of the statues of the Dioscuri (Castor and Pollux) in the Piazza del Quirinale (*CIL* VI 10038 = 33821: *opus Praxitelis // opus Fidiae*) that attribute them to the famous Greek sculptors Phidias and Praxiteles.[3]

In the great epigraphic corpora begun in the nineteenth century those inscriptions considered as fakes were given their separate section, usually at the beginning of each *CIL* volume. An asterisk was added to the entry number: for example, *CIL* VI 1200*. Rome was a special case, in that an entire fascicle (*CIL* VI, fasc. 5), containing 3,643 items, was dedicated to the fake inscriptions attributed to the city. The material is arranged chronologically according to the date when the text originated and, wherever possible, the texts are grouped by author.

Fake inscriptions do not form a homogeneous category.[4] One needs to make distinctions based on a series of considerations:

- modes of transmission: forgeries on paper or stone, the latter inscribed on ancient or only partially ancient materials, but also on more recent objects;

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[1] Greenhalgh 1984: 156–164; Paul 1985; Rossi Pinelli 1986.
[2] Simpson 2009.
[3] Gregori 1994.
[4] Mayer 1998; Carbonell Manils, Gimeno Pascual, and Moralejo Álvarez 2011; Solin 2012.

- motivations: unintentional forgeries (the carving of epigraphic texts from Latin literature onto durable materials; scholarly exercises by humanists as a learned pastime; completions of fragmentary inscriptions) and intentional forgeries (fabrications of documents with the intention of validating an otherwise untenable hypothesis or a statement otherwise not provable, sometimes with commercial intent);
- methods of production: forgeries invented from scratch and complete, partial, or interpolated copies of ancient inscriptions.

In what follows the main focus will be on the modes of transmission. However, given their importance, we shall deal with historical and documentary forgeries in the final section. This chapter focuses almost exclusively on Italy, and especially Rome, because it is the most fertile area of study, the issue has been so well investigated here, and a detailed focus on one particular region allows us to analyze the phenomenon in some depth.

Forgeries Transmitted in Manuscripts or in Printed Works (Silvia Orlandi)

The proliferation of forgeries during the Middle Ages primarily involves literary texts falsely attributed to ancient authors or false legal and ecclesiastical documents invented to support various types of legal claims. Epigraphic texts were largely excluded from this process, since there was a progressive loss of the capacity to understand and interpret ancient inscriptions in the period from the eighth to the thirteenth centuries.[5] This means that the anomalies in the copies of Latin inscriptions contained in the descriptions of Rome for the use of pilgrims are due to errors of reading or fanciful interpretations more than to deliberate interpolations (Ch. 2). It was only the revival of the study of classical literature by the first humanists and the rediscovery of Roman archaeological remains in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries that brought about a renewed interest in epigraphy. This manifested itself in a growing number of collections of texts—both in manuscript and in printed form—and in a progressive refinement of the tools necessary for their understanding. The whole process took place in a period when there was general enthusiasm for the classical past, which was being rediscovered at that time. This enthusiasm stimulated a desire among scholars to gain knowledge about that world, among artists to re-create it, and among collectors to own classical artefacts. The phenomenon of epigraphic forgeries can only be fully understood by taking several factors into account: (a) the re-evaluation during the Renaissance of the historical significance of ancient documents; (b) the prestige that a particular site,

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[5] Grafton 1990: 23–25.

institution, or family derived from its ability to trace its origins back to classical antiquity; and (c) the pride that nobles and cardinals took in their archaeological collections.

Some forgeries were produced for commercial gain, at least a number of the forgeries on stone. Others were manufactured on stone or bronze with the intention of replacing authentic documents as historical sources. The large majority of forgeries, however, were produced only in manuscript or printed works. They were disseminated in epigraphic collections, especially from the start of the sixteenth century, and arose mostly from the sincere and understandable, although philologically unjustified, desire to restore classical antiquity to its original splendour rather than to rely simply on the ruins uncovered through excavation.[6] This meant carrying out restorations and filling lacunae in the documentation. There was perhaps also the more malicious intent to corroborate through the use of inscriptions, which by this date had an acknowledged value as historical sources, hypotheses and theories on the exact location of a monument, on the identification of a site, or on the origins and ancient pedigree of a family or place. Such issues were often the subject of fiery disputes among scholars.

The title of "supreme producer of epigraphic forgeries" unquestionably belongs to Pirro Ligorio (*c.* 1512–83).[7] Born in Naples, he first moved to Rome and later, from 1568 onwards, lived in Ferrara, where he served Duke Alfonso II until his death. His immense work, which for the most part remains in manuscript form, primarily consists of forty books of "Antiquities of Rome" (*Delle Antichità di Roma*), written in Rome and sold to Cardinal Alessandro Farnese before the work had been completed; these books are currently preserved at the National Library in Naples (Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli, *Cod. Neap.* XIII.B.1–10). During the years he spent in Ferrara, Ligorio also composed his *Enciclopedia del mondo antico* ("Encyclopaedia of the Ancient World"), now preserved in the State Archive in Turin (Archivio di Stato di Torino), where the same material is arranged in alphabetical order rather than thematically.[8] These works, as well as other *codices* preserved in various European libraries, contain a great number of inscriptions skilfully invented by the author alongside accurate copies of existing monuments. These texts are reproduced with much information about the materials, state of preservation, and place of discovery, to lend more credibility to Ligorio's creations.

Often these fanciful details were not recognized as such by later scholars and were incorporated into many epigraphic collections of the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries. The drastic work of purging carried out by the editors of the *CIL* has systematically marked as fake many hundreds of inscriptions known to us only through Ligorio, following Theodor Mommsen's principle "probato dolo totum testem infirmari" (*CIL* X, p. xi: "once his deceitful intent has been proven, his entire credibility as a source is invalidated"). This has resulted in the creation of a specific section of *Ligorianae* among the *falsae* in all the volumes of the *Corpus*, some of which have now been rehabilitated

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[6] Grafton 1990: 25–28.
[7] So Guarducci 1967: 492 ("sovrano creatore dei falsi epigrafici").
[8] Orlandi 2008, 2009; cf. Mandowsky and Mitchell 1963: esp. 137–139 (*Enciclopedia*).

by more recent *CIL* editors, as well as by numerous studies on Ligorio in the past few years.[9] Except for the few texts carved on stone, produced mainly for commercial purposes, his forgeries stemmed from the idea, widespread among Ligorio's contemporaries, that the task of the antiquarian was to present the ancient world in its most complete and "correct" form.

This involved restoring them to the form that they had—or might have had—in the minds of those who created them. Moved by the desire to "give the dead their souls back" ("restituire l'anima agli estinti"), when attempting to fill lacunae in the sources, Ligorio in part gave voice to his own imagination, but he also used all the data drawn from ancient sources that a network of scholars had put at his disposal, working in a variety of ways:

(a) he presented most of the texts as if they were intact, even when in reality they contained conspicuous lacunae. An example is provided by the inscription from Rome recording the early fifth-century restorations supervised by the urban prefect Anicius Acilius Glabrio Faustus (*CIL* VI 1676). The architrave was broken both on the left and right sides, but Ligorio (*Cod. Neap.* XIII.B.7, p. 142) drew it as if its text was completely preserved.[10]

(b) Ligorio falsely claimed that in addition to the original fragmentary specimen of an inscription there existed another intact copy, which is reproduced along with the former as if both were really extant. This is the case, for instance, with the dedication to Fortuna Primigenia from Praeneste (*CIL* XIV 2865), which is reproduced twice on p. 211 of *Cod. Neap.* XIII.B.7. It is shown once with the damage and loss of text down the right side and once in the form of a completely preserved pedestal with its inscription intact (Fig. 3.1).[11]

(c) Ligorio created fake but (at least in part) plausible epigraphic texts, reconstructed on the basis of information from literary sources, coin legends, or authentic inscriptions, and he presented them alongside authentic texts to corroborate various arguments. Apart from the many texts concerning famous monuments in Rome, the exact locations of which were at that time the subject of learned dispute,[12] the case of *CIL* X 1008*, allegedly from South Italy, is of particular interest:

ex auctoritate / Imp. Caesaris divi Nervae fil. / Nervae Traiani Aug. Germa/nici Dacici Parthici pontifi/cis maximi tribunic. potest. V / cos. V p. p. curat. viarum / L. Licinius C. f. Sura IIIIvir II / M. Iulius M. f. Fronto IIIIvir / T. Laelius Q. f. Cocceianus IIIIvir / Sex. Flavius L. f. Falto IIIIvir / cipp. terminaverunt / viam Traianam App. per

[9] Vagenheim 1987, 2011; Salomies 1986; Solin 1994, 2005.

[10] Orlandi 2008: 120.

[11] Vagenheim 1994: 96–102; Orlandi 2008: 197.

[12] For instance, *CIL* VI 105*, 123* (Ludus Matutinus), 743* (Ludus Dacicus), 147* (Temple of Castor and Pollux), 203* (Temple of Diana on the Aventine), 390* (Temple of Jupiter Caelimontanus), 272*, 274* (houses of Pomponius Atticus and Terentius Varro), 276* (the Curia); cf. Schreurs 2000: 96–108.
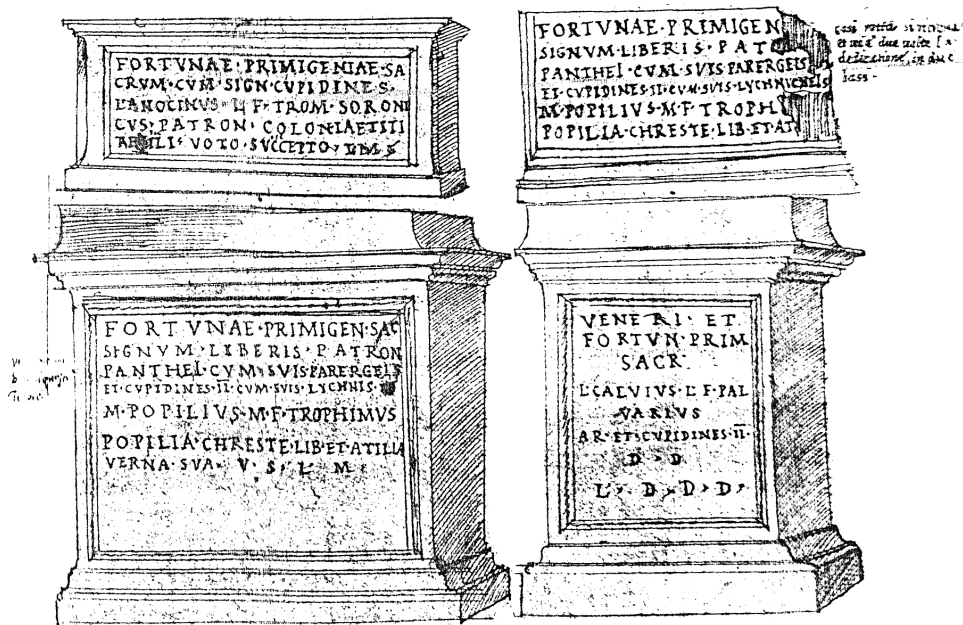
FIG. 3.1 Drawings by Pirro Ligorio of the same dedication to Fortuna Primigenia from Praeneste (*CIL* XIV 2865) in two different forms. *Cod. Neap.* XIII.B.7, p. 211 (upper right and lower left).

Bruttios / Salentinos publica pec. contulere / Bruttiei Salentinei oppidatim / Napetinei Hipponatei Mamertinei / Rheginei Scyllacei Cauloniatiei / Laometeciei Terinaei Temsa/nei Locren … Thuriat … / cur. … mill. p. … / … CC …

This fake inscription is based on a fragment of the Greek historian Antiochus of Syracuse—quoted by Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*Ant. Rom.* 1.35.1)—mentioning the gulf "Napetinon" (a corruption of "Lametikon," the modern Gulf of Sant'Eufemia) to demonstrate the alleged existence of the people known as the "Napetinei."[13]

The case of inscribed domestic objects (*instrumentum*, such as *fistulae aquariae*, brick-stamps, and quarry marks) is more complex, especially because it has been less studied. Although here too many fakes are encountered, it is often unclear whether a text is wholly invented or contains elements interpolated from genuine inscriptions that have since disappeared.[14]

Ligorio's forgeries are frequently found in the epigraphic *codices* of Onofrio Panvinio (1530–68). In his work on the consular and triumphal *fasti*, *Fasti et triumphi Romanorum a Romulo rege usque ad Carolum V Caes. Aug.,* published in Venice

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[13] Vagenheim 2001.
[14] Bruun 2001: 311–312.

in 1557, Panvinio inserted scattered references to inscriptions with consular dates, which sometimes are forgeries taken over from manuscripts or printed works (*CIL* VI 3094*–3123*). Similarly, Jean-Jacques Boissard appended fake inscriptions to some of the monuments that he elegantly reproduced both in the *codices* written in his own hand preserved in Paris and Stockholm and in the printed edition of the *Antiquitates urbanae Romanae* (Frankfurt, *c.* 1600).[15] Boissard attributed the false inscription *Soli / sacrum* (*CIL* VI 3152*) to the (actually anepigraphic) obelisk in front of the church of Trinità dei Monti, relying on the conviction of sixteenth-century topographers such as Bartolomeo Marliani, Lucio Fauno, and Gesualdo Bufalini that the Temple of Sol was located there.

The progress of epigraphy as a scholarly discipline, as well as the refinement of analytical techniques for the identification of fakes—of which Scipione Maffei's *Ars critica lapidaria* (published posthumously in 1765) is a milestone—did not prevent the phenomenon of forgeries in written form from continuing in the following centuries.[16] In the seventeenth century we find the forgeries of the otherwise unknown amanuensis Claudius Franciscus Grata, whose inventions (*CIL* VI 3298*–3333*) appear in a manuscript copy of Giovanni Battista Doni's epigraphic collection commissioned by Cardinal Francesco Barberini, currently preserved in the Vatican Library (*Cod. Barb. lat. 2556*).[17] In the eighteenth century the notes and letters of Pier Luigi Galletti contain forgeries (*CIL* VI 3334*–3389*), and he also produced further inventions on stone (p. 53).

Finally, the apographs (i.e., drawings with transcripts) of Count Girolamo Asquini from Udine (1762–1837) concern inscriptions from NE Italy, but they were considered untrustworthy by Mommsen, unless confirmed by the originals or by a different manuscript tradition.[18] In spite of Mommsen's censure, they may deserve at least partial rehabilitation, or the forgeries should be attributed to others, as more recent discoveries and studies have shown.[19] There is also, however, a remarkable group of forged inscriptions created by Asquini out of his own excessive civic pride. He wanted to boost the importance of Iulium Carnicum (modern Zuglio) in Roman times by attributing to it a series of texts providing interesting information on the cults, institutions, and inhabitants of the city (*CIL* V 58*–61*, 63*, 65*, 66*, 69*).[20] These forgeries arise from a dispute that set Asquini against another local historian Michele della Torre Valsassina. The latter, insisting on the greater importance of Forum Iulium (modern Cividale), went so far as to transport some inscribed monuments from Zuglio to Cividale, with the intention of elevating the status of Cividale in the Roman period.[21] Similarly, some antiquarians from Fondi tried to connect to this town the Roman inscription erected

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[15] *CIL* VI, *Index auctorum*, p. lix; Callmer 1962.
[16] Buonopane 1998.
[17] Buonocore 2004: 113.
[18] *CIL* V p. 81 no. XXIV; Rebaudo 2007: 129–133.
[19] Panciera 1970: 35–84.
[20] Panciera 1970: 169–170; Mainardis 2008: 75–76.
[21] Donati 1991: 706.

in honour of Sulla by the *vicus laci Fundani* (*CIL* VI 1297).[22] This behaviour confirms that the over-zealous patriotic interest inherent in such operations not only led to the creation of inscriptions today relegated to the ranks of *falsae*, but is also to blame for the phenomenon of inscriptions labelled as *alienae* (i.e., displaced from their original municipality).[23]

Forgeries Carved in Stone
(Maria Letizia Caldelli)

This category consists of inscriptions on stone and other durable materials that were produced in post-classical times in an effort to imitate Roman epigraphic texts. Forgeries on stone are a complex phenomenon emerging in parallel with the rediscovery of the classical world and with the growing interest in Roman epigraphy among the humanists in Padua in the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The earliest example is perhaps *CIL* VI 6*, already extant in 1303. Over time this activity took on different forms, characteristics, and aims. The question is made thornier by the lack of a precise definition of what exactly is meant by epigraphic forgery today and what was meant by it in the past, since "forgery" is a cultural concept.[24]

A marble slab, formerly in the Villa Altieri in Rome, now in the Museo Nazionale Romano, is a clear example of the difficulties one faces in establishing an unequivocal definition. The inscription (*CIL* VI 3477*) reads:

> D(is) M(anibus) s(acrum) / Iulio Pomponio qui vixit / donicum fata permiserunt / M. Antonius Alterius et / C. Antonius Septumuleius / devoti / b(ene) m(erenti) via Appia posuerunt.

In reality this is a text created by Marco Antonio Altieri and Giannantonio Settimuleio Campano for their master, the famous humanist Giulio Pomponio Leto (1435–98), who on many occasions expressed the wish to be buried in an ancient tomb along the Appian Way. The inscription dates back to before 1471—the likely year of death of young Settimuleio—and was produced as an erudite exercise within the first Accademia Romana; later, it ended up in the house of Altieri, one of the authors of the text. Although this document was included by the editors of the *CIL* in the fascicle devoted to the *falsae*, recent studies have rightly pointed out that it ought to be regarded not as a forgery, but as an example of neo-Latin epigraphy produced in a

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[22] Di Fazio 1997.
[23] Fabre and Mayer 1984: 181.
[24] Eco 1988.

humanistic environment.[25] From this perspective, some inscriptions contained in the collection of Ciriaco d'Ancona (Ch. 2) are difficult to classify. Even the stern critic Mommsen recanted his original scepticism about the reliability of texts collected by Ciriaco: "sed fides eius iam non tam incorrupta mihi creditur quam olim iudicabam" (*CIL* IX, p. xxxviiii).

An interesting case is an inscription from Ricina, carved on a limestone slab comprising six fragments, now displayed in the Palazzo Comunale, Macerata (*CIL* IX 5747). Mommsen realized that two of the fragments were not ancient, based on the text's palaeography, the preparation of the inscribed surface, and the partly inauthentic Latin. The inscription—first copied by Ciriaco—was in his version arranged on eight lines and did not have any gaps (*Cod. Vat. lat. 218*, f. 1):

> *Imp(eratori) Caesari L. Veri Aug(usti) fil(io) divi Pii nep(oti) divi Ha/driani pron(epoti) divi Traiani Parth(ici) abnep(oti) divi Nervae / adnepoti L. Septimio Severo Pio Pertinaci / Augusto Arabico Adiabenico Parthico / Maximo p(ontifici) m(aximo) tribunic(ia) potest(ate) XIII imp(eratori) XI / co(n)s(uli) III p(atri) p(atriae) / colonia Helvia Ricina / conditori suo*

What immediately strikes the eye is the incorrect filiation of Septimius Severus, who was normally styled *divi M. Antonini Pii Germ(anici) Sarm(atici) filius, divi Commodi frater* and not *L. Veri Aug(usti) fil(ius)*, as here. While the extant inscription, in which the first lines are no longer preserved, essentially confirms Ciriaco's version, it is laid out on twelve lines rather than eight and obviously has a different distribution of the text. Mommsen, supported in his judgement by Giovanni Battista de Rossi, identified Ciriaco as the author of the later supplements and as the (perhaps unintentional) accomplice in the resulting forgery on stone (*CIL* IX, p. xxxviii; cf. *ICUR* II 1, p. 380). Whether Ciriaco was indeed the original author must remain an open question, but in any case an attempt has recently been made to exonerate him.[26] Arguably, the humanist was at most responsible for the false restoration of the text and he only operated on a less central part of the inscription—the emperor's genealogy—without actually compromising the overall historical value of the document. If anything, he showed the limits of his own antiquarian culture. The inclusion of fakes or texts deriving from literary sources in Ciriaco's manuscripts should be seen either as an ingenious game by a man of letters or the result of a lack of critical judgement rather than as an act of bad faith.[27] The inscription at issue ought not to be placed among the *falsae*.

In parallel with the growing interest in Latin epigraphy at the beginning of the fifteenth century and with the spread of the first collections of actual inscriptions and anthologies of epigraphic texts, there was also a substantial increase in the number of forgeries (especially in manuscripts and in printed works). These should be considered

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[25] Petrucci 1994: 19–33; Magister 2003: 77–78 no. 2.
[26] Marengo 1998.
[27] Thus Campana 2005: 10–11, 21; cf. Espluga 2011.

separately from inscriptions produced by humanists, as we have seen. Some motives for this activity were highlighted earlier in this chapter, and already in the fifteenth century purportedly ancient inscriptions on stone must have been composed in the same humanist circles for reasons of political opportunism.[28]

The motives that led Pirro Ligorio to create forgeries are complex and defy precise definition. Although his forgeries are mostly found in his written works, there are numerous cases in which he carved or, more probably, had someone else carve inscriptions that are now considered inauthentic.[29] In Rome, for example, out of the 2,993 epigraphic texts included among the *falsae ligorianae*, about seventy were produced on stone (i.e., a little over 2 percent of the total). About one-fifth of these have now been rehabilitated as genuine (for example, *ILMN* I 86, 359).[30] Certainly false, however, is an inscription reported by Ligorio (*CIL* VI 937*) and inscribed on a carefully cut marble slab, now in the Museo Nazionale Romano (Fig. 3.2):

> *Lucrinae Iucundae / P. Lucrinus P. l. Thalamus / a corinthis faber / loc(us) enp(tus) (!) est ((denariis)) ((decem milibus)) m(onetae) argent(eae) / sibi et su(is) pos(terisque)*

For Lucrina Iucunda. P. Lucrinus Thalamus, freedman of Publius, smith producing Corinthian vessels, set this up for himself, his family, and descendants. The burial site was bought for 10,000 *denarii* of silver coin.

FIG. 3.2 Fake funerary inscription from Rome (*CIL* VI 937*), reported by Pirro Ligorio. Museo Nazionale Romano.

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[28] Weiss 1969: 164–165.
[29] Henzen 1877; Hülsen 1895, 1901.
[30] Solin 1994.

While the slab and the writing stand out for their high quality that imitates ancient models, the text itself reveals the forgery, despite the correct phrasing, for a variety of reasons. There is the otherwise unattested family name *Lucrinus/-a*[31] and the expression *a corinthis faber*, perhaps intended by the author as a reference to a craftsman-producer of Corinthian bronze vessels. There is also the exaggerated sum of money for the purchase of a funerary *locus*,[32] and the very formulation of the sum in question, *((denariis))…m(onetae) argent(eae)*, is unparalleled. That part was perhaps inspired by the office of *flaturarius auri et argenti monetae* mentioned in *CIL* VI 8456 or of *officinator monetae aurariae argentariae* in *CIL* VI 43, both of which were transcribed by Ligorio himself. After all, interpolations are one of the methods that he used to create his forgeries, as we have seen. Other forgeries on stone by Ligorio, which passed from the collection of Cardinal Rodolfo Pio da Carpi to that of the House of Este in Ferrara, are currently preserved in the Museo Lapidario Estense in Modena.[33]

Surveying the sections devoted to epigraphic fakes in *CIL*, it appears that in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries forgeries in written works were preferred to forgeries on stone, although there was an increase in the number of the latter as well.[34] Forgeries on stone no longer seem to arise from a desire to compete with the past or reconstruct the past in an ideal form. Rather, we seem to be dealing with the then current phenomenon of historical forgery, i.e., a forgery that was relevant to local history or to the fortunes of some illustrious family. Forgery for commercial purposes represented another variety.[35]

It is only in the eighteenth century that the tide appears to turn, when the industry of forgeries on stone gained the upper hand, in parallel with the increase in public and private collections of antiquities. Rome became the production centre par excellence: in the workshops of sculptors and restorers, texts of ancient inscriptions (copied in full or in part) or texts invented along the lines of ancient inscriptions were carved on to ancient objects that were originally anepigraphic. Such objects were unearthed in copious numbers in the numerous excavations undertaken in the city and its surroundings. If no ancient objects were available, inscriptions were carved on a modern artefact produced in one of the ateliers that specialized in creating supposed antiquities.

Several of these epigraphic forgeries were manufactured in some of the most renowned workshops of the time, such as those of Bartolomeo Cavaceppi and Giovanni Battista Piranesi.[36] Along with other genuine products, they entered important collections in Russia, Sweden, and above all Great Britain,[37] as well as in Italy. In these cases the quality of the forgery is high, reflecting the status of the client or

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[31] It does not appear in the list of *nomina* at Solin and Salomies 1994: 107.

[32] Crea 2004.

[33] Gregori and Petrucci 1986: 273–279. On the epigraphic collection, Solin 2009: esp. 138–139.

[34] Stenhouse 2005: 89–98.

[35] Capoferro 2008: esp. 1400.

[36] Cavaceppi: Howard 1982: 193–195; Gasparri and Ghiandoni 1993. Piranesi: Gasparri 1982; Neverov 1982; Teatini 2003: 121–123.

[37] Davies 2000.

FIG. 3.3 Richly decorated funerary urn, produced in the eighteenth century, with a fake inscription supposedly attesting Catullus' mistress Lesbia. Palazzo del Rettorato, University of Rome "La Sapienza."

recipient, who may or may not have been aware that they were acquiring fakes. One of the above-mentioned workshops or a similar one must have produced the richly decorated urn, formerly in the collection of Cardinal de Zelada at Rome, now in the Rectorate (Palazzo del Rettorato) of the University of Rome "La Sapienza" (Fig. 3.3):[38]

> D(is) M(anibus) / Lesbiâe suâe / quam unice ama/vit Q. Catullus me/rens posuit vix(it) / an(nis) XVII obiit q(uinto die) / calendas Iulii (!)

> To the Departed Spirits of his very own Lesbia, which Q. Catullus loved in a unique way. He deservedly set this up. She lived seventeen years and died on 27 June.

It is a fictitious text, inspired by Catullus (*Carm.* 58.2–3). The names of the dedicatee and the dedicator are those of two major figures of Latin literature: Lesbia, who here appears dying as a seventeen-year-old, and Q. (Valerius) Catullus. On the basis of the formulae used, the text is anachronistic. The consecration to the Manes was not used until at least a century after Catullus' time, nor is the indication of the date of death authentic. (The term *obit*, the day expressed with the first letter of the ordinal, *calendas* written in full, and the month-name in the genitive case *Iulii* instead of the accusative

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[38] Caldelli 2008.

Iulias are all inauthentic features.) Other copies of the same text existed, but on different objects (cf. *CIL* X 344* = *ILMN* I 657).

The pressing demand for inscriptions to bolster more modest private collections must have led some antiquarians to become procurers or even creators of fakes. The case of Pier Luigi Galletti, a Benedictine friar from the Monte Cassino monastery, is typical.[39] From 1754 onwards, when he settled in Rome in the monastery of San Paolo fuori le Mura, he organized a complex system of production and distribution of fake inscriptions. Galletti would transcribe published and sometimes unpublished inscriptions from the collections he happened to visit. He then had them carved on stone by skilled craftsmen. Sometimes several copies were made of one original, generally with minor variations, so as to obscure the fact that they were mass produced or to distinguish the forgery from the original. These products ended up in various collections, especially in Sicily, thanks to the fortuitous meeting of Galletti and the two Sicilians, Placido Maria Scammacca and Gabriele Di Blasi. Thus entire lots of fake inscriptions made their way into the Abbey of San Martino delle Scale in Palermo, where the librarian Salvatore Maria Di Blasi (Gabriele's brother) set up a museum to enhance the glory of the monastery. From Palermo, part of the material was sent on to Catania, to satisfy requests from among others Ignazio Paternò Castello, the Prince of Biscari, who was in the process of forming a museum in his own palace.[40] Some of the materials also arrived in Messina, where the antiquarian Andrea Gallo was creating a small museum with the help of his friends Salvatore and Gabriele Di Blasi. The latter, as well as being a resident in Rome in San Paolo fuori le Mura, was also a member of the Benedictine monastery of San Placido Calonerò in Messina. Later on a few of the fakes from Messina reached France.[41]

Two examples, both now in the Museo Civico in Catania, give a good impression of the products of this "forgery factory."[42] The first is a marble slab, formerly in the Benedictine monastery of San Nicolò l'Arena:

> I. OM. Soli Sarapidi / Scipio Oreitus (?) v(ir) c(larissimus) / augur / voti compos reditus

The second is also a slab, entirely reassembled from two fragments, formerly in the museum of the Prince of Biscari:

> C. O. M. Soli Sarapidi / Scipio Oreitus (?) / aucur (?) / voti com[p]os redius (?)

Both texts are copies of an original found along the Via Appia in 1745, now in the Capitoline Museum in Rome. The original is a marble altar; on its sides and back it has complex relief scenes, while on the front an oak crown frames the epigraphic field (*CIL* VI 402 = 30755 = *ILS* 4396):[43]

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[39] Billanovich 1967; Preto 2006: 19–24.
[40] Pafumi 2006: 117–119.
[41] Gascou 1988: 211–217.
[42] *CIL* X 1089*. 6; Korhonen 2004: 352 nos. 369–370.
[43] Gregori and Mattei 1999: no. 18 (photograph).

I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) Soli Sarapidi / Scipio Orfitus v(ir) c(larissimus) / aucur (?) / voti compos redditus

The altar was replaced with simple slabs, but the text was preserved in full, preserving the line divisions and abbreviations. *Oreitus* for *Orfitus*, which appears on both copies, is possibly due to a misunderstanding. Some intentional variants were, however, also introduced: the different initial abbreviation (*I. OM.* vs *C. O. M.*), the different forms *reditus / redius*, the omission in the second copy of the indication of rank *v(ir) c(larissimus)*, and the correction *augur* for *aucur* in the first text.

The production of forgeries on stone did not end with the eighteenth century. It continued into the nineteenth century, and Rome remained its principal centre.[44] Collectors, scholars, antiquarians, and forgers were behind this activity, and sometimes all of these functions coalesced in a single individual, as in the well-known cases of Wolfgang Helbig, the Marquis Giovanni Pietro Campana, and Duke Michelangelo Caetani.[45] Their motivations were manifold, as were their methods and techniques, which must be examined case by case. The same phenomenon continued in the twentieth century. A sarcophagus from the Via Ostiense bears the false epitaph of Albius Graptus, cut in the early twentieth century. The inscription that inspired the forgery was found in excavations in 1897–98 and published only in 1938.[46] Copies of authentic military diplomas were produced for commercial purposes and ended up on the antiquities market, while other diplomas (equally authentic) inspired actual forgeries which contain some variants and have even ended up in museums. The most spectacular recent example of epigraphic forgery comes from Spain and concerns about 270 graffiti related to different aspects of Roman everyday life.[47]

Historical and Documentary Forgeries
(Gian Luca Gregori)

An important number of forgeries took their inspiration from various characters in Roman history known from literary sources. One of the earliest examples is the alleged epitaph of the poet Lucan, copied by the Paduan humanist Rolando da Piazzola in 1303 in Rome near San Paolo fuori le Mura (*CIL* VI 6*):

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[44] Guarducci 1980; Morandi 2002. On the great number of false *glandes missiles*, widespread primarily in the nineteenth century, Benedetti 2012: 36–38.

[45] Helbig: Guarducci 1980; Franchi De Bellis 2011; Solin 2011. Campana: Sarti 2001. Caetani: Taglietti 2008.

[46] Ahrens, Pomeroy, and Deuling 2008.

[47] Diplomas: Panciera 2006: 1823–28; Pangerl 2006. Spain: Gorrochategui Churruca 2011.